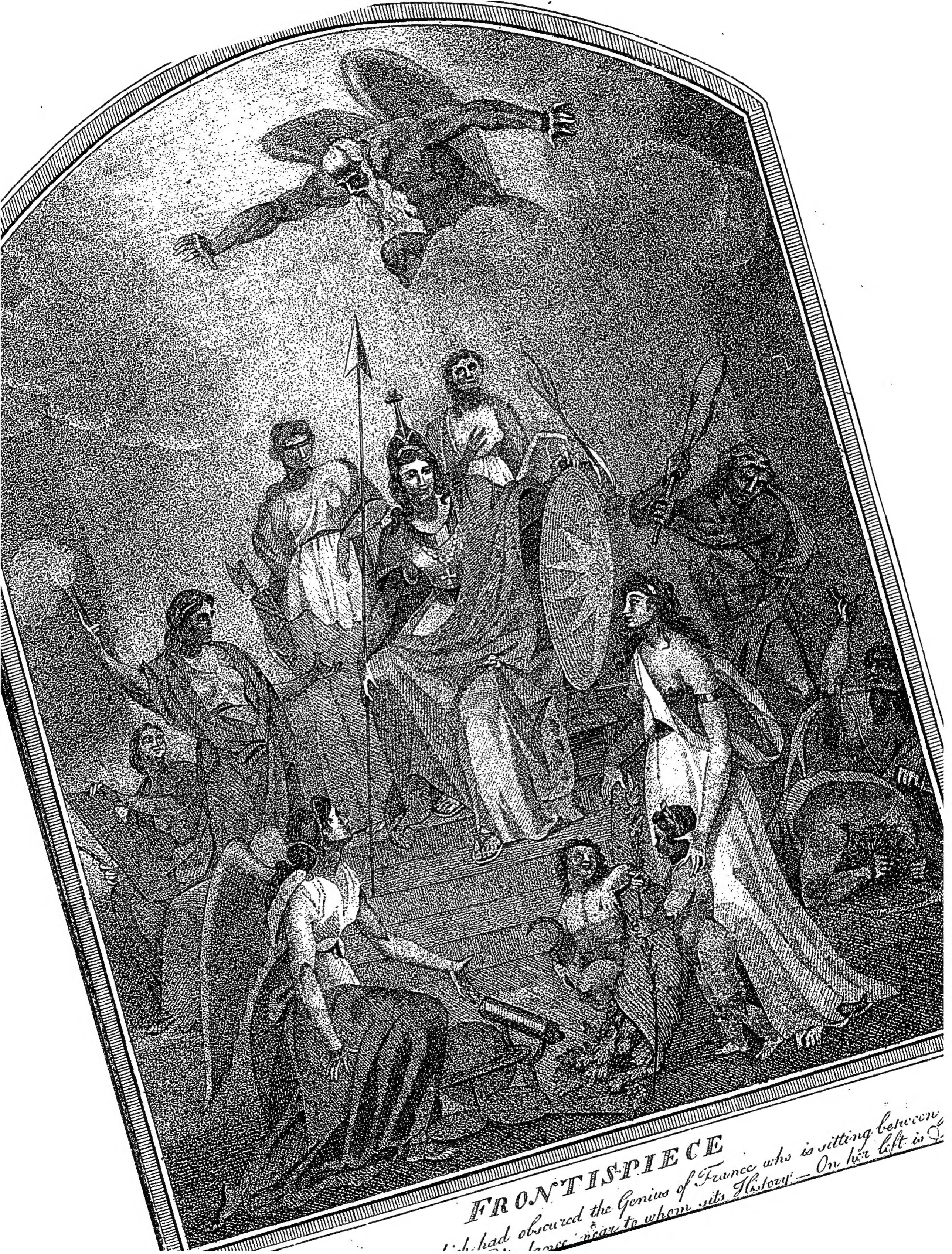


FRONTISPIECE

...had obscured the Genius of France who is sitting between ...
...near to whom sits History — On her left is ...

THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TILL THE DEATH OF

LOUIS SIXTEENTH.

FROM THE FRENCH

OF VELLY, VILLARET, GARNIER, MEZERAY, DANIEL,

AND OTHER EMINENT HISTORIANS;

WITH

NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY;

BY

JOHN GIFFORD, Esq.

AND,

CONTINUED FROM THE ABOVE PERIOD,

UNTIL

THE CONCLUSION OF THE PRESENT WAR,

BY

A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

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THE

PREFACE.

IN an age of ſcience, like the preſent, when the importance of hiſtorical knowledge is clearly underſtood, it becomes needleſs to expatiate on its peculiar advantages. Several hiſtories of the United States have been already publiſhed; the annals of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, have been faithfully delineated; philoſophers, men of erudition, men of genius, and men of labour, have ſucceſſively exerted their talents on a ſubject that affords ample ſcope for the demonſtration of their reſpective abilities—the eaſtern and weſtern parts of the globe have had their ſeparate hiſtorians: ſcarcely a kingdom or petty ſtate in the north or ſouth of Europe, but has engaged the attention of ſome able writer; while FRANCE, alone, has eſcaped the notice of all Engliſh authors.

When we conſider the very powerful inducements to the compoſition of a HISTORY of FRANCE, we are naturally led to conclude, that the extreme difficulty, attending a taſk ſo laborious, has *alone* proved ſufficient to prevent the publication of ſo deſirable a Work. It is undoubtedly true, that, either to an American or an Engliſhman, no hiſtory, if we except that of his own country, can prove ſo highly intereſting and inſtructive as the Hiſtory of France. It is, indeed, ſo immediately connected with that of the United States, and likewiſe with that of England, that an adequate knowledge of either of the latter cannot poſſibly be acquired without an intimate acquaintance with the former; hence the Engliſh hiſtorian is frequently compelled to take a curſory view of the ſituation of affairs in that country; but his view is neceſſarily ſo contracted as to prove unſatisfactory to himſelf, and to heighten, rather than gratify, the curioſity of his readers. It muſt not be forgotten, that a province of France gave a monarch to England, where the laws and language of its conqueror long prevailed; and have, ever ſince, retained no inconſiderable influence. For ages their rival in arts as in arms, to France are they indebted for numerous improvements, of great national utility. In her annals may be diſcovered the origin of many cuſtoms and manners, that they ſtill cheriſh and reſpect; and to her may be traced many of thoſe ſentiments, and many of thoſe principles, which, for a long time, dignified and diſtinguiſhed them among the nations of Europe. In ſhort, ſhe may juſtly be termed—*Gentis incunabula noſtræ.*

Conſiderations of this magnitude muſt operate with irreſiſtible force on the inquiſitive mind, and lead it to explore thoſe copious ſources of information, that are peculiarly calculated to enlarge the circle of its knowledge, and give a more liberal and expanſive ſcope to its ideas.

In the preſent Hiſtory, we mean to give, not merely the Annals of the different Sovereigns, but thoſe of the Nation they governed; to join the names of ſuch heroes as have extended the limits of their country, with thoſe of ſuch men of ſuperior genius, as have enlightened its underſtanding; in ſhort, it is our intention to give an impartial account of its victories and its conqueſts, and an ample and intereſting detail of its manners, its laws, and its cuſtoms.

The attention beſtowed on each particular object will be proportioned to the degree of amuſement or inſtruction which it is capable of affording: we ſhall be careful, however, to notice the commencement of all ſingular and curious cuſtoms; the principles of the conſtitution; the true ſources and various foundations of the laws; the origin of particular dignities; the inſtitution of the parliaments; the eſtabliſhment of univerſities; the foundation of orders, religious and military; and every diſcovery in the arts and ſciences, which has proved of uſe to ſociety.

In ſhort, we may ſafely affirm, that nothing will be neglected that can render the work intereſting to the Public: every fact will be accompanied by its principal circumſtances, and not any thing advanced, but on the moſt unqueſtionable authority.

The Abbé Velly, and his learned co-adjutors—indiſputably the beſt of all the French hiſtorians—we have choſen as our *principal* guides: but, in the courſe of our labours, we ſhall not fail to profit by the aſſiſtance of other eminent writers; and particularly by thoſe various elucidations, and explanatory comments, to which the lately-eſtabliſhed liberty of the preſs, in France, has given birth.

Independent of theſe eſſential advantages, which no hiſtorian has hitherto enjoyed, the CONTINUATION of our Work until the concluſion of the preſent war, an era that is pregnant with the moſt important conſequences, will render it the *only* complete and perfect HISTORY of FRANCE, that exiſts, either in this, or in any other language.

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

Origin of the French.

IT ſeems as if Fate had decreed that the moſt celebrated nations ſhould have no certain monument of their origin. The people of Athens, and of Rome, knew but little of their anceſtors; the early ſtate of the ancient Britons is involved in obſcurity; and the founders of the French nation are but imperfectly known. Some maintain them to have been deſcended from the ancient kings of Troy; others aſſure us, that they were natives of Trans-Alpine and Cis-Alpine Gaul, which they left either before or ſoon after the conqueſts of Julius Cæſar; while a third claſs of writers make them come from Scandinavia, which was formerly denominated the common mother of all nations. The authority of certain authors, quoted by Gregory of Tours, has given riſe to an aſſertion, that they ſprang from Pannonia; and others pretend that they were a colony of thoſe famous free Scythians, or Franks, who, according to Herodotus, inhabited the banks of the Palus-Mæotis. The moſt probable opinion is, that they were originally of Germany; but it is not preciſely known in what part of that extenſive country they firſt eſtabliſhed their reſidence, or what was the ancient ſignification of the word Frank. It is ſuppoſed that the Franks were a league of ſeveral different nations, which occupied that extent of country which is bounded by the Elbe, on the eaſt; the Mein, on the ſouth; the Rhine, on the weſt; and on the north, by the Northern Ocean *: a tract which compriſed the preſent Franconia, Thuringia, Heſſe, Friezeland, and Weſtphalia.

* Philip Cluverius, l. iii, c. 20.

Such of the ancient writers as mention theſe people, repreſent them as ſavages, who lived on the produce of the chace, and on fruits, vegetables, and roots *. More jealous of their liberty, than anxious to obtain the pleaſures of life, they were ſtrangers to ſilver and gold, and all their commerce was carried on by exchange. More martial than civilized, their foreſts were their only towns; their houſes conſiſted of ſubterraneous caverns, or elſe of ruſtic habitations compoſed of wood cemented with clay; their poſſeſſions were confined to ſuch lands as the prince, or the magiſtrate, diſtributed to them every year, according to their rank, their ſervices, or condition. Frank, faithful, and ſincere, they obſerved the point of honour with the moſt ſcrupulous delicacy. Rigidly attached to the laws of nature, they were, in general, ignorant of thoſe abominations which diſhonoured Italy and Greece; and if they ſometimes occurred, they were puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. In their enmity generous, an offence was no ſooner acknowledged than forgiven: implacable in war, their vengeance often degenerated into ferocity. Zealous citizens, they were ever ready to ſacrifice their all to the welfare of their country: formidable neighbours, they made their glory and their ſafety conſiſt in the devaſtation of their own frontiers, and in ſeparating themſelves from the reſt of the world by gloomy deſerts. A ſingular compoſition of activity and ſloth, they neither knew how to employ themſelves to advantage in time of peace, or to contain themſelves within the bounds of moderation in war. Their hoſpitality ſhone conſpicuous in the liſt of their merits, and was a theme of univerſal admiration. Their houſes were always open to the ſtranger, who was treated with kindneſs as long as he choſe to ſtay, and, at his departure, was loaded with preſents. Their religion was ſimple as their manners. The ſun, the moon, fire, trees, and rivers, were their deities; their temples were darkſome caverns, or the moſt gloomy receſſes of their foreſts, impenetrable by the light of the day: human victims, ſheep, wolves, and foxes, were the ſacrifices they offered to their gods: their prieſts were more deeply verſed in magic than theology: their marriages were always contracted from inclination; and, to the ſhame of more poliſhed ſocieties be it ſpoken! were never formed by the ſordid ties of intereſt; as their women were excluded from the ſucceſſion, no fortune was expected from them. Their funerals were ſimple ceremonies, whence all kind of pomp was excluded, but which were diſtinguiſhed by the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of regard, in the living, for the friend they had loſt. When they burnt the body, the pile was compoſed of choſen wood; when they committed it to the earth, they buried with it the richeſt and moſt valuable effects of the deceaſed; and ſuch was their attention, that they even ſent a ſervant with him to attend on him in the other world.

The nation was divided into four claſſes—*nobles; free-born ſubjects; ſlaves*, and thoſe who were *born ſlaves*, but had afterwards found means of obtaining an exemption from ſlavery, and were, therefore, denominated *Freed-men*. We

* Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum.

learn from hiſtory that they were ſometimes governed by a king, ſometimes by a prince, and ſometimes by a duke. The authority of the firſt was perpetual, and that of the ſecond temporary; and the laſt was only entruſted with the command in time of war. The power of theſe chiefs was limited; all affairs of importance being ſettled by an aſſembly of the ſtates. The king was always ſelected from the higheſt claſs of nobility; but in the election of dukes, merit was more the object of conſideration than birth. No chief, nor commander, had the power of levying impoſts, each individual paying him a voluntary tribute, from the produce of his fields or flocks. This preſent, the free homage of the ſubjects' love, was the only reward for the labours, and the only ſupport of the expences, of ſovereignty. The uſe of letters, or characters, were totally unknown to theſe people, who had neither annals, nor written laws. The bards, or poets, were their hiſtorians; ſongs, conſequently, formed their hiſtories; cuſtom was their code, and the light of their underſtanding, their digeſt. Adultery was conſidered by them as a horrible monſter, and as ſuch puniſhed by repudiation and diſgrace: an ignominious death was the lot of traitors and fugitives: cowards, and ſuch as were guilty of an unnatural crime, were buried alive in a bog; a puniſhment unprecedented in the annals of nations, and which ſufficiently demonſtrates the degree of horror in which every kind of infamy was holden by this brave and virtuous people.

The warlike genius of the nation was viſible even in the education of their children, whoſe only amuſement was wreſtling and riding. They could not, however, carry arms without the expreſs permiſſion of the tribe to which they belonged. The candidates for this honour aſſembled, when one of their princes, their fathers, or their relations, preſented them with a lance or ſhield; by which ceremony they were initiated into the military order, and ranked among the defenders of the ſtate. Their arms were the ſword, the lance, or halbert, the ſling, the *mallet*, the javelin, the battle-axe, and a ſpecies of heavy club, which they threw into the enemy's battalions, which it cruſhed with its enormous weight. Their ſhield was oblong, compoſed of oſier-twigs, or the bark of trees, and the loſs of it involved the warrior in infamy and diſhonour; this, with a cuiraſs, covered with the ſkin of the bear, or wild boar, and a helmet creſted, with horſes' tails dyed red, or elſe with ſome hideous figure, formed their only armour. Their ſtandards were objects of terror; ſelected either from the moſt ferocious inhabitants of the foreſt, or from whatever was moſt horrible in their own conſecrated groves. Their order of battle was ſtrictly uniform; their infantry, always placed in the centre, formed a kind of triangle *, which they called a wedge, becauſe its point being preſented to the enemy, it was deſtined to divide and break their ranks. An hundred choſen youths fought at the head of this formidable phalanx. The cavalry was poſted on the wings;

* Agath. lib. xxiv.

their chariots, and baggage, were drawn up in the rear. For a long time they were reproached with the tumultuous irregularity of their attacks, and their total ignorance of diſcipline; it was from the Romans they firſt learnt all the ſtratagems of war.

There was no people in Europe, according to Pliny, ſo well verſed in all maritime matters. Their veſſels were either compoſed of ſkins ſewed together, or elſe of oſier, covered with leather; they had neither ſails nor prows, but were worked entirely by oars. At firſt, their navigation was confined to their own coaſts; they began, however, inſenſibly to venture on longer voyages; they coaſted along the ſhores of Gaul and Spain, and even penetrated through the Straits of Gibraltar, as far as the Mediterranean.

Such were the ancient Franks, who were ſo often attacked, ſometimes beaten, but never totally ſubdued by the Romans. Julius Cæſar, the conqueror of the Gauls, made irruptions into their country, at two different times *; but he repaſſed the Rhine without having obtained any other advantage over them, than that of committing depredations on their lands, and burning ſome few of their villages. The conſternation of that prince, when he was informed of the maſſacre of his legions commanded by Varus †, is well known. His fear made him loſe ſight of his dignity; he gave himſelf up for loſt; and anticipated the deſtruction of his capital by this untameable people.

Tiberius, when a ſubject, having waged war againſt them with more glory to himſelf, than utility to his country, gave orders, when he aſcended the throne, to leave them undiſturbed; contenting himſelf with confining them to the limits of their own foreſts, and preventing their irruption into Gaul. Caligula, intoxicated with the ridiculous hope of rivalling the conqueſts of his father Germanicus, prepared a powerful armament for the reduction of this warlike people: but, a precipitate flight, the diſgrace of having retreated without making a ſingle attack, and the contempt of a nation, whoſe honour and courage were their deareſt idols, were the only advantages which he reaped from all his ſplendid and pompous preparations ‡. Claudius, and the greater part of his ſucceſſors, were only intent on preventing them from paſſing the Rhine §, deeming it the wiſeſt policy to leave them to themſelves; in the hope, that they would, in time, deſtroy each other, and finally be diſſolved by the fury of domeſtic commotions.

Marcus Aurelius, who dared to follow them into their native marſhes, loſt thirty-three thouſand men in the firſt battle; and, though he afterwards beat them in the defiles of Carnunta, he acknowledged that he was indebted for his ſucceſs to the intervention of a miracle. Though this miraculous advantage aſtoniſhed, it did not diſpirit them: they ſoon paſſed the Rhine, and made incurſions into Gaul. Alexander Severus, who then governed the empire, haſtened to attack them on the firſt news of their irruption ‖; but, though he was a brave

* Cæſar de Bello Gallica, l. iii. & iv. † Fl. l. iv. c. 12. de geſt. Rom. ‡ Sueton, in Calig.
§ Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. ‖ Herodot. lib. vi. Lamprid: in Alex. Sev.

prince, he rather choſe to employ his treaſures in the purchaſe of a peace, than to hazard a battle, the loſs of which might deprive him of his dominions. His ſucceſſor, Maximian *, enabled the Gauls, for ſome time, to enjoy a ſtate of tranquility, by repreſſing the incurſions of this reſtleſs and untractable people, who do not appear to have undertaken any enterprize of importance till the reign of that unfortunate emperor, Valerian.

It is true, indeed, that we are told, in the chronicle of Alexandria, that the two Decii, the father and ſon, were killed in an action with the Franks; but all other hiſtorians aſſure us that theſe princes fell beyond the Danube, in an expedition againſt the Goths. It was not then till the reign of Valerian, that the Attuarians, the Bructeri, the Chamari, the Salians, the Catti, the Amſivarians, the Cauci, the Sicambri, and the Friſians, all inhabitants of Germany, began to render themſelves formidable, under the appellation of Franks †. We learn, from hiſtory, that they ſpread themſelves over the firſt and ſecond Germanica: that Aurelian, who was afterwards raiſed to the Purple, taking one of their detachments by ſurprize, killed ſeven hundred men, and took three hundred priſoners. The rejoicings, and ſongs of congratulation, that were made on this occaſion, ſufficiently demonſtrate the dread in which this nation was holden by the Romans, ſince they laid ſo great an emphaſis on ſo trivial an advantage.

Some time after, and during the reign of the ſame emperor, they attempted a ſecond irruption into Gaul; but they were repulſed by Galienus, at the paſſage of the Rhine, and the affrighted Belgæ thereby delivered from the terror with which they had inſpired them ‡. But when the ſame Galienus aſcended the throne, he took ſo little care to preſerve the rights and prerogatives of his ſtation, that as many tyrants ſprung up, as there were provinces in the empire. The Franks took advantage of this univerſal commotion, ſeized all the veſſels they could find, and penetrated ſome of them into Spain, which they ravaged during twelve years; and others into Africa, where every thing was laid waſte by fire and and ſword ‖. At length, tired with pillage and depredations, they returned to their own country, loaded with booty, the poſſeſſion of which no one attempted to diſpute with them.

The long interregnum which followed the death of Aurelian, revived their avidity: they paſſed the Rhine, accompanied by many different nations of Germany; over-ran Gaul, and took ſeventy cities by ſurprize. But Probus, marching againſt them with a powerful army, beat them in ſeveral engagements, retook all the places they had ſubdued, and purſued them into their native marſhes.

* Jul. Cap. in Maxim. † Oros. l. iii. c. 14. ‡ Sozim. l. xii. Aurel. Vict. in Valerian.
‖ Euſeb. l. i. Hiſt. Temp. Pros. l. vii.

The Franks, whom he made priſoners in this glorious expedition, were all tranſported, by his orders, to the ſhores of the Pontus; from the hope that, when thus exiled, they would ceaſe to be troubleſome to the empire. He was miſtaken, however; for theſe martial youths, ſeeing him occupied in other wars, ſeized a few barks *, and traverſing the ocean, ſpread deſolation over all the coaſts of Aſia Minor, of Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, Africa, and Sicily; the capital of which laſt kingdom they reduced and pillaged.

Theſe depredations irritated the emperors to ſuch a degree, that they vowed the deſtruction of this untameable people †. But their threats were as impotent as their efforts. This brave nation, ſays Tacitus ‡, has always maintained its independence; and, in ſpite of our vain triumphs, has never been ſubdued. Conſtantius purſued them into ſuch of their retreats as had hitherto been deemed inacceſſible; and, having, taken a great number of priſoners, had them conveyed to the country about Amiens, Beauvais, Langres, and Troies, where he compelled them to cultivate the very lands which they had recently laid waſte ‖. Conſtantine carried on a cruel war againſt them, ravaging their lands and burning their villages: he alſo took two of their monarchs, who were torn to pieces by wild beaſts, in the amphitheatre at Treves §. The orators of thoſe days, by their attempts to enhance the glory of this prince, have only exhibited his barbarity in a ſtronger light. "Other nations," ſay they, "ſhrink "from the attack of the wild beaſts to which they are expoſed; but the Franks, "by facing and irritating them, prove that they can die, though they cannot be "ſubdued."

Conſtans, perſuaded of his inability to reſtrain the incurſions of an enemy, whom all the forces of his father had proved inadequate to repel, courted their friendſhip, and was highly commended for appropriating the treaſures of the ſtate to the purchaſe of their alliance ¶.

After this treaty, ſo glorious to the Franks, we ſee them holding the firſt places at court, and in the armies of the empire. We find a Solanus, grand-maſter of the militia, under Conſtans; a Mellobold, ſuperintendant of the domeſtics **; a Merobald, a Bauto, a Ricomer, patricians and conſuls under Gratian; a Carieto, governor of Gaul, under Valentinian the Second ††; and an Arbagauſtus, tutor to that prince ‡‡, and afterwards regent of the weſt, under the great Theodoſius ‖‖. But while theſe men were the ſupport of the empire, others of the Franks laid it waſte by their incurſions.

When Maximian, ſhut up in Aquileia, was on the brink of deſtruction §§, Genobaudus, Marcomer, and Sunno, made an irruption into Gaul, where they

* Vopiſc. in Prob. † Eumenius in orat. de geſtis Conſtantii. ‡ Tacitus de moribus German. N. 37. ‖ Eumen. in laud. Conſtantii. § In Orat. cujuſd. Gall. ad Conſtant. ¶ Liban. de rebus geſtis Conſtant. Socrat. l. xxi. Sozom. ** Ammian Marcellinus, l. iii. †† Sulp. Alex. l. iv. ‡‡ Zozim. l. iv. ‖‖ Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. §§ Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9.

put all ſuch as oppoſed them to the ſword. Quintinus and Nannienus, the Roman governors, immediately aſſembled their troops, and repaired to Cologne; when a party of the Franks repaſſed the Rhine, laden with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed; while thoſe who remained to face the enemy, were defeated near the foreſt of Charbooniere. Quintinus, elated with ſucceſs, paſſed the river, contrary to the advice of his colleague, to encounter the ferocious Franks on their native ſoil. The event juſtified the remonſtrances of Nannienus; the beſt of the Roman troops periſhed in this unfortunate expedition. The cavalry were maſſacred, and the ſmall body of infantry that effected its eſcape, was indebted for its ſafety to the darkneſs of the night.

It does not appear, that in theſe various incurſions, which were continued during the long ſpace of one hundred and fifty years, the Franks were actuated by any other motive, than the proſpect of pillage. The facility of making irruptions into Gaul, firſt gave them the deſire of invading it. Already had the Allans, the Suevès, the Gepidæ, and the Vandals, ravaged, in their paſſage, that devoted country: already had the Goths and Burgundians, eſtabliſhed their reſidence there; the former towards the Alps, and the latter in the vicinity of the Pyrennees. The reſt of the country was in a bad ſtate of defence; the Roman power was depreſſed by inteſtine commotions; and the incapacity of its chiefs had involved the empire in ruin *. Theſe conſiderations renewed the ardour of the Franks; who once more paſſed the Rhine, though not as a band of depredators allured by the hope of plunder, but as a body of conquerors in ſearch of a place of ſettlement.

What was formerly called Gaul, conſiſted of that part of Europe which lies between Rhine, the two ſeas, the Alps, and the Pyrennees †. This extenſive country is famous for the excellence of its climate, the richneſs and fertility of its ſoil, and the virtues of its mineral ſprings ‡. The beauty of its ſituation is peculiarly admired; it preſents to the view a vaſt number of lofty mountains crowned with woods, riſing grounds, embelliſhed with vineyards; fertile plains, and meadows, interſected by brooks and rivers, which, after ſpreading plenty around them, diſcharge themſelves in the ocean, or the Mediterranean.

Although Gaul is highly celebrated for this variety of advantages, ſhe is ſtill more famous for the antiquity, courage, and happy genius of her inhabitants. It is notorious that ſhe has eſtabliſhed colonies in every part of the known world. The irruption and ſettlement of of Sigoveze, in Bohemia and Bavaria ‖; a part of Iberia and of Italy §, reduced by the arms of Belloveze, Rome ſacked and pillaged by Brennus ¶; the temple at Delphos plundered; Macedonia and Dardania ravaged by two other princes of the ſame name; Thrace, the Propontis, the Æolis, Ionia, and all the country watered by the river Hallis, ſub-

* Oros. l. vii. c. 27. † Shabon. l. ii. ‡ Diod. l. v. ‖ Titus Livius Decad. i. l. 3.
§ Juſtin. l. xxiv. Polib. l. ii. ¶ Strab. l. xii.

dued by Lonnorius and Luthaire, are ſo many monuments of Gaulic intrepidity and valour. If, at laſt, they were compelled to bow their necks to the yoke, it was not till after they had long fought bravely for their freedom; and their conqueror was the conqueror of Rome, and of the whole world.

We forbear to ſpeak of their origin, which is loſt in the ſhades of antiquity; of their ancient manners and cuſtoms, which are to be ſeen in every hiſtory *; or of that warlike diſpoſition, by which they were diſtinguiſhed from all the other nations of the earth. It was a proverbial ſaying, that there could be no army without a Gaulic ſoldier. It is ſufficient for the purpoſe of this hiſtory, to give ſome idea of the ſtate of Gaul, when it was firſt conquered by the Franks.

At this time it was divided into ſeventeen provinces; five of which were comprehended in the territory of Vienne, three in Aquitain, five in that of Lyons, two in Germania, and two in Belgia: theſe provinces had each their metropolis; the firſt five were Vienne, Narbonne, Aix, Embrun, and Monſtiers en Tarantaiſe; thoſe of Aquitain were Bourges, Bourdeaux, and Auch; in the Lyonnoiſe, Lyon, Rouen, Tours, Sene, and Benſançon; in Germania, Mayence and Cologne; and in Belgia, Treves and Rheims. Each province was divided into different tribes; each tribe into different diſtricts; and each diſtrict into different *parts*. Theſe tribes had each its capital on which the inferior towns and hamlets were dependent; as the capital itſelf was dependent on the metropolis, in which the governor of the province reſided. Juſtice was adminſtered according the Roman law; and all the public acts were in Latin; a cuſtom which long continued to obtain in France. An idea may be formed of this diſtribution of provinces, and this ſubordination of juriſdiction, from the preſent government of the Gallic Church;—the archbiſhoprics repreſent the metropoliſes; the biſhoprics, the capitals; the archdeaconries, the inferior towns; and the deaneries, the hamlets.

The government of theſe provinces was either conſular or preſidial. The governors of the former were nominated by the Senate. The conſular governments were ſix in number; viz. the diſtricts of Lyons, Mayence, Cologne, Treves, Rheims, and Vienne. The right of nomination to the remaining eleven, was ſolely veſted in the emperors, who diſpoſed of them at their pleaſure. But this diſtinction of Governor conveyed no idea of pre-eminence; it did not prevent ſuch as were in poſſeſſion of important offices from exerciſing an authority almoſt abſolute, over their reſpective departments; and they equally enjoyed the privilege of having the *faſces* carried before them. Beſides theſe, the frontier towns had their dukes, and the cities their counts. The former were officers of the firſt rank, who received their dignity only from the legates; the latter acted as aſſeſſors, or councillors to the commanders in chief, and the provincial governors. Conſtantine the Great conferred this dignity upon the chief officers of his houſhold; and upon all thoſe who enjoyed any

* Cæſar de Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

conſiderable poſt in the law, the finances, or the army. The military dukes, and counts, were moſt diſtinguiſhed; and certain territorial poſſeſſions were aſſigned them for their ſupport. At firſt, theſe dignities were temporary; but they were afterwards granted for life, and, at length, became hereditary. We find, from the annals of the empire, that there were two counts in Gaul; one in the marches of Straſbourg, and the other on the Saxon coaſt, which formed part of the ſecond province of Belgia. There were alſo five dukes, one of whom commanded in Franche-Comté; a ſecond, in Normandy and Brittany; a third, at Rheims; a fourth, at Cologne; and a fifth, at Mayence. Among the great officers of Gaul, we find, likewiſe, a maſter of the cavalry; whoſe duty it was to diſtribute to the dukes and counts, the troops which he himſelf received from the grand maſter of the militia. Arſenals were eſtabliſhed in ſeveral towns, where the neceſſary arms for this multitude of ſoldiers were forged. At Straſburg they made arms of all kinds: Mâçon ſupplied them with darts and arrows; Rheims, with ſwords; Autun, with cuiraſſes; and Amiens, Treves, and Soiſſons, with ſhields, with *baliſtæ*, and with armour for their light-armed cavalry.

As ſoon as Conſtantine the Great found himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the empire, he created a pretorial prefect for Gaul; an officer who enjoyed a degree of power almoſt equal to that of a ſovereign. He preſided over the departments of war and finance, the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the levying of impoſts. His authority even extended over the preſidents and governors of provinces. He made them deliver to him an account of their admiſtration, and could depoſe them for malverſation. An appeal lay from every other tribunal to that of the prefect, who was only ſubject to the emperor. He had under him three vicars; one for Gaul, a ſecond for Spain, and a third for Great Britain. Treves was the uſual place of his reſidence, for which reaſon that city became the capital of Gaul. But after it had been ſacked by the Barbarians, Honorious transferred that honour to the city of Arles, which was ſeparated from the province of Vienne, and formed an eighteenth metropolis.

Chriſtianity had long been the prevailing religion of the Gauls. The goſpel had been preached to them, according to ſome writers, by St. Luke, St. Philip, and St. Paul; but according to others, by Crescens, a diſciple of the latter apoſtle *. Be that as it may, the perſecutions which raged during the reigns of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius †, ſufficiently proves that the churches of Vienne, and Lyons, had been eſtabliſhed many years, ſince ſo great a number of Chriſtians were found in thoſe provinces, who ſealed their faith with their blood. We are told by Gregory of Tours ‡, that whilſt Decius occupied the Imperial throne, Trophimus was ſent to Arles, Paul to Narbonne, Martial to Limoges, Stremo to Auvergne, Gratian to Tours, Saturninus to Toulouſe, and Dyonyſius to Paris. Theſe holy prelates preached the Goſpel with ſuch ſucceſs,

* Hiſt. Sacr. l. ii. † Euſeb. l. v. c. 1. ‡ Greg. Tur. Hiſt. l. i. c. 28.

that they founded ſeveral churches, and converted to Chriſtianity the greater part of the Gauls. Soon after, appeared the Hillarys, of Poitiers; the Martins, of Tours; the Exupères, of Toulouſe; and ſo many others of fervent piety and ſplendid talents, who became at once the ſupport and the ornaments of the church. It was in a council, holden at Arles *; that the famous diſpute of the Donatiſts, of Africa, was terminated. The council of Cologne, in which biſhop Euphrates was anathematized for denying the divinity of Chriſt; that of Paris, where the doctrine of Athanaſius was ſolemnly acknowledged to be orthodox; that of Valentia, where the beſt poſſible ſyſtem for promoting a purity of manners was adopted †; that of Bourdeaux, at which thoſe biſhops were excommunicated, who, forgetting that meekneſs of ſpirit which the Goſpel ſo ſtrongly inculcates, ſolicited the emperor to put the heretical Priſcillian, and his followers, to death; exhibit ſo many glorious proofs of the zeal of the Gallican church, for eſtabliſhing a purity of faith, an integrity of morals, and a holineſs of diſcipline.

While theſe pious men rendered Gaul illuſtrious by the ſplendour of their virtues, a great number of learned perſonages encouraged the progreſs of the arts and ſciences. Marſeilles, Lyons, Benſançon, Autun, Narbonne, Toulouſe, Bourdeaux, Poitiers, Clermont, Treves, and Rheims, were celebrated for their academies; where youth was inſtructed in philoſophy, phyſic, mathematics, aſtronomy, juriſprudence, grammar, and poetry; eloquence, in particular, was ſtudied with ardour and ſucceſs. Thoſe of Marſeilles, Bourdeaux, and Lyons, were the moſt diſtinguiſhed. Marſeilles boaſted, among its academical profeſſors, a Critias, or, as ſome call him, Crinias, a learned phyſician, who flouriſhed ſoon after Hippocrates; a Pytheas, a celebrated geographer; a Menecrates, a great lawyer; Statius, a famous rhetorician; Petronius, as well known for the purity of his ſtyle, as for the obſcenity of his ſatirical portraits; Troguius Pompey, ſo celebrated for his univerſal hiſtory, the loſs of which will long be a ſubject of regret; Favorinus, a prodigy of erudition; Salvinus Gennadus, Saloninus, Victorinus, Cæſarius, and Avitus, orators not leſs diſtinguiſhed for the purity of their lives, than the ſtrength of their genius. Bourdeaux was the theatre on which the talents of the following illuſtrious men were diſplayed: Minervius, who was dignified with the appellation of a ſecond Quintilian; Atthius Patera, called the moſt powerful of all rhetoricians; Procereſius, to whom the capital of the world erected a ſtatue, with this glorious inſcription—*Rome, the Queen of Kings, to the King of Eloquence;* and, laſtly, Auſonius, whoſe merit, ſeconded by fortune, raiſed him to the ſecond dignity in the empire. The chief glory of the city of Lyons conſiſts in having contained within its walls that formidable Athenæum whither the greateſt orators repaired every year, to diſpute the prize of eloquence, before a general

* In the year 314. † Sulpic. Sever. Dial. iii.

assembly of all the people of Gaul. The vanquished were condemned either to efface their own writings with their tongues, or else to be thrown from the center arch of the bridge into the Saone. It would be an endless task to repeat the names of all those whose abilities did honour to this ancient academy: we shall not, therefore, expatiate on the merits of a Julius Florus, whom Quintilian styled the Prince of Eloquence, in Gaul; nor on those of a Julius Secundus, whose elocution was greatly admired by the same rhetorician. We shall only observe, and more need not be said in its praise, that at this school Eucher of Lyons, Sidonius Apollinaris, Claudiens Mamer, Constantius, Remigius of Rheims, and the Princes of Soissons, received the first rudiments of the Belles Lettres.

The annalists of Autun place the origin of its academy in the remotest antiquity; they pretend that it was founded by the Druids, and built on a mount which still bears their name*. The chief objects of its boast are Eumenius, and his grandson of the same name; the former of whom was one of the principal officers in the palace of Constantius Chlorus. Both time and barbarism, have respected the panegyric which he pronounced on that great prince. Clermont is indebted for a part of its reputation to the illustrious Fontones, one of whom was preceptor to the Emperor Antoninus, who honoured him with the dignity of Consul. It would be an error to suppose that Thoulouse owes its principal lustre to the institution of the *floral games*, by the incomparable Clemens, of the ancient family of the Isauri; since it is certain that long before that period an Æmilius Arborius, an Exupere, and a Sedatus—names consecrated in the annals of eloquence—had given it the well-deserved and well-applied appellation of the City of Pallas. Narbonne is not less celebrated for the great men which its schools have produced. That famous academy ranks, in the number of its professors, Votienus Montanus, Terentius Varo, and Exupere; but, its glory is still greater in having had for its pupils the emperors Carinus and Numerianus.

We must, however, acknowledge, that the taste and the natural eloquence which so peculiarly distinguished the writers of the Augustan age, are not to be met with in the authors whose names we have mentioned. This deficiency must not be ascribed to any want of encouragement: the emperors were attached to men of letters, they sought after their society, and loaded them with wealth and honours. Their profession was holden in great respect; they were taken from the chair of eloquence, or of poetry, to fill the first offices in the state. But what ought, by a natural influence, to have contributed to the perfection of the fine arts, only served to accelerate their fall. Anxious to display, in their writings, a greater fund of wit than the ancients, they neglected the

* Mount-Dru.

beauties of nature for the moſt pompous refinements of art. By ſeeking to embelliſh their works, they ſacrificed ſubſtance to ſhow: by aiming at novelty, they became finical; by endeavouring to pleaſe, they became frivolous; new modes of ſpeech were invented, and a thouſand new words introduced, which inſenſibly adulterated their ſtyle and language. The incurſions of the barbarous nations completed the perverſion of taſte, and the deſtruction of the ſchools. Sciences and arts were, thenceforth, confined to the cloiſter, the convent, or epiſcopal palace.

Such was the ſtate of Gaul, when the Franks attempted to procure a ſettlement there; for which purpoſe they reſolved always to have kings of their own nation. This was the firſt blow which they aimed at the authority of Rome, who wiſhed to confound them, according to her uſual policy, with her own ſubjects.

PHARAMOND.

A. D. 419 or 420]. HONORIUS reigned in the weſt, and the younger Theodoſius in the eaſt, when the Franks paſſed the Rhine*, and ſurprized and pillaged the city of Treves, under the conduct of Pharamond†. Some hiſtorians have abſurdly had recourſe to fiction, in order to encreaſe the ſplendour of this prince's birth. He was king of a people who never obeyed any other than the deſcendants of their firſt maſters. This auguſt title ſufficiently proves the antiquity of his race. It was about the year 420 that he was lifted up on a ſhield, expoſed to the ſight of the whole army, and acknowledged as chief of the nation. Such was the only inauguration known to the ancient monarchs of Gaul.

It is likewiſe all that is known, with certainty, of the reign of Pharamond. We are wholly ignorant of his exploits, the time of his death, the place of his burial, and the name of his queen. We are only told that he had two ſons; Clodian, who ſucceeded him; and Clenus, with whoſe fate we are unacquainted.

To Pharamond is commonly aſcribed the inſtitution of that famous law, diſtinguiſhed by the epithet *Salic*, either from the ſurname of the prince who publiſhed it, or from the name of Salogaſt, who propoſed it; or elſe from the word *Salic hame*, the place in which the chief men of the nation aſſembled in order to reduce it into form. Others pretend, that it was ſo called, becauſe it was expreſsly made for the *Salic* lands, which were noble fiefs, given by the firſt monarchs of Gaul to the *Salians*; that is, to the principal noble of their *Sale*, or Court, on the ſole condition of military ſervice, exempt from every

* Proſp. Aquit. Chron. † Nichol. Vign. Duch. tom. i. p. 155.

other ſpecies of feudal obligation. And this was the reaſon why they were not deſcendible to women, who, from the delicacy of their ſex, are diſpenſed from bearing arms. There are ſome* who maintain, that this word came from the the Salians, a tribe of the Franks eſtabliſhed in Gual under the Emperor Julian: theſe aſſert, that that prince gave them lands under the obligation of perſonal attendance in time of war. He even made a law of this obligation, they ſay, which the new conquerors adopted, and called it *Salic*, from the name of their ancient countrymen.

It is a vulgar prejudice to ſuppoſe that this law only relates to the ſucceſſion to the crown, or to the Salic lands. It was neither inſtituted for the diſpoſal of the kingdom, nor merely for determining the right of individuals to feudal poſſeſſions. It is a collection of regulations that extend to almoſt every thing. It preſcribes puniſhments for thieves and incendiaries; and for a variety of crimes and depredations: it eſtabliſhes rules for preſerving the morals of the ſubject; for the government; for the order of proceeding in criminal matters; and, laſtly, for the maintenance of peace and concord between the different members of the ſtate. Of ſeventy-one articles which it contains, there is but one which relates to ſucceſſions; it is couched in theſe terms—*In the Salic lands no part of the inheritance ſhall deſcend to females. It belongs entirely to males* †.

It appears that what remains of this law, is but an extract from a larger code ‡. This is evident, from the Salic law itſelf being there quoted, as well as certain rules that are not to be found in what is now extant of that famous ordinance. Ducange, the celebrated gloſſator, ſays there were two ſorts of *Salic* laws, one of which was in force before the Franks were converted to Chriſtianity; and was reduced into form by the four chiefs of the nation, Wiſogaſt, Boſogaſt, Salogaſt, and Wldogat; the other was corrected by the Chriſtian kings, and is that which has been publiſhed by Tillet, Pithou, Lindembrock, and the famous Advocate-General Jerôme Bignon, who made ſome learned commentaries on it. For the methodical arrangement of it, ſays a modern author of great erudition ||, we are certainly indebted to Clovis the Great. On one hand, it cannot be poſterior to the reign of this prince, ſince his ſon Childebert reformed ſome articles of it; and, on the other, the chapter which treats of the immunity of churches, and of the conſervation of their miniſters, ſuppoſes the converſion of our firſt Chriſtian king. This laſt code, ſays Ducange, is only a compilation of rules to be obſerved by ſuch of the Franks as were eſtabliſhed between the foreſt of Charbonniere and the river Loire; in contradiſtinction to the *Lex Riparia*, given to thoſe who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, the Maeſe, and the Scheld. A certain author § boldly aſſerts, on what authority we know not, that the ſixty-ſecond chapter of the Salic code cannot poſſibly apply, even indirectly, to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom; and that it was a

* Paul, Emil. Menage, Paſquier, Borel. † Tit. 62 des Alode's art. 6. ‡ Daniel, tom. i. p. 10.
|| M. de Fonc Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. viii. p. 492 & ſeq. § Du Haillan.

mere invention of Philip the Long, to exclude Joan of France, daughter of Lewis Hutin, from the throne. He doubtleſs did not reflect that the eſtabliſhed laws of ſucceſſion, with regard to ſuch fiefs as belonged to the nobility, operating to the excluſion of females, we muſt certainly conclude that the ſame prerogative, *a fortiori*, is annexed to royalty, which is the moſt noble of all poſſeſſions, and the ſource, too, from whence the nobility of all others is derived. Thus the right of Philip having been ſcrupulouſly diſcuſſed in a general aſſembly of the great men of the kingdom, the crown was unanimouſly decided to be his, to the excluſion of the princeſs; ſo firmly were they perſuaded that there exiſted, if not a law, at leaſt an immemorial cuſtom, which excluded women from the throne of France; a cuſtom as old as the monarchy itſelf, which Agathias calls the law of the country, which certainly poſſeſſes all the force that antiquity can give it, ſince Clovis the Firſt ſucceeded his father Childeric, to the prejudice of his ſiſters Albofleda and Lantilda. During the reign of Philip of Valois, a freſh diſpute aroſe on the ſame ſubject, on which the deciſion was the ſame. The right of Edward the Third of England, did not appear to be better founded than that of the princeſs Joan, a daughter of France. The Count was unanimouſly declared the legitimate ſucceſſor of Charles the Fair. The article which ſettled the right of individuals to the Salic lands, was declared equally to regard the ſucceſſion to the crown, and it became a fundamental law of the ſtate.

CLODIAN.

A. D 427]. CLODIAN, ſurnamed the Hairy, either from the quantity of hair which he had, or becauſe he wore it longer than his predeceſſors, ſucceeded his father Pharamond. It is ſaid that he had ſcarcely aſcended the throne*, when the Roman general, Ætius, marched againſt him with a powerful army, defeated him, took from him all he poſſeſſed in Gaul, and compelled him to repaſs the Rhine. We are further told, that this prince, in order to be revenged on the Romans, made incurſions into Thuringia, where he committed great ravages, and ſurprized a caſtle called Diſpurg.

A. D. 431]. Ætius advanced againſt him a ſecond time, and after beating him in an action, in which much blood was ſhed on either ſide, he preferred the granting him a peace, to riſking another battle againſt a nation which ſeemed to acquire freſh vigour from defeat. This peace, however, was of ſhort duration.

Clodian could not forget the beautiful kingdom he had poſſeſſed in Gaul, the loſs of which affected him moſt ſenſibly, and all his thoughts were bent on recovering it. He left Thuringia in the year 435, with a numerous army, reſolved no longer to direct his attacks againſt thoſe towns on the banks of the Rhine, but to ſeize ſome important places in the interior parts of the country. It was with this view that he ſent to reconnoitre that diviſion of the diſtrict of Belgia, of which Rheims was the capital.

* Duch. tom. i. p. 793.

As ſoon as he was informed that all the towns were defenceleſs, he began his march, ſurprized and defeated the Roman troops that were appointed to guard the paſſages, took Tournay, carried Cambray at the firſt aſſault, and reduced all the ſurrounding country as far as the river Somme*.

Such is the baſis on which thoſe hiſtorians have grounded their aſſertions, that Clodian founded a great ſtate in Gaul. Adon maintains that the city of Cambray was the capital of his kingdom. Roricon, a monkiſh writer, peculiarly fond of chimeras, has made him eſtabliſh his court at Amiens. Marianus Schotus, another monk, equally credulous, but ſtill more generous with regard to this prince, gives him poſſeſſion of a part of Holland, and all the country from thence to the river Loire. But it is evident, from the teſtimony of contemporary writers †, that he was unable to keep his new conqueſts, and that Ætius recovered all he had taken from the Roman empire on this ſide the Rhine. The fact, as related by theſe hiſtorians, is this:——

A. D. 437]. Clodian was engaged in celebrating the marriage of a nobleman of rank in his army, at a village called Elena, now the city of Lens, They were in the act of conducting the bride to the place where the nuptial feaſt was prepared, when the Romans ſuddenly ruſhed on them from a bridge which they had recently conſtructed. The ſurprize of the Franks was ſo great, that they could not range themſelves in order of battle. The advanced guards were put to the ſword; the bride was carried off, together with all the bridal preparations; the army diſperſed, and the whole province regained.

The poet who relates this adventure, draws ſo advantageous a portrait of the Franks, that it merits a place in their hiſtory. "They are," ſays he, "tall in ſtature; their ſkin is very white, and their eyes are blue; their face is entirely ſhaved, except the upper lip, on which they ſuffer two ſmall whiſkers to grow; their hair, cut behind, and long before, is admirably fair; their dreſs is ſo ſhort, that it does not cover their knees, and ſo tight, that it ſhows the exact form of their body; they wear a large girdle from whence hangs a ſword that is heavy, but extremely ſharp. There is no nation exiſting ſo well verſed in military motions and evolutions. Such is their ſkill, that they never fail to ſtrike what they aim at; ſo prodigious their agility, that they reach the enemy as ſoon as the dart which they have thrown at him; in ſhort, their intrepidity is ſuch, that they are not aſtoniſhed, either by the number of their foes, by local diſadvantages, or even by death himſelf, when encompaſſed with all his horrors—*they may loſe their lives, but never can their courage* ‡." It was this untameable valour that determined the victorious Ætius to grant them peace; he was unwilling to wage war againſt a people who had as many ſoldiers as citizens.

* Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 9. Fredeg, Epi. c. 9. Roric. Monac. l. i. † Sidon, Apollin, Carm. v. p. 224.
‡ Sidon. Apoll. in panegyr. Major, Carm. v. apud Duch. tom. i. p. 224.

We are told, by the hiſtorians of that age, that ſome years after this treaty, Germanus, biſhop of Auxerre, was ſent into England to maintain the true faith againſt the heretical followers of Pelagius, who denied the exiſtence of original ſin, and the neceſſity of divine grace for the purpoſe of ſalvation *. The tradition is, that before his departure he conſecrated to God a young girl named Genevieve, whoſe virtue was afterwards ſignalized by miracles without number. But there are ſome who pretend that ſhe received the veil, at a more advanced age, from Villicus, biſhop of Chartres. Be that as it may, the miracles ſhe performed at Paris, ſecured her the glorious appellation of Patroneſs of that capital of the French empire.

A. D. 447 or 448.] Clodian died, after a reign of twenty years, from grief, as ſome authors aſſert, for the death of his eldeſt ſon, who was killed at the ſiege of Soiſſons. Neither the name of his conſort, nor the number of his children, is known. Some ſay he had two ſons, Claudebaud and Claudemir; others three, whom they call Regnault, Auberon, and Regnacarius. From Auberon, they ſay, ſprang Auzbert, from whom the family of Pepin, the firſt monarch of the ſecond race, deſcended. But an author †, deeply verſed in the ancient hiſtory of France, pretends to have demonſtrated that he deſcended from Tonantius Ferreolus, prætorial prefect of Gaul.

* For a curious account of this expedition of Germanus and his colleague Lupus, biſhop of Troyes, ſee Venerable Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, c. 17. 19. 20.

† Du Bouchet—2 Lyreg. Tur. i. 2, c. 9.

MEROVEUS.

A. D. 447, or 448.] THE birth of Meroveus is a perfect problem, of which no part of hiſtory can afford a ſolution. Some aſſert, from a paſſage in Gregory of Tours *, that he was related to Clodian. Others, on the authority of Priſcus, the rhetorician, pretend that he was the ſon of that monarch. Priſcus relates, that the king of the Franks left two ſons, who both laid claim to the crown; the eldeſt implored the aſſiſtance of Attila, king of the Huns; and the youngeſt ſought the protection of the Romans: he even tells us, that he ſaw the latter at Rome. He was, ſays Priſcus, in the flower of his youth, and his long fair hair hung in ringlets upon his ſhoulders; the emperor loaded him with honours and preſents; and Ætius adopted him for his ſon. But what can we conclude from accounts in which neither of the princes are *named?* It is very certain that Meroveus was not a third candidate for the crown, and eſtabliſhed his uſurpation by force, to the prejudice of the rival brothers? Be that as it may, we are ſure that a prince of that name reigned over the Franks, and that a ſon of Clodian diſputed the throne with him.

From him deſcended the monarchs of the firſt race, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Merovingian Kings.

* Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9.

A. D. 451.] The generality of hiſtorians pretend, that Meroveus was in the Roman army at the battle gained by Ætius over Attila *: a battle, the circumſtances of which, as well with regard to the number of the ſlain, which has been rated at two hundred thouſand on the part of the Huns, as to the ſpot on which it was fought—are ſo little known, as to afford an endleſs ſource of diſpute. The majority of writers, however, are of opinion, that the theatre of this bloody action was not in Sologne, in Auvergne, nor in the Thouloufain, but in the vaſt plains of Chalons, in Champagne †.

A. D. 456.] This prince died in the tenth year of his reign. We are not told what family he had, neither know we the name of the queen who gave birth to Childeric, his ſon and ſucceſſor.

* Jornand de reb. Got.

† The author of a French periodical work, in the year 1753, wrote a diſſertation, to prove that this battle was fought in Champagne, in the plain of Merry-upon-Seine, five leagues from Troyes. In ſupport of this aſſertion, he quotes the following paſſage from Gregory of Tours: "Attilam fugant, qui Mauriacum Campum adieus, ſe præcingit ad Bellum."

CHILDERIC THE FIRST.

CHILDERIC was deſtined to experience ſuch a variety of adventures, as might have given him a claim to be ranked among the heroes of romance. Carried off in his infancy, by a detachment of Attila's army *, he was miraculouſly reſcued, by a valiant Frank, from the hands of thoſe who were taking him into captivity. A general conſpiracy afterwards deprived him of the throne of his anceſtors; but the nation regretting his loſs, was ſpeedily induced to recall him. He was the beſt made man in his dominions. He was endued with wit, and poſſeſſed of courage; but, being born with a heart too ſuſceptible of love, he yielded to its dictates, and thereby accelerated his own deſtruction †.

The French nobles, enraged at the ſeduction of their wives, who were incapable of reſiſting the charms of Childeric, entered into a league for the purpoſe of depoſing him. [A. D. 457.] Unable to oppoſe them, he returned into Germany, where he afforded a proof that adverſity rarely corrects the vices of the heart, by ſeducing Baſina, wife to the king of Thuringia, who had received him with hoſpitality, and honoured him with his friendſhip.

* Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 12. Fred. Scholaſt. x. † Roric. l. i.

The Franks, however, held a general aſſembly, in which the crown was conferred on Ægidius, who had been appointed by the Romans to command their forces in Gaul. This whimſical choice, it is ſaid, was owing to the policy of Wiomald *, who, faithful to his ſovereign, took advantage of the aſcendancy he poſſeſſed over the mind of the new monarch, to lead him to the adoption of ſuch meaſures, as could not fail to render him odious to the nation.

A. D. 463, or 464.] The exactions of Ægidius accordingly eſtranged the affections of his ſubjects, who now regretted the baniſhment of their former prince; and, in a ſhort time, determined to recall him. Wiomald, ever attentive to the intereſts of his maſter, ſent him the half of a piece of gold which they had broken at their laſt ſeparation; and Childeric, underſtanding the ſignal, left Thuringia, and made his appearance in Gaul. One battle decided the fate of the kingdom; Ægidius was completely defeated, and the lawful monarch regained poſſeſſion of that throne, whence his gallantry had excluded him.

This wonderful event was ſucceeded by another equally ſingular and remarkable †. The queen of Thuringia, like another Helen, left the king her huſband, to follow the fortunes of this ſecond Paris. "Did I know," ſaid ſhe, "a greater "hero, or a more gallant man than you, I would go in ſearch of him, to the "fartheſt extremities of the earth." Baſina was both handſome and ſenſible; and Childeric, allured by this double temptation, married her, to the great diſpleaſure of all virtuous men, who in vain expatiated on the ſacred rights of marriage, and the inviolable laws of friendſhip. From this marriage ſprung the great Clovis.—A. D. 465.

The concluſion of this romantic reign was ſignalized by a variety of glorious exploits ‡. The hatred of the Romans, and the deſire of recovering the eſteem of his ſubjects, revived the courage of Childeric, who had hitherto appeared to be lulled on the boſom of pleaſure. He advanced into the heart of Gaul; defeated, near Orleans, the army of Odoacer, a Saxon monarch; took Angers, which he pillaged; killed, with his own hands, the general of the Roman troops, in the Soiſſonnois; and, if the author of the life of Saint Genevieve may be credited, made himſelf maſter of Paris; but this laſt fact is atteſted by no other hiſtorian. It appears that he made peace with the Saxons, who united their arms to his, in order to exterminate the Germans, who had over-run part of Italy ‖. The conqueſt of Germany was the laſt memorable action of this prince. He died ſoon after, [A. D. 481.] in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and was buried in a ſpot of ground which is now encloſed in the city of Tournay.

* Geſt. Franc. c. 7. † Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 12. ‡ Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 18. Geſt. Franc. c. 8.
‖ Fred. Epit. c. xii.

His tomb was diſcerned by chance in the year 1653. There were found in it the ſkeleton of a horſe, and ſome human bones tolerably perfect, which proved him to have been ſtout in form, and tall in ſtature. The other curioſities of this ancient monument, are a cryſtal glaſs, and ſeveral curious pieces of maſſive gold; an ox's head; a *ſtyle*, with tablets; medals of different emperors; and a number of rings, on one of which is a ſeal, bearing the impreſſion of a man of perfect beauty. His face is entirely ſhaved; his hair long, plaited, ſeparated on the forehead, and thrown back; he holds a javelin in his right hand. On the exergue is engraven the name of Childeric, in Roman letters. A part of theſe curioſities may be ſeen in the Royal Library *, at Paris.

* The Reader will pleaſe obſerve, that Mr. Gifford began this work at an early period of the revolution, and during the exiſtence of the limited monarchy, in France.

The Publiſhers.

CLOVIS THE FIRST.

A. D. 481]. CLOVIS was only in his fifteenth year, when he aſcended the throne. He was ſcarcely twenty, when he challenged Syagrius, the ſon of Ægidius, who was governor of Gaul, where his authority was almoſt deſpotic *, to meet him in the field. The challenge was accepted, and Clovis began his march to Soiſſons, [A. D. 486.] accompanied by two princes, who were nearly allied to him, Ragnacharius and Chararic. The battle was bloody and deciſive; Syagrius ſaved himſelf by flight; but having taken refuge among the Viſigoths, their king, Alaric, was induced, by the threats of Clovis, to deliver him into the power of his enemy, who ordered him to be beheaded. This victory was followed by the capture of Soiſſons; and the death of the Imperial general facilitated the reduction of all the places, that ſtill remained faithful to the Romans.

Clovis, anxious to conciliate, by mildneſs, ſuch as he had conquered by arms, exerted his utmoſt efforts to reſtrain the unbridled licentiouſneſs of his victorious troops. He could not, however, prevent the pillage of a few churches. All the hiſtorians mention the ſacred vaſe which was claimed by Saint Remigius, of Rheims; and ſpeak of the inſolence of the ſubject in refuſing to reſtore it to his maſter, the moderation of the ſovereign in concealing his reſentment, and the vengeance which he exacted at the general review of his troops on the Field of Mars, in terms of admiration: the ſoldier's arms not being in proper order, the king clove his head aſunder with his ſword—"It was thus," ſaid he, "that you ſtruck the vaſe at Soiſſons."—A. D. 487.

* Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 28. Fred. Epitom. c. 15. Geſt. Franc. c. 19. Roric. l. ii.

A ſanguinary execution, ſays Gregory of Tours, performed by the hand of a ſovereign, muſt doubtleſs excite diſguſt in the preſent age. But this action, which appears to us degrading to majeſty, inſpired greater reſpect than horror.

By this account it is evident that the French were accuſtomed to aſſemble every year in a field *, which they denominated *The Field of Mars*, becauſe their aſſemblies were holden at the commencement of the month of March, (in French, MARS). It was from the ſame motive that the field was afterwards called the Field of May. Theſe aſſemblies were convened for a variety of purpoſes; the troops were reviewed before them; queſtions of war and peace were diſcuſſed; and abuſes in the government, in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in the diſpoſal of the public money, were corrected. It was there they appointed protectors during the minority of their princes; divided the treaſures and dominions of the departed monarch, and fixed the day and the place for the inauguration of his ſucceſſor; and it was there that the kings received the *voluntary gift* from their nobles: this preſent conſiſted of money, furniture, or horſes; the name of *voluntary gift* has been retained, although the nature of it has been altered. The king preſided at theſe general aſſemblies of the nation; at which he was accompanied by the great officers of the crown, the mayor of the palace, the chaplain, the chamberlain, and the chancellor. The biſhops, and abbots, were alſo under the neceſſity of attending.

The dukes and counts likewiſe received a ſummons to appear. Theſe dignities, which are now hereditary, were then but ſimple commiſſions, granted and revoked at the pleaſure of the ſovereign. The king, or the mayor of his palace, propoſed the queſtions that were to be examined; after the aſſembly had diſcuſſed them, their deciſions were determined by a plurality of voices, and thenceforth became the law of the ſtate.

A.D. 491.] Some years after the eſtabliſhment of the Franks in Gaul, Baſinus, king of Thuringia, made a ſudden irruption into that part of the dominions of Clovis, which was ſituated beyond the Rhine. Clovis was no ſooner informed of this invaſion, than he aſſembled his army with the utmoſt expedition, and entering the enemy's country, laid it waſte with fire and ſword, and impoſed a perpetual tribute on the offending monarch †. His thoughts were next bent on the formation of an alliance, by marriage, with ſome one of the princes whoſe territories lay contiguous to thoſe which he had recently detached from the empire.

* The Merovingians dated the commencement of their year on the day of this review; the Carlovingians from Chriſtmas; and it was not till the reign of Charles the Ninth, that it was fixed to the firſt of January. This variation occaſions a great embarraſſment in ſettling the preciſe date of events.

† Geſt. Franc. c. 19.

Gondebald, king of the Burgundians, had a niece of extraordinary beauty, the reputation of whoſe charms, and the accounts of whoſe ſenſe and virtues, made a deep impreſſion on the heart of Clovis, who ſent ambaſſadors to aſk her of her uncle. The court of Burgundy, fearful of offending a young prince, whoſe arms were every where victorious, complied with his requeſt; and the princeſs Clotildis was accordingly eſpouſed by Aurelian, an illuſtrious Gaul, who made her the cuſtomary preſent of a halfpenny, and a denier*. This cuſtom was long obſerved in France; and, even now, huſbands give their brides ſome pieces of money; the only difference is in their number and value.

A. D. 493.] Every thing being ready for the departure of the new queen, ſhe began her journey in a kind of waggon, called a *baſterne*, which was the moſt decent carriage then in uſe; it was drawn by oxen, which, though they move ſlower than horſes, give a leſs uneaſy motion to the vehicle. The marriage was celebrated at Soiſſons, amidſt the mingled acclamations of the Gauls and French. Heaven ſmiled on this propitious union; Clotildis became mother of a prince, who received baptiſm, with the king's conſent, and was chriſtened Ingomer†. But the death of a child, for whom Clovis had ſo ſtrong an affection, inſpired him, notwithſtanding the earneſt remonſtrances and ſoothing perſuaſions of his wife, with averſion to the Chriſtian religion‡. He was prevailed on, however, to ſuffer his ſecond ſon to undergo the ceremony of baptiſm. He alſo was attacked with a ſevere indiſpoſition, [A. D. 494.] but the prayers of his conſort were heard, the prince was reſtored to health, and the anxiety of his father diſpelled. Soon after this, Clovis was converted to Chriſtianity; an event which is thus related by hiſtorians:—

A. D. 496.] The Germans, a warlike people, had made incurſions into Gaul, with a view to a ſettled eſtabliſhment, in imitation of thoſe nations who had effected the expulſion of the Romans. Clovis, apprized of their intentions, haſtened to impede their progreſs, and met them on the plains of Tolbiac, not far from Cologne, where a bloody battle was fought. The French army had begun to give way, when the king, lifting up his eyes to heaven, exclaimed, "God of my queen Clotildis, if you grant me victory, I here vow to receive baptiſm, and hereafter to worſhip no other than you‖." Having ſaid this, he rallied his yielding forces, again led them to the charge, pierced, with irreſiſtible ardour, the enemy's battalions, and at laſt put them to flight§. He then followed them into Germany, where he diſperſed the remains of the vanquiſhed army, reduced to obedience a nation hitherto invincible, and compelled them to pay him an annual tribute¶. Faithful to his vow, he enquired into the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion; and on Chriſtmas-day, received baptiſm at the

* Frederig, Epit. c. 10. A denier is a ſmall French coin, equal, in value, to about the twelfth part of a halfpenny. † Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 29, 30. Geſt. Franc. c. 24. ‡ Hincmar. in vit. Remig. ‖ Greg. Tur. c. 15. Geſt. Frank. c. 37. § Roric. l. ii. ¶ Hincmar. in vit. Remig.

church of St. Martin, in the ſuburbs of the city, from Remigius, biſhop of Rheims, a prelate equally diſtinguiſhed for his birth and piety. His ſiſter Albofleda, and about three thouſand of his ſubjects, followed his example.

A ſilly ſtory prevails *, that a dove, deſcended from Heaven, brought a phial of balſam, with which Clovis was conſecrated, or confirmed. This is what is now called LA SAINTE AMPOULE, the Holy Phial; which is kept with extreme care, at Rheims, and contains the oil, uſed by the monarchs of France at the ceremony of their conſecration. It has alſo been ſaid that this prince received from the hands of an angel, an *Ecu Azur*, ſpotted with *Fleur de Lys;* but it is certain that the uſe of armorial bearings did not prevail in France till long after this period.

The converſion of Clovis by no means repreſſed his ambition. Brabant, the country of Liege, and that part of Flanders which was ſituated on the ſea coaſt, had not yet ſubmitted to the new conqueror of Gaul.

The moſt conſiderable of theſe ſmall ſtates were the Arborici †, a Chriſtian nation, that was firmly attached to the Chriſtian religion, and thence maintained an enmity againſt the French, who were Pagans. But the recent conduct of Clovis and a part of his ſubjects having diminiſhed their averſion, they were induced to conſent to an alliance with him ‡, and at length, they acknowledged him for their ſovereign, and the two people were conſolidated into one nation. The Roman garriſons, following the example, capitulated, and gave up all the places that were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the empire towards the ocean, and on the banks of the Rhine. The principal articles of the treaty were theſe—that they ſhould be governed by their own laws; that they ſhould wear what dreſs they choſe; and that, in time of war, they ſhould hoiſt their own colours. This event gave riſe to the eſtabliſhment of the famous law called *Lex Riparia*, from the name given to thoſe ſoldiers, or people, who guarded or inhabited the banks of the Maeſe and the Rhine, and probably the ſea-ſhore, By this law, which bears a great reſemblance to the Salic law, it is ordained that every *Riparius* ſhall be treated as a Frenchman. It betrays veſtiges of ſome Roman cuſtoms; and contains ſeveral articles which have a direct relation to the Chriſtian religion.

A. D. 499.] The union of the Arborici with the French, was followed by an event, which Clovis, with more ſkill than probity, turned greatly to his

* Hincmar, in vit. Remig.

† This is the name of a people who formerly inhabited Zealand, a province of the Low-Countries. Some authors have confounded them with the Taxandri, a nation that was eſtabliſhed in the vicinity of Maeſtricht; while others place them between Antwerp and the Maeſe.

‡ Procop. l. i. de Bello Goth.

own advantage. Gondegiſilis, and his brother Gondebald, reigned jointly over the Burgundians; but a jealouſy ariſing between them, the former entered ſecretly into a league with the French monarch, who promiſed to aſſiſt him with his forces *. Circumſtances were extremely favourable for concealing the preparations that were going forward in France. The revolt of the inhabitants of Verdun furniſhed a pretext for the collection of troops, whom Clovis led againſt the rebels, [A. D. 500]; but his wrath being appeaſed by the ſolicitation of a prieſt, named Euſpicius, he pardoned thoſe whom he came to chaſtiſe, and immediately directed his march towards Burgundy, where an action enſued on the banks of the ſmall river Ouſche. The victory was ſoon decided; Gondebald, being deceived by the treachery of his faithleſs brother, fled, with the ſmall remains of his army, to Avignon, whither he was purſued and beſieged by the victorious troops. Endued with a wonderful preſence of mind, that no calamity could deſtroy; and a fertility of mental reſources, that no complication of misfortunes could exhauſt; he had the addreſs to form a treaty with Clovis, by which he agreed to leave Gondegiſilis in poſſeſſion of Vienne, and of ſome other places which he had reduced. But, no ſooner were the French departed than, thinking himſelf juſtified by the former treachery of his brother, in the violation of his preſent engagements, he declared war againſt him; took Vienne by ſurprize; and, purſuing Gondegiſilis to the foot of the altar, whether he had fled for refuge, put an end to his exiſtence.

A. D. 501.] Clovis was, at this time, employed in the reduction of the Armorician † towns; but, having in vain attempted to ſubdue them by arms, he at length acquired them by negociation ‡. A treaty was concluded, by which it was ſtipulated that the Britons ſhould have no more kings, but only counts, or dukes, dependent on the French monarch ‖. There are ſome writers §, who pretend that the French army took Vannes, and that this exploit paved the way for the conqueſt of all Brittany. Be that as it may, Clovis had no ſooner determined that important buſineſs, than he renewed, in concert with Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths, the war againſt Gondebald.

* Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 32. Geſt. Franc. c. 16. Frederig. Epit. c. 22.

† This is the name which the ancients gave to Little Brittany, which is now a province of France; it ſignifies, in the old Gaulic language, "on the borders of the ſea, or ſea coaſt." It is, in fact, ſurrounded on three ſides by the ſea; on the north by the Engliſh channel, on the weſt by the main ocean, and on the ſouth by the great gulph of France. It was formerly inhabited by the Nanneti, the Rhedones, the Diablinti, Ambiliati, Veneti, Oſiſimians, and Curioſoliti; theſe people were powerful from the extent of their commerce, and formed a kind of republic within themſelves. The tyrant Maximus abandoned them to the Britons, as an acknowledgment for the ſervices they had rendered him againſt Gratian and Theodoſius. It was from theſe new ſettlers that it received the name of Brittany, inſtead of Armorica.

Corn. on the word Armorica; and Baudrun on the word Brittany.

‡ Greg. Tur. de Mart. l. iv. ‖ Idem. l. iv. c. 4. § Eginard in Annal. Aimoin, l. iv. Procop. l. xiv. de Bello Gothic.

A. D. 502.] The king of Burgundy had had ſufficient time to make the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence. His firſt care was to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects, by an uniform diſplay of mildneſs and moderation. With this view, too, he publiſhed the famous ordinance, called, after him, the *Gombetian Law*; the chief purport of which was to enſure the felicity of his people: it particularly forbids to moleſt or maltreat ſuch of the Gauls as may be ſettled in any part of Burgundy *. The forty-fifth article allows the liberty of an appeal to ſingle combat, to thoſe who may be indiſpoſed to abide by an oath. After theſe preparations, Gondebald advanced againſt the French, [A. D. 503.] whoſe junction with the Viſigoths, he was anxious to prevent. But his ſucceſs was not anſwerable to his efforts; his army being cut in pieces, and his kingdom reduced. It was, however, reſtored to him; but for what reaſon is not known. Some authors have aſſerted, that the Burgundian prince became tributary to Clovis; that he even attached himſelf to his perſon, and accepted an office in his houſhold. This opinion is founded on a paſſage in biſhop Avitus, where it is ſaid that Gondebald was either a ſoldier, or knight, in the ſervice of the French king †.

A. D. 507.] The conqueſt of Brittany was ſoon followed by that of the kingdom of the Viſigoths. Before the French ſet out on this expeditiou they made a vow not to ſhave themſelves till they had ſubdued their enemies ‡. Vows of this kind were very common among the ancient Franks ‖. Every account, and every occurrence, prior to the victory of Clovis over Alaric, are interſperſed with marvellous legends, and wonderful incidents. It was the cuſtom of thoſe times to draw an omen from the verſe that was chaunting when a perſon entered the church. The king's envoys, at their entrance into the church of St. Martin, heard theſe words from the Pſalms—"Thou haſt endued me with ſtrength for the wars; thou haſt ſupplanted thoſe that had riſen up againſt me; thou haſt put my enemies to flight, and haſt exterminated thoſe that hated me." This fortunate prognoſtic was confirmed on the banks of the Vienne. The army was at a loſs where to paſs that river, when a hind plunged into the ſtream in ſight of the whole camp, and ſhewed them a ford, which ſtill retains the name of *the paſſage of the hind*. A third prodigy, ſtill more wonderful, diſpelled every doubt, and aſſured them that their expedition could not fail to prove ſucceſsful. A fire was ſeen in the air, which appeared to riſe from above the church of St. Hilary; and after hovering over the camp, it ſettled on Clovis's tent, and there evaporated. In a more enlightened age it would have been conſidered as a mere Aurora Borealis; but at that time it was regarded as a prodigy portending the moſt ſplendid triumphs.

* Lex. Burg. Tit. 45. † In Epiſt. ad Clodovic. ‡ Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 37. ‖ Roric. l. iv. Geſt. Franc. c. 17. Amoin, l. 1.

The two armies met in the plains of Vouillé, near Poitiers *. Soon after the battle began, the monarchs of either nation, perceiving each other, ruſhed forward at the ſame inſtant, and engaged in ſingle combat; when the ſuperior ſtrength or ſkill of Clovis decided the victory in his favour: he diſmounted his adverſary, and ſlew him on the ſpot. Nothing now remained, to impede the progreſs of the conqueror; who extended his empire from the banks of the Loire to the Pyrenean mountains.

A. D. 508.] It was on his return from this expedition that he received, at the city of Tours, the ambaſſadors of Anaſtaſius, emperor of the eaſt; who ſent him the title and inſignia of a patrician and conſul, and conferred on him the dignified appellation of Auguſt †. Clovis gave a great feaſt on this occaſion, at which he appeared on horſeback, with the crown on his head, and arrayed in imperial purple; he threw a quantity of money among the people, and from that time aſſumed the title of Auguſt, an appellation ever dear and venerable to the Gauls, from their long connection with the Romans. The new patrician, after diſmiſſing the ambaſſadors, returned to Paris, which he made the capital of his empire; and fixed his reſidence in a palace, in the ſouthern part of the city, which had formerly been inhabited by the emperors Julian and Valentinian the Firſt. Succeſs had hitherto attended all the plans of Clovis; and, allowing for the ferocious and martial ſpirit which then prevailed, he had preſerved his fame from any material pollution; but his good fortune and his heroiſm appear to have forſaken him at the ſame time.

A. D. 509, 510.] The defeat of his troops at Arles, though followed by an advantageous peace, irritated his temper; and the latter part of his life was marked by ſanguinary deeds, that merit the ſevereſt reprobation ‡. The cruelties he exerciſed againſt the princes of his family, whoſe territories he invaded, cannot fail to excite horror. The death of Sigebert, king of Cologne, and his ſon Clodoric, who loſt their lives through his intrigues; the fate of Cararic, king of the Morini ‖, and his ſon, whom he firſt ordered to be ſhaved §, and then maſſacred; that of Ragnacharius, king of Cambray, and his brother Richarius, whom he killed with his own hand; and the aſſaſſination of Regno-

* Procop. de Bell. Got. Iſidor. Hiſtor. Got. † Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 38. Geſt. Franc. c. 17.

‡ Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 40, 41, 42. Frederig. Epit. c. 26, 27.

‖ The dominions of theſe people, it is ſuppoſed, extended over that country in which are now included Boulogne, St. Omer, and a great part of Artois.

§ This is the firſt inſtance that occurs in the French hiſtory of ſhaving, or cutting off the hair of a prince; which was conſidered as a proof that he reſigned the ſceptre. Too many examples of this barbarous cuſtom will be ſeen in the ſequel.

mer, king of Mons, and his brother, are acts of barbarity and injuſtice, that muſt fix an indelible ſtigma on his name *.

It was, probably, with the view to wipe out the infamy incurred by the commiſſion of ſo many crimes, that he founded a great number of churches and monaſteries; a cuſtom which was but too prevalent in thoſe ages of ignorance, when all Chriſtian juſtice was ſuppoſed to conſiſt in the erection of temples, and the maintenance of a certain number of monks, for the purpoſe of prayer and meditation. It was probably from ſimilar motives, that he convened a council of thirty-three biſhops, in the town of Orleans †, [A. D. 511.] We learn from hiſtory that it was not only aſſembled by his orders, but that he fixed on the topics of diſcuſſion; and the prelates wrote to him to requeſt his approbation of their deciſions. The moſt remarkable articles that were paſſed related to the right of aſylum, or ſanctuary, claimed for the churches, and the condeſcenſion to be ſhewn to heretical clerks, whoſe converſion ſhould appear to be ſincere. The council ordained that no one ſhould be admitted to holy orders without the permiſſion of the king, or of the judge, and that no ſlave ſhould be allowed that previlege without the expreſs conſent of his lord.

The celebrated author of the cronological abridgment of the hiſtory of France ‡, pretends, that the true principles of the *regale* ‖ is to be found in the acts of this council, the firſt that was holden in Gaul, when under the dominion of the French; but theſe acts are now before us, and we fear not to maintain, as Paſquier has already §, that nothing can be diſcovered in them which relates to that important prerogative of the crown: if, therefore, it be true that this privilege is coeval with the monarchy, its origin muſt be looked for in the nature of the feudal law. The French monarchs have, in all ages, granted lands on the condition of military ſervice, or ſome other mark of feudal ſubjection. It is evident from the teſtimony of the author of the Actions of the Kings of France ¶; of Rorico, the monk **; of archbiſhop Hincmar, in his Life of Remigius, or Saint Remy ††, which was taken from contemporary writers; and of Aimoin, in his hiſtory of France ‡‡, from the origin of the

* This multitude of petty kingdoms which ſubſiſted in Gaul, at the ſame time as that of Clovis, form, ſays an illuſtrious academician, one of the greateſt difficulties in the ancient hiſtory of France. Chantereau le Fevre, in a manuſcript work, preſerved in the king's library at Paris, imputes it to the diſorders which prevailed after the expulſion of Childeric, when ſuch as were ſufficiently powerful took advantage of the anarchy in which the nation was involved, to eſtabliſh an independent authority. It is poſſible they were founded by Clenus, brother to Clodian. M. de Fonc. Mémoire de l' Academie des Belles Lettres, tom. viii. p. 470, 471.

† Epiſt. Synod. Aur. Prim. ad. Reg. Clodov. ‡ The Preſident Hainault.

‖ The regale, is that law which gave to the king the right of nomination to vacant biſhopricks, and of enjoying their revenues.

§ Recher. de la France, l. iij. c. 35. p. 295. ¶ Geſt. Reg. Fr. c. xiii. p. 700. apud Duch. tom. i. ** Roric. Mon. p. 806. †† Vita M. S. Rem. p. 525. ‡‡ Aim. l. i. c. 1.

monarchy; that Clovis inveſted Aurelian with the lordſhip of Melun, to be holden of him in faith and homage. The names of theſe gifts to the ſovereign have varied with the times: during the reigns of the Merovingian monarchs, they were called *beneficces*; during thoſe of the Carlovingian kings, they were called *fiefs* *; both terms, however, conveyed an idea of vaſſalage, and implied an obligation of fidelity to the prince. Theſe benefactions, then, never granted but for life, reverted to the crown on the death of the poſſeſſors, when their revenues returned to the monarch, who enjoyed them till ſuch time as he granted a new inveſtiture. This law admitted of no exception; it extended generally to all fiefs, as well eccleſiaſtical as lay. It may, therefore, be juſtly regarded as the foundation and baſis of the *regale*, which, in courſe of time, was extended to all epiſcopal poſſeſſions.

What appears merely probable at firſt ſight, is converted into a certainty, by an attentive examination of certain anecdotes of the monarchy †. From the will of Philip the Auguſt, and from various ordinances of the monarch who ſucceeded him ‡, it it evident that there were churches exempted from the *regale*. What could be the reaſon of this exception? It is certainly not to be found in the acts of the council of Orleans, which, according to the author of the Cronological Abridgment, ſubjects all biſhopricks, generally, to this right of the crown; nor in the protectorſhip which the French monarchs exerciſed over all churches indiſcriminately; nor yet in the prerogative of founders and patrons, which is common to all ſovereigns, though all ſovereigns do not enjoy the right of the *regale*. It muſt then be ſought for in the nature of the poſſeſſions which conſtituted the revenues of thoſe churches. They were not ſubject to the *regale*, becauſe they held no fief of the king. Thus we ſee the eccleſiaſtical fiefs, in ſome of the ancient French authors, ſtyled *regales*. They tell us that the biſhops of Orleans, and Auxerre, having refuſed to produce the men they were bound to furniſh, Philip the Auguſt ſeized their *regales*, that is (according to the explanation of Rigord,) all the poſſeſſions which they held of his majeſty in faith and homage.

Whatever may have been the origin of this prerogative, we are aſſured by Gregory of Tours, that the firſt race of kings enjoyed it, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of many of the biſhops. Popes, Innocent the Third, Clement the Fourth, and Gregory the Tenth, acknowledged its validity by their bulls. The council of Lyons authorized it in thoſe churches, where it was eſtabliſhed at their foundation, or by ancient cuſtom; but it prohibited the introduction of it in ſuch as were not before ſubject to it.

The parliament of Paris, the ſole judge of theſe matters, always maintained, that, the *regale* being a right of the crown, ought to extend to every biſhoprick

* Du Cange, on the word feudum. † Ordon. de. Phil. le Bel, 1302. ‡ Ord. de Phil. de Valois, 1434.

in the kingdom. In 1673, Lewis the Fourteenth iſſued an edict, whereby the *regale* was declared to be unalienable *, and univerſal throughout his dominions. This edict was confirmed by the parliament, and ſubſcribed by all the clergy, at a general aſſembly, except the biſhops of Aleth and Pamiers, whoſe refuſal was puniſhed by the ſeizure of their revenues. Pope Innocent publiſhed ſome bulls of excommunication in their favour; but the matter was accommodated under the pontificate of Innocent the Twelfth, and the univerſality of the *regale* ſolemnly acknowledged.

The aſſembling of the council of Orleans, was the laſt remarkable event of the reign of Clovis, who died the ſame year, at the age of forty-five, and was buried in the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which he had cauſed to be built †. It has been a ſubject of diſpute with hiſtorians, whether the military or the political talents of this prince were the moſt eminent. Gaul, ſubdued by his arms, and preſerved by his prudence, affords a proof that he was equally ſkilful in the cabinet, and formidable in the field. Such a tribute of admiration, as a continued ſeries of victories may command, is certainly due to his conduct, at the commencement of his reign: but it is not ſucceſs alone that can enſure the commendation of an hiſtorian; it is his duty to weigh, with candour and impartiality, the motives that influence a monarch when he engages in a war that terminates in conqueſt; and ſuch an inveſtigation induces us to condemn what has hitherto been conſidered as a theme of applauſe, in the life of Clovis, who was certainly actuated by ambition, and a culpable deſire of extending his dominions, in moſt of his conteſts with the neighbouring monarchs; and, when thus urged, he alike deſpiſed the principles of juſtice, and the dictates of humanity. If then we are compelled, from theſe conſiderations, to withhold that praiſe which has been too profuſely beſtowed on the former part of his reign, what terms of cenſure, ſufficiently ſtrong, can we employ, to mark our deteſtation of its concluſion, which exhibits a diſguſting ſcene of violence and cruelty? His injuſtice and barbarity are, unfortunately, but too conſpicuous; and his conduct, in particular to the princes his kinſmen, ſinks the hero in the uſurper.

* Charles the Seventh, and moſt of his ſucceſſors, had granted the revenues ariſing from the regale to the holy chapel, at Paris; but Lewis the Thirteenth took them again, and gave, in exchange, the abbey of St. Nicaſe, at Rheims.

† Greg. Tur. de glor. confeſs. c. 71.

CHILDEBERT THE FIRST*.

CLOVIS left four ſons, who divided the kingdom into four equal parts, and then drew lots for them. Thierri, though ſprung from a concubine, was king of Metz; Clodomir was king of Orleans; Childebert of Paris; and Clotaire of Soiſſons. The preciſe limits of their reſpective dominions have not been marked by hiſtorians †, but from circumſtances it may be collected that the kingdom of Metz comprehended the country of the Albigenſes, Rouergue, Auvergne, all the frontiers of Provence and Languedoc, Champagne, the three biſhopricks, Luxembourg, Alſace, the electorates of Trèves, Mayence, and Cologne, and the whole of ancient France, as far as Weſtphalia; that of Paris extended along the ſea coaſt from Picardy to the Pyrenean mountains. Beauce, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, formed that of Orleans. The kingdom of Soiſſons was leſs extenſive; it was ſituated between Champagne, the Iſle of France, Normandy, the ocean, and the Scheld. But, though theſe four ſtates were governed by different princes, independent on each other ‡, they were all ſubject to the ſame laws, and formed but one monarchical body. The nobles of the four kingdoms aſſembled together, from time to time, in the ſame place, where they ſettled the general affairs of the nation, and decided ſuch law-ſuits as concerned the empire, either by the importance of the object of diſpute, or by the quality of the parties.

*. Childebert was but the third ſon of Clovis: but as Paris is become the capital of the French empire, it has been uſual only to rank ſuch as have reigned in that city among the kings of France; and to this cuſtom we ſhall conform throughout the preſent work.

† Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 2 Frederig. c. 30. Geſt. Franc. c. 10.

‡ This diviſion of the kingdom of Clovis, gave riſe to a new diviſion of the kingdom of France. They gave the name of Auſtraſia to that part of it which is ſituated towards the eaſt, between the Rhine, the Maeſe, and the Moſelle. And the part which lies to the weſt, between the Maeſe and the Loire, and extends to the ocean, was called Neuſtria.

A. D. 519.] The firſt years of the reign of theſe princes were neither diſturbed by foreign war or domeſtic commotion. France enjoyed the moſt profound peace *, when Cochiliac, who pretended to be deſcended from Clodian, made incurſions upon the territories of the king of Auſtraſia. Thierri was obliged to ſend a conſiderable army againſt him, the command of which he gave to his ſon Theodebert. This young hero overtook the Daniſh prince juſt as he was going to embark his forces, which he attacked and overcame, and ſlew their leader with his own hand. It appears from the accounts of thoſe times, that ſo early as this period France had a navy, ſince we are told that the French fleet took that of the Danes, got poſſeſſion of a conſiderable booty, and releaſed all the French priſoners. This expedition was ſucceeded by another into Thuringia, where Balderic was deprived of his dominions and his life. [A. D. 520.] The king of Auſtraſia was to have divided this conqueſt with Hermenfroy, the brother of the deceaſed monarch, at whoſe inſtigation he had taken up arms.—Such were the terms of the treaty; but the Thuringian, equally perfidious to his allies as barbarous to his brother, violated his engagement. Thierri diſguiſed his reſentment, and deferred his vengeance to a future opportunity.

A. D. 523.] The three ſons of Clotildis declared war againſt Sigiſmond, king of Burgundy, who unjuſtly detained the poſſeſſions of their mother, and after they had overcome him in a pitched battle, they ſeized his dominions †. Sigiſmond, his wife and children, were delivered to Clodomir, who notwithſtanding the threats and ſolicitations of the abbot Avitus, cauſed them to be maſſacred and thrown into a well—a puniſhment that was but too frequent in thoſe barbarous times ‡.

Gondemar, brother to the murdered monarch, re-entered Burgundy, and retook the kingdom; when the king of Orleans, aſſiſted by Thierri, advanced againſt him, and defeated his army at Veſeronce, in the neighbourhood of Vienne. But his extreme eagerneſs in purſuing the enemy carrying him too far into the country, he was ſurprized by a party of Burgundians, who attacked and ſlew him. The courage of the French, far from being damped by the death of Clodomir, was now converted into fury; they deſtroyed all before them, ſparing neither age nor ſex, and did not leave Burgundy till they had laid the whole country waſte.

Thus periſhed the youthful Clodomir, in the midſt of victory. Some years after; his three brothers, and Theodebert, his nephew, revenged his death by the conqueſt of Burgundy, which they divided between them ‖. This monarchy

* Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 7.—Geſt. Franc. c. 19. Fredeg. 31. † Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 6. Geſt. Franc. c. 20.

‡ There are two villages of the ancient kingdom of Clodomir, where ſome traces of the action are ſtill preſerved—Saint Sigiſmond and Columelle—This laſt word is ſuppoſed to be a corruption of Calumnia. ‖ Procop. de Bel. Goth. l. ii. c. 13.

had been founded one hundred and twenty years at the period of its re-union to the kingdom of France *. The king of Orleans left three ſons, Theodebert, Gontaire and Clodoalde †. Brought up under the care and inſpection of their virtuous grandmother, they would doubtleſs have enjoyed that felicity, every eſſential requiſite for which they poſſeſſed, but for the cruelty and ambition of their uncles. Theſe princes having, by artifice, got their nephews into their power immediately threw off the maſk of affection which they had hitherto worn, and ſent a ſword and a pair of ſciſſars to Clotildis, the guardian of their youth. That princeſs, in a tranſport of grief, inconſiderately exclaimed, that ſhe would rather ſee them committed to the earth, than ſhut up in a convent. Her words were but too faithfully reported to Clotaire, who ſeizing the eldeſt, then only in his eleventh year, daſhed him on the ground, and plunged a poniard into his breaſt; the youngeſt, affrighted, threw himſelf at the feet of Childebert, and embracing his knees, begged hard for his life. The monarch was deeply affected, and could not reſtrain his tears; but Clotaire, reproaching him with his weakneſs, tore the child from his arms, and murdered him on the body of his brother. The third had the good fortune to eſcape the fury of this barbarian. He ſubmitted to have his hair cut off, and having devoted his life to the ſervice of God, is, at preſent, invoked under the name of Saint Cloud. Though theſe events did not take place till ſome years after the death of Clodomir, we thought it neceſſary to relate them together, in order to prevent a future interruption in the thread of our hiſtory.

A. D. 531.] The king of Auſtraſia had not forgotten the perfidy of Hermenfroy. Aſſiſted by his brother Clotaire, he entered Thuringia, carried the capital by aſſault, and reduced the whole kingdom to ſubjection ‡. Almoſt every event of theſe barbarous ages is marked with cruelty ||. The king of Thuringia, confiding in the promiſe of Thierri, went to meet him at Tolbiac; but as he was walking with him, one day, on the walls of the town, a perſon in the retinue of the French monarch came behind him and threw him over into the ditch, where he expired. Clotaire married the incomparable Radegonda, and ordered her brother to be murdered; but he himſelf had nearly fallen a victim to the jealouſy of Thierri. That prince had deſired to have ſome private converſation with him; when the king of Soiſſons entered his apartment, he perceived the feet of ſome ſoldiers who were concealed behind the tapeſtry; upon which he made a ſign to the noblemen who attended on his perſon to follow him. Though his brother was thus foiled in his attempt, he betrayed no ſigns of confuſion, but loaded him with careſſes, and preſented him

* Both ancient and modern writers fix the foundation of this monarchy at the year 413 or 414, under Gondicarius or Gondiocus. The Abbé du Bos fixes its deſtruction at the year 534, during the reign of Gondomar; after which it was ſometimes divided, between ſeveral of the French kings, and ſometimes poſſeſſed by one; and at length it was divided into two or three parts, each of which was honoured with the title of the kingdom of Burgundy.---Velly. Greg. Tur. l. i. c. 18.

† Geſt. Franc. c. 14. Fred. Epitom. c. 37. ‡ Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 8. Geſt. Franc. c. 22.

|| Fredeg. Epit. c. 32.

with a rich baſon—a preſent that was very common in thoſe times. Gregory of Tours relates, that among the precious articles which Childeric ſent to Tiberius Conſtantine, emperor of the eaſt, there was a gold baſon enriched with ſtones, which weighed fifty pounds.

During theſe tranſactions in Thuringia, the king of Paris revenged the inſults and cruelties committed on his ſiſter by her huſband Almaric *. The effects of this expedition were the deliverance of Clotildis, the death of the king of the Viſigoths, and the capture and pillage of Narbonne, where were found ſeventy-two vaſes of gold, which, it was pretended, had been taken from the temple of Solomon. As Childebert was going on this expedition †, a falſe report was ſpread that the king of Auſtraſia was killed, which induced him to take a different road, and direct his march to Auvergne, whoſe inhabitants joyfully acknowledged him for their ſovereign. They had ſoon reaſon, however, to repent their imprudence, for the victorious Thierri entered their country with his troops, took poſſeſſion of Clermont, ſtormed the caſtle of Volorre, burnt that of Tiern, reduced the fort of Oliergue, which was deemed impregnable, cauſed Munderic ‡, the chief ſupporter of the rebel party, to be aſſaſſinated, and left, in every quarter, marks of the moſt implacable vengeance.

This deſtructive expedition, and the reconciliation of Thierri with his brothers, are the laſt memorable actions of his reign. He died in the year 534.—There was nothing of mediocrity in the character of Thierri. As a king, prompt and deciſive in all his undertakings; as a man, licentious and unreſtrained in the gratification of his paſſions—never did a monarch exerciſe authority more abſolute—never did a politician pay leſs reſpect to the laws of honour and the rights of humanity. We learn, from the hiſtory of this reign ‖, that formerly the kings of France nominated to vacant biſhopricks, without waiting for the ſuffrage of the people and the clergy. The church of Auvergne having choſen a ſucceſſor to biſhop Eupraſius, Thierri not approving their choice, conferred the biſhoprick on Apollinaris, who was accordingly received and conſecrated. This prelate too dying ſome months after his promotion, the king appointed Quintin, whom the Arians had expelled from his ſee, to ſucceed him; and the neighbouring biſhops aſſembling, inſtalled him in the church at Clermont, and preſented him to the people, who acknowledged him for their lawful paſtor. The popes had not yet arrogated to themſelves the right of confirmation. The only homage paid by the prelates to the ſovereign pontiffs, conſiſted in ſending them a confeſſion of faith, and in aſking their communion.

* Procop. l. i. de Bell. Got. l. xii. c. 2. Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 10. † Idem, ibid. c. 13, 14. Fredeg. Epit. c. 37. Aimoin, Hiſt. l. x.

‡ Munderic, who pretended to have an equal right to the kingdom with Thierri, and to be a king like him, might probably, according to the conjecture of a learned academician, be a natural ſon of Clovis, although that prince, for reaſons unnoticed in hiſtory, had not acknowledged him as ſuch. M. de Fonc. Mémoire de L'Academie des Belles Lettres, tom. viii. p. 473.

‖ Greg. Tur. l. iii c. 17.

A. D. 534] Theodebert, the ſon and ſole heir of the king of Auſtraſia, was in Auvergne during his father's illneſs; a ſlave to the charms of the beautious Deuteria, he ſeemed to have forgotten the reſt of the world. Already had Childebert and Clotaire adopted meaſures for diſmembering the ſucceſſion of Thierri, and were preparing to enforce them*, when the young prince, tearing himſelf from the arms of his miſtreſs, haſtened to Metz, and by ſhewing himſelf to his ſubjects, defeated the perfidious ſchemes of his uncles. But the commencement of a reign, in many reſpects glorious, was diſhonoured by an action of great criminality. The new monarch repudiated his wife, Wiſigarda, in order to eſpouſe Deuteria, who was alſo married. Theſe incidents were very common, in the early times of the monarchy; for, beſides Clotaire's marriage with his brother's widow, that prince had three wives at the ſame time, two of whom were ſiſters, and he made no ſcruple to marry Waldrada, his nephew's ſon's widow†. Such examples were followed by private people, who probably carried this licentiouſneſs to a greater height: at leaſt, we are authorized to believe ſo, by one of the canons of the ſecond council of Orleans‡, by which a man is prohibited from marrying his mother-in-law, or father's wife.

A. D. 535.] The French now diſcovered a new theatre for the diſplay of their valour, beyond the Alps.—Theodat having become king of Italy, in right of his wife Amalaſonta, had ſcarcely obtained the crown when he put *her* to death to whom he was indebted for it‖. Juſtinian undertook to inflict vengeance on the ungrateful aſſaſſin, and with this view applied for aſſiſtance to the French princes, with whom he ſpeedily concluded a treaty. The Oſtrogoths, however, found means to detach them from this new alliance, by ceding to them Provence and a part of the Alps. But this ſecond treaty was no better obſerved than the firſt. The year following, Theodebert appeared in Italy at the head of a powerful army, where he firſt attacked the Oſtrogoths, and next the Romans, and having defeated both their armies, ravaged Liguria, ſacked the city of Genoa, and then returned to France, loaded with plunder; which was the only advantage he derived from this inglorious expedition.

A. D. 540.] After his return to his own dominions, he entered into a league with Childebert againſt the king of Soiſſons. Hiſtorians are ſilent as to the cauſe of this war; they only tell us that Clotaire, unable, from the inferiority of his forces, to encounter his enemies in the open field, intrenched himſelf in the foreſt of Routot, in the pays de Caux, with a reſolution to periſh rather than yield§. Already had the two monarchs made every neceſſary preparation for forcing his intrenchments, when a dreadful tempeſt burſt over their camp. The noiſe of the thunder, inceſſant flaſhes of the moſt vivid lightning, and ſhowers of hail, mixed (according to the credulous hiſtorians of thoſe days) with *ſtones*, carried conſternation and diſmay throughout the ranks. The con-

* Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 20. † Idem, l. iv. c. 9. ‡ Concil. tome iv. ‖ Procop. l. i. Hiſt. Got. Jornand. de Reb. Got. § Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 28. Geſt. Franc. c. 25.

federate princes acknowledged the hand of God, and immediately became reconciled to Clotaire, whoſe camp, we are told, the ſtorm had reſpected. This miracle was aſcribed to the prayers of Saint Clotildis.

This ſame year has been fixed on as the epoch of the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom of Ivetot. It is ſaid *, that Clotaire ſlew with his own hand, in the church of Soiſſons, a gentleman of the name of Gautier, who was lord of that barony; that when his paſſion was over, he was the firſt to condemn the murder he had committed, and as a kind of reparation for it, erected the lordſhip of Ivetot into a kingdom. But this ſtory appears to be fabulous. The lords of Bellay, who have enjoyed that lordſhip by the marriage of one of their anceſtors with Iſabel Chenu, acknowledge that they have no juſt title to this pretended royalty†.

After the reconciliation between the kings of Paris and Soiſſons, thoſe monarchs joined their troops, and entering Spain, took Pampeluna, ravaged Biſcay, Arragon, and Catalonia, and laid ſiege to Sarragoſſa, whoſe inhabitants, in order to reſcue themſelves from pillage, gave them the tunic of Saint Vincent the martyr ‡. This precious relic was depoſited in the church which Childebert had built in the ſuburbs of Paris, and to which he had given the name of Saint Croix and Saint Vincent. It is now called St. Germain des Prés. Such is the account given by the French authors of this event ‖. The Spaniards, on the contrary, affirm that the two kings were totally defeated before the town; that the conquerors having immediately ſeized the paſſes of the Pyrenees, they muſt have been taken, if the general of the Viſigoths had not been bribed to grant them a paſſage; and that their army was entirely cut in pieces.

Italy ſtill continued to be a prey to the deſtructive flames of war. Juſtinian, convinced that he ſhould fail in his endeavours, if he had the French princes for his enemies, ſent them a celebrated embaſſy, with a formal ceſſion of all his rights and pretenſions to Provence §. He granted them the privilege of preſiding, like the Emperors, over the games which were celebrated in the amphitheatre at Arles; and he iſſued an edict, ordering that all gold coin, coined by them, and bearing their image, ſhould be current throughout the whole extent of the empire. This was a prerogative, that had conſtantly been refuſed even to the great king of Perſia. But all theſe advances proved fruitleſs: Theodebert entered into a treaty with Totila, to whom he had recently refuſed to give his daughter in marriage, becauſe he would not ſuffer her to be the wife of any one of inferior rank to that of a monarch. The motives of this confederacy was the aſſumption, by Juſtinian, of the pompous title of *Franciſcus*, which was groſsly inconſiſtent, after the numerous victories obtained by the French over the Roman troops ¶.

The king of Auſtraſia undertook either to make him loſe or merit that title. He began by cauſing medals to be made, on which he was repreſented not only

* Robert Gaguin, Hiſt. l. ii. in vit. Clot. † Paſquier Recherches de la France, l. iii, c. 7.
‡ Geſt. Franc. c. 26. ‖ Iſidor, Hiſp. Hiſt. Got. § Procop. l. iii. de Bel. Got.. ¶ Agat. l. i.

with all the marks of the imperial dignity, but with the appellation of "Lord," and "Auguſt," which were peculiar to the emperors. He next thought of engaging in his quarrel the Gepidi, the Lombards, and all thoſe nations which ſwelled the liſt of Juſtinian's conqueſts. He intended to carry the war even into Thrace and Illyria; but theſe grand projects were put an end to by a fatal accident, which deprived him of life.

A. D. 548.] This prince, the moſt accompliſhed of all the deſcendants of Clovis, was taken off either by the fall of a tree, which wounded him mortally; or by a tedious diſorder which baffled the utmoſt ſkill of his phyſicians *; for hiſtorians are not agreed on this point.

Bold, hardy, and intrepid, he had ſcarcely arrived at maturity, when he acquired, by a ſignal victory over the Danes, the epithet *Uſeful*, which was ever after annexed to his name. Beneficent, humane, and alive to the miſeries of his people, he had nothing of that ferocity in his diſpoſition, which diſhonours the memory of his grandfather, his father, and his uncles. Adored by his ſubjects, courted by his neighbours, and feared by his enemies, never did a monarch more ably maintain the dignity of his crown. Marius, biſhop of Lauſanne, always diſtinguiſhed him by the appellation of the Great King of the French. † The memorable reply which he made to biſhop Didier, is particularly worthy of notice. That prelate having brought him a conſiderable ſum which had been lent from the royal treaſury to the inhabitants of Verdun, he refuſed to take it:—"We are both of us but too happy," ſaid he; "you, in having "procured me an opportunity of doing good; and I, in not having ſuffered it "to eſcape." He left but one ſon, whom he had by Deuteria; he was named Théodobald or Thibaut, and ſucceeded to the crown, without any oppoſition from his uncles, which ſufficiently proves that baſtards were not then excluded the ſucceſſion.

The death of the king of Auſtraſia, was ſoon followed by that of the virtuous Clotildis; who was a model of patience, piety, and zeal: her body was conveyed to Paris, where it was interred by the ſide of Clovis, in the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, now Saint Genevieve. She was afterwards canonized.

A. D. 549.] Théodobald had ſcarcely aſcended the throne when Juſtinian ſent ambaſſadors to aſk his alliance, and the reſtitution of thoſe places which his father had taken in Liguria, and the Venetian territories. The young monarch, in return, diſpatched four French noblemen to the court of Conſtantinople, who brought this negociation to a happy concluſion. Peace was proclaimed between France and the Empire, and the French remained in poſſeſſion of their Italian conqueſts ‡. The Pope was treated with greater reſpect; the Emperor left the affair of *the three chapters* to the deciſion of a general council—this appellation was beſtowed on the famous queſtion which was agitatated in the ſixth century,

* Agath. l. i. † Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 36. ‡ Procop. l. iv. de Bell. Got. c. 24, 26.

relative to the condemnation of certain writings of Theodoret, biſhop of Cyr; a letter of Ibas, biſhop of Edeſſa; and the perſon and works of Theodorus, of Mopſueſtia. Theſe writings are repreſented by ancient authors as juſt objects of ſuſpicion; the two firſt, becauſe they were compoſed in favour of Neſtorius, againſt Cyrillus, of Alexandria; and the laſt, becauſe they were regarded as the ſources whence all the errors of the biſhop of Byzantium were derived. But Theodoret and Ibas had both been acknowledged as orthodox writers by the council of Chalcedon, and Theodorus had been received into the boſom of the church, previous to his death.—Theſe conſiderations occaſioned no ſmall embarraſſment.—Nevertheleſs, *the three chapters* were condemned in the fifth general council of Conſtantinople. Pope Vigilius refuſed to ratify this condemnation; but it was ſolemnly confirmed by his ſucceſſor, Pelagius. Childebert conſidering this ſtep as an infringement on the authority of the council of Chalcedon, complained of it to the Pope, whom he obliged to ſend him his confeſſion of faith. This letter was ſufficient to prevent the ſchiſm which was on the point of breaking forth in France, though it was inadequate to remove the prejudices of the nation, with regard to the prevarication of which it accuſed the ſovereign pontiff.

A. D. 554.] The peace with the Empire was of ſhort duration. The kings of Auſtraſia, in violation of the late treaty, permitted Leutharis and Bucelinus to lead ſeventy-five thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the Oſtrogoths. Theſe generals made themſelves maſters of Parma, defeated a detachment of the Imperial army, under the command of Fulcaris, ſpread devaſtation around them wherever they went, and advanced as far as Samnium, where they divided their army into two bodies *. One of theſe, under Leutharis, after ravaging Calabria and the neighbouring countries, periſhed by the plague, under the walls of Padua. The other commanded by Bucelinus, laid waſte Lucania, and the country of the Brutii, and was then cut to pieces, not far from Capua. The ſlaughter, we are told, in this battle was ſo dreadful, that but five ſoldiers eſcaped out of an army of thirty thouſand men; the reſt were all ſlain, or taken priſoners. By this defeat the French loſt all the places they poſſeſſed in Liguria, and the Venetian territories; the paſſage of the Alps was the only one of their conqueſts they were able to preſerve.

A. D. 555.] This calamitous intelligence had ſcarcely reached France, when Théodobald, whoſe mind was more vigorous than his body, departed this life, in the ſeventh year of his reign. He left no children; and, though he had two ſiſters, Wiſigarda and Ragnitruda, the law of the realm, ſays Agathias †, called Childebert and Clotaire to ſucceed him, as his neareſt relations. This is the firſt hiſtorical monument of that fundamental law which excludes females from the throne. The king of Paris, attacked by a violent diſorder, was in no condition to enforce his right; and Clotaire, taking advantage of this circum-

* Procop. l. iv. Agath. l. ii. † C. 2.

ſtance, gained over the nobles of Auſtraſia, and compelled his brother to make a formal ſurrender of all his pretenſions. Childebert, by way of revenge for this treacherous conduct, ſowed confuſion and diſcord in the family of the king of Soiſſons. When that monarch returned from an expedition againſt the Saxons, he found that Chramne, the moſt beloved of all his children, had revolted againſt him *. He took proper meaſures for reducing him to ſubmiſſion; and was on the point of enforcing them, when he was obliged once more to direct his arms againſt the Saxons; he, therefore, ſent his two other ſons, Caribert and Gontran, to attack the rebels. Theſe kings (all the children of France were then honoured with that title †) entered Auvergne, compelled the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Clermont, and advanced, to give them battle, as far as the Limouſin. But a falſe report, purporting that their father was killed, made them ſuddenly return towards Burgundy.

A. D. 558.] The return of Clotaire, and the death of his brother, put an end to theſe civil commotions. Chramne, deprived of his uncles ſupport, implored the king's mercy, and was pardoned. Childebert died in the forty-ſeventh year of his reign; and his loſs was ſeverely felt by every claſs of people ‡. The nobility loſt a chief, the affability of whoſe manners, and the plenitude of whoſe goodneſs, captivated every heart; the people had to regret an equitable ſovereign, who governed them with wiſdom and moderation; and religion loſt a protector of unbounded zeal. A number of monaſteries and hoſpitals, built and founded with a magnificence truly royal ‖; a charter publiſhed by his authority for the abolition of idols, and images conſecrated to the devil, throughout his dominions; and four councils, aſſembled during his reign, and by his orders, one at Orleans, one at Arles, and two at Paris, are exhibited by hiſtorians as ſo many illuſtrious monuments of the piety of this monarch. He is reproached, however, and juſtly, with the death of his nephews; but if he had ambition enough to project the crime, he, at leaſt, had not ſufficient cruelty to put it in execution. He was buried in the church of Saint Vincent, now Saint Germain des Prés; where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

The foundation of the church of Paris is aſcribed to him §; but that is a miſtake. It is true, indeed, that he embelliſhed it with glaſs windows, ornaments till then unknown in the churches of that capital; but he certainly did not build it. He left two daughters, Crotberga and Clodoſinda, who were of courſe excluded from the throne.

* Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 10, 14. Geſt. Franc. c. 27. † Marculp. l. i. Formul. 39. ‡ Fred. Epit. c. 35. ‖ Tom. i. Capit. Baluzii, p. 6. § Fortunat. l. ii. Carm. 11.



J. Galland Sc.

HENRY IV.

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CLOTAIRE, SOLE KING.

A. D. 509, 561, 562.] THE king of Soiſſons, now become ſole monarch of all France, experienced the inſufficiency of power, however extenſive; of dignity, however illuſtrious; to ſecure the mind from mortification and chagrin. This unhappy father was again obliged to take up arms againſt that ſon on whom he had, in a peculiar degree, beſtowed his affections *. The Britons were defeated, their chief ſlain, and the wretched Chramne taken priſoner, and ſacrificed to the reſentment of an offended parent. This puniſhment was extended to his whole family; they were all ſtrangled, and then burnt.

After this fatal victory, followed by ſuch an act of inhumanity, Clotaire paſſed the remainder of his life in the deepeſt melancholy. He died at Compéigne, in the fifty-firſt year of his reign †; a reign that was marked by a ſeries of actions, from the contemplation of which humanity ſhrinks with diſguſt: by adultery, inceſt, cruelty, aſſaſſination, and every ſpecies of barbarous violence. It has been remarked, that his death happened exactly a year after his ſon's execution, on the ſame day, and at the ſame hour. He was interred in the church of St. Medard, at Soiſſons, which he had begun, and which his ſon Sigebert completed. He left four ſons, who ſucceeded to his dominions: Caribert, Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert. He had ſix wives: Ingonda and Aregonda, who were ſiſters; Chonſena, Radegonda, Gondiuca, his ſiſter-in-law; and Waldrada, his nephew's ſon's widow.

* Geſt. Franc. c. 28. Fredeg. Epet. c. 54. † Marius in Chron.

CARIBERT.

A. D. 562.] FRANCE was again divided into four kingdoms, whose limits were different to those of its former divisions. Touraine, Albigeois, and Marseilles, were added to the kingdom of Paris. To that of Orleans were annexed Burgundy, whose name it took, the Sénonois, and a part of Champagne. Chalons upon Saone became the royal residence *. Soissons was enlarged by the acquisition of the Tournesis, though some writers have supposed that it before formed a part of that kingdom. And Austrasia, by giving up a few provinces in Gaul, considerably increased its limits in Germany, by the annexation of all Thuringia. But before the division was completed, a quarrel arose among the children of Clotaire. Chilperic insisted on having the capital of the empire; and, profiting by the absence of his brothers, he took possession of Braine, a country seat, where his father kept all his treasures; which he seized and distributed among the leading men of the nation; then, placing himself at their head, he repaired to Paris, where he compelled the inhabitants to acknowledge him for their sovereign. The other princes, enraged at this proceeding, raised troops, besieged him in his new capital, obliged him to descend from the throne he had usurped, and forced him to abide by the usual mode of decision, by drawing lots; which proved unfavorable to him. Caribert was accordingly proclaimed king of Paris; Gontran, of Burgundy; Sigebert, of Austrasia; and Chilperic, of Soissons.

A. D. 563.] This contest for the succession was no sooner terminated, than the king of Austrasia received intelligence that the Huns, an ancient people of

* Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 28. Gest. Franc. c. 29. Fred. Epit. c. 54.

European Sarmatia, and then maſters of Pannonia, which from them took the name of Hungary, had made incurſions into that part of his dominions which was ſituated beyond the Rhine. He immediately haſtened to give them battle, and came up to them in Thuringia, where they had excited the people to revolt *. A celebrated poet of thoſe days remarks, that this young prince placed himſelf foremoſt in the ranks, and with his battle-axe charged the enemy with an heroic intrepidity, overthrew all that came in his way, and obtained a complete victory. But he was induced to conclude a peace with them, on account of the news he received, that Chilperic, having got poſſeſſion of Rheims, had ravaged all the province of Champagne. He, therefore, paſſed the Rhine with great expedition; laid ſiege to Soiſſons, which he took; made his nephew, Theodebert, priſoner, then overcame his brother in a pitched battle; and, afterwards, through the mediation of Caribert and Gontran, reſtored him his dominions, and his ſon †.

The victorious Sigebert now thought of forming a matrimonial connection, ſuitable to his birth and dignity; with this view he fixed his eyes on Brunehaut, daughter of Athanagildus, king of the Viſigoths, who paſſed for the moſt accompliſhed princeſs of the age. The ambaſſador whom he ſent to aſk her hand, was Gogo, Mayor of the Palace ‡. This is the firſt time that this dignity, which afterwards proved ſo fatal to the ſovereign authority, is mentioned in hiſtory. The mayor was formerly what the grand-maſter of the Britiſh king's houſhold is now; his power was confined to the palace, and the domeſtics attached to it. In the ſequel, he became miniſter, commander of the armies, chief, prince; in ſhort, king of the nation. The reign of Sigebert the Second was the epoch of the elevation of this officer, and of the humiliation of majeſty. The propoſals of the French ambaſſador experienced a favourable reception; the new queen accordingly arrived at Metz, amidſt the acclamations of the people; and the marriage was celebrated with all poſſible magnificence. Some time after ſhe abjured Arianiſm; and her public reconciliation to the church crowned the happineſs of the king and his ſubjects.

A. D. 566.] The king of Soiſſons, moved by the example of his brother, and determined to renounce the unſanctified pleaſures of illicit amours, ſent to aſk the hand of Galſwinda, Brunehaut's eldeſt ſiſter. But a juſt knowledge of his diſpoſition excited ſcruples in the mind of her father, which were not eaſily removed. By dint of ſolicitation, however, he at length gave his conſent; but he firſt exacted an oath from the ambaſſadors, that no other woman ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of Queen, during the life of his daughter: this they promiſed, by drawing and ſhaking their ſwords; which was cuſtomary with the ancient Franks whenever they engaged themſelves, by oath, to obſerve any promiſe. The new queen ſet out from Toledo, loaded with riches, and arrived

* Fortunat. Epiſc. Pictav. l. vi. Carm. 3. † Greg. Tur. lb. c. 23. ‡ Geſt. Franc. c. 31.

at Rouen in a round car of ſolid ſilver *. At that city her new ſubjects took the oath of fidelity to her; either becauſe ſuch was the cuſtom of thoſe times, or becauſe Athanagildus had required it in order to procure her greater reſpect from the nation. When the king married her, he ſettled on her le Bordelois, the Limouſin, Quiercy, Bearn, and Bigorre. This ſettlement, or gift, was called *the Morning Preſent*, *Morganegiba*, or *Morgangeba*. The dower was fixed before the marriage, and the donation made the day after †.

But though Chilperic entertained the greateſt reſpect for the virtue of his bride, he ſoon permitted the flames of lawleſs love to rekindle in his boſom. The queen complained of his inconſtancy to an aſſembly of the ſtates; and the nation obliged the king to ſwear that he would in future, be faithful to his marriage-vows: but a few days after they had exacted this oath from him, Galſwinda was found dead in her bed ‡. Fredegonda, a woman of great beauty, but who was ſtill more vicious than handſome, was ſuſpected of her death; and when ſhe was ſeen to occupy the place and the throne of her rival, thoſe ſuſpicions were converted into certainty.

Theſe alliances, ſo degrading to majeſty, were but too common in the family of Clotaire. Caribert repudiated Ingoberga to marry the daughter of an artizan; and ſhe was afterwards obliged to give place to her own ſiſter Marcoveſa, who had taken the veil. And, laſtly, Theudegilda, the daughter of a ſimple ſhepherd, was raiſed to the firſt throne in the empire of France. This conduct induced Germanus, biſhop of Paris, to excommunicate Caribert. The popes had not yet interfered in theſe delicate matters; each prelate had abſolute power in his own dioceſe. If any offence againſt religion was committed, it came under the cognizance of the biſhop of the dioceſe. If any diſpute aroſe, on points of belief or diſcipline, they were determined by a national council, under the authority of the king ‖, and if any privileges or diſpenſations were to be determined, this deciſion reſted with the aſſembly of the biſhops of the provinces. It was in one of theſe aſſemblies, and about this time, that the abbey of St. Vincent, now St. Germain des Prés, was exempted from the juriſdiction of the ordinary.

Caribert reigned ſix years. Gregory of Tours only ſpeaks of his vices. But Fortunatus repreſents him as a prince of great prudence, moderation, and ſuavity of manners §. He was an encourager of literature, and ſpoke Latin as well as his native tongue. Zealous in his efforts to enforce a due obſervance of the laws, his time was wholly devoted to the purpoſe of promoting the happineſs and tranquillity of his ſubjects. Ever peaceably diſpoſed, but jealous of his power, he preſerved his authority with equal dignity and firmneſs.

* Fortunat. l. vi. Carm. 7. † Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 20. Ducange on the word Morganegiba. ‡ Fredeg. Epit. c. 6. ‖ Paſquier, Recherches de la France, c. 7. p. 183. § L. iv. c. 26. l. v. Carm. iv.

Leontius, of Bourdeaux, had aſſembled a council at Xaintes *, at which Emerius, biſhop of that city, was depoſed; but Caribert, enraged at this daring encroachment on his prerogative, ſentenced the archbiſhop to pay a fine of a thouſand pieces of gold, and his ſuffragans in proportion to their revenues.

This prince only left three daughters; Birtha, who was married to Ethelbert, king of Kent, and Bertfleda and Chrodielda, who took the veil, the firſt at Tours, the ſecond at Poitiers. His dominions were divided between his brothers; each of whom was anxious to have poſſeſſion of Paris; but, after much altercation, it was determined that that city ſhould be equally ſubject to all the three, and that neither of them ſhould be permitted to enter it without the conſent of the other two †. They confirmed this agreement by an oath; and in caſe of violation, ſubmitted themſelves to the malediction of God and the ſaints.

* Idem, Greg. ibid. † Greg. Tur. l. vii. c. 6.

CHILPERIC THE FIRST*.

A. D. 567.] FRANCE did not long enjoy the advantages that were expected to reſult from the late agreement between the three royal brothers. The death of Galſwinda excited a civil war † that ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of Chilperic. Sigebert and Gontran, at the preſſing ſolicitation of queen Brunehaut, entered into a league for the purpoſe of inflicting vengeance on the aſſaſſin of her ſiſter. They had even ſeized the greateſt part of his dominions, when tranquillity and concord were ſuddenly reſtored, not from motives of affection, but intereſt. It was ſtipulated by treaty, that the king of Soiſſons ſhould cede to the queen of Auſtraſia thoſe domains which had been given to Galſwinda for her dower, [A. D. 568.] When this diſpute was ſettled, Sigebert found himſelf obliged to take up arms againſt the Huns, now the Hungarians, who had renewed their depredations on the French territories beyond the Rhine. The expedition proved unfortunate. The king, abandoned by his ſoldiers, was ſurrounded by the enemy and taken priſoner. He was a prince of extraordinary prudence, and his perſon was peculiarly calculated to conciliate eſteem: his liberality overcame thoſe whom his arms could not ſubdue: the barbarians, won by his munificence, reſtored him to liberty, entered into an alliance with him, ſwore never to moleſt him more, and loaded him with marks of their friendſhip and kindneſs ‡.

* Although Chilperic had only a part of the kingdom, and of its metropolis, the generality of hiſtorians place him among the kings of Paris, immediately after the death of Caribert.

† Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 20. ‡ Id. l. iv. c. 29. p. 337.

A. D. 569.] During theſe tranſactions beyond the Rhine, the Lombards, who had recently founded a new kingdom in Italy, made an irruption into Burgundy, defeated and ſlew the governor, cut the army of Gontran in pieces, and repaſſed the Alps, with an immenſe booty. A thirſt for plunder, joined to the impunity of their firſt attempt ſoon induced them to make a ſecond incurſion into Dauphiné. Mummol, the greateſt warrior then in France, ſurprized them, in the vicinity of Embrun, and gained a complete victory.

At this engagement an incident occurred which, at that time, was unexampled. Salonus and Sagittarius, both of them biſhops, the firſt of Embrun, the ſecond of Gap, changed their mitres for helmets, and charged the enemy, ſword in hand, with an intrepidity that, in a ſoldier, would have excited the warmeſt commendation, but which was univerſally blamed in a prelate. The irruption of the Lombards was followed by an invaſion of the Saxons, who had aſſiſted them in the conqueſt of Italy. Mummol marched againſt this new enemy, diſperſed their army, took from them all the booty they had collected, and compelled them to return to their own country, which they were obliged to divide with the Suevi, who had taken poſſeſſion of it during their abſence.

A. D. 570.] While Burgundy was thus haraſſed by the incurſions of the barbarians, the king of Auſtraſia, ſeduced by the tempting opportunity, ſeized the city of Arles, to which he had ſome claims; but it was ſpeedily retaken, and the Auſtraſian army defeated. The conquerors then attacked Avignon, which belonged to the dominions of Sigebert, but Gontran reſtored it on the concluſion of a peace *. This unexpected accommodation was highly diſagreeable to the king of Soiſſons, who profiting by their diſpute, had made an irruption into the territories of Sigebert. Clovis, the youngeſt of his ſons, had reduced Tours and Poitiers, when Mummol appeared at the head of thoſe troops who had ſo recently ſignalized their courage againſt the Lombards and Saxons. The mere preſence of this general ſufficed to diſperſe the army of Chilperic, and to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity and ſubordination. They finiſhed the firſt campaign; the next exhibited one of thoſe examples of an aptitude to violate the moſt ſacred treaties, which were but too common with the children of Clovis.

Theodebert, notwithſtanding his oaths never more to bear arms againſt his uncle, committed depredations in Touraine, then entered Poitou, defeated the army of Sigebert, and having made himſelf maſter of all the towns near the Loire, advanced into Quercy and the Limouſin, where he laid every thing waſte.

The king of Auſtraſia, alarmed at the rapidity of his progreſs, brought a foreign army into France, compoſed of Germans, Suevi, Bavarians, Thurin-

* Greg. Tur. l. iv. ib. c. 36.

gians, and Saxons *. Chilperic, unable to face ſo formidable a force, and abandoned by Gontran, who at firſt had joined him, retreated, and intrenched himſelf in the Chartrain from whence he ſent propoſals of peace to his brother. Through the mediation of the French nobles, an accommodation was effected and the three brothers ſwore to maintain a perpetual amity. The German troops, who had fed themſelves with the hope of plundering the camp of Chilperic, finding themſelves diſappointed, began to murmur. But Sigebert, mounting his horſe, rode along the ranks, and ordered the moſt ſeditious to be arreſted, and ſtoned to death in ſight of the whole army. This is the only example to be found in the French hiſtory of this ſpecies of puniſhment, which was common among the ancient Romans.

A. D. 575.] The king of Auſtraſia had no ſooner diſmiſſed his troops, than Chilperic and his ſon Theodebert again took up arms. The former entered Champagne, and laid the whole country waſte with fire and ſword, ſpreading deſtruction around him wherever he went. The latter marched into Aquitain, where he was killed in action †. The death of Theodebert, the reconciliation of Gontran with Sigebert, and the approach of the German troops, filled the court of Soiſſons with conſternation and diſmay. Chilperic fled to Tournay, where he ſhut himſelf up with his wife and children. The Auſtraſian prince was every where ſucceſsful; Paris, Rouen, and all the cities and towns belonging to his brother, ſubmitted to his arms, and acknowledged his authority. Inflated by ſucceſs, he became deaf to the ſuggeſtions of pity, and determined to puniſh the treachery of his brother with death. The remonſtrances of Germanus, the prayers of Radagonda, and the wiſhes of the nation, all proved inadequate to ſuperinduce the adoption of more moderate ſentiments. Tournay was already inveſted, when too ruffians, hired for the purpoſe by Fredegonda, aſſaſſinated Sigebert at Vitri, whither he had repaired in order to receive the homage of his new ſubjects.

Thus periſhed, in the midſt of victory, the moſt perfect monarch that had yet appeared on the throne of France. Generous, liberal, and beneficent, no ſovereign ever eſtabliſhed a more extenſive ſway over the *hearts* of his ſubjects. Intrepid in the hour of danger, and unſhaken by adverſity, he had the art, even in captivity, to conciliate the reſpect and affection of a conqueror, who ſcarcely poſſeſſed the appearance of humanity. In manners chaſte, his inclinations conformed to his ſituation. His reign may be juſtly denominated the reign of decency and honour.

Sigebert died in the forty-firſt year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. He was buried in the church of Saint Medard at Soiſſons, where his figure may ſtill be ſeen on his tomb. He is there repreſented with a long coat, and that ſpecies of cloak which the Romans called *chlamys*. This dreſs was worn by all

* Greg. Tur. l. iv. † Ibid. c. 51. 52. Geſt. Franc. c. 32.

the children of Clovis, either becauſe they thought it had a more noble and majeſtic appearance, or becauſe they conſidered the title of "Auguſt" as hereditary in their family. Be that as it may, long coats were, during ſeveral centuries, peculiar to perſons of diſtinction; they were generally trimmed with martin, ſable, or ermine. Ruffs and collars were introduced by Henry the Second; till when, moſt of the French monarchs had their necks entirely bare. The ſhort coat, which was formerly confined to the country and the camp, became faſhionable during the reign of Lewis the Eleventh; it was exploded in that of Lewis the Twelfth; and renewed under Francis the Firſt. The favourite dreſs of Henry the Second, and his children, conſiſted of a cloſe doublet, a kind of half trowſers, ſuch as are worn by the pages in Spain, and a ſhort cloak that did not reach below the waiſt.

The dreſs of the French ladies experienced as many revolutions as that of the men. It does not appear that they beſtowed much pains on the decoration of their perſons, till towards the concluſion of the ninth century. Their headdreſs was extremely ſimple, and their linen plain, but fine. Lace was long unknown to them. Their gowns, which were adorned on one ſide with the arms of their huſbands, and on the other with thoſe of their own family, were made to ſit ſo tight, that they ſhewed every part of the ſhape, and to come ſo high that they entirely covered the boſom. The widow's weeds greatly reſembled the dreſs of a modern nun. They did not begin to expoſe their ſhoulders to ſight till the reign of Charles the Sixth. During the gallant reign of Charles the Seventh, bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings were introduced. Anne of Britanny rejected with diſdain all thoſe frivolous embelliſhments; while Catherine of Medicis was inceſſantly employed in the invention of new decorations; vanity, luxury, caprice, and coquetry, at length carried them to the height which they have now attained.

A. D. 576.] No revolution was ever more ſudden or complete than that which took place on the death of Sigebert *. The Auſtraſian army immediately raiſed the ſiege of Tournay; all the towns that had been taken in the kingdom of Soiſſons returned to their allegiance; Queen Brunehaut and her children were arreſted; and Chilperic, after he had recovered his dominions, ſaw himſelf on the point of aſcending the throne of his conqueror. Sigulphus, and ſeveral other of the Auſtraſian nobles, had acknowledged him for their ſovereign; and their example was followed by Sigo, the grand *referendary*—that was the title given, by the Merovingian kings, to the perſon who kept the great ſeal, diſpatched letters, and ſealed the public ordinances. He was called

* Greg. Tur. v. l. c. 1. Geſt. Franc. c. 32. Fred. c. 71.

Chancellor under the Carlovingian monarchs, either becauſe he drew his pen acroſs ſuch letters as he rejected, or becauſe he affixed a ſeal to them, in an apartment that was ſecured with iron bars, or *chanceaux*, as they were then called *. It was formerly but the fifth place in the kingdom †; and it was not without great difficulty that a ſeat in the aſſembly of the peers was allowed him in 1224; and for a long time he took his place in the parliament after the princes and prelates. At length he has become the firſt officer under the crown; preſident of all the councils; head of all the judges and courts of juſtice; and diſpenſator of all favours, abolitions, and pardons. He is the only man in the kingdom who does not wear mourning, and the only ſubject who receives viſits without returning them.

Chilperic made his entry into Paris, accompanied by a variety of relics borne in proceſſion. He imagined that this affectation of religious zeal would avert the malediction to which he had ſubjected himſelf, in caſe he ſhould violate the treaty of diviſion; or, at leaſt, that the credit of ſo many ſaints would prove ſufficient to counterbalance the authority of Polieuctus, Hilary, and Martin, whom he had called to witneſs his ſincerity. But his ſurprize and indignation were inexpreſſible, when he learned that the ſon, and ſole heir of Sigebert, had effected his eſcape. Gondebald, one of the firſt nobles at the court of the deceaſed monarch, had releaſed the infant prince from captivity. He was let down, from the window of his priſon, in a baſket, and received by a truſty perſon, who delivered him ſafe into the hands of the faithful Auſtraſian, by whom he was conducted to Metz. The great men of the kingdom aſſembled on Chriſtmas day; and Childebert, who had ſcarcely attained his ſixth year, was crowned king of Auſtraſia.

Enraged at the eſcape of his priſoner, the king of Soiſſons ſeized the treaſures of Sigebert, and ſent Queen Brunehaut to Rouen, where he ordered her to be ſtrictly guarded. But what cauſed the deepeſt affliction to this unfortunate mother, was the ſeizure of her daughters, Ingonda and Chlodoſinda, who were conducted to Meaux. Chilperic next diſpatched one of his generals, named Rocolene, to take poſſeſſion of Maine, and ſent his ſon Meroveus to reduce Poitou. The firſt had orders to ſeize Gontran-Baſon, whom the king ſuſpected of having killed his eldeſt ſon, Theodebert. This officer had fled for refuge to the church of Saint Martin of Tours, an aſylum that was more reſpected than any ſanctuary in France. This conſideration, however, was inadequate to reſtrain Rocolene from fulfilling the commands of his maſter; but his puniſhment for ſuch a profanation of this ſacred place, ſays Gregory of Tours, was prompt and exemplary ‡. Stricken with a ſudden terror, he was forced to retire without putting his project in execution, and died a few days after at Poi-

* Du Tillet, p. 278. † Teſſereau Grande Chancellerie, p. 8. ‡ Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 1, 2, 4.

tiers. Young Meroveus, leſs faithful to the orders of his father, repaired to Tours, and leaving that place under pretence of going to Mons, where his mother Audovera reſided, he took the road to Rouen, where biſhop Pretextatus married him to Brunehaut, whoſe beauty was ſtill in its meridian; Fortunatus, indeed, repreſents her as a ſecond Venus *; and the particulars into which he enters on this ſubject, prove, either that he was not yet a biſhop, or that the prelates of thoſe days, though irreproachable, perhaps in their manners, were not very delicate in their expreſſions.

Chilperic, deeply offended at the conduct of his ſon, repaired to Rouen with a determination to puniſh the new-married couple, who, alarmed at his approach, took refuge in the church of Saint Martin, built on the ramparts of the city. In vain were every artifice and every ſtratagem exerted to induce them to quit their aſylum; they refuſed to leave it till they had obtained a moſt ſolemn promiſe, not only that no inſult nor injury ſhould be offered them, but that their marriage ſhould be confirmed, in caſe the biſhops ſhould deem it lawful. The king, after this accommodation, obliged Meroveus to follow him to Soiſſons, and left Brunehaut in her former priſon; from whence, he ſoon after ſent her into Auſtraſia, with the princeſſes her daughters. She was no ſooner arrived there, than ſhe engaged her ſon Childebert to declare war againſt his uncle. Godin, one of the chief nobles of Auſtraſia, [A. D. 577], who had before ſworn allegiance to Chilperic, received orders to march to Soiſſons, for the purpoſe of ſeizing the perſon of Fredegonda; but arriving a few hours too late, he was himſelf ſurprized, defeated, and ſlain. This commotion being aſcribed to Meroveus, they took from him his arms, and placed guards over him. The defeat of an army in the Limouſin confirmed theſe ſuſpicions, and entirely deprived him of his father's confidence and affection.

Gontran had joined Childebert againſt the king of Soiſſons, who had ſent two powerful armies to oppoſe them, one in Saintonge, under the command of his ſecond ſon, Clovis, and the other in the Limouſin, under the conduct of general Didier †. This laſt was attacked by Mummol, who gained a complete victory, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate action, in which twenty-five thouſand of Chilperic's troops, and five thouſand Burgundians, were ſlain. Meroveus, being conſidered as the author of this war, was made reſponſible for its conſequences. They cut off his hair, and, after he had been diſinherited, he was ordained prieſt, and confined to a convent. But eſcaping from his priſon, he fled to the church of Saint Martin at Tours; and Chilperic finding all his efforts to make him quit this ſanctuary fruitleſs and unavailing, at length determined

* L. vi. Carm. 6. † Greg. Tur. c. 14. Geſt. Franc. c. 33.

to remove him by force. He wrote on this ſubject to Saint Martin, whoſe indignation he was fearful of incurring. His letter, which was in the form of a conſultation, was placed on the tomb of the ſaint; and the king—ſuch was the ſimplicity and ignorance of theſe times!—had the precaution to ſend a piece of plain paper with it, on which he hoped the bleſſed pontiff would write his deciſion. But the Saint did not honour him with an anſwer; and the paper being found in *ſtatu quo*, at the expiration of three days, the ſuperſtitious monarch abandoned his deſign.

Meroveus, on his part, implored the protection of the ſame ſaint, againſt the rage and machinations of his father. He conjured him to point out his fate, by ſuch paſſages of ſcripture as he ſhould open on by chance; but not one of them proved favourable. All, ſays the hiſtorian from whom we take this account, foretold that he would die a violent death. The unhappy prince, after this fatal prediction, was a ſtranger to reſt and tranquillity. A fugitive, wandering about the country—paſſing from Touraine to Auſtraſia, and from Champagne to Artois *; abandoned by his wife, whoſe affection for him was ſincere, but who was totally unable to ſerve him; perſecuted by his father, and betrayed by the principal inhabitants of Terouane, he was at length aſſaſſinated by ſome people in the pay of Fredegonda.

This queen carried her revenge ſtill farther; ſhe had not forgotten the connection that formerly ſubſiſted between Pretextatus and Meroveus; and ſhe therefore undertook to procure the depoſition of that prelate, in a council holden at Paris, in the church of Saint Genevieve †. It is difficult to ſay which was the moſt calculated to excite aſtoniſhment; the ſituation of the king, who appeared as his accuſer, or that of the fathers, who were greatly embarraſſed to find any cauſe for reprehenſion in the conduct of a biſhop, who had married an aunt to her nephew. One might be tempted to conclude, either that ſuch marriages were not prohibited by the ancient canons, or that the eccleſiaſtics were perſuaded the ordinary had a right to grant diſpenſations. Our ſurprize is ſtill augmented when we reflect on the weakneſs of the party accuſed; who, at the inſtigation of ſome pretended friends, confeſſed himſelf guilty of crimes which he had never committed. But our aſtoniſhment is at its height, when we ſee the king throwing himſelf at the feet of the prelates, his vaſſals, to ſue for the condemnation of one of his ſubjects. He wiſhed to have his robes torn off in full council, and to have the maledictions, contained in the hundred and eighth Pſalm, repeated to him; or, at leaſt, to have a ſentence of eternal excommunication pronounced againſt him. But none of his requeſts were granted. The biſhop, however, was condemned on his own confeſſion, committed to priſon, and afterwards baniſhed. On the death of Chilperic, he was recalled by the king,

* Fred. Epit. c. 78. † Greg. lb. c. 9.

of Burgundy, and reinſtated in his biſhoprick, in ſpite of Fredegonda, who, in revenge, had him ſtabbed in the midſt of divine ſervice. In conſequence of this horrid attempt, all the churches in Rouen were ſhut; the biſhops, who were there, forbade the celebration of the holy myſteries till ſuch time as the author of that ſacreligious deed ſhould be diſcovered. This is the firſt inſtance of ſuch an interdiction in ancient days.

But the aſſaſſination of Meroveus, and the condemnation of Pretextatus, only ſerved as a prelude to the enormities of Fredegonda. Chilperic had one ſon by his firſt wife ſtill living; it was that ſame Clovis who commanded his father's army, in the war againſt the king of Auſtraſia. The cruel ſtep-mother reſolved to ſacrifice this prince to the elevation of her own children. She was firſt diſpoſed to put her abominable project in execution, by the diſcovery of a conſpiracy formed by Leudaſtes, governor of Tours. The means he employed were ſo far removed from the common modes of proceeding, in ſuch caſes, that they appeared to be infallible.

A. D. 578, 579, 580, 581.] He ſuborned witneſſes to accuſe Gregory of Tours of carrying on a correſpondence with Childebert, and of having ſpoken indecently of the amours of Fredegonda and the biſhop of Bourdeaux *. Gregory ſoon cleared himſelf from theſe odious imputations; his accuſers, being put to the torture, confeſſed that this intrigue had been feigned, for the purpoſe of inſpiring the king with ſuſpicions of his wife's infidelity; and that the deſign of the conſpirators was to aſſaſſinate Chilperic, to make away with the children he had by the queen, and to place Clovis on the throne. Though the young prince had no concern in the conſpiracy, he was greatly beloved by the people, which was alone ſufficient to enſure the hatred of Fredegonda. Having lately loſt three children by the dyſentery, ſhe bribed ſome perſons to ſwear that Clovis had poiſoned them †. He was accordingly ſeized and impriſoned in the caſtle of Noiſy, where he was ſoon after murdered: his mother, Audovera, experienced a ſimilar fate; the ſacredneſs of her retreat being inſufficient to preſerve her from the rage of this monſter. Baſina, ſiſter to Clovis, and daughter to the reigning monarch, was firſt diſhonoured by infamous hirelings, and then ſhut up in a convent.

‡ The writers of thoſe times tell us that theſe cruel deeds were preceded by the moſt evident proofs of the anger of Heaven—by earthquakes, inundations, conflagrations, famine, epidemic diſeaſes, *ſhowers of blood*, and a total ſubverſion of nature, which made flowers blow in January, and grapes ripen in December.

While the kingdom of Soiſſons was the ſcene of ſuch horrid tranſactions, the kings of Auſtraſia and Burgundy had a meeting at Pont-Pierre, a ſmall

* Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 31. † Marius in Chron. Fred. Epit. c. 82. ‡ Id. ib.

village on the Maeſe, for the purpoſe of forming an alliance both ſincere and durable.

*Gontran, who had loſt two ſons, adopted Childebert, and declared him ſole heir to his dominions. The Auſtraſians, proud of this alliance, ſent to demand from Chilperic the reſtoration of thoſe places which he had taken from them, particularly Poitiers, which he had lately ſeized. The ambaſſador had orders, in caſe of refuſal, to declare war againſt him. His demands, however, were rejected, and his menaces deſpiſed; while the court of Metz quietly put up with the inſult, and took no pains to reſent it: but it is conjectured, and with great probability, that it inſtigated Waroc, earl of Britanny, to refuſe to pay homage to the king of Soiſſons; which refuſal produced a bloody war, that continued for ſome time: but how it terminated is not known.

A. D. 584.] In the mean time, Childebert, forgetting his adopted ſon, entered into a league with Chilperic againſt the king of Burgundy. Hoſtilities commenced with the ſurpriſe of that part of Marſeilles which had belonged to Sigebert, and which was now the object of contention. A civil war, which broke out at this period, in the kingdom of Auſtraſia, prevented the young prince from extending his conqueſts farther. Gontran profited by the occaſion to make his peace with the king of Soiſſons, to whom he ceded Perigueux, Agen, and all the places of which he had taken poſſeſſion. But the league was ſoon renewed; and a battle was fought near Melun, in which both parties claimed the victory. The Burgundian prince next attacked the camp of Chilperic, killed a great number of his troops, and by this advantage paved the way to an accommodation, which was ſpeedily concluded; and the two brothers and their nephew ſwore to obſerve an eternal friendſhip for each other.

At the concluſion of this war, the king of Spain ſent ambaſſadors to aſk the hand of Riguntha, daughter to Fredegonda, for his youngeſt ſon, Recarede. The court of Soiſſons affected to ſtart ſome difficulties at firſt, but the marriage was at length concluded. This was the laſt fortunate event of the reign of Chilperic. His only ſon, Thierri, died ſuddenly ſoon after. Childebert and Gontran were continually at war with him. Compelled to ſhut himſelf up in Cambray, with all his treaſures, he rarely appeared at the head of his armies, and never undertook any expedition of importance. Having gone to paſs ſome days at a favourite ſeat called Chelles, he was ſtabbed on his return from the chace one evening, and expired on the ſpot. It is probable the aſſaſſin was not known, as Gregory of Tours, a contemporary writer, does not mention his name †. Fredegarius, who ſeems to have written merely for the purpoſe of tarniſhing the reputation of Brunehaut, aſcribes his death to that princeſs ‡. An author, who did not write till long after this period, aſſures us, on the con-

* Fred. Epitom. c. 37. † Greg. Tur. l. vi. c. 46. ‡ Fred. Epit. c. 93.

trary, that it proceeded from Fredegonda*. The fact, as he relates it, is this: Chilperic, juſt before he ſet out for the chace, went to the queen's chamber, who, hearing ſome one approach, thought it was a perſon named Landry, with whom ſhe maintained a criminal intercourſe; this miſtake led her to make uſe of ſome expreſſions which diſcovered the intrigue to her huſband. The king left the room abruptly, and appeared to be involved in thought. Fredegonda ſent for her lover, whom ſhe informed of what had paſſed, and in order to elude the puniſhment he was conſcious of deſerving, he determined to murder his ſovereign.

† Thus periſhed the Nero of the French empire, which he expoſed to every kind of calamity; the executioner of his family, which he ſeemed intent on exterminating; and the tyrant of his ſubjects whom he ſo loaded with taxes, that they were compelled to abandon their poſſeſſions. Every acre of vines paid a barrel of wine; a poll-tax was levied not only on every ſlave, but on every free perſon; and no kind of effects whatever was exempt from impoſts. Not that theſe tributes were abſolute innovations; the chief part of the revenues of the firſt kings of France conſiſting of proviſions and effects, which were levied in the ſame manner as tythes are now; but Chilperic had prodigiouſly augmented them. He was tyrannically avaricious of money, and oſtentatiouſly magnificent in his furniture and equipages; voluptuous, even to debauchery, his incontinence knew no bounds; and if he was faithful at laſt to Fredegonda, his fidelity was rather the effect of fear than of duty; ſuperſtitious, yet impious, he ſcarcely believed in God, whoſe miniſters were to him objects of inceſſant raillery, though his reſpect for Saint Martin, and his fear of offending him, were inexpreſſibly great. Vain, preſumptuous, and raſh, he dared to ſound the depths of religious myſteries, and to ſubmit them to the feeble and inadequate ſtandard of human reaſon; in conſequence of which he had planned an edict to prohibit any diſtinction of perſons in the Trinity; but the vigilant and intrepid zeal of Gregory of Tours, and of Silvius, biſhop of Albi, induced him, though not without great difficulty, to ſuppreſs it. Anxious to acquire the reputation of an author and a wit, he compoſed ſome volumes of ſtupid proſe, and ſome of poetry ſtill more inſipid. He wanted to add all the double letters of the Greek alphabet to that of the French. He ordered them not only to be uſed in all new publications, but to be inſerted in the old. This intention was to repreſent by one character what before required ſeveral to expreſs. The cuſtom, however, ended with his reign ‡.

*Geſt. Franc. c. 35. † Idem. Greg. ib.

‡ The letters he adopted were the Greek θ for th; φ for ph; χ for ch; ξ for cſ; and ψ for pſ.

At the death of this prince, a ſtriking example was exhibited of the little reliance to be placed by kings on the homage of an idolatrous court. The incenſe of courtiers is offered to their rank, and not to their perſons; while adoration hangs on the lip, contempt and hatred ſit enthroned on the heart. The body of Chilperic, forſaken by every one, would have remained on the ſpot where he was killed, but for the interference of Malulfus, biſhop of Senlis, who had it conveyed to Paris, where it was interred in the church of St. Germain des Prés. He left but one ſon, an infant of four months, who ſucceeded him under the name of Clotaire. He had three wives; Audovera, whom he repudiated; Galſwinda, who was found dead in her bed; and Fredegonda, who plunged him into an abyſs of crimes and enormities.

CLOTAIRE THE SECOND.

A. D. 584.] CHILDEBERT was at Meaux when Chilperic was aſſaſſinated: the preſence of ſo formidable an enemy ſo near to the court, ſtruck the mother of Clotaire with terror. Shuddering at the recollection of her crimes *; deteſted by her ſubjects, whom ſhe had oppreſſed without mercy; devoid of confidence in the nobles, who openly cenſured her conduct; purſued by the king of Auſtraſia, who imputed the death of his father to her; an object of hatred to Gontran, who dreaded her treachery; and ſolely relying for protection upon an infant of four months, ſhe fled to Paris, where ſhe was received by the biſhop of that metropolis, who placed her in his church, as a retreat that would ſecure her from the reſentment of the two kings. It was from thence that ſhe wrote to the king of Burgundy, offering him the crown of Chilperic, entreating him to act as a father to his nephew, and aſſuring him that ſhe was leſs anxious to reign than to encreaſe the number of her ſubjects. This prince, touched with compaſſion, haſtened to the capital of the French empire, where he took Clotaire under his protection, and openly declared himſelf in favour of Fredegonda againſt Childebert, who in vain called on him for juſtice on the aſſaſſin of a father, an aunt, an uncle, and two couſin-germans. Childebert was even forbidden to enter Paris; one of his ambaſſadors, who had been ſo bold as to threaten Fredegonda with the law of retaliation, was ſent back in diſgrace; and his deſigns on Tours and Poitiers, which had formerly belonged to his father, were fruſtrated. Thoſe cities, conſtrained to yield to a ſuperior force, took an oath of fidelity to Gontran, who was conſidered as guardian to the two young monarchs, and as head of the nation.

* Greg. Tur. l. vii. c. 4.

The conduct of the Burgundian prince had a great effect on the minds of the French nobles. Young Clotaire was proclaimed king of Soiſſons; and they aſſigned him a third part of the kingdom of Caribert; but took away from him Touraine, Saintonge, Perigord, Agenois, the Limouſin, and Albigeois, which his father had uſurped from Childebert. It does not, however, appear that this young prince was maſter of Soiſſons; though Gontran, in the ſequel, ceded Paris to him. Fredegonda was declared regent—a privilege which, formerly, was always enjoyed by the queen-dowagers—Brunehaut, under Childebert the Second; Batilda, under Clotaire the Third; Nantilda, under Clovis the Second; Alix of Champagne, under Philip the Auguſt; Blanche of Caſtile, under Saint Lewis; and Louiſa of Savoy, under Francis the Firſt; governed the ſtate with abſolute power, during the minority or abſence of their royal children. This cuſtom has paſſed from the throne into private families; the French law, both old and new, gives to mothers the guardianſhip, and *garde-noble* of their children; which means, ſays Paſquier *, the government of their perſons and poſſeſſions, whether fiefs or not.

The power of the regent was equal to that of the king, whoſe revenues he received, without the obligation of accounting for them. Juſtice was adminiſtered in his name. All edicts, grants, and patents were ſealed with his own ſeal when he was a prince of the blood, and when he was not with a ſeal peculiar to the regency. He diſpoſed of all offices and employments; received homage from the vaſſals of the crown; and was the ſovereign arbiter of peace and war. This authority appeared to be of ſuch enormous extent, that Charles the Fifth undertook to reſtrain it, at leaſt in its duration; for which purpoſe he publiſhed an ordinance, declaring the king to be of age at fourteen, inſtead of twenty-two, as before. By a law of Charles the Sixth, it was enacted, that the heir to the crown, though an infant, ſhould be proclaimed king, immediately after the death of his predeceſſor. Before that time, in conſequence of an ancient prejudice, he could neither be conſecrated, till he came of age, nor take the title of king, till after he had undergone the ceremony of conſecration. It is for this reaſon that John, ſon of Lewis Hutin, is not ranked in the liſt of the French monarchs. It appears, from another ordinance of Charles the Fifth, that the regency was ſometimes diſtinguiſhed from the guardianſhip: it is there declared, that, if Charles ſhould die during the minority of his ſon, the duke of Anjou, his brother, ſhould be regent of the kingdom, and the queen, with the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, ſhould have the care of his children. But this edict was only temporary; and theſe two titles, which had formerly been united, were never more ſeparated.

A. D. 585.] But the oppreſſive conduct of Fredegonda, the indolence of Gontran, and the weakneſs of Childebert, had led many of the French nobles

* Recherches de la France, l. ii. p. 149.

to entertain thoughts of chooſing a new maſter. The heads of the conſpiracy were general Didier, who had ſo often commanded the armies of Chilperic; Mummol, ſo highly celebrated for his martial atchievements; and Duke Boſon, the moſt artful courtier, and the moſt deceitful man, that ever exiſted *. The perſon they brought forward, as the inſtrument of their deſigns, was no common adventurer; it was Gondebald, that illuſtrious child of misfortune, who was very generally received as the ſon of the firſt Clotaire. He had been involved in the diſgrace of his mother, who placed him under the protection of Childebert the Firſt; and that monarch conceived ſo ſtrong an affection for him, that he even intended to adopt him; but he had not ſufficient reſolution to withſtand the preſſing ſolicitations of his brother, who, after he had diſowned him, was contented with cutting off his hair. Such an inſtance of moderation, in ſuch a monarch as Clotaire, affords a ſtrong preſumption in favour of the pretended impoſtor. The death of his perſecutor revived the hopes of Gondebald, who experienced, from the new court of Paris, the ſame gracious reception, and the ſame baſe treachery, that he had met with from the old one. Being delivered by Caribert, who eſteemed him, to Sigebert, who oppreſſed him, his hair was again cut off, and he was baniſhed to Cologne. He then fled to Italy, where he re-aſſumed the title of Prince of France; and, having taken a wife, went from thence to Conſtantinople, where he was treated with great reſpect and attention.

He was now recalled to France by the malcontents, who promiſed to raiſe him to the throne; and, being ſeconded by Childebert, who ſupplied him with troops to oppoſe Gontran †, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king, at Brive-la-Gaillarde, from whence he ſent ambaſſadors to the king of Burgundy. In order to preſerve them from danger, he gave them wands, or holy canes, which were an effectual ſecurity, among the French, to thoſe who carried them. But they were ſurprized, at a time when they had not theſe ſacred arms in their hands; and the whole ſecret of the conſpiracy was forced from them by the means of torture. Childebert, apprized of a correſpondence between the new monarch and ſome noblemen of his court, became reconciled to his uncle, who once more adopted him, by ſhewing him to the army, and putting a lance in his hand, which was the ancient mode of deſignating the ſucceſſor to the crown. The king of Burgundy immediately ſent a powerful army to the banks of the Garonne, under the command of Leudegiſilis; and on the news of its approach Gondebald retreated towards the Pyrenees, and took poſſeſſion of Cominges; a place which, from the ſtrength of its ſituation, and from being well ſtocked with proviſion and ammunition of all kinds, was in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege of ſeveral years. But this prince was ever doomed to be the victim of treachery: he was betrayed to the Burgundian general by thoſe ſame traitors who had pro-

* Greg. Tur. l. vi. c. 24. † Id. l. vii. c. 32.

claimed him king, and immediately put to death. His hair was torn from his head, and his body ignominiouſly dragged round the camp, where it was left to rot in the open air. The perfidious conduct of the garriſon of Cominges, ſoon experienced the chaſtiſement it deſerved—they were all put to the ſword—their general Mummol was aſſaſſinated, and biſhop Sagittarius maſſacred, by the king's orders. Such were the victims that were ſacrificed to the manes of a prince, who wanted neither courage nor prudence.

Theſe horrid executions reſtored tranquillity to the ſubjects of Gontran. That prince, before he left Paris, had eſtabliſhed a council of regency, to govern jointly with Fredegonda, whom he now began to miſtruſt; and leſt ſhe ſhould acquire too great an influence in the capital of the French empire, he compelled her to retire to Vaudreuil, a royal palace, about twelve miles from Rouen. The regent, enraged at this diviſion of her power, reſolved to aſſaſſinate Brunehaut, with whom ſhe imagined the plan originated, but the plot was diſcovered, and the aſſaſſin ſent back with contempt to Fredegonda, who, in a tranſport of fury, mingled with ſhame, ordered his hands and feet to be cut off. She diſpatched one of her chamberlains at the ſame time, to enter into a treaty with Gondebald, whom ſhe wiſhed to ſecure, as an inſtrument that might enable her to ſhake off the yoke of the court of Burgundy. But the capture and death of that prince marred all her projects. Again reduced ſolely to rely on the protection of Gontran, ſhe earneſtly entreated him to ſtand godfather to her ſon; an office, the acceptance of which was, in thoſe times, regarded as the ſtrongeſt pledge of amity and affection, and the moſt ſolemn promiſe of an inviolable attachment. Her delay to have this ceremony performed, gave riſe to ſuſpicions on the birth of the child; the Burgundian prince, in particular, openly expreſſed his doubts; which coming to the ears of the queen, ſhe haſtened to him in alarm, and ſwore that Clotaire was the real ſon of Chilperic. She alſo made three biſhops of her acquaintance, and three hundred other witneſſes, ſwear the ſame thing. This monarch was no longer permitted to doubt the truth of a fact thus ſolemnly atteſted; he even coincided with Fredegonda in the neceſſity of deferring the ceremony, which was performed ſix years after at the village of Nanterre.

Such was the ancient mode of verifying all doubtful circumſtances. The party accuſed was not admitted to clear himſelf by oath, unleſs his oath was confirmed by thoſe of perſons who were either related to him, or were of his own ſect of profeſſion, or, at leaſt, who lived in his neighbourhood *. It was requiſite that theſe witneſſes ſhould be people of irreproachable conduct, acquainted with the accuſer, and if they were not eccleſiaſtics, reſident in the place where they made their depoſition. In earlier times they were drawn by lot; they were moſtly brought forward by the party accuſed—ſeldom by the

* Ducange's Gloſſary, on the word Juramentum.

accuſer. Their number depended on circumſtances—more or leſs were required, according to the importance of the cauſe, and the merit or quality of the parties concerned *. The judge, by way of warning them to be careful in what they were going to depoſe, either pulled them by or gave them a gentle box on the ear. The oath could only be adminiſtered on certain days, in the morning, faſting; and in the church, either upon the altar, the croſs, the teſtament, the canon of the maſs, the tomb of a ſaint, or upon ſome ſhrine. The party accuſed laid his hands upon that of the witneſs, at the time he was delivering his evidence, and proteſted in a loud voice that he was innocent of the crimes imputed to him. This ceremony, which was productive of ſo much perjury, cleared him from all further proſecution.

Gontran, on his return from Burgundy, gave orders to aſſemble a council at Mâçon, with a view to procure the condemnation of thoſe prelates who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Gondebald †. He had already publiſhed an ordinance, inflicting penalties on ſuch of the nobles as had neglected to follow the army of Leudegiſilis; and the commiſſaries appointed to levy them executed their charge with the utmoſt rigour. The eccleſiaſtics too, who had omitted to ſupply their ſtipulated quota of men, were treated with equal ſeverity. But there were ſome prelates who had ſhown a more evident and deciſive partiality to the uſurper. Theodorus, who paſſed for a ſaint, had received him at Marſeilles; and at Cahors he had experienced the ſame degree of favour from another prelate. The biſhops of Bourdeaux, Xaintes, and Bazas, had even conſecrated Fauſtinian, whom he nominated to the biſhoprick of Acqs. Childebert interceded for Theodorus, who was ſet at liberty, and permitted to take his ſeat with the reſt. Fauſtinian was depoſed, but allowed to retain the rank and honours of a biſhop. It was enacted by the decree of the council ‡, that thoſe who ordained him ſhould pay him an annuity of a hundred crowns of gold. The prelate who received him at Cahors was excommunicated, condemned to abſtinence from meat and wine for three years, and prohibited, during that time from the celebration of the holy myſteries: but what appears ſtrange is, that he was ordered to remain in his dioceſe; and, excepting the power of ordaining prieſts, of conſecrating churches, and beſtowing his benediction on the holy chriſm, he was allowed to exerciſe every other part of his epiſpocal functions ‖. We are told that a prelate had the preſumption to maintain, in the preſence of the council, that *woman could not be called man*, which occaſioned great diſputes among the fathers. At length, however, the authority of the ſcriptures, which expreſsly ſay, that *God created man, male and female*, was received as deciſive.

* Ducange's Gloſſary, on the word Auris. † Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 12. ‡ Tom. i. Concil. Gall.

‖ Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 20. p. 401.

The tranquillity of France was ſoon interrupted by two wars, which broke out at the ſame time; one in Burgundy, againſt the Viſigoths; and another in Auſtraſia, againſt the Lombards *. Gontran's pretext was, to revenge the death of Hermengild, brother-in-law to Childebert; but his real motive for commencing hoſtilities appears to have been, the expulſion of the Viſigoths from France, and the extenſion of the limits of the French empire as far as the Pyrenees. Childebert was induced to march into Italy, by the hope of reſcuing Ingonda from the hands of the Imperial generals, into which ſhe had been delivered, either for her own perſonal ſafety, or as a hoſtage for the fidelity of her huſband, Hermengild: but the progreſs both of Gontran and Childebert was ſlow, and their ſchemes proved finally unſucceſsful.

The Burgundians, ſeldom ſubdued, though often defeated, found themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of entering into an accommodation with Recarede, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Leuvigild. That wiſe prince, who had recently abjured Arianiſm, was extremely anxious to put an end to the war; he had offered himſelf in marriage to Chlodoſinda, ſiſter to the king of Auſtraſia, and the match was concluded; but he neither married that princeſs, nor Riguntha, the daughter of Chilperic, who had likewiſe been engaged to him. This laſt, indeed, was actually on the road to Spain, when the death of her father occaſioned an alteration in her ſentiments and meaſures †. General Didier, being diſpleaſed with Fredegonda, took this opportunity of inſulting her, in the perſon of her daughter, by ſeizing all the treaſures which ſhe had received for her dower; theſe conſiſted of conſiderable ſums of money, both in gold and ſilver, beſides fifty large waggons loaded with rich clothes, and other precious effects: all of which Didier ſecured and depoſited in a ſafe place. Riguntha, returning to the court of Clotaire, there led ſuch a life of debauchery, that her mother uſed to correct her moſt ſeverely. We are told, by the hiſtorians of thoſe days, that their quarrels were ſometimes ſo ſerious, that they actually came to blows. One day, in particular, the queen pretending to give her that part of her father's treaſures to which ſhe was entitled, the princeſs ſtooped to take them from the trunk in which they were encloſed; when her mother preſſed the lid down upon her head, and, but for the interference of ſome perſon who was in an adjoining apartment, ſhe muſt inevitably have been ſacrificed to the fury of that pitileſs and unnatural woman.—We relate theſe circumſtances merely to convey an idea of the ferocity of manners which obtained in the firſt ages of the monarchy.

The Auſtraſians, in the mean time, had entered Italy; but being won by the ſubmiſſion and the preſents of Autharis, king of the Lombards, they contented themſelves with merely paſſing the Alps. A ſecond expedition, which they undertook ſoon after, was attended with no greater advantage. A diſpute

* Greg. Tur. c. 28. † Idem. l. vii. c. 9.

ariſing among the leaders, the army remained inactive, and returned to France without making a ſingle attempt. The king of Italy, however, continued his ſolicitations for peace, which was at length concluded. The court of Auſtraſia received his preſents, promiſed him the princeſs Chlodoſinda, and broke the engagement. The treaty was no ſooner ſigned, than the French made a freſh irruption into Lombardy *: but their perfidy was juſtly puniſhed by the moſt ſignal defeat which the nation ever experienced †. The Italian prince took every method he could deviſe in order to diſtreſs them; he perſuaded Garibald, Duke of Bavaria, to ſhake of the Auſtraſian yoke; and to attach him the more firmly to his intereſt, he aſked his daughter, Theodelinda, in marriage. It is pretended that he accompanied the ambaſſadors himſelf; and that the princeſs, having preſented the cup to the envoys, according to a cuſtom that prevailed among the people over whom ſhe was going to reign, Autharis, in returning it, preſſed her hand ‡, which made her bluſh, and led her to ſuſpect it was the king of Lombardy—who immediately confirmed her ſuſpicions by kiſſing what before he had only ventured to ſqueeze. This circumſtance calls to our mind a curious article of the Salic law ‖, which ſays, *whoever ſhall kiſs the hand of a free woman, ſhall pay a fine of fifteen ſols of gold.* It muſt be owned, that if the preſent age is more poliſhed than that of the ancient French legiſlators, it is neither ſo reſpectful nor ſo reſerved.

The defeat of the French only ſerved to irritate their courage. They entered into a league with the empire; and Childebert ſent a numerous army into Italy, divided into two bodies §: one, under the conduct of Audovald, loſt time in waiting for the Imperial troops, in order to form the ſiege of Milan ¶; while the other, commanded by Cadinus, entered the country of Trento, where they took nine or ten places of ſtrength. They both returned with an immenſe booty, but conſiderably weakened by diſorders, proceeding from the extreme heat of the climate. This conſideration, joined to the mediation of the king of Burgundy, and enforced by motives of policy, which taught to weaken and not to deſtroy the Lombards, ſuperinduced the concluſion of a peace, on the condition of receiving from the Lombards a tribute of twelve thouſand ſols of gold **, which was afterwards given up, on the payment of a ſtipulated ſum.

During theſe expeditions, ſeveral incidents occurred in France, which give us an horrid idea of the manners of thoſe times. Fredegonda, whoſe mind was ever fertile in projects of cruelty, and who could always find aſſaſſins to put them in execution, hired two eccleſiaſtics to murder the king of Auſtraſia with poiſoned poniards ††. The wretches were apprehended at Soiſſons; and being

* Paul Longob. l. iii. c. 30. † Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 25. ‡ Fred. 34. ‖ Lex Salic. Tit. 22. § Greg. l. x. c. 2, 3. ¶ Paul Longob. l. iii. c. 32. ** Fred. in Chron. c. 45. †† Greg. l. viii. c. 39.

put to the torture, confeſſed the crime they intended to commit. Even Gontran the friend of Fredegonda, and the father, the guardian, the protector of her ſon, was not exempt from her abominable machinations. As he was going into chapel one day to hear matins, he ſurprized an aſſaſſin whom ſhe had ſent there to poniard him: another time, as he was going to receive the ſacrament, a man advanced towards him—but, either from remorſe of conſcience, or reſpect for majeſty, he let the poniard fall from his hand *. He was immediately ſeized and confeſſed his execrable deſign; but having been taken in a church, he could not be puniſhed;—as if the right of ſanctuary could be extended to the man who violates its ſacredneſs by the moſt deteſtable parricide!

The failure of ſo many diabolical attempts was inſufficient to deter Fredegonda from perſiſting in her murderous efforts. Intrepid in evil, ſhe appeared to acquire freſh force from diſappointment; and when one project was marred, another of greater importance was immediately formed †. The death of the king of Auſtraſia, and his mother, was again reſolved on; and the ſucceſs of this ſcheme appeared the more infallible, as ſhe had engaged three of the principal nobles, at the court of Childebert, to join in its execution: but that prince being ſo fortunate as to diſcover the plot, the conſpirators met the fate they deſerved. Raucingus, who called himſelf the natural ſon of Clotaire the Firſt, was ſtabbed juſt as he had quitted the king's apartment, whither he had been ſummoned on pretence of buſineſs, Urſion was ſlain after a bold reſiſtance; and Berthefred, though protected by Brunehaut, was murdered in a chapel, whither he had fled for ſhelter; the biſhop of Verdun having refuſed to give up the keys of it, the aſſaſſins, not daring to break open the doors, got upon the roof, and cruſhed him to death with the tiles.

Ægidius, biſhop of Rheims, was ſuſpected of being an accomplice in this conſpiracy againſt Childebert; but poſſeſſing the arts of intrigue and perſuaſion in an eminent degree, he acquired ſuch an aſcendancy over the king that he eluded the puniſhment due to his crime ‡. He was leſs fortunate, however, in a ſecond conſpiracy, which was diſcovered ſoon after the firſt. The leaders of it were the conſtable Sunegiſilis; the grand referendary Gallus; and Septimina, governeſs to Theodebert and Thierri. Their deſign was either to make the king repudiate his wife Faileuba, and baniſh Brunehaut, or elſe to poiſon him; in the hope that, in the abſence of thoſe princeſſes, or during the minority of the young princes, the reigns of government would be entruſted to them. Childebert, averſe to ſhedding blood, contented himſelf with depriving them of their places, and ſending them into exile. But the conſtable having accuſed the biſhop of Rheims, Ægidius was apprehended, and committed to cloſe confinement at Metz. Some of the biſhops complaining of the impro-

* Greg. l. ix. c. 3. † Idem, l. x. c. 9. ‡ Idem, l. ix. c. 38.

priety of taking a prelate from his dioceſe, on the ſimple depoſition of a layman, the king, moved by their remonſtrances, ordered him to be ſent back, and at the ſame time ſummoned a council to aſſemble in his capital. The culprit appearing, the letters he had written to Chilperic were produced, when his deſign to murder young Childebert being fully eſtabliſhed by them, his judges, notwithſtanding their diſpoſition to favour him, were obliged to pronounce the ſentence of degradation; by throwing themſelves at the king's feet, to beg he would ſpare the life of the biſhop, they obtained what they aſked; and, though the crime of which they ſtood convicted was of the deepeſt dye, yet exile and confiſcation formed his only puniſhment.

A. D. 590.] In the mean time Waroc, Earl of Brittany, had, at the inſtigation of Fredegonda, made incurſions into France, on the ſide of Rennes and Nantes. Gontran ſent Beppolenis and Elvacharius to oppoſe him *. The firſt, deceived by a traitor, advanced into a country full of defiles and marſhes, where he was attacked, defeated, and ſlain: but the laſt was more ſucceſsful; encouraged by an invitation from the inhabitants of Vannes, he marched to that city, which opened its gates at his approach. Waroc, alarmed at the loſs of ſo important a place, went to Elvacharius, acknowledged himſelf as the ſubject and vaſſal of the French monarchs, ſwore eternal fidelity to them, and alſo bound himſelf, by oath, never more to bear arms againſt the king of Burgundy. This oath, however, was no ſooner made than broken. The ſon of Waroc attacked the French troops, as ſoon as a part of them had paſſed the river Villaine, on their return home, and throwing them into confuſion, killed ſome thouſands, and took a great number of priſoners †. Elvacharius, being ſuſpected of maintaining a correſpondence with the Earl of Brittany, was diſgraced, and received orders to abſent himſelf from court.

A. D. 593.] The war in Brittany, and the chriſtening of Clotaire, were the laſt events of importance in the reign of Gontran, who died at Chalons upon Saone, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age. The abilities of Gontran were not above mediocrity;—deſtitute of that vigour and firmneſs, which are eſſential to the enforcement of authority, his ſchemes, though well conceived, were not unfrequently marred by thoſe whom he appointed to ſuperintend their execution. His diſpoſition was naturally good; yet was it rather calculated to encourage licentiouſneſs, than to command veneration: for though he loved his ſubjects, he had not ſufficient reſolution to ſecure them from the oppreſſion of his miniſters. He was mild, humane, and complacent; yet rather from timidity than virtue. In the moment of paſſion it was dangerous to approach him; and, in the firſt tranſports of rage, he would ſometimes condemn his ſubjects to death

* Greg. l. x. c. 9, 12. † Fred. in Chron. c. 12.

for the moſt trivial offences *. One of his wives, being at the point of death, begged him to have two of her phyſicians executed, becauſe ſhe imagined that their medicines had brought her into that ſituation; and Gontran was not only weak enough to make the promiſe ſhe required of him, but cruel enough to keep it. Going through a foreſt one day, he ſaw a wild bull juſt killed; he charged the keeper of the foreſt with the fact; but the man accuſed one his chamberlains, who denied having any knowledge of it. The king ordered that the matter ſhould be decided by ſingle combat †. The chamberlain, being old and infirm, ſent one of his nephews to fight for him, who mortally wounded the accuſer; but, in ſtooping to diſarm him, he killed himſelf by falling on the poinard of his adverſary. The death of his champion, though accidental, was regarded as the conviction of the chamberlain, whom the king ordered to be immediately ſeized, and ſtoned to death on the ſpot. Such were the ideas entertained of juſtice in thoſe barbarous times. The biographers of Gontran tell us he poſſeſſed a vaſt fund of piety; and the auſterity of his life, the extent of his bounty to the poor, and his love, reſpect, and protection of religion, the church, and its miniſters, procured him a place in the long liſt of Romiſh ſaints. Gregory of Tours, whoſe credulity knew no bounds, ſays that he performed miracles.

That prelate, after ſpeaking in the warmeſt terms of commendation of Gontran's virtue, adds, that *he had a concubine whoſe name was Veneranda* ‡. This, at firſt, appears ſtrange and inconſiſtant; but our aſtoniſhment ceaſes, when we reflect that *concubinage*, though now a term of reproach, was then a lawful union; which, though leſs ſolemn, was equally indiſſoluble with marriage ‖. It was authorized by the civil law, whenever the want of birth or fortune, in a woman, raiſed a *legal* impediment to her marriage with perſons of a certain rank. Although a concubine, therefore, did not poſſeſs the ſame degree of conſideration in a family, with a wife of equal rank, it was ſtill an honourable appellation §, very different to that of miſtreſs; and her children, according to the cuſtom of the ancient French, were capable of inheriting whenever their father choſe it. This kind of alliance was, for ſeveral ages, regarded by the weſtern church as a lawful connection. The firſt council of Toledo ¶ formally declared—*that a man could only have one wife, or one concubine, whichever he preferred.*—Saint Iſidorus, of Seville; the council of Rome, under Eugenius the Second *; and another council, holden in the ſame city, under Leo the Fourth, expreſſed themſelves in terms of a ſimilar import. The ſubſequent declarations of the nullity of ſuch connections, did not ariſe from their being conſidered as illicit in themſelves, eſpecially when the engagement was

* Greg. l. v. c. 36. † Idem, l. x. c. 10. ‡ L. iv. c. 25. ‖ Leg. iii. ff. de Concubin. leg. ſtuprum. ff. ad leg. Jul. de Adulter. § Jacob Cuiac, de cohabit clericor. and Malier. ¶ Can. 17. * Concil. Rom. ſub Eugen. II. c. 37. collect. Hort. part 2.

formal and perpetual, but from the numerous abuſes to which the want of ſolemnity gave birth *. It was for this reaſon, alſo, that the Romans, though they conſidered the offspring of an union ſo contracted as legitimate, did not grant them the right of ſucceſſion.

Gontran was fond of literature, and maſter of ſeveral languages. We are told that, at Orleans, he was harangued in Hebrew, Arabic, Greek and Latin. He had three wives; Veneranda, Marcatrüda, and Auſtregilda; two ſons, who died in their infancy; and two daughters, Chlodberga, and Clotilda. Some authors affirm †, that this laſt ſurvived him, and that he left her an immenſe fortune, to diſpoſe of at her pleaſure.

Some account of the condition of the Princeſſes, of the firſt race, is here neceſſary: they received the title of *Queen* ‡; which placed them on an equality with Kings, without giving them any claim to the throne, and was regarded as a preſage of their alliance with a crowned head: for, under the Merovingian monarchs, there is no inſtance of a daughter of France, who did not either lead a life of celibacy, or eſpouſe a Sovereign Prince. Whenever their names were mentioned after their death, the epithet *glorious*, or, *of happy memory*, was always annexed to them; a prerogative that was confined to royalty ‖. They were provided with a ſuitable ſubſiſtence, by the aſſignment of lands, or even towns, either during the life of their father, or after his death; but they only enjoyed the revenues of ſuch poſſeſſions, which were never detached from the ſtate. Such was the law of the realm. The deviation from this law, at the celebrated treaty of Andelaw, by Childebert and Gontran, where the former was actuated by motives of benevolence to his ſiſter, Clodoſwinda; and the latter by affection for his daughter, Clotilda, was a particular privilege that rather tends to confirm than ſubvert §. It is even remarkable, that in the very act which gives them poſſeſſion of the *fiſcal* lands, it was ſtipulated that they ſhould only receive the revenues ariſing from them ſo long as they remained in France; ſo very careful has the government of France ever been to prevent the exportation of the national wealth, and to prevent foreign princes from acquiring rights to any part of the monarchy.

The death of Gontran did not appear at firſt to effect any material change in the French empire. The king of Auſtraſia took poſſeſſion of Orleans and Burgundy without oppoſition ¶. His title to thoſe territories was founded on the adoption of his uncle; on the famous treaty of Andelaw, by which the crown was ſettled on him, in default of male heirs; and, laſtly, on the will of the deceaſed monarch, who left him ſole heir to all his dominions.

* Concil. Leo, iv. c. 37, ibid. † Greg. l. ix. c. 20. ‡ Id. l. v. c. 50. ‖ Sirm. Concil. tom. i. p. 370. § Greg. l. ix. c. 20. ¶ Id. ib.

Young Clotaire, at the ſame time, was put in poſſeſſion of all his father's rights; and Soiſſons, which had put itſelf under the dominion of Childebert, was, nevertheleſs, reſtored to the ſon of Chilperic. It is even pretended * that the two kings entered into an amicable arrangement, with reſpect to their participation of the city of Paris; their friendſhip, however, did not laſt long.

Childebert, no longer reſtrained by the fear of Gontran, now gave a free vent to his juſt reſentment againſt the family of Chilperic. The death of a father, aſſaſſinated by the emiſſaries of Fredegonda; the danger to which he had been expoſed himſelf when arreſted, together with the queen his mother; a thouſand perfidious attempts upon his life; the doubtful circumſtances attending the birth of Clotaire; ambition; intereſt—all excited him to attack a prince, whoſe death or depoſition would render him ſole monarch of France. Thus ſtimulated, he raiſed a powerful army, which he ſent into the Soiſſonnois, where it committed great depredations. But this was the only advantage he gained; for Wintrion, who commanded his troops, was put to flight, after an obſtinate engagement †, in which more than thirty thouſand men were ſlain. No other circumſtances of this memorable action are mentioned by contemporary writers; nor are any further particulars of this bloody war preſerved in hiſtory. It appears, however, that the king of Soiſſons loſt ſome part of his territories ‡.

A. D. 594.] The motions of the Auſtraſian monarch, on the irruption of Waroc into the countries of Rennes and Nantes; the rapidity of his march againſt that rebellious vaſſal; the deſperate battle that was fought between the Britons and the French of the kingdom of Metz; the obſtinate inveteracy of the troops, which was ſo great, that ſcarcely a man ſurvived the action on either ſide;—all theſe circumſtances tend to prove that that part of Chilperic's dominions had been reunited to the crown of Auſtraſia, and that the love of glory received a powerful ſtimulus from conſiderations of intereſt.

The author of the book intitled, "Actions of the Kings of France," gives an account, not leſs ſingular than particular, of the defeat of Wintrion.—Fredegonda, he tells us, who was never alarmed at danger however great, had no ſooner learnt that the Auſtraſians had invaded the territories of her ſon, than ſhe gave orders for aſſembling the army with the utmoſt expedition. Braine was appointed as the place of rendezvous for the troops. She reviewed them herſelf ‖, running through the ranks with her ſon in her arms, and preſenting that laſt relic of the family of Chilperic, reminded them of the oath they had taken to defend him; then placing herſelf at their head, ſhe led them on to the enemy, whom they met at the village of Droiſſi, about five leagues from

* Geſt. Franc. c. 36. † Fred. in Chron. c. 14. Paul. Diac. de Geſtis Longobard. l. iv. c. 4.

‡ Fredeg. c. 15. Aimoin, l. iii. c. 83. ‖ Geſt. Franc. c. 36.

Soiſſons. She obtained all the honour of that celebrated day, by means of a ſtratagem, which implies almoſt a total ignorance of the utility of ſpies in thoſe days. It was the cuſtom, both in peace and war, to ſuffer horſes to graze at large, with a bell tied round their necks for the conveniency of finding them again. The queen, therefore, ordered her cavalry to ſupply themſelves with ſmall bells, and large branches of trees in full verdure; and, thus equipped, they advanced, during the night, towards the camp of Childebert. The ſtratagem ſucceeded, as the Auſtraſians miſtook them for the horſes that were feeding in the plain. The appearance of day led them into a freſh error: they thought it was a real foreſt, and did not perceive their miſtake till Landry, who commanded under Fredegonda, had advanced ſo near to them, that they had not time to range themſelves in order of battle: they were of courſe defeated, with a dreadful ſlaughter, and the victory of Fredegonda was complete.

But when we reflect that this child, which was carried about from rank to rank, was then in his tenth or eleventh year; that no contemporary writers takes notice of theſe particulars, ſo remarkable in their nature; that the author who tranſmitted them to poſterity, did not live till a hundred and twenty years after the period in which they were ſuppoſed to have occurred;—there is every reaſon to believe, that the whole ſtory is a mere creature of the imagination, produced by a love of ſingularity, and adopted from a taſte for the marvellous.

A. D. 595.] The victory of Droiſſi was inſufficient to quiet the apprehenſions of Fredegonda, ſince Childebert ſtill remained maſter of two thirds of the French empire; her chief care was to encreaſe the number of his enemies. The revolt of Waroc was a ſtroke of policy in her; and ſhe now made another diverſion, at the oppoſite extremity of the kingdom of Auſtraſia, by engaging the king of the Varni to take up arms againſt the perſecutor of his ſon. The Varni were a German nation, eſtabliſhed on the ſea-coaſt, at the mouth of that branch of the Rhine which formerly emptied its waters into the ocean; but which now runs by Leyden, and then loſes itſelf in the ſands, at Catwick. The intrigues of Fredegonda proved the deſtruction of this unfortunate people *; who were not only defeated by Childebert, but ſo completely exterminated, that their very name was extinguiſhed for ever.

A. D. 596.] Childebert did not long ſurvive this victory. He died a few months after, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign †; more regretted from the hopes which he had given riſe to, than for the exploits which he had atchieved. His queen, Faileuba, died ſoon after. He had two children by her, who ſucceeded him under the conduct of their grandmother, Brunehaut. The eldeſt, Theodebert, was crowned king of Auſtraſia; and the youngeſt, Thierri, had the kingdom of Burgundy; to which were annexed Alſace, Sundgaw, Turgaw, and a part of Champagne. In this

* Fred. c. 15. † Fred. in Chron. c. 17. Geſt. Franc. c. 37.

diviſion, which had been ſettled by Childebert, the wiſhes of the inhabitants, particularly thoſe of Alſace, had been chiefly conſulted. Their partiality to Thierri aroſe from his having been brought up among them at a country ſeat called Marlem.

Theſe country-ſeats of the ancient kings of France, or pleaſure-houſes, as they are generally termed, were very different from thoſe which the preſent monarchs devote to the mere purpoſe of amuſement. They were rather rich farms, than regal palaces, at which every object of convenience was to be found; where ornament was leſs ſtudied than utility, and where profit was more conſulted than pleaſure. There were above a hundred and ſixty of theſe royal ſeats, in different parts of the kingdom; and the ſovereigns paſſed their lives in travelling from one to another. The villages that lay on the road were obliged to ſupply them with carriages for their retinue; and the abbies and caſtles with lodging and proviſion. The abbots and nobles, not content with entertaining them in a ſtyle of ſuperior magnificence, never failed to make them a preſent of plate at their departure. That which at firſt was but a voluntary gift, a token of affection from the vaſſal to his lord, became, in the ſequel, a tribute of obedience. The kings, in time, grew tired of this wandering kind of life; but they were determined, notwithſtanding, to give up none of the prerogatives that were attached to it. They therefore impoſed on thoſe prelates and nobles, who had been accuſtomed to receive them, a tax of *agiſtment* *. A truly grateful reward for their hoſpitality!

The death of Childebert occaſioned a renewal of the war between the courts of Auſtraſia and Soiſſons. Fredegonda, taking advantage of the preſent conjuncture, levied an army, and took poſſeſſion of Paris, and of ſeveral other places on the banks of the Seine †. A contemporary writer obſerves, that this irruption was made after the manner of the barbarians, without any previous declaration of war; which neceſſarily implies that a treaty of peace had been concluded between the two crowns, after the battle of Droiſſi. Be that as it may, Brunehaut haſtened to aſſemble the troops of her grandchildren, and made them march, with the utmoſt expedition, to the relief of the provinces that were attacked. The two armies met at Leucofao, which was ſituated either in the environs of Laon, of Toul, or of Moret en Gâtinois; for the place is unknown at preſent, and authors are divided in opinion as to its ſituation. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy, and attended with great ſlaughter on both ſides. The three young kings, as we are told by hiſtorians, were placed at the head of their reſpective troops, though the oldeſt of them was but in his thirteenth year. —Victory declared for Clotaire.

A. D. 597.] Fredegonda had now attained the ſummit of proſperity; a crown procured by the ſplendor of her charms, and preſerved by the ſtrength of her

* Ducange's gloſſary, on the word Giſtum. † Fred. ib.

genius; a huſband reſtored, through her, to a throne which he had loſt by his perfidy; a minority conducted with all the art of a conſummate policy; a regency rendered illuſtrious by two celebrated victories; and a new kingdom conquered and ſecured to her ſon:—all theſe atchievements are unequivocal proofs of her vigor and talents; and proved almoſt ſufficient to make her ſubjects forget that ſhe was ambitious, vindictive, and cruel; that ſhe had ſacrificed to her grandeur, or to her ſafety, one great king, two virtuous queens, two heirs apparent to the throne, and an infinite number of people of inferior rank. It was at this moment of triumph and exaltation, when her arms were crowned with victory, and her projects with ſucceſs, that GOD called her from the world; as if apprehenſive that the enormity of her crimes would, in the ſight of unthinking mortals, be ſunk in the ſplendor of her exploits. She was interred near her huſband, in the church of Saint Germain des Près, where her tomb is ſtill to be ſeen *.

The death of this formidable rival, afforded leiſure and opportunity to Brunehaut to eſtabliſh univerſal tranquility throughout her dominions; ſhe concluded a peace with the Huns, who, after the death of Childebert, had invaded the Auſtraſian territories; ſhe renewed the ancient treaties with the king of Lombardy; and ſhe engaged the pope to avert the difference which was likely to ariſe with regard to the valley of Aouſte, and the country of Suza, which Gontran had taken from the empire. But affairs of ſtate did not make her forget matters of religion. The ſovereign pontiff, apprized of the diſpoſition of the Engliſh to liſten to the doctrine of Chriſtianity, which had been greatly encouraged by Bertha, daughter to Caribert the Firſt, who had married Ethelbert, king of Kent, determined to ſend miſſionaries to promote the promulgation of the goſpel. Brunehaut granted theſe miſſionaries a free paſſage through her dominions, ſent ſome French papiſts, who underſtood both Engliſh and Latin, to accompany them †, facilitated their journey to Canterbury, and protected them ſo effectually, that, according to pope Gregory, *after God, England is indebted to her for its converſion to Chriſtianity*.

A. D. 599.] It was not long, however, before the flames of war began to rage with additional fury, throughout the empire of France. It is not known whether a deſire to recover Paris, induced Theodebert and Thierri to arm; or whether Clotaire, elated with ſucceſs, endeavoured to extend his conqueſts ‡. But it is certain, that this laſt monarch had entered upon the territories of Burgundy, before a junction had been formed between the armies of the two Brothers ‖. An action took place at a village, called by Fredegarius, *Doromellus ſuper Arcannam*, now Dormeil-upon-Queſne, near Sens, which terminated in favour of Theodebert and Thierri. Clotaire, obliged to retreat, fled firſt to

* Geſt. Franc. c. 37. † Bede, l. i. c. 25, 26, 27. ‡ Fred. in Chron. c. 20. p. 748. ‖ Geſt. Franc. g. 57. Aimoin, l. 3.

Melun, afterwards to Paris, and then to Arelauna, now the Britiſh Foreſt, till the places that he had reduced after the battle of Leufao were retaken and ſacked; and he was, at length, compelled to ſue for peace; which was granted him, but on very hard terms. He was obliged to cede to the king of Burgundy all the towns in his poſſeſſion, which lay between the Loire, the Seine, the ſea, and the frontiers of Brittany; and to the Auſtraſian monarch he gave up the Duchy of Dentellenus, which comprized, according to the moſt probable opinion *, that extent of country which is ſituated between the Aiſne, the Oiſe, the Seine and the ocean, and which nearly forms the preſent Iſle of France. He only preſerved for himſelf twelve diſtricts, between the ſea, the Oiſe and the Seine; by which means he was conſidered as a prince who had been ſtripped of his dominions and was reduced to a ſimple appanage for ſubſiſtance. This concluded the ſixth century in France.—The beginning of the ſeventh was ſignalized by the defeat of the Gaſcons.

A. D. 601.] That people, equally diſtinguiſhed for their wit and courage, had not yet eſtabliſhed themſelves in the province which now bears their name. They then reſided in Navarre, in a part of old Caſtile and Arragon †. Pampeluna and Calahorra were their principal cities. It was beyond the Pyrenees, therefore, that Theodebert and Thierri extended their incurſions. Victory followed their ſteps; the Gaſcons were defeated, and a tribute exacted from them.

A. D. 603.] While the kings of Burgundy and Auſtraſia were thus employed, Clotaire, who was ever intent on revenge, made a ſudden irruption into the country between the Seine and the Loire ‡. His ſon Meroveus, a child of ſix years, commanded his army, under the conduct of Landri. That general, after reducing ſeveral towns, inveſted Orleans, where Bertoald, mayor of the palace of Burgundy, had taken refuge. Thierri, informed of his ſituation, flew to his aſſiſtance; and Landri not being able to keep the field, retreated towards Eſtampes, with a reſolution to make a ſtand at the paſſage of the river of that name. The van of Thierri's army had no ſooner paſſed the ſtream, than he attacked it with determined bravery, and Bertoald, who commanded it, was ſlain, after performing prodigies of valour. But the reſiſtance made by this gallant officer, gave the remainder of the troops an opportunity of paſſing the river, and forming on the oppoſite ſide. The conteſt then became too unequal to be long ſupported. A dreadful carnage of the Neuſtrians enſued: the greateſt part of their army periſhed in the field, and the few that eſcaped were indebted for their ſafety to the precipitation with which they fled. Young Meroveus was taken priſoner; but what became of him afterwards is not known, ſince his name is never again mentioned in hiſtory. It has been ſuſpected ‖ that he was put to death in priſon; but that is a mere conjecture.

* Boulainv. Mem. hiſt. c. 1. p. 219. † Fred. in Chron. c. 21. ‡ Idem, c. 26. ‖ Recherches de Paſquier, l. v. c. 23. p. 491.

Theodebert, in the mean time, had entered the kingdom of Soiſſons, and advanced towards Compiegne, where Clotaire had fixed his camp. The two main armies had juſt formed a junction, when they received intelligence of Landri's defeat; and the Neuſtrian prince being now compelled to ſue for peace, obtained it on reaſonable terms. The king of Auſtraſia began to entertain apprehenſions that his brother's enterpriſing ſpirit might prove prejudicial to his intereſt, and therefore wiſhed to ſecure a friend who might protect him from dangers, that exiſted but in his own imagination. This ſpirit of miſtruſt, when made known to Thierri, appears to have inſpired him with ſimilar ſentiments: hence the amity which had hitherto ſubſiſted between the brothers, being poiſoned by diffidence, was ſpeedily converted into diſcord.

Protades had been recently appointed to ſucceed Bertoald in the office of Mayor of the Palace of Burgundy. This nobleman was the moſt ſupple courtier, a man of the greateſt addreſs, and the braveſt and moſt accompliſhed cavalier of the age. All that reaſon could dictate, or intereſt ſuggeſt, did he exert, in order to irritate his maſter againſt Theodebert. The peace of Compeigne, concluded without the conſent, and contrary to the intereſt of Thierri, afforded a ſubject of complaint which he did not fail to profit by; and he contrived to acquire ſuch an aſcendency over the mind of that prince, that war was declared againſt the king of Auſtraſia. There are ſome, however, who pretend, that this rupture proceeded from another cauſe, and that Brunehaut was the inſtrument of diſcord that ſet her grandchildren at variance. That vindictive woman, ſay theſe writers *, had not forgotten the inſult ſhe had ſuſtained from Theodebert, who expelled her from his court; and ſhe was induced to revenge it by meditating the deſtruction of its author. She gave Thierri to underſtand, that this prince, who had hitherto paſſed for the ſon of Childebert, was, in fact, but the ſon of a gardener. Such, according to Fredegarius, and his copyiſt Aimoin, was the true cauſe of the war between the two brothers.

But the truth of this account is juſtly ſuſpected. The very year in which it is pretended that Brunehaut was expelled from the kingdom of Auſtraſia, ſhe engaged the two princes to form a junction of their armies for the purpoſe of oppoſing Clotaire—a meaſure which certainly implies neither hatred nor miſunderſtanding. If that princeſs had really ſuſtained ſuch an inſult, Gregory, under whoſe pontificate this event is placed, would not have failed to write to her on the ſubject, either to conſole her, or to make her conſider her diſgrace as a juſt chaſtiſement inflicted by the hand of Providence. This pope, the firſt who interfered in the affairs of France, would never have ſuffered ſuch an opportunity for the exertion of his religious zeal to eſcape; ſince it is well

* Fred. in Chron. c. 19.

known that he always conceived it to be his duty to convey inſtruction to crowned heads. The king of Auſtraſia would doubtleſs have experienced the ſeverity of his remonſtrances, on a proceeding ſo cruel and unjuſt. But, on the contrary, we find, from all the letters which he wrote at this period, that a ſtrict amity ſubſiſted between Theodebert and Brunehaut, and that the two courts were alike governed by the advice of that princeſs. We might add with Paſquier *, that it is *highly credible* ſhe never reſided with Theodebert, but that, immediately after the death of Childebert, ſhe followed Thierri into Burgundy. It was a kingdom newly acquired, and of courſe but indifferently ſecured. It was out of the power of a child of nine years to ſecure it; and the preſence of Brunehaut, therefore, became a matter of neceſſity. What at firſt appears but probable, is rendered certain, when we conſider the great number of ſuperb edifices which ſhe cauſed to be erected in the dominions of the young Burgundian prince. It is not known, ſays the learned critic we have quoted above, that this queen, who is allowed by all to have poſſeſſed the appearnance of devotion at leaſt, ever founded a ſingle church in Auſtraſia; whereas, a thouſand monuments, raiſed for pious purpoſes, or for public convenience, are ſtill to be found in the kingdom of Burgundy. The great roads and cauſeways which ſtill bear her name; the monaſtery of Aulnay, near Lyons; the abbey of Saint Vincent, at Laon; that of Saint Martin, at Autun; the celebrated hoſpital at the ſame place; with many other public works, which muſt have required ſeveral years to accompliſh, began and compleated during the pontificate of Gregory, all ſeem to demonſtrate, that long before her pretended exile ſhe had fixed her reſidence at the court of Thierri.

The ſuppoſition with regard to Theodebert is equally deſtitute of probability; —revenge deferred for ſeven years, by an enraged woman, by a queen capable of every enormity, by a monſter of wickedneſs and cruelty, for ſuch do theſe authors repreſent Brunehaut. This is a tale, ſays Paſquier †, that may be calculated to impoſe on monks, who have taken a vow of patience, but not on people who frequent courts, much leſs on kings, at a time when they think themſelves grievouſly inſulted. Another problem, not leſs difficult of ſolution, is the facility with which the king of Burgundy ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded that Theodebert was not the ſon of Chilperic; a perſuaſion with which, they tell us, he was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed, that he took up arms in order to dethrone him. Yet war was no ſooner declared than the prince, who was ſo ſtrongly convinced of the illegitimacy of the uſurper, became ſuddenly reconciled to this pretended ſon of a gardener. Nay, he not only concluded a peace with him, but obſerved it moſt religiouſly, under the immediate inſpection, and by the direct advice, of her who is ſuppoſed to have revealed to him the horrid ſecret. Theſe are contradictions ſo highly repugnant to reaſon and common-ſenſe, that they ſcarcely deſerve to be ſeriouſly confuted.

* Recherches, l. v. c. 16, p. 477-78. † Ch. 17. l. v. p. 479.

A. D. 605.] As ſoon as war was reſolved on, the two princes took the field; but when the armies came in ſight of each other, the Burgundian troops roſe up againſt Protades, whom they juſtly conſidered as the author of thoſe diſſentions which prevailed in the royal family. The principal leaders of the ſedition were Uncelenus and Wulf *, both patricians, and both envious of the favorite. The plot was carried on with ſo much ſecrecy, that, before any thing had tranſpired, the whole army had inveſted the royal tent, where the miniſter was playing with the king's phyſician *at tables*, that is to ſay at drafts, or probably at cheſs; which game, having been invented in the Eaſt Indies at the commencement of the fifth century, might very poſſibly have been known in France at the beginning of the ſeventh, ſince the French had long maintained a commercial intercourſe with Conſtantinople, between whoſe inhabitants and the Indians an intimate connection ſubſiſted †. The air ſuddenly reſounded with the tumultuous cries of the ſoldiers and their officers, who jointly demanded that the *fire-brand* which had lighted the torch of war, ſhould be delivered up to them. The king, ſurprized at this inſolence, was going forth to repreſs it, but his guard, either from zeal for his perſon, or from his connection with the rebels, oppoſed his paſſage, under pretence that he could not ſuffer him to expoſe his life to the fury of an armed multitude. He then ordered Ulcelenus to carry his orders to the troops, and to make every man repair to his poſt. But that general, inſtead of obeying him, told the ſoldiers that the king gave up the mayor of the palace to their diſpoſal. Theſe words were no ſooner pronounced, than the royal tent was forced, and Protades dragged forth and torn in pieces. This event ſuperinduced the concluſion of a peace, and the two armies departed without fighting. Policy required that a conſpiracy of ſo heinous a nature ſhould not paſs unpuniſhed. Uncelenus, who had miſrepreſented the orders of his ſovereign, was accordingly mutilated by the amputation of a foot; a ſpecies of puniſhment then much in uſe. Wulf, who had inſtigated the army to mutiny, was ſentenced to death. The office poſſeſſed by Protades was given to a Gaulic nobleman, named Claud, a man of great ſenſe and courage.

Some time before this rupture between the two brothers, pope Gregory died. He was the firſt of the ſovereign pontiffs who had any particular connection with the French kings. One of his letters to Childebert the Second contains a glorious eulogy on the nation. "Your kingdom," ſays Gregory ‡, "is as "much above other nations, as ſovereigns are above other men." But this familiarity, as Paſquier remarks ‖, though but of ſhort duration, had nearly proved fatal to the ancient liberties of the Gallican church. The danger he

* Fred. in Chron. c. 28, 29. † See Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres, tom. v. p. 252. ‡ S. Gregor. l. v. Epiſt. 6. ‖ Rech. de la France, l. iii. c. 9. p. 195.

alludes to, aroſe from the ambition of certain eccleſiaſtics. It was a cuſtom that had been introduced ſome years before at the court of Rome, to ſend the *pallium* or pall, to ſuch prelates as the pontiffs wiſhed to diſtinguſh. This *pallium* was a kind of imperial mantle, with which the Chriſtian emperors had decorated the biſhops, as a mark of the ſpiritual authority they poſſeſſed over the church. The patriarchs of the eaſt received it at the altar, during the ceremony of their conſecration, and ſent it to the metropolitans, who gave it to the biſhops of their provinces. It was not known in the weſt, till the commencement of the ſixth century. Ceſarius of Arles was the firſt prelate of the French church that wore it. It was not till about the year eight hundred that it was ſent to all metropolitans.

The biſhops of Burgundy and Provence were led by their vanity to boaſt of this honour *. Vigilius of Arles was the firſt who ſolicited the *pallium*, with the conſent, and at the recommendation of king Childebert. The pope, who acquired more than he gave, granted more than they aſked:—"We appoint "you," ſays Gregory to Vigilius, "to repreſent us in the whole extent of the "kingdom of our ſon, Childebert. Should any prelate be obliged to travel "or to abſent himſelf from his dioceſe for any length of time, he muſt have "your previous permiſſion. If any matter of conſequence ſhould occur, or "any queſtion of faith ariſe, you will aſſemble twelve biſhops to decide it. "But ſhould it be attended with any peculiar difficulty, you'll refer it to us. "We ſend you the *pallium*, but you'll only wear it in the church." This was a viſible encroachment on the power of metropolitans, to whom it aſſigned a head or chief, a thing till then unexampled. It went ſtill further—it ſapped the foundation of, deſtroyed and annihilated, the moſt valuable liberties of the Gallican church, which had hitherto decided all queſtions and all differences that had ariſen within its juriſdiction by its own councils, finally and without appeal. But happily this aſſumption of power proved a vain prerogative that was never exerted. We do not find that Vigilius, or biſhop Syagrius, who had alſo obtained the *pallium*, enjoyed any kind of precedency in the ſynods that were holden in thoſe days, or that they exerted a right which the ſovereign pontiffs could more eaſily grant than ſecure.

It was not ambition alone that infringed on the ancient prerogatives of the church; hereſy ſometimes encroached on them, and guilt often †. One Maximus, a Gaulic biſhop, is mentioned in hiſtory, who retired to the court of Boniface the Firſt, in order to obtain protection from the ſentence of a council before which he had been convicted of Manicheiſm. But that wiſe pontiff, reſpecting the rights and privileges of the church, refuſed to take cognizance of the affair; he only wrote to the Gaulic biſhops, to beg they would grant the fugitive prelate a ſhort delay. This was all he obtained. It does not appear

* Recher. de la France, l. iii. c. 9. p. 196. † Idem, p. 197.

that Saint Brice *, when accuſed of adultery, found greater protection at Rome, where he reſided ſeven years. On the death of the prelate who had been appointed to his ſee he returned, and was eſtabliſhed in his epiſcopal dignity, in the ſame manner as he had been depoſed; that is to ſay, without any inveſtigation of the charge preferred againſt him. Salonius and Sagittarius, two brothers, biſhops of Embrun and Gap, the ſhame and diſgrace of the prelacy, having been depoſed by a council holden at Lyons, they obtained permiſſion from Gontran to appeal to the pope, who reſtored them to their reſpective ſees. But it muſt be obſerved that, in this caſe, the appeal was made with the expreſs conſent of the French monarch. It was he who conducted the whole buſineſs; who reconciled the two prelates to Victor, their accuſer; and who put the ſentence of the ſovereign pontiff in execution. The forbearance of the biſhops in ſo delicate a caſe is leſs to be conſidered as an acquieſcence in the deciſion of the pope, than as an act of obedience to their ſovereign. If they ſhewed their reſpect for the king in ſparing two criminals whom he had taken under his protection, they gave proofs of their firmneſs, at the ſame time, by excommunicating Victor, who had been ſo mean as to withdraw his accuſation.

This example, though evidently repugnant to the rights of the church, might have had dangerous conſequences in future. This does not, however, appear to be the caſe†. Urſicinus having been depoſed by the ſecond council of Mâçon, had recourſe to Gregory, after the death of Gontran. But that pontiff, though highly jealous of the authority of the Romiſh church, did not dare to take cognizance of the cauſe; he confined himſelf ſimply to interceſſion.

Simony was extremely prevalent in France at this period; and the only arms that the pope employed againſt a monſter, that has been ſo often attacked though never exterminated, were prayers, ſupplications, and complaints, preferred with the greateſt humility. But he aſſumed a very different tone in Sicily, Dalmatia, Sardinia, and a conſiderable part of Africa. There he was no longer the ſervant of ſervants, but an abſolute ſovereign, who, from the plenitude of his power, could unite or divide biſhopricks; could appoint, depoſe, or re-eſtabliſh titularies; could command one to come to Rome to perform penance for his errors; a ſecond, to ſubmit his pretenſions to the arbitration of the holy ſee; and the third he could puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity of the canons, if he took money for ordinations. But ſuch was the opinion that then prevailed in France, that the French biſhops, although devoted to the holy ſee as to the centre of unity, were nevertheleſs independent of the

* Saint Brice ſucceeded Saint Martin in the ſee of Tours, whence he was expelled on an accuſation of having had a child by a nun.

† Rech. de la France, l. iii. c. 9. p. 198.

juriſdiction of Rome, as well in matters of diſcipline as in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes whatever*.

A. D. 607.] It was immediately after the treaty of peace between the two crowns of Burgundy and Auſtraſia, that Thierri, if Fredegarius may be credited, married Ermenberga, daughter of Bettoric, or Vittoric, king of Spain. Brunehaut, who only ſought, ſays that author, to corrupt the manners of her grandſon, that ſhe might govern him with greater authority, prevented the conſummation of this marriage by the moſt deteſtable means; which rendered the new queen ſo odious in the eyes of the Burgundian prince, that he ſent her back to the king her father, without even reſtoring her dower †. But what reliance can be placed on a fact that requires the aid of witchcraft to ſupport it? What credit does an hiſtorian deſerve, who can find, in the works of contemporary writers, not a ſingle circumſtance that can tend to the confirmation of what he advances? Had Spain ſuſtained ſuch an inſult, in the perſon of one of her princeſſes, ſhe would, doubtleſs, have revenged it, or, at leaſt, attempted to do ſo. Yet not a veſtige of ſuch a tranſaction is to be diſcovered in the annals of that nation, which was ever ſo feelingly alive to any attack on her honour. Would Jonas, the monk, whom credulity or adulation induced wantonly to calumniate Brunehaut, have forgotten a circumſtance ſo degrading to her character? He wrote before Fredegarius, and laboured under the ſame prejudices as that author; like him, he wiſhes to perſuade us that ſhe was ever anxious to prevent the king of Burgundy from forming a lawful connection; yet he obſerves a profound ſilence with regard to this pretended marriage; which we muſt, therefore, conclude to be a mere fiction.

The name of Jonas reminds us of other ſcandalous invectives, which he propagated againſt the memory of Brunehaut and her grandſon. This hermit, too credulous for an hiſtorian, too impaſſioned for a monk, relates that Thierri had four children, not one of whom was born in marriage ‡. Colomban, abbot of Luxeuil, frequently exhorted him to marry, but all his exhortations proved fruitleſs and unavailing. One day when that holy man went to viſit the queen, ſhe introduced the king's four ſons to him, requeſting him to give them his benediction—"Do not imagine," replied the monk, "that theſe children, which are born in infamy, ſhall ever wear the crown." This brutal exclamation inducing the queen to withhold the proviſions which ſhe had been accuſtomed to ſend to the convent, the zealous reformer went to complain to Thierri, who ſent him the moſt delicate viands, and wines of the moſt exquiſite flavour, all of which Colomban threw away, crying out, in the ardour of his zeal, "GOD rejects the preſents of the wicked." This pious tranſport ſo alarmed Thierri and Brunehaut, that they ſolemnly promiſed to reform; but the

*Recherches de la France, l. iii. c. 9. p. 200. † Fred. in Chron. c. 30.

‡ Jonas in vita. S. Colomb. c. 19.

monarch, we are told, ſoon returned to his former courſe of life, which drew a ſecond reprehenſion from Colomban, couched in ſuch ſevere terms, that Brunehaut procured a ſentence of baniſhment to be pronounced againſt him: the abbot, however, returned to his convent, notwithſtanding the king's prohibition, and did not leave it till repeatedly urged by the officers, whom his ſovereign had ſent to enforce the execution of his orders*.

Such is the account of Jonas, every line of which is marked by indecency, impoſition, and abſurdity. It is true, that the ſons of the king of Burgundy were born in concubinage; but we have already ſhewn that this kind of connection was authorized not only by the laws of the church, but by thoſe of the ſtate. No faithful hiſtorian would have concealed ſo eſſential a circumſtance: even Fredegarius †, who is ſometimes obliged to yield to the ſuperior power of truth, remarks, that theſe princes had for their godfathers the moſt pious prelates in the dominions of Thierri. Is it credible, then, that ſo many perſonages of that deſcription, compelled by their ſtation to the repreſſion of ſcandal, ſhould have ſanctioned ſuch a proceeding, by their ſilence, when a ſimple monk was ſo loud in his cenſures? Is it likely that Saint Gregory, too, who could not poſſibly be ignorant either of Thierri's conduct, or his grandmother's approbation of it, ſhould have been ſilent on an occaſion in which religion was ſo deeply concerned? Was the ſacred flame of holy zeal ſo totally extinguiſhed in the boſoms of the pope and the prelates, that not a ſingle ſpark was to be diſcovered any where but in the breaſt of the good abbot of Luxeuil?—But the partial panegyriſt of Colomban loſes himſelf moſt when he converts the moſt unequivocal objects of cenſure into grounds for commendation—Such is the benediction which, he tells us, was ſo brutally refuſed to children whoſe birth, even if illegitimate, could not exclude them from regeneration in Jeſus Chriſt; the preſents, ſo ridiculouſly thrown away; and his inſolent affectation of contempt for the orders of his ſovereign. We boldly affirm, that either the anecdote of Colomban's zeal, his exile, and return, is wholly fabulous; or that Jonas the hermit was deſtitute of the virtues of meekneſs, humility, and obedience, which are the very ſoul of Chriſtianity. That ſatirical author was not aware that the very circumſtance which led him to repreſent Brunehaut as an implacable fury, would ſuffice to prove her a princeſs of the greateſt moderation. The abbot's diſobedience was a crime againſt the ſtate, and, conſequently, puniſhable with death: a ſentence of baniſhment, therefore, was a proof of clemency.

A. D. 610.] Theodebert began to be impatient at the diſmemberment of his dominions, by taking from him Alſace, Sundgaw, Turgaw, and a part of Champagne. He had long formed a project for re-uniting theſe territories to his crown. Brunehaut, ever attentive to the intereſts of her grandchildren,

* Jonas in vita. S. Colomb. c. 22. † Fred. in Chron. c. 22, 24.

ſpared no pains to terminate a difference which threatened to be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences *. Bilichilda, formerly a ſlave belonging to that princeſs, but now queen of Auſtraſia, a woman whoſe virtue was equal to her charms, had acquired a great aſcendancy over the mind of her huſband, and would have deterred him from the purſuit of hoſtile meaſures, but for the intervention of his courtiers, who breathed nothing but war. At this time there appeared at the court of Auſtraſia, a young woman, of uncommon beauty, named Theudichilda; for whom the king conceiving a violent paſſion, he reſolved to marry her; but as Bilichilda proved an obſtacle to this alliance, the barbarian treated her as a ſlave over whom he enjoyed the right of life and death, and ſtabbed her with his own hand. The Auſtraſian nobles, having now no rival in the councils of their ſovereign, eaſily perſuaded him to commence hoſtilities againſt his brother. He accordingly entered Alſace, which he reduced before the court of Burgundy could poſſibly be apprized of his having taken up arms. He then wrote to Thierri, to propoſe the ſubmiſſion of the queſtion to an aſſembly of the nobles of the nation. A caſtle, then called Saloiſſa, now Seltz, between Saverne and Straſburgh, was choſen for the place at which the conference was to be holden. The two kings agreed to repair thither with a certain number of men, not exceeding ten thouſand.

The king of Burgundy, relying on his brother's word, attended with a very ſmall retinue. He was followed by Theodebert, whoſe ſuite was apparently not more numerous; but the troops, which he had diſtributed in different parts, ſuddenly uniting, inveſted Thierri, and preſſed him ſo cloſely, that, in order to eſcape the danger, that threatened him, he found himſelf obliged to ſign whatever his brother required. By this means, the Auſtraſian prince remained maſter of the whole country which formed the object of conteſtation.

A. D. 611.] A treaty thus concluded from neceſſity, was, as might eaſily have been foreſeen, ſoon broken from revenge. The Burgundian monarch had no ſooner eſcaped from the hands of his brother, than he reſolved to regain by arms what he had loſt by treachery †. But in order to ſecure the king of Soiſſons, he engaged to promote the reſtitution of all that country which the Auſtraſians had uſurped from him, between the Oiſe and the Seine. On theſe conditions, Clotaire promiſed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and he performed his promiſe with the moſt rigid ſcrupuloſity.

A. D. 612.] As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, Thierri opened the campaign, and advanced towards Andelau ‡. His firſt attempt was upon the caſtle of Nas, ſuppoſed to be little Nancy, Nancey, or Nançois, which he had but juſt reduced when the army of Theodebert came in ſight. The battle was fought in the plains near Toul, where the Auſtraſians, after a bold and vigorous reſiſtance, ſuſtained a total defeat. The king, being obliged to fly, retired firſt to

* Fred. in Chron. c. 37. † Idem. ibid. ‡ Idem. in Chron. c. 38.

Metz, and then to Cologne, where he received a conſiderable reinforcement, compoſed of Saxons, Thuringians, and other nations of that part of Germany which belonged to France: This was a kind of corps-de-reſerve, which was never employed but on the moſt urgent occaſions. The king placing himſelf at their head, marched immediately to Tolbiac, where Thierri had fixed his camp. This place, ſo famous on account of the victory which Clovis had there gained over the Germans, again became the ſcene of a moſt obſtinate and bloody action. To ſpeak in the hyperbolical language of Fredegarius, which the reader will know how to reduce to its proper ſtandard, "The ſlaughter was "ſo dreadful that, in ſeveral parts of the field, whole battalions of dead bodies "were ſeen ſtanding upright, preſſed cloſe together, as if they had been "alive †."

The Auſtraſians, again defeated, only thought of gaining ſome place of ſafety.—But as many of them periſhed in the flight as in the battle. The fields and woods, from Tolbiac to Cologne, were ſtrewed with the bodies of wounded and dying ſoldiers. Hiſtory furniſhes but few examples of ſuch animoſity as was here exhibited.

The king of Auſtraſia fled beyond the Rhine, where he was taken and brought to his brother, who ſtripped him of all the emblems of royalty; and in this humiliating ſtate ſent him, under a ſtrong guard, to Châlons upon Saone †. This is all that we learn from Fredegarius of the fate of Theodebert: Jonas, indeed, goes farther; he ſays, that queen Brunehaut ordered his hair to be cut off ‡, and then compelled him to embrace a religious life; and that all theſe precautions proving inadequate to ſatisfy this wicked woman, ſhe at length determined to murder him. But he is the only one of the ancient hiſtorians who mentions this circumſtance, which is not noticed even by thoſe writers, who are moſt inveterate in the abuſe of that princeſs. Another monk, and the author of the book, intitled, "The Actions of the kings of France ‖," both ſay, on the contrary, that Theodebert, after his defeat, fled to Cologne, where he was beſieged by the king of Burgundy. The inhabitants of that city, in order to obtain better terms for themſelves, conſpired againſt his life, cut off his head, and threw it over the walls. It was only on ſuch conditions, which reflect equal diſhonour on the perſon who exacted, and on thoſe who ſubmitted to them, that they could obtain peace from the conqueror.

The two laſt authors affirm that Theodebert had ſeveral children; and ſay, that Brunehaut, who had gone before Thierri as far as Metz, ordered them all to be maſſacred, except one princeſs, of great beauty: for her Thierri conceived a violent paſſion, and accordingly reſolved to marry her; but the regent

* Fred. in Chron. p. 752. Duch. tom i. † Fred. in Chron. c. 38. ‡ Jonas, in vit. Columbani.
‖ Aimoin, l. iii. c. 87. Geſt. Franc. c. 38.

being afraid that when ſhe was made queen ſhe would revenge the death of her father, repreſented to him that it was not lawful to marry his niece. "Did not "you tell me, wicked woman that you are," exclaimed the prince in a rage, "that he was not my brother? And have you then rendered me guilty of "parricide *?" As he ſaid this, he drew his ſword, and would have killed her, but for the interference of ſome noblemen who were preſent at the time. Brunehaut, ſay theſe writers, knowing the diſpoſition of her grandſon, reſolved to avert the effects of his vengeance by giving him poiſon, of which he died. Yet, if Fredegarius may be credited, who lived nearer to the preſent period †, the king of Auſtraſia had only one ſon, named Meroveus, who being taken with his father, was conducted to Cologne, where his uncle had him put to death. This account is leſs liable to ſuſpicion, as it comes from a pen which appears only to have been employed for the purpoſe of calumniating Brunehaut. We ſhall ſhew, from the evidence of the ſame hiſtorian, that the death of the Burgundian monarch is aſcribed to her with equal injuſtice. The fact is thus related by him.

A. D. 613.] Clotaire, on the news of the defeat and capture of Theodebert, ſeized the duchy of Dentelenus, which had been promiſed him as a reward for his neutrality; but the king of Burgundy, who made no ſcruple to violate the faith of treaties, ſummoned him to withdraw his troops; and ordered his ambaſſadors to declare war againſt him, in caſe of refuſal. The Neuſtrian prince being determined to maintain his rights with firmneſs and reſolution, both parties had recourſe to arms. Thierri, at the head of a numerous army, was preparing to invade the kingdom of Soiſſons, when he was attacked by a dyſentery, which carried him off in a very few days ‡. He was then in the twenty-ſixth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his reign. Like his brother, his only recommendation was his courage, which was hereditary in the family of Clovis. This the Spaniſh Goths experienced under the reign of Gondemar, who, if Mariana may be credited ‖, was tributary to the French monarchs; which, he ſays, may be proved by the teſtimony of Bulgaran, whoſe letters are ſtill preſerved in the archives of Alcala and Oviedo. Gondemar, then, whoſe reign commenced in ſix hundred and ten, and finiſhed in ſix hundred and thirteen, could only have been ſubjected to pay tribute by the two young princes who then held the reins of empire in France.

A fatal revolution enſued, on the death of Thierri, who left four ſons—Sigebert, Childebert, Corbus, and Meroveus. The eldeſt of theſe was only in his eleventh year; and Brunehaut took every method to ſecure to him the double crown of his father, but ſhe was betrayed on all ſides. The Auſtraſian nobles, at the ſolicitation of Arnoul and Pepin, openly declared for the king

* Aimoin, l. iii. c. 82. Geſt. Franc. c. 39. † Fredeg. in Chron. c. 39. ‡ Idem, ibid.
‖ Mariana, Hiſt. Hiſp. l. vi. c. 2.

of Soiſſons *. Clotaire, certain of their ſupport, entered Auſtraſia, and being received into ſeveral of the principal towns, advanced as far as Andernac, a ſtrong place on the Rhine, which he took by aſſault. There he gave audience to the ambaſſadors ſent by Brunehaut, to complain of his irruption into a kingdom that belonged to the children of Thierri. The monarch, aſſuming a ſemblance of moderation that was foreign from his heart, told the envoys that he was willing to ſubmit the deciſion of this affair to an aſſembly of the nobles.

The queen expecting a ſimilar anſwer, had ſent Sigebert into Thuringia, where ſhe hoped his preſence would engage the inhabitants to declare in his favour. But Garnier, the Mayor of the Palace of Burgundy †, who attended him, held a correſpondence with the king of Soiſſons, and, in obedience to his inſtructions, obtained a promiſe from the Thuringians, that they would not only refrain from taking any ſteps in favour of Sigebert, but that they would immediately recall the troops which ſome of them had already ſent into France. Having thus ſecured this people, he took the young prince to Worms, where Brunehaut then was; and perſuaded that princeſs to return to Burgundy, where, he ſaid, ſhe would find the inhabitants more ſubmiſſive to her orders, and more faithful to her children. The motive alledged was ſufficiently ſpacious to deceive her; ſhe therefore went into Burgundy; but Garnier found means to engage the Burgundian nobles to acknowledge Clotaire for their ſovereign. It was then agreed to put Brunehaut and the young princes to death; and the plot was conducted with ſuch ſecrecy, that ſhe did not entertain the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of it.

Though the Auſtraſians might veil their conduct beneath the ſpecious pretext of revenge for the death of their king, Theodebert; the defection of the Burgundians could admit of no palliation. To join ſome modern writers in the aſſertion, that the children of Thierri were illegitimate, would betray an ignorance of the firſt principles of the ancient law of France. We have already proved, that it was cuſtomary in thoſe times to admit to the ſucceſſion not only baſtards and ſons of concubines, but even the polluted offspring of inceſt or adultery. Witneſs Theobald, who ſucceeded Theodebert, though ſprung from Deuteria, who was a married woman ‡; and Chilperic alſo, who was admitted to an equal diviſion with his brothers, although the ſon of Aregonda, ſiſter to Ingonda, both of them wives to Clotaire the Firſt, and at the ſame time.

Fredegarius is not more ſucceſsful in his choice of means for the juſtification of Garnier's conduct. Brunehaut, ſays he, ſuſpecting the fidelity of that officer, wrote to a nobleman named Alboin, who accompanied Sigebert on his journey to Thuringia, to beg he would rid her of a traitor who ſecretly favoured

* Fred. c. 40. † Idem. ib. ‡ Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 22, 23. L. iv. c. 28.

the cauſe of Clotaire. Alboin tore the letter; but a ſervant belonging to Garnier collected all the pieces, ſo that his maſter was able to read the contents. Enraged at the plot that was meditated againſt his life, from that moment he reſolved on the deſtruction of the queen and her children.—Such is the account of Fredegarius. But is it probable, that a man who had received ſuch an order, as that pretended to have been ſent to Alboin, would have been ſo imprudent as to tear it in ſo careleſs a manner, that the pieces might be eaſily collected and joined? If Garnier had been apprized of any machinations againſt his life, is it poſſible to believe that he would have preſented himſelf at the court of a princeſs with whom they had originated? If Brunehaut had entertained any doubts of Garnier's fidelity, would ſhe have entruſted him, not only with the adminiſtration of her affairs, but with the care of the princes, and the command of the army which ſhe ſent to oppoſe the enemies of her family?

Be that as it may, Clotaire, whoſe projects wore a moſt proſperous appearance, advanced with a numerous army as far as the plains of Châlons upon Marne. The Burgundians were encamped in the neighbourhood of that city, at ſome diſtance from the river Aiſne. The troops were preparing for action, when Sigebert's generals ordered the retreat to be ſounded. The whole army immediately fled; and the king of Soiſſons purſued it*, according to agreement, but ſo ſlowly as to give the Burgundians ample time to eſcape. They continued in this manner till they came to the river Saone, where Garnier threw off the maſk, and put his infamous plans in execution. The traitor, in violation of the laws of religion, of probity, honour and humanity, ſeized Sigebert, Corbus and Meroveus, and delivered them into the hands of their moſt inveterate enemy. Childebert had the good fortune to eſcape, though it is not known what became of him.

Brunehaut, on the news of this fatal cataſtrophe, fled to the caſtle of Orbe, upon the lake of Neûchatel; but her retreat being diſcovered, ſhe was arreſted, and with Theudelana, ſiſter to Thierri, conducted to Ryonne, a village ſituated on the Vingene, where Clotaire had fixed his camp. An ancient author affirms, that this princeſs had the four children of Thierre murdered herſelf; and that ſhe preſented herſelf to the uſurper, decorated with all the embelliſhments of youth, in the hope of inſpiring him with love, and of inducing him to marry her. But that hiſtorian did not write till a century after theſe events occurred, and at a time when the immediate deſcendants of Clotaire ſwayed the ſceptre of France: it was then faſhionable to regard Clotaire as another Jehu, and Brunehaut, as a ſecond Jezabel. Nothing was ſpared to render the portrait ſtriking; even probability was ſacrificed to prejudice or adulation; for, in fact, is it conſiſtent with reaſon to ſuppoſe, that a queen, who was great-grandmother to four children, the eldeſt of whom was, at leaſt, in his thirteenth year, could

* Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 28. Fred. ibid.

flatter herſelf with the proſpect of becoming the wife of a youthful monarch, who was already married, and who was, moreover, her moſt implacable enemy?

Another hiſtorian, who wrote at a later period indeed, but who was equally inveterate in his animoſity againſt the memory of Brunehaut, juſtifies her completely from any concern in the murder of the young princes. "The queen," he tells us *, "was no ſooner in the power of Clotaire, than he put Sigebert and his brother Corbus to death. He had compaſſion on Meroveus, to whom he ſtood godfather; and to that circumſtance alone was the child indebted for his life. He was entruſted to the care of Ingobod, who brought him up privately in Neuſtria, where he lived many years."—But it is highly improbable that, in this ſingle inſtance, the ſuggeſtions of pity ſhould riſe ſuperior to the dictates of policy, in the ferocious mind of Clotaire. Meroveus had an equal right with his brothers to the double crown which the uſurper wiſhed to unite to his own. Neither is this fact atteſted by any other hiſtorian than Fredegarius, who wrote his hiſtory at the expreſs command of Childebrand, uncle to king Pepin, above a century after the tragical event. Beſides, that writer evidently contradicts himſelf, when, within a few lines of the above paſſage, he ſays that Clotaire reproached queen Brunehaut with the murder of *the three ſons of Thierri, who had juſt been put to death.*

This cruel execution was ſucceeded by another ſtill more barbarous. Brunehaut remained—Childebert was ſtill alive—the vengeance of Clotaire was but partially gratified—his fears were but partially diſpelled. He ordered that princeſs to be brought before him at the head of his army, where in a manner equally indecent and unjuſt, he reproached her with crimes which had chiefly been committed by his mother or himſelf. The troops, inflamed by his remarks, called loudly for her death. During three days ſhe was expoſed to the inſults and deriſion of the army, mounted on a camel, and parading round the camp; on the fourth, ſhe was tied to the tail of a horſe that had never been broken, and daſhed to pieces on the ground. What remained of her body was thrown into the flames, and reduced to aſhes. The horror which ſuch barbarity is calculated to excite, acquires double force on the peruſal of Fredegarius †, who concludes his account of this infamous tranſaction, by a panegyric on the *humanity* of Clotaire. He was a prince, ſays that author, who feared God, was of a gentle diſpoſition, and an incredible ſuavity of manners!

Thus miſerably periſhed the daughter and mother of ſo many monarchs; that queen, whom biſhop Fortunatus ‡ repreſents as a perfect model of Venus and the Graces: whom Gregory of Tours ‖ recommends as a pattern of decency, virtue, wiſdom, and meekneſs: whom pope Gregory § praiſes as a princeſs who was ever attentive to the diſcharge of the duties of religion, and

* Fred. in Chron. c. 42. † Ibid. ‡ Fortunat. l. vi. Carm. 6. ‖ Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 27.
§ S. Greg. l. v. Epiſt. 5.

ſtudious to prove herſelf a virtuous regent and a good mother. The hiſtory of her reign, amidſt the horrors with which the pens of calumny and detraction have been anxious to deface and diſguiſe it, affords many eminent proofs of her ſenſe, generoſity, firmneſs and benevolence. Her public magnificence was incredibly great; even at the time when Aimoin wrote, ſo many caſtles, churches, monaſteries, hoſpitals, high-roads, and other works of elegance and utility, erected by this princeſs, were ſtill to be ſeen, "that one could ſcarcely believe," ſays that author *, "that they could have been performed by a ſingle monarch, who had only governed a ſmall part of France."

Several of the nobles were involved in the calamities which befel the unfortunate Brunehaut. Romulphus was one of the moſt wealthy and powerful of theſe; his ſon Romaric, too, retired to Luxeuil, and devoted all his poſſeſſions to the endowment of the celebrated abbey of Remiremont †. There are few ages in which the miſtaken piety of men gave riſe to ſo great a number of monaſtic inſtitutions as the preſent. About the year four hundred, ſome pious perſons who had retired from the noiſe and buſtle of life to indulge in ſerious meditations, left Italy to ſettle in the deſert iſles of Provence, and in the uncultivated mountains of the diſtrict of Vienne. The ſanctity of their lives procured them a number of diſciples. Monaſteries were built for them, where they lived under the inſpection of the biſhop of the dioceſe, and ſubſiſted by the work of their hands. The firſt of theſe religious retreats, and the moſt famous of them all, is that of Lerins, founded by Saint Honorat; it was, for a long time, the ſchool for monks and a ſeminary for biſhops. In the fifth century was erected, among others, the convent of Saint Maurice, in Chablais, which the Abbè Severin is ſaid to have rendered celebrated by his miracles and his virtues. A prodigious number of monaſteries ſprung up in the ſixth century:—Saint Meſmain, formerly Mici, near Orleans, was founded by Clovis; Saint Thierri, near Rheims, by Remigius; Saint Cloud, formerly Nogent, by Clodoald, the laſt of the family of Clodomir; Saint Croix and Saint Vincent, now Saint Germain des Près, by Childebert the Firſt; Saint Peter and St. Paul, at Rouen, by Clotaire the Firſt; Saint Medard, at Soiſſons, begun by the ſame prince, but completed by his ſon Sigebert; Glannefeuille in Anjou, by Saint Maur, a diſciple of Saint Benedict; Saint Pierre-le-Vif, near Sens, by Theudichilda, daughter of Thierri the Firſt, king of Auſtraſia; Mouſtier-Saint John and Saint Seine, both in Burgundy, Saint Martin, in the Cotentin, and Saint Erroul, in the dioceſe of Liſieux, all four of them named after their reſpective founders.—Theſe were the moſt conſiderable that were built in the ſixth century: the ſeventh was ſtill more diſtinguiſhed by the fervent zeal of religious founders.

* Aimoin, Praefat. in Hiſt. Franc. † It is called in Latin Romarici-Mons, by the name of its founder.

Luxeuil, Eſtival, Moyen-Mouſtier, Saint Dié, Senone, and Bon-Mouſtier, were all erected in the duchy of Lorraine; Saint Gal, in the mountains of Switzerland; Saint Vandrille, in the dioceſe of Rouen; Saint Vallery, on the coaſt of Picardy, and another in the ſame place, founded by Saint Joſſe, brother to Judicael, prince of the Britons; Saint Guiſlain, in Haynaut; Saint Tron, in the territory of Liege; beſides Saint Godart, Feſcamp, Jumiéges and Noir-Mouſtier. An enthuſiaſtic emulation appears to have prevailed at this period among the wealthy, which made them ſtrive who ſhould erect the greateſt number of theſe retreats. The moſt diſtinguiſhed erections which reſulted from the pious conteſt, were Saint Marcel in the foreſt of Breſſe, founded by king Gontran; Saint Martin, at Autun, by queen Brunehaut, for the reception of three hundred monks; Saint Denis, in the iſle of France, by Dagobert the Firſt, as much celebrated for the richneſs of its revenues, as the magnificence of its buildings; Corbie, by queen Bathilda; Stavelo, in the Ardennes; Malmedy, in the dioceſe of Liege; Saint Martin in the Fields, near Metz, by king Sigebert; Saint Waſt, at Arras, by Thierri the Third; and Surgub, Haleſac, Koniſbruck, and Saint Sigiſmond, in Alſace, by Dagobert the Second.

The queens, princeſſes, and women of quality, were not leſs zealous than their huſbands, in the encouragement of a monaſtic life. Many celebrated abbies were built at this period, where young women of condition found an aſylum for their virtue; widows, a place of refuge in the hour of calamity; and queens, a peaceful ſhelter from the tumultuous embarraſſments of royalty. Saint Croix, at Poitiers, owes its eſtabliſhment to Radegonda, wife to Clotaire the Firſt, who, preferring the ſweets of religion to the pleaſures of matrimony, left her huſband, and taking the veil, paſſed the remainder of her days at that convent. Bathilda founded the famous monaſtery of Notre Dame, at Chelles, where ſhe fixed her reſidence after completing the education of her royal ſon. Irmina, the daughter of Dagobert the Second, was the founder and firſt abbeſs of that of Ocren*. The convent of Notre Dame, at Soiſſons, of which ſeveral princeſſes have been abbeſſes, was erected by Leutruda, wife to Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace to Thierri the Third. Glodeſina, or Gloſina, daughter of Wintrion, duke of Champagne, inſtituted that at Metz, which ſtill bears her name. Fare-Mouſtier, in Brie, owes its origin to the illuſtrious Fara, ſiſter to Faro, biſhop of Meaux. Begga, widow of Anchiſes, ſon of Saint Arnoul, and daughter of Pepin the Old, founded that at Andène, which is now a college of ſecular maidens: and Aldegonda and Vaultruda, two ſiſters, erected the convent at Maubeuge. It would be an endleſs taſk to ſpecify every monaſtic inſtitution erected by women, in thoſe times; it is ſufficient to obſerve that the weaker ſex were not leſs eager than men to endure the fatigues and auſterity of a life of penitence and mortification.

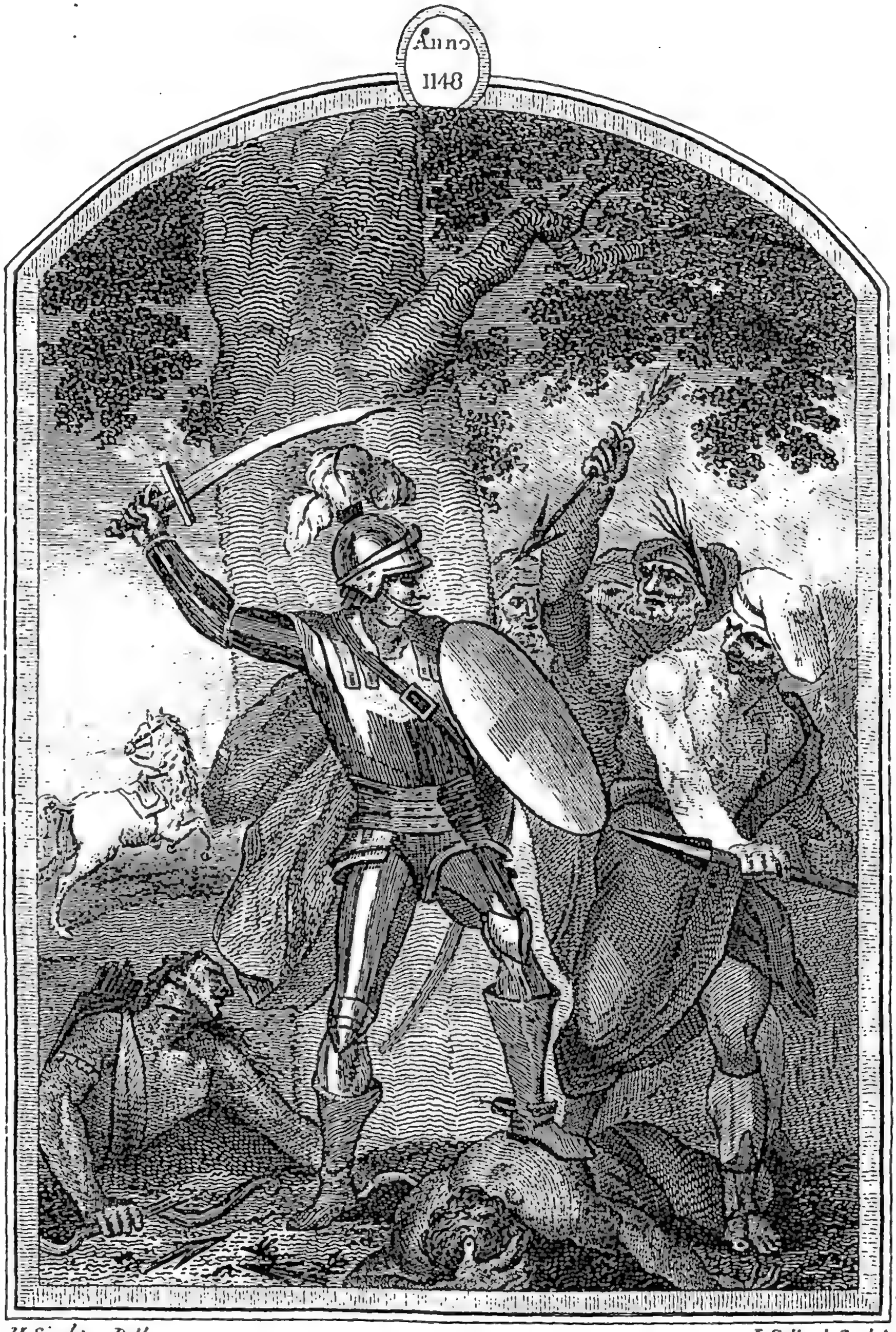
* Horreum.

There were formerly ſeveral claſſes of monks or hermits. Some of them lived in community, under the conduct of a ſuperior—theſe were the *cenobites*. Others, impelled by a deſire of attaining to a greater degree of perfection, retired to the moſt horrid deſerts—theſe were *hermits*, or *anchorites*. A third claſs travelled from province to province, either to viſit holy places, or to gain inſtruction from thoſe who were moſt celebrated for their ſanctity—ſuch were called *pilgrims*. A fourth, either built cells in towns, or elſe ſhut themſelves up in dreary caverns—theſe were named *recluſes*. There were, alſo, ſocieties conſiſting of three or four perſons who lived together, without any head or chief, neither reſtrained by rules, nor confined by vows. Moſt of them diſtributed their fortunes among the poor; but they were under no obligation ſo to do; nor did the laws exclude them from the poſſeſſion of eſtates, on their return to the world; though ſuch a return was regarded as a ſhameful deſertion.

Beſides the erection of monaſteries, the princes and nobles of theſe times diſplayed their zeal for religion, in the profuſion of preſents which they laviſhed on their inhabitants, and in the numerous and important exemptions which they granted them. Each abbey had its treaſury, which monarchs and their opulent ſubjects, were ſtudious to ſtock with precious effects of various kinds; theſe generally conſiſted of rich girdles, magnificent belts, valuable vaſes, clothes embroidered with gold and ſtones, and articles of furniture more rare than uſeful. The monks made a point of preſerving ſuch gifts as well for the glory of the convent, as for the honor of the donors. But they were ſtill more careful to preſerve thoſe charters which contained the enumeration of their privileges; and ſometimes, indeed, they had the temerity to amplify them. The French kings exempted them from all taxes on land, houſes, and goods, and from all contributions to the ſupport of the judges; a ſpecies of impoſt then in uſe. But even theſe precautions were inadequate to ſecure to them full poſſeſſion of their property, ſince the biſhops were empowered to diſpoſe of all offerings made at the different churches of their dioceſe. They exacted ſo much for the benediction of the holy chriſm; ſo much for the conſecration of altars; ſo much for their viſitations; and ſometimes they even inſiſted on being paid for an ordination. The French monarchs perſuaded them to give up theſe rights in favour of ſuch monaſteries as were royal foundations; and the prelates engaged never to enter them, but when the authority of the abbot ſhould prove inſufficient to command reſpect, and to enforce obedience.

It was always the biſhop of the dioceſe, aſſiſted by the other prelates of the province, who granted this kind of exemption. The firſt, and moſt ancient, is that which was accorded to the abbey of Saint Croix and Saint Vincent, by Germanus, or Saint Germain, whoſe name it now bears*. It was from ſuch

* It is proper to obſerve, that this exemption was warmly attacked; as well as that of Saint Medard, at Soiſſons, Saint Corneille, at Compeigne, and ſeveral others; but it is not leſs true that ſimilar privileges have been conferred on different monaſteries.



H: Singleton Del.

J: Galland Sculp.

Louis VII. singly repulsing a band of Saracens.

Philadelphia Published by A & J: G. Henderson: August 19th 1796.

an example, that Saint Dennis, Corbie, Lerins, Luxeuil, Saint Maurice in Chablais, and Saint Vandrille were exempted from the juriſdiction of the ordinary; the hierarchy having employed its authority for its own deſtruction. Pope Deodat acknowledges that theſe exemptions were real abuſes; yet in the ſame bull in which he ſays they are contrary to the ſacred canons, he confirms all the privileges of Saint Martin, at Tours, if that can properly be called a privilege which annihilates all monaſtic perfection, which conſiſts in humility and obedience.

Although monaſtic inſtitutions are indiſputably liable to various objections of great weight and magnitude, it is certain that France has derived many advantages from the number of its religious eſtabliſhments. They tended, at leaſt in the early times of the monarchy, to the advancement of religion, and promoted the diffuſion of virtuous ſentiments; they furniſhed hiſtorians, who preſerved the annals of the nation, and who, with a proper allowance for their credulity and profeſſional prejudice, may ſtill be read with advantage; and they ſupplied the ſtate with uſeful citizens, to whoſe induſtry France is chiefly indebted for the preſent fertility of its ſoil. The frequent incurſions of the Barbarians had laid the whole country waſte; nothing but uncultivated plains, extenſive foreſts, barren heaths, and noxious marſhes, were to be ſeen in every diſtrict. Poſſeſſions, thus ſterile, it was juſtly thought might be ceded to the monks without any detriment to the ſtate. Under this idea, as many lands were granted them as they were able to cultivate; though they had embraced a life of penitence, and conſecrated themſelves to their Creator, they did not wiſh to encourage ſloth, or to ſubſiſt in idleneſs: they cleared the woods; drained the marſhes; ploughed, ſowed, and planted the lands; and made ſuch erections on them as were neceſſary for the purpoſes of agriculture. Nor was their labour polluted by motives of ſelfiſhneſs; they obſerved the ſtricteſt frugality, and the greateſt part of the produce of their toil was devoted to the relief and comfort of the poor. Under ſuch auſpices, the face of the country was ſpeedily changed; it aſſumed an aſpect of cheerfulneſs to which it had long been a ſtranger; the dark heath now wore an appearance of verdure, the gloomy foreſt was converted into pleaſing plains, and all was cultivation and fertility around. There were ſome abbies whoſe revenues, thus improved by induſtry, became ſo extenſive, that they could raiſe ſmall armies: whence it was that the abbots were, in after times, invited to the aſſemblies in the Field of Mars.

The cuſtom, that ſo generally prevails at preſent, of making vows in favour of people who ſneeze, is commonly believed to have originated during the regency of Brunehaut, and the pontificate of Gregory the Great. It is pretended *, that at this period there was a malignity in the air, ſo contagious in

* Polyd. Virg. Sigonius.

its nature, that whoever was unfortunate enough to ſneeze, expired on the ſpot; which induced Gregory to order all good Chriſtians to offer up prayers, accompanied by vows, for the purpoſe of averting theſe evil effects. But this is a fiction, framed in violation of all the rules of probability, ſince it is certain that the cuſtom ſubſiſted in every part of the globe, from the remoteſt antiquity *.

In the Heathen Mythology, we are told †, that the firſt ſign of life given by the man of Prometheus, was a ſneeze. That pretended creator ſtole a portion of the ſun's rays, which having encloſed in a phial hermetically ſealed, he immediately returned to his favourite work, and applied it to the ſtatue. The ſolar rays had retained all their activity, and inſinuating themſelves into the pores, made the ſtatue ſneeze. Prometheus, delighted with the ſucceſs of his plan, offered up prayers for the preſervation of this ſingular being. His pupil hearing him, recollected what he ſaid, and was always careful, on ſimilar occaſions, to make the ſame vows in favour of his deſcendants, who have tranſmitted them from generation to generation.

The rabbies, in ſpeaking of this cuſtom, do not give it quite ſo early a date. They ſay that, after the creation, God made a general law, by which it was ordained, that every living man ſhould ſneeze but once, and that at the very moment he ſneezed he ſhould reſign his ſoul to the Lord, without any previous indiſpoſition. Jacob, by no means pleaſed with this abrupt method of quitting the world ‡, and being deſirous of ſettling his affairs previous to his departure, humbled himſelf before the Lord, and urgently requeſted the favour of being excepted from the general rule. He obtained his wiſh; he ſneezed and did not die. All the princes of the earth being informed of the fact, unanimouſly ordained, that, in future, every perſon who ſneezed ſhould offer up prayers for the preſervation and prolongation of his life.

Even from theſe fictions, it is apparent that this mark of politeneſs, which now univerſally obtains on the Continent, was in uſe long before the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. It was conſidered as very ancient, in the time of Ariſtotle, who was ignorant of its origin, and ſought the cauſe of it in his problems ‖. He pretends, that the firſt men being ſtrongly prejudiced in favour of the head, which is the principal ſeat of the ſoul, that intelligent ſubſtance, which governs and animates the whole maſs, extended their reſpect to the act of ſneezing, which is one of its moſt manifeſt and expreſſive operations. Hence the different compliments, uſed on ſuch occaſions, by the Greeks and Romans; ſuch as—"Long may you live!" "Good health to you!" "Jupiter preſerve you!"

* Mémoires de L'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. iv. † Fam. ſtrada in prob. Acad.

‡ Pirke R. Eliezer, c. 52. ‖ Ariſtot. in Probl.

CLOTAIRE THE SECOND,

(NOW)

SOLE KING OF THE FRENCH.

A. D. 613.] CLOTAIRE was the second of his name, and what is extraordinary, he was the second king of Soissons who reunited the different parts of the French monarchy, which had been constantly divided since the death of Clovis. But his power was not equal to the extent of his domination. Could it, indeed, be expected, that a throne raised on a basis so criminal, would be solid and durable; or that an all-just and all-sapient Providence would suffer so many crimes to pass unpunished? Though Clotaire appeared to have laid a foundation for the greatness and elevation of his family, he was the first cause of its abasement—of its desolation—nay, of its total ruin. Garnier, mayor of the palace of Burgundy, had only declared against Brunehaut, on a promise of being confirmed in his office for the remainder of his life *. Rado, mayor of the palace of Austrasia, had espoused the cause of Clotaire on the same conditions. Both of them governed in their respective departments more like kings than ministers. Gondeland, mayor of the palace of Neustria, had also rendered great services to the king—his reward was consequently the same, and his power almost as absolute. The weak monarch consented to grant these important places for life, which originally were holden only during pleasure. The mayors soon began to make an ill use of their authority, which daily continued

* Fred. in Chron. c. 14, 43. Gest. Franc. c. 42.

to encreaſe, while that of the ſovereign diminiſhed in proportion; till at length, the deſcendants of Clovis were dethroned by the poſterity of thoſe very men who had favoured their uſurpation over the family of Thierri. This, Paſquier calls a vengeance truly divine.

A. D. 614, 615.] The mayors of the palace were not the only objects of apprehenſion to the French monarch. The Auſtraſian and Burgundian nobles had equally favoured the invaſion; and they imagined, that the leaſt reward that was due to their ſervices, was a permiſſion to commit all acts of violence with impunity. The king had appointed duke Herpin to the government of one part of Burgundy; an office which, though one of the moſt important in the French empire, had recently been filled by a woman—a thing hitherto unexampled in France *. But that woman, it muſt be obſerved, was Theudelana, ſiſter to king Thierri, ſo that it was not aſtoniſhing that cuſtom ſhould have been made to yield to fraternal affection. This princeſs was involved in the misfortunes of her family; being arreſted with queen Brunehaut, and brought to the victorious Clotaire: but what became of her afterwards is not known. All that we learn from hiſtory is, that duke Herpin was appointed to ſucceed her;—at leaſt, that is what we muſt conjecture from the account of Fredegarius. After ſaying that Theudelana was brought from Burgundy, whither Brunehaut had fled for ſhelter; doubtleſs, becauſe ſhe imagined that a country governed by her daughter muſt prove a ſafe aſylum for her,—he adds, that "duke Her-" pin ſucceeded Theudelana in the government of that ſame province." This, however, is but a ſimple hiſtorical conjecture, which we may either admit, with father Daniel, on a ſuppoſition that the text is correct; or elſe reject it with ſome learned critics, who read Endelana inſtead of Theudelana.—Herpin was a man of great ſeverity, but rigid in the enforcement of order and juſtice. He undertook to repreſs the licentiouſneſs of the nobles, who deſolated the province by their oppreſſive exactions; but enraged at his conduct, they revolted, and the duke was maſſacred.

The king was then with his whole court at Marlem, a royal manſion in Alſace. He ſent a body of troops againſt the rebels, who quelled the ſedition, and returned with ſome of the chief conſpirators, who were firſt tortured and then put to death. Aletheus, who had conducted the plot from beginning to end, not only eſcaped ſuſpicion, but, by his artful intrigues, obtained that government which had become vacant by the death of the man he had aſſaſſinated. This important poſt revived all his ambition. He was a nobleman of high birth, and was endued with ſenſe, and poſſeſſed of courage. He even claimed deſcent from the ancient kings of Burgundy, and determined to aſcend the throne of his pretended anceſtors. The project was raſh in the extreme; but ſtill he found means to perſuade Leudemond †, biſhop of Sion, that it muſt infallibly be attended with ſucceſs. The prelate undertook to make a propoſal

* Fred. c. 40. † Idem, 44.

to queen Bertrude, the moſt inſolent that ever was made by a ſubject to his ſovereign—he went to her palace, and told her in confidence, that it had been revealed to him that the king, her huſband, would die within the year: he next adviſed her to put all her treaſures in a place of ſafety, and offered his own epiſcopal city for that purpoſe; and then offered her the hand of Aletheus, and the crown, which that preſumptuous rebel had dared to regard as due to his merit and his birth.

Bertrude was naturally ſimple, and a prophecy thus circumſtantial, and related by ſuch a perſon, alarmed her affection for Clotaire. Being prevented, by exceſs of grief, from entering into an explanation on the temerity of Aletheus, ſhe haſtily withdrew, and retired to her appartment to give vent to her tears. The prelate, diſconcerted, by the reception which his offers experienced, immediately perceived the whole extent of his imprudence, and the conſequent danger of his ſituation. Believing his deſtruction to be inevitable, he fled to Sion; but his fear proving too powerful to ſuffer him to remain there, he left it to throw himſelf under the protection of Euſtatius, abbot of Luxeuil, who afterwards procured his pardon. In the mean time, the king, informed by the queen of Aletheus's conſpiracy againſt his life, inſtantly diſpatched orders to apprehend him *. He was tried by an aſſembly of nobles at Maſſolac, a royal ſeat in Burgundy, and condemned to loſe his head.

A. D. 616, 617.] Theſe aſſemblies were often holden by Clotaire; they were called *placita;* and were a ſpecies of ambulatory parliament, compoſed of biſhops, chief officers of the crown, dukes, counts and *farons*, who have ſince been denominated barons. That which the French aſſembled this ſame year, at Bonneuil upon the Marne, was one of the moſt numerous that had been hitherto ſeen. All the Burgundian prelates and nobles were preſent †; the prince placed but little reliance on their fidelity, and therefore granted them all they required. Theſe aſſemblies generally met at one of the royal ſeats. The predeceſſors of Clotaire only convened them once a year, in the month of March; they were aboliſhed by the mayors of the palace, and re-eſtabliſhed by Pepin the Fat: but, for a long time, they were only holden twice a year.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed, however, that the adminiſtration of juſtice was neglected: each eſtate and each profeſſion had its peculiar tribunal, its laws, and its cuſtoms. Eccleſiaſtics were tried by the clergy; the military by officers; the nobles by gentlemen; and the people by *centurions* in the boroughs and villages; by counts in the cities; and by dukes in the capitals ‡. There was no ſuperiority of juriſdiction among theſe different tribunals, from whoſe ſentences an appeal could only lay to the king himſelf. If the appeal proved to be well founded, the judge became reſponſible for coſts and damages; if, on the contrary, the ſentence complained of appeared to be juſt, the appellant, if

*Fred. c. 44. † Idem, ibid. ‡ Ducange's Gloſſary on the words Judex, aſſiſa, placitum.

noble, was condemned to pay a pecuniary fine; and if not, to be whipped. Pecuniary fines were almoſt the only puniſhments known in thoſe days; and there was ſcarcely any other crimes than thoſe which affected the ſtate, that were puniſhed with death. The Salic law fixes the ſums to be paid to the king by way of fine, and to the party injured by way of reparation. The life of a biſhop was valued at nine hundred ſols of gold *; that of a prieſt at ſix hundred; and that of a laic at ſomething leſs, according to his quality †. The centurion did not poſſeſs the power of condemning criminals to die; the counts only poſſeſſed it in certain caſes; and the dukes were extremely cautious how they exerted that power. The court ſent commiſſaries, from time to time, into the provinces, never leſs than two, and always one duke, count, or prelate: their buſineſs was to hear complaints, and report them to the king.

Lawyers were unknown during the firſt race of kings. The judges, that is, ſuch as were not eccleſiaſtics, adminiſtered juſtice armed with a ſword, a battle-axe and a ſhield. Their commiſſion, which was but for a time, interdicted them from making any purchaſe within their juriſdiction. To diſcharge the office of a judge with propriety, a deep knowledge of the national laws and local cuſtoms was eſſentially requiſite. The Frank was tried by the Salic law; the Gaul, who reſided beyond the Loire, by the Roman law; and the inhabitants of the northern provinces, by the common law, or cuſtom of the country ‡. The aſſizes were holden every week or fortnight, according to the number of cauſes, and always in ſome public place, that was open to every one. Each perſon pleaded his own cauſe—widows and paupers were privileged; they were under the protection of the church, and nothing could be decided againſt them, until the biſhop had been apprized of it. The prelates were holden in ſuch conſideration in thoſe days, that their interceſſion ſufficed to ſave the life of a criminal, and they could even order a cauſe to be brought before them, which had been begun in a ſecular court ‖. This privilege was granted them by a law of Conſtantine; Charlemagne renewed it; and Lewis the Debonnaire, or *Gentle*, confirmed it. The biſhop could decide either in perſon, or by his official, on every thing that could be conſidered as a ſin—on bargains ratified by oaths, on marriages, wills, ſacrilege, perjury and adultery. This enormous power was founded on the dignity of their character, the ſanctity of their lives, and the extent of their capacities. Moſt of the nobles could neither read nor write: till tired at length with being ſubjected, like the common people, to the correction of prieſts, they began to ſtudy the law.

* The ſol of gold was worth about twelve ſhillings and ſixpence ſterling (or two dollars and ſeventy-eight cents). Two hundred ſols of gold were paid for a laic; a hundred for a Gaulic proprietor; and forty-five for a tributary Gaul. A Gaulic proprietor was a Gaul who had lands of his own, and a tributary Gaul, one who paid certain fines to the king.

† Baluze Capit. t. i. p. 387. ‡ Recherches ſur le Droit Francois, Sect. iii. l. i. p. 72.
‖ Cop. Theodoſ. in Append. P. Sirmundi.

Sometimes the monarch adminiſtered juſtice himſelf: the court was then holden at the gate of his palace. When he could not attend in perſon, he appointed two officers to receive petitions, and to give an immediate anſwer to ſuch as did not require much conſideration. Beſides theſe *maſters of requeſts*, there was a *count-judge*, whoſe counſellors were military men like himſelf, and were called aldermen of the palace *. This tribunal decided on all matters of ſtate, and all queſtions by which the prince or the public was affected. When the king preſided, aſſiſted by his prelates, abbots and dukes, the cauſe was reported to him by the *count-judge;* his majeſty then caſt up the votes, and pronounced ſentence. The form obſerved in this caſe may be ſeen in the ſecond book of Marculphus †.

Some time before the parliament of Bonneuil, aſſembled ‡, a council had been holden at Paris, compoſed of ſeventy-nine biſhops, many of the nobles, and a great number of the king's vaſſals, who were called *leudes*, or *fideles*. This was the firſt council of that kind ‖; but many ſuch were aſſembled under Charlemagne and his ſucceſſors. It was there that thoſe celebrated ordinances were framed, which were denominated *capitularies*, from their having been compoſed in an aſſembly, or, according to the language of thoſe times, in a *general chapter* of the nation. This council, the fourth holden at Paris, after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, declares all ſuch eccleſiaſtical elections, as were either ſimoniacal, or made without the conſent of the metropolitan, to be null and void. The third canon prohibits the clergy, of whatever rank, from employing the credit of the great, or the authority of the king to the prejudice of their biſhop. By the fourth it is decreed, that no ſecular judge could condemn or puniſh an eccleſiaſtic, without the knowledge of his prelate. All nuns who ſhould quit the monaſtic life, were declared to be excommunicated; and the prohibition of inceſtuous marriages was renewed. The king cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, by which he confirmed the ſtatutes of the councils, with ſuch additions as he thought neceſſary to preſerve the prerogatives of the crown.

In this edict it was declared, that a prelate, when elected after the forms preſcribed by the fathers of the council, could only be conſecrated by virtue of an order from the ſovereign; that every eccleſiaſtic who ſhould appeal to the king, for whatever cauſe, ſhould be pardoned, on preſenting himſelf to the biſhop, with a letter under the royal ſignet §; and that no eccleſiaſtic ſhould be ſubject to a ſecular juriſdiction, except in criminal caſes, when the prelates and ſecular judges ſhould have joint cognizance of the matter. Clotaire, by the ſame edict, declared it a capital crime, forcibly to carry off widows or virgins conſecrated to God, whether they reſided at home or in a monaſtery. He

* Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 19, and l. ix. c. 12. † Chap. 25. ‡ In 615. ‖ Tom. i. Concil. Gall.

§ In Decreto Reg. Clot. t. i. Concil. Gall.

finally aboliſhed all the new taxes, and revived thoſe which had been in uſe under Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert. There is not any of the ancient edicts in which all the neceſſary forms are obſerved with ſuch ſtrictneſs and preciſion as in this.—It is ſigned by the king, and underſigned by the chancellor or referendary.

It was beneath theſe wholeſome regulations that Clotaire attempted to veil the injuſtice of his uſurpation. But though the diminution of impoſts ſecured the applauſe of the people in Auſtraſia and Burgundy, his ſpirit of reform was by no means agreable to the inclinations of the great, who had only betrayed the family of their ſovereign, from the hope of living in a ſtate of perfect independence. It is not known whether Garnier really incurred the diſpleaſure of Clotaire, by the commiſſion of ſome treaſonable act, or whether he was only induced by the fears, which a knowledge of his vicious diſpoſition might naturally excite, to adopt meaſures for depriving him of his office. Be that as it may, we are aſſured by an ancient author *, that the king only aſſembled the parliament of Bonneuil for the purpoſe of perſuading the Burgundian nobles to conſent to his depoſition. The attempt, however, proved unſucceſsful; for they all entreated him to pardon the miniſter, and confirm him in his place. His authority was ſo feebly ſecured that he durſt not refuſe their requeſts, and what happened the following year, ſufficiently proves that the power of the mayor was greater than that of the monarch.

A. D. 618.] The Lombards as a mark of their ſubjection to the Gallic crown, paid an annual tribute to the French of twelve thouſand ſols of gold. Adaloald, their king, now diſpatched an embaſſy to Clotaire, not only to requeſt the remiſſion of that tribute, but the reſtoration alſo of Aoſte and Suſa †, two places which had been conquered by Gontran. Theſe were poſts of great importance, as they opened a free paſſage for the French troops into Italy, and formed the ſole defence of the kingdom of Burgundy, on that ſide. The propoſal conſequently deſerved to be treated with contempt, and to experience a refuſal the moſt prompt and deciſive: but the council were of a different opinion; Garnier, and two other noblemen of Burgundy, had received two conſiderable bribes from the king of Lombardy, and they accordingly exerted themſelves with ſuch art, induſtry, and ſucceſs that the weak monarch of France was prevailed on to comply with the petition, on receiving the ſum of thirty-five thouſand ſols of gold. By this baſe condeſcenſion, equally diſhonourable to the ſovereign and the nation, a ſtop was put to the conqueſts of the deſcendants of Clovis; and the gate of victory was for a long time ſhut againſt the French ‡. It was once more opened, indeed, under the ſecond race of kings, but not without a vaſt effuſion of blood.

* Hermann. c. 25, p. 500.

† Fred. in Chron. c. 75.

‡ Paſquier Recherches de la France, l. v.

Clotaire was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his rapine and injuſtice, without the frequent interruption of fear, and the reſtleſs inquietude of apprehenſion—the never-failing attendants of vice and uſurpation. It was rumoured about this time that Childebert, the ſon of Thierri, lay concealed in a monaſtery of nuns at the city of Arles. The affrighted king no ſooner heard the report, than he iſſued orders for apprehending the abbeſs, whoſe name was Ruſticula. She was accordingly brought before him, and took an oath that ſhe had never even harboured a thought of giving refuge to the object of his ſearch *. The piety of her life, and the goodneſs of her character, gave force to her declarations, and the whole court was convinced of her veracity. Clotaire, more ſuſpicious, becauſe more deeply intereſted, was the only perſon who ſuſpected her of diſſimulation and falſhood. He kept her in priſon, till the ſudden illneſs of his ſon Meroveus made him believe that Heaven interpoſed in her favour. Then influenced by ſuperſtition, as before by fear, both ariſing from the ſame cauſe, he reſtored her to liberty: the young prince, however, died, and queen Bertrude ſoon followed him. The king was greatly afflicted at this double loſs.

A. D. 622.] He had ſtill two ſons, Dagobert and Aribert; the former, though the oldeſt of the two, was yet very young. He is ſuppoſed to have ſprung from Haldetruda, Clotaire's firſt wife. The king, either from a love of repoſe, from policy, or from affection, ceded Auſtraſia to him, with the title of king †. This is the firſt example that occurs in the French hiſtory of a ſon being aſſociated with his father in the throne. Clotaire gave him, for his miniſters, two men holden in great eſtimation for their wiſdom and their virtue; Arnoul, biſhop of Metz; and Pepin, ſurnamed *The Old*, or, *of Landen*. But as prudence forbade him to deſpoil himſelf of all his authority, he reſerved a kind of ſovereignty over the kingdom which he ceded. Beſides that, too, he kept the Ardennes, Voſges, Auvergne, and all the towns, in ſhort, which the Auſtraſian monarchs had poſſeſſed on both ſides the Loire. This diſmemberment of the empire nearly proved, in the ſequel, a ſource of diſpute between the father and ſon.

A. D. 626.] Dagobert, accompanied by all the noblemen of his court, repaired to Clichi, a royal manſion near Paris, in order to eſpouſe Gomatrude, ſiſter to Sichilda, the reigning queen. The marriage was celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence; but the ceremony was no ſooner concluded, than the young monarch openly demanded the reſtitution of all the places which had been detached from the kingdom of Auſtraſia ‡. Clotaire, though extremely enraged at this ungrateful conduct, concealed his reſentment; and, as his timid policy ever led him to entertain apprehenſions of imaginary conſpiracies, he was induced to believe that his ſon would not have dared to make ſuch a propoſal,

* Flor. Pr. in vita S. Ruſticul. p. 564. † Fred. in Chron c. 47. ‡ Idem, c. 33.

had he not been impelled to it by the great men of the realm. Influenced by this perſuaſion, he conſented to leave the matter in queſtion to the deciſion of twelve noblemen, who prevailed on him to cede the Ardennes, Voſges, Rheims, Châlons, Laon, and Cambray. By this condeſcenſion, tranquility was, for a time, reſtored to the French empire.

The firſt interruption it experienced, was from a revolt of the Gaſcons, which was, however ſpeedily quelled. But an inſurrection of the Saxons, about the ſame period, wore a more ſerious aſpect. That fierce nation, regarding the youth of Dagobert, and the pacific diſpoſition of his father, as equal objects of contempt *, thought the opportunity favourable for the recovery of their ancient liberty. Their duke, Bertoald, having previouſly ſecured the aid of ſeveral tribes of Barbarians, ſent a declaration to the king, that he would no longer pay the accuſtomed tribute. On receiving this intelligence, Dagobert immediately paſſed the Rhine, in order to chaſtiſe the rebels. He was met, and attacked by the duke, before he could be joined by the army of Clotaire. The conteſt was maintained for ſome time with great obſtinacy; but, at length, the young prince being wounded by the ſtroke of a ſabre, which divided his helmet and cut off ſome of his hair, he was obliged to retire from the field. He inſtantly diſpatched a meſſenger to his father, with the broken pieces of his helmet, which ſhowed that he had performed his duty, and ſerved as unequivocal proofs of the danger he had run.

The king loſt no time in taking the field; but haſtily collecting what troops he could, flew to aſſiſt his ſon. He found the two armies in ſight of each other, and only ſeparated by the Vezer. Bertoald, to encourage the Saxons, had ſpread a report in his camp that Clotaire was dead. That monarch, therefore, advanced to the bank of the river, and, taking off his helmet, expoſed his long grey hair to the ſight of his faithleſs vaſſal, who ſtood on the oppoſite ſide. The duke inſulting him, he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, ſwam the river, and being followed by a great number of his troops, immediately attacked the Saxons. Bertoald, alarmed for his ſafety, betook himſelf to flight; but he was purſued by Clotaire, who, having overtaken him, cut off his head with one ſtroke of his ſword, and ſtuck it on a lance. A horrible carnage then enſued; the whole army was cut in pieces, and the nation almoſt annihilated. It is ſaid that the ferocious conqueror ordered every one of theſe ſeditious people who was in ſtature taller than his ſword to be maſſacred; and that his orders were but too well obeyed.

A. D. 628.] This was the laſt memorable exploit of the reign of Clotaire; if, indeed, it may be reckoned among the atchievements of that prince; for that candour, which the hiſtorian ſhould never loſe ſight of, compels us to remark, that authors of great weight have doubted its veracity. The author of "The Actions of the Kings of France," is the only writer who mentions

* Geſt. Franc. c. 41.

the fact. Fredegarius takes no notice of it. Be that as it may, Clotaire died about the ſame time, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and was interred at Paris, in the church of Saint Germain des Prés. He had three wives, Haldetrude, Bertrude, and Sichilda; and left two ſons, Dagobert and Aribert: it appears certain that he had the laſt by Bertrude.

In vain have contemporary hiſtorians, under the influence of prejudice, or of gratitude, repreſented this monarch as a juſt and gentle prince; his actions give the lye to their aſſertions. The uſurpation of Thierri's throne; the maſſacre of Brunehaut's grandchildren; the cruel death of that princeſs; the murder of Boſon; that of Godin, the ſon of Garnier;—all prove that he had nothing in his nature of that inflexible equity, and that incredible ſweetneſs of temper, which have been aſſigned him by his panegyriſts. Boſon, a young courtier diſtinguiſhed by the ſymmetry of his form, was ſuſpected, by the king, of maintaining a criminal correſpondence with his queen Sichilda *; and this ſuſpicion induced Clotaire to have him aſſaſſinated. Godin had married his father's widow; and inceſt being declared a capital crime by the new edicts, the king, inſtead of bringing him to a public trial, ſent ſome perſons, in whom he could confide, to put him to death ſecretly †. The young nobleman, however, being apprized of his intentions, eſcaped into the dominions of Dagobert, who procured his pardon, on condition that he would never more have commerce with his ſtepmother. That wicked woman whoſe name was Berta, enraged at her huſband's ſcrupulous fidelity in the obſervance of his promiſe, accuſed him of a conſpiracy againſt the life of the king. Clotaire, on this accuſation, the reſult of malice and diſappointment, expreſſed a wiſh to put the fidelity of Godin to the teſt; and with this view he ſent two noblemen to him, avowedly for the ſole purpoſe of ſounding his diſpoſition; but, in fact, they had ſecret orders to ſtab him whenever a proper opportunity ſhould occur. Godin, ſuſpicious of their real deſigns, was accompanied by a number of armed men wherever he went. He wandered from church to church, from Soiſſons to St. Dennes, where he ſwore on the tomb of that ſaint, as he had before ſworn on that of Saint Médard, that he would ever preſerve his allegiance to Clotaire. It was propoſed to him to take the ſame oath of fidelity at Saint Agnan, at Orleans, to which he conſented. Hitherto he had been conſtantly on his guard; but being at length taken by ſurprize near Chartres, he fell a victim to the diſſimulation, perjury, and barbarity of a prince who was indebted to the intrigues of his father for the poſſeſſion of a great kingdom. Theſe are actions ſo highly repugnant to the ſpirit of equity, to the laws of honour, and the maxims of Chriſtianity, as to admit of no palliation or excuſe. It is a groſs reflection on the humanity of the age in which they were committed, that they were neither ſtigmatized as unjuſt, nor regarded as cruel.

* Fred. in Chron. c. 54. † Idem, ibid.

It cannot, however, be denied that Clotaire poſſeſſed many good qualities. He was certainly a valiant and brave prince; well verſed in the art of governing; popular, affable, charitable to the poor, and a zealous protector of the miniſters of religion. He had baniſhed the biſhop of Sens, for his attachment to the family of Thierri; but hearing of his piety and merit, he recalled him, and inviting him to court, there begged his pardon, placed him at his own table, and loaded him with preſents. He renewed the ancient vigour of the laws; and, by the new regulations which he enforced, acquired a juſt claim to be placed in the liſt of legiſlators. To him the French were indebted for the introduction of the German code, which was regulated, and committed to paper, by a parliament conſiſting of thirty-three biſhops and thirty-four dukes, aſſembled by the king's orders. He had a cultivated mind, was fond of the Belles Lettres, and piqued himſelf on his politeneſs and gallantry. His complaiſance to the fair ſex was ever carried to exceſs; and he was extremely attached to the pleaſures of the chace.

That noble diverſion, which Plato * calls a divine exerciſe, and the ſchool for martial accompliſhments, has ever been the favourite amuſement of the French ſovereigns, from the firſt foundation of the monarchy. It appears from hiſtory that, in early times, every man had a right to ſhoot or hunt on his own lands, but never on thoſe of another, without the permiſſion of the owner. This reſtriction was enforced by the Roman law †, which was adopted by the monarchs of France, and preſerved in its utmoſt vigour. Gontran condemned one of his chamberlains to die, for having killed a buffalo in the royal foreſt of Vaſſac, or Vaugenne ‡. There are ſome good rules laid down, with regard to this diverſion, in the Salic law ‖. It forbids to ſteal or kill a tame ſtag, that has been trained for the field. It alſo fixes a puniſhment for any one who ſhall ſteal or kill a ſtag of which another is in purſuit; or who ſhall purloin game belonging to a ſportſman, or his dogs or his hawks. Theſe regulations have been repeatedly confirmed and renewed by the French kings, at different times §.

It has been pretended that the ancient monarchs of France were deficient in policy, when they adopted a law that did not pay ſufficient reſpect to the rights of ſovereignty ¶. Be that as it may, a ſyſtem of juriſprudence is now univerſally received in France, Spain, and Germany, which declares the primitive right of the chace to be inherent in the king, and that the nobles hold it of him, either as a fief, by conceſſion, or privilege.

* Plat. de Leg. Dial. † L. 3, quod inde dè acquirend. rerum domanio. ‡ Greg. Tur. l, x. c. 10. ‖ Leg. Salic. c. 35. § Dagobert I. 650. Carol. Magn. 798. ¶ Traité de la Pol. t. ii. l. 5. tit. xxiii. p. 1402.

DAGOBERT THE FIRST.

A. D. 628.] The news of Clotaire's death had no ſooner reached the court of Auſtraſia, than Dagobert exerted all the arts of a refined policy to get himſelf acknowledged ſole king of France, to the excluſion of his brother Aribert. He immediately diſpatched * into Burgundy and Neuſtria, ſuch of his miniſters as he knew to be moſt capable of inſinuating themſelves into the good graces of the inhabitants of thoſe kingdoms, and of procuring their votes in his favour. This ambitious monarch did not truſt entirely to intrigue; he raiſed a powerful army, and placing himſelf at its head, advanced as far as Rheims. He there found all the Burgundian nobles and prelates, who had come for the purpoſe of taking the oath of fidelity to him; and their example was ſoon followed by the Neuſtrians. Brunulf, brother to Aribert's mother, in vain attempted to oppoſe a reſolution ſo hoſtile to the intereſts of his nephew; he was conſtrained to yield to neceſſity, and came with Aribert himſelf to do homage to the new ſovereign.

This was an open violation of the laws of the realm, which had ever admitted all the children of the French monarchs to a ſhare in the kingdom. But, unfortunately, the moſt juſt cauſe is not always the moſt ſucceſsful †. The good qualities, however, of young Aribert, at length ſhone forth ſo conſpicuouſly, that the nobles began to pity his hard fate. The wiſeſt members of the council, fearing that this compaſſion might finally prove fatal to Dagobert, adviſed

* Fred. c. 56. Geſt. Dagob. c. 25. † Ibid. c. 16.

that monarch to form certain provinces into a kingdom, and cede it to Aribert. He accordingly gave his brother the Toulouſain, Quercy, Agenois, Perigord, Saintonge, and all that country which lies between the Garonne and the Pyrenees. But they obliged him to renounce all pretenſions to the reſt of the French monarchy. Aribert, having aſſumed the title of King of Aquitaine, ſet out immediately for his new dominions, of which Thoulouſe was the capital. He lived there with ſplendour, ſubdued the Gaſcons who had revolted, and ſupported, with glory, the honour of royalty.

The commencement of Dagobert's reign was diſtinguiſhed by the moſt wiſe and equitable meaſures. The kingdom of Burgundy was deſolated through the oppreſſion of the nobles, who profiting by the timid indulgence of Clotaire, had exerciſed every ſpecies of tyranny over their unfortunate vaſſals, the new monarch repaired thither in all the pomp of majeſty, and viſited Langres, Dijon, Saint Jean de Lône, Châlons-ſur-Saone, Autun and Auxerre, liſtening to the complaints of the widow and orphan, and of every one whoſe poverty or inſignificance had rendered them moſt liable to oppreſſion *. He adminiſtered ſtrict juſtice to all; and every crime was puniſhed with an inflexible ſeverity, without any diſtinction of rank or ſtation. He was loaded with the benedictions of the poor; a thouſand praiſes were beſtowed on the miniſters who adviſed him to purſue ſuch prudent meaſures; and to ſee a young monarch ſo much occupied in diſcharging the duties of his office, as ſcarcely to allow himſelf time to eat his meals, afforded a theme for univerſal admiration.

But amidſt theſe acts of juſtice, he committed one of a very different deſcription. Brunulf, Aribert's uncle, to avoid giving offence, had followed Dagobert into Burgundy, where that prince cauſed him to be arreſted; and, though he had nothing to accuſe him off, he baſely ordered him to be put to death, and three noblemen of his court were baſe enough to execute his orders. The king then returned to Paris; and ſoon after repudiated Gomatrude, under pretence of ſterility, and married Nantilda, one of her maids of honour †. But even this ſecond connection was inſufficient to fix his volatile diſpoſition. No longer reſtrained by the prudent councils of biſhop Arnoul, who, wearied out by a continual repetition of ineffectual remonſtrances, had at length obtained permiſſion to retire from court, the voluptuous Dagobert, hurried away by the impetuoſity of youth, gave a looſe to his paſſions, and rioted in exceſs of debauchery.

Impelled by vanity, rather than actuated by any deſire of adminiſtering juſtice to the inhabitants, he reſolved on a journey to Auſtraſia; where he diſplayed all that pomp and magnificence, of which he was ſo fond; appearing every where in his royal veſtments, attended by the chief nobles of Neuſtria and Burgundy. A young Auſtraſian, whoſe name was Ragnetrude, once more inſpired him with love ‡; and by her he had a ſon, afterwards ſo celebrated

* Fred. c. 16. † Id. Fred. c. 59. Geſt. Dagob. c. 22. ‡ Id. Fred. c. 60.

under the appellation of Saint Sigebert. She, however, was ſoon ſucceeded by another favourite; and this amorous monarch had three wives, at one time, all of whom were honoured with the title of Queen. His miſtreſſes were innumerable; and we are told that his exceſſes, with regard to women, were carried to ſuch a height, that hiſtorians were aſhamed to particularize them. The treaſures of this effeminate monarch proving inſufficient to ſatisfy the avidity of his women, he was ſoon compelled to diſtreſs his ſubjects by the exaction of new and onerous impoſts.

The magnificence diſplayed at the court of Dagobert exceeded every thing which had hitherto been ſeen in the kingdom of France. The king had a throne of ſolid gold; and that precious metal, with diamonds and other valuable ſtones, appears to have been very common among the nobles and courtiers at this period. The French were indebted for theſe articles of luxury, partly to their commerce with the eaſtern empire, and partly to their Italian conqueſts. But ſtill the people groaned under the iron hand of oppreſſion; and the miniſters became reſponſible for the exactions of the prince. The virtuous Pepin was the firſt object of public calumny, and of public hatred. Hoſtile to the vices of his ſovereign, he rather aſpired to the character of a cenſor, than to that of a baſe and ſervile flatterer*. Every ſcheme which malice could invent, was adopted for his ruin; but his prudence, his piety, and his virtue, fruſtrated all the pernicious deſigns of his unprincipled enemies.

A. D. 630.] Aribert, of a diſpoſition very different from that of his brother, was ſolely intent on promoting the happineſs of his ſubjects, by whom he was adored. The wiſdom and mildneſs of his government made the French repent the injuſtice of their conduct towards him. But he was unfortunately ſnatched from the world by a premature death, and left his ſubjects to deplore his loſs with a deep and grateful ſorrow. His infant ſon, Chilperic, did not long ſurvive him; and at his death Dagobert ſucceeded to his treaſures, which were conſiderable; and to his dominions, which were in a moſt flouriſhing condition †.

A. D. 631.] The tranquillity which France had enjoyed for a length of time, which, in thoſe days of commotion and revolt, was conſidered as extraordinary, was now ſuddenly interrupted by a merchant, formerly a ſubject of the Gallic monarchs, but lately promoted to the ſovereignty of a powerful nation. This man, whoſe name was Samo, had left home in company with ſeveral of his countrymen, for the purpoſe of traffic with the Sclavonians; a people that occupied not only that country which is now called Sclavonia, but alſo Boſnia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and a part of Bohemia ‡. They had advanced as far as the Danube, and had been ſubdued by the Abari; but the ill treatment they experienced from their conquerors at length induced them to revolt, in order to ſhake off a yoke which oppreſſion had rendered intolerable. At

* Fred. c. 62. † Idem c. 57. Geſt. Dagob. c. 24. ‡ Fred. c. 48.

this period the French merchants arrived in their country, where the flames of war were about to rage with incredible fury. Samo generouſly offered them his ſervices, and in the courſe of the conteſt performed ſo many prodigies of valour, that they unanimouſly choſe him for their king. Endued with a capacious and heroic mind, his efforts were dictated by prudence, and enforced with courage; their ſucceſs was accordingly complete, and he had the ſatisfaction of liberating his new ſubjects from tyranny and oppreſſion. But forgetting he was a Chriſtian, he lived among them in all the licentiouſneſs of paganiſm; and, profiting by the cuſtom of polygamy, which he found eſtabliſhed in his dominions, he married twelve wives, who gave birth to twenty-two ſons, and fifteen daughters.

Such was the man who now diſturbed the tranquillity of his native country. The ſubject of the quarrel was an inſult offered to certain French merchants, who had, according to cuſtom, gone to traffic with the Sclavonians *. Thoſe barbarians, in violation of the rights of nations, had ſeized their merchandize, and maſſacred ſuch as attempted to defend their property. Dagobert demanded reparation for the injury, but in vain—Samo even refuſed an audience to his ambaſſadors; one of whom, however, named Sicharius, found means to gain admiſſion to his preſence under the diſguiſe of a Sclavonian dreſs; but he remonſtrated with the king in terms ſo indecent and brutal, that he ordered him to be diſmiſſed in an ignominious manner. War was accordingly declared, and three armies were ſent from France to attack the Sclavonian monarch in three different quarters, who was therefore compelled to make a ſimilar diviſion of his troops. The firſt of theſe diviſions was defeated by the Germans under the conduct of duke Clodobert. The Lombards, who though formerly tributary to, were now in alliance with France, beat the ſecond, and obtained a conſiderable booty. But the third, in which Samo probably fought in perſon, attacked the Auſtraſians with ſuch vigour, that they retired in diſorder. This check ſuper-induced the defection of the Urbians or Sorabians, a people on the borders of Thuringia, who, with Dervan, their duke, went over to Samo. The Sclavonians, acquiring freſh courage from this acquiſition, extended their incurſions as far as French Germany, which they deſolated during ſeveral years.

Dagobert, indeed, had raiſed a powerful army, in order to oppoſe them, and had actually advanced as far as Mayence, where he was preparing to paſs the Rhine, when ſome envoys from the duke of Saxony came to make him a propoſal, that muſt have been rejected with indignation and diſdain, had he not preferred the tranquil pleaſures of repoſe to the dangers attending the acquiſition of glory †. They undertook to defend with their own troops all the frontiers of the French poſſeſſions in Germany, on condition that the tribute of five hundred oxen, which the Saxons were obliged to furniſh for the king's

* Fred. c. 68. Geſt. Dagob. c. 27. † Fred. c. 74.

houſhold, ſhould be remitted. He accepted this offer, granted the exemption required, and leaving the defence of Thuringia to them, diſmiſſed an army, at the head of which he might have given laws to all the nations in the vicinity of Auſtraſia.

A. D. 633.] The Saxons, however, ſoon diſcovered their inability to repreſs the incurſions of the Sclavonians; and accordingly giving up the attempt, Thuringia was again expoſed to the rage and avidity of that barbarous people*. Theſe diſappointments filled the monarch with grief, though they proved inadequate to rouſe him from his peaceful lethargy†. At length he determined to give the crown of Auſtraſia to young Sigebert, who had not yet attained his fourth year; he aſſigned him a revenue ſufficient for the ſupport of his regal dignity, and appointed two perſons to attend him, who were celebrated for their wiſdom, prudence, and virtue. Theſe were Cunibert, biſhop of Cologne, and Adalgiſe duke of the palace of Auſtraſia‡. This ſtep was attended with all thoſe beneficial conſequences which he expected to derive from it. The Auſtraſians, having now a king of their own, imagined they had recovered their ancient liberty, and proſecuted the war with vigour and effect. The Sclavonians, repulſed on all ſides, refrained from their depradations, and kept within the bounds of their own dominions.

A. D. 634.] But the ſatisfaction experienced by the Auſtraſians onth is event was ſomewhat allayed by another meaſure of Dagobert's the following year. By the advice of St. Amand, whom he had recalled from baniſhment, he had again taken Nantilda to his bed, and had a ſon by her, named Clovis. Fearing that this young prince might meet with the ſame injuſtice as Aribert, he took every precaution that prudence could inſpire, to inſure him a crown after his death. With this view, he aſſembled the nobles of the three kingdoms at Paris‖; and declared to them his intention of appointing Clovis to ſucceed him in the kingdoms of Burgundy and Neuſtria; at the ſame time enſuring to Sigebert§ all the poſſeſſions he now enjoyed, and promiſing to leave him whatever had formerly appertained to the kingdom of Auſtraſia, viz. a part of Champagne, the Ardennes, Voſge, and all the places, in ſhort, which his predeceſſors had poſſeſſed in Aquitain, Provence, and other parts of the empire, with the ſingle exception of the dutchy of Dentelenus, which he re-united to Neuſtria, from whence it had been detached by Theodebert the Second. The Auſtraſian nobles could with difficulty be prevailed on to conſent to this diviſion of the kingdom, but all the reſt of the aſſembly declaring ſtrongly in favour of it, they were compelled to withdraw their reſiſtance, and place their hands to Sigebert's renunciation of Burgundy and Neuſtria.

* Geſt. Dag. c. 31. † Fred. c. 75 and 85. Geſt. Dag. c. 32.

‡ It appears from hence, that the poſt of Duke of the Palace was diſtinguiſhed from that of Mayor, which Pepin enjoyed, both now and at a ſubſequent period.

‖ Fred. c. 76. § Vit. Sigeb. reg. Geſt. Dagob. c. 32.

A. D. 635, 636.] No ſooner was this buſineſs terminated, than Dagobert found himſelf obliged to ſend a numerous army againſt the Gaſcons, who had revolted. That turbulent people, however, were ſoon reduced to ſubjection; and Æghinan, their duke with all their principal nobles, were forced to repair to Saint Denis, where they beſought the king's pardon for their offence, and took an oath of allegiance and fidelity.—A ſimilar inſurrection took place in Brittany, where duke Judicael, in violation of exiſting treaties, aſſumed the title of king, and committed depradations on the frontiers of France. But the reduction of the Gaſcons induced him ſpeedily to renounce his pretenſions to royalty; and in imitation of Æghinan, he haſtened to Clichi, where the court then was, aſked pardon for his tranſgreſſions, and ſwore eternal obedience to Dagobert.

A. D. 638.] That monarch, however, did not live long to enjoy the bleſſings of peace which he had ſecured to his ſubjects. Being ſeized with a dyſentery, at Epinay, a royal ſeat on the Seine, he was conveyed to Saint Denis, where he died in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, and was buried in the church belonging to that Abbey, which he had richly endowed *. He had four wives; Gomatrude, whom he repudiated; and Nantilda, Wlfégonda and Bertilda, who all reigned at the ſame time. It does not appear that Ragnetrude, Sigebert's mother, ever enjoyed the title of Queen. The diviſion of his dominions between his two ſons, which he had made during his life, was rigidly obſerved. Sigebert governed Auſtraſia, and Clovis was proclaimed king of Neuſtria and Burgundy.

The monks, who were greatly indebted to his generoſity, have paſſed the moſt brilliant eulogies on the life and conduct of Dagobert. But though the gratitude of thoſe writers be deſerving of commendation, it has ſtill betrayed them into groſs flattery and flagrant miſrepreſentation. The commencement of his reign was well calculated to enſure the eſteem of his ſubjects—where the felicity of his people forms the chief object of a monarch's ſtudy and attention, their affection will invariably follow. But Dagobert only changed the ſource of oppreſſion; he reſtrained, indeed, the tyranny of the nobles, but he ſoon eſtabliſhed a tyranny of his own; diſtreſſing his ſubjects to ſupport his debauchery—loading them with burthenſome impoſts, in order to gratify the inſatiate avidity of his miſtreſſes. Though not deficient in perſonal bravery, yet he did not poſſeſs that active valour which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed all the deſcendants of Clovis. The faireſt objects of commendation in the character of Dagobert, are his charity, munificence, and generoſity—theſe virtues he certainly poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, though they were not directed with that propriety of judgment which is requiſite to give them their moſt beneficial effect.

During this reign, a collection was made of the laws of the different people ſubject to the domination of France. Thoſe of the French are comprized

* Fred. c. 79.

under the head of *Salic law* or *Ripuarian law* *. The firſt regarded ſuch of the French as inhabited the country between the Maeſe and the Loire †, and the laſt was made for thoſe that lived between the Maeſe and the Rhine. They differ but little: it may be ſeen by them both, that ſubjects were then divided into two claſſes—*freemen* and *ſlaves* ‡. Of the former there were two ſorts—one noble, and the other not. The nobles only founded their nobility on the antiquity of their family—letters or patents of nobility were not yet known. The chief dignities were thoſe of patrician, duke, count, and domeſtic or governor of the royal manſions. The French paid no tribute; that was only exacted from the native Gauls, who were ſeldom diſtinguiſhed by any other appellation than that of Romans. Theſe were treated with contempt, and and ſcarcely ever entruſted with any poſt of importance.

The French law had one diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, which no law, indeed, ſhould be without—that is, it left nothing to the diſcretion of the judge. Every poſſible crime had its peculiar puniſhment ſpecifically annexed to it; and reparation for every ſpecies of inſult, indecency, or ill treatment, was appreciated with preciſion, if not always with rigid juſtice ‖. Heavy fines were inflicted on ſuch as ſtripped a man when dead or aſleep §; and on thoſe alſo who mounted a horſe without the permiſſion of the owner, or a horſe which they found aſtray ¶. Whoever dared to ſqueeze the hand of a free woman, was ſentenced to pay fifteen ſols of gold; if he took her by the arm, he paid double that ſum; and if he touched her boſom, quadruple. Theſe regulations were highly prudent in thoſe times; for the French being accuſtomed to take their wives with them to camp, it was neceſſary to ſecure them againſt every kind of inſult *.

The proviſions of the Salic law, with regard to homicide, were not equally ſalutary or unobjectionable. It allowed of that ſame compoſition for murder, which in the ages of imperfect civilization, was common to almoſt all countries; and fixed a price on the life of each individual ††.

* Chron. Moiſſiac. † Ado Vien. et alii. ‡ Lex Salic. tit. 37, 43, 44. Lex Ripuar. tit. 62.
‖ Lex Sal. tit. 60. § Ibid. tit. 15, 17, 25. ¶ Ibid. tit. 22.

* This attention to the fair ſex was ever juſtly conſidered as the certain mark of a tendency towards a refinement of manners; and in nations recently emerged from a ſtate of rudeneſs and barbariſm, the commencement of ſuch attention affords a ſtrong and almoſt infallible preſage of a rapid progreſs in civilization, and in the attainment of ſocial virtues. "It was "(ſays a learned Britiſh writer, ſpeaking of the ancient codes of the different people in France "and Germany) the firſt indication of the approach of theſe nations towards politeneſs, that "their compoſitions for injuries done to women were generally doubled."——Lord Kaims's Law-Tracts, p. 32, &c.

†† Tit. 43, 44, 45, 65.

On this head it entered into a thouſand particulars. If the aſſaſſin was inſolvent, his relations, to a certain degree, were compelled to pay for him; and if they were not rich enough, he became a ſlave to the family of the deceaſed. Such a ſyſtem of juriſprudence was rather calculated to authorize crimes than to repreſs them. Something, indeed, might be ſaid in its favour, when applied to countries but thinly inhabited; ſince it preſerved a member of the community, and aſſured to the relations of the deceaſed, either a ſlave, or an advantageous compoſition; which proved ſome compenſation for the loſs of a kinſman, whoſe labours might have contributed to their ſubſiſtence; and it was probably on this principle alone that ſuch laws were founded. Every citizen, too, was compelled by it to keep a ſtrict watch over the conduct of thoſe who were allied to him by blood; ſince, in certain caſes, he was reſponſible for their miſbehaviour. It was allowable, however, for a man to exempt himſelf from the conſequences of relationſhip, by a juridical declaration *; but the perſon who made ſuch a declaration, forfeited all right of inheritance; and if he were killed, his fortune, or at leaſt the fine exacted from his aſſaſſin, was paid into the exchequer †.

The French laws alſo contained ſome regulations with regard to marriage; that, being founded on feudal principles, were more favourable to family pride, and perhaps to domeſtic harmony, than to conjugal happineſs, or the increaſe of population. Children could not marry without the conſent of their fathers and mothers ‡. The intended huſband was obliged to offer a certain ſum to the parents of his miſtreſs; which, according to Fredegarius and Marculphus, was a *ſol* and a *denier*. If the bride was a widow, *three ſols of gold* and *one denier* were paid to the judges, who divided them among ſuch of the relations of her firſt huſband as were not heirs ‖. The offer of this ſum was always made in a public court, where a ſhield had been elevated, and where three cauſes, at leaſt, had been tried; without this formality, the marriage was declared null. By this ſpecies of purchaſe, the huſband acquired ſo great a power over his wife §, that if he diſſipated her dower, or any eſtate that had fallen to her by ſucceſſion, ſhe had no right to call on him for reſtitution. The reaſon aſſigned for exacting a larger ſum for a widow than for a maid, is this—when a girl married ſhe was ſuppoſed not to change her condition, in point of ſubſerviency, as ſhe did but paſs from under the tuition of her parents to that of her huſband: a widow,

* Tit. 65.

† Of all the pecuniary fines to be found in the ancient codes, thoſe of the Welch are the moſt curious. Howel Dda fixed the fine for murdering a chancellor at 189 cows; for killing the queen's cat, as much wheat as would cover her, when ſuſpended by the tail; for a perjury, three cows; for the rape of a maid, twelve cows; of a matron, eighteen; and in caſes of ſeduction, "Vir, ſi factum denegaverit, jurabit ſuper campanam eccleſiae malleo deſtitutam; "quod ſi faſſus fuerit, compenſabit denariis totidem, quot nates fœminæ operiantur."—Leges Wallicæ, p. 116, 202, &c.

‡ Tit. 62. ‖ In Epitom. c. 18. form. 75. § Rip. Tit. 37.

on the contrary, had recovered her liberty; and therefore a greater value was placed on the ſacrifice of it. A girl who ſuffered herſelf to be carried off, was condemned to ſlavery. A freeman who married a ſlave became a ſlave himſelf.

The laws of inheritance were fixed with equal preciſion. The children of the deceaſed were ſole heirs to his fortune; in default of them, his father and mother inherited; if he had no parents, his brothers and ſiſters; after them the father's ſiſters, and the mother's ſiſters; and, laſtly, the next heir on the father's ſide*—adoption was allowed†. The child was adopted in the king's preſence, who iſſued his letters for that purpoſe, and he enjoyed all the rights of a legitimate offspring.

There were three ſorts of poſſeſſions.—Thoſe of which a man could diſpoſe at his pleaſure, and which were termed *propres*;—*beneſices*, which were either holden of the prince, or of the church, on paying certain fines;—and *Salic lands*, holden on condition of military ſervice. Women could only inherit the firſt; the ſecond reverted to the king, on the death of the poſſeſſor; and the laſt were confined to the male heirs. It is worthy of remark, that the French monarchs, on their firſt eſtabliſhment in Gaul, left the native Gauls in poſſeſſion of two thirds of their lands, on paying a tribute. The remaining third was diſtributed among the victorious troops, who, from the ſoldier to the general, all held of the king.

* Salic. Tit. 14. † Rip. Tit. 45.

CLOVIS THE SECOND.

A. D. 638.] ON the death of Dagobert, the royal family of France began rapidly to decline. The enormous authority uſurped by the mayors of the palace, during the long minority of his children, led them by degrees to the uſurpation of the regal dignity, to which alone ſuch power ſhould belong. Intereſt, ambition, and caprice became the ſole rules of their government; they brought up the young princes in a ſtate of ſhameful inactivity, purpoſely keeping them aloof from buſineſs; inſpiring them with no ſentiments worthy of their rank and birth; ſtudying their paſſions, not for the ſalutary purpoſe of reſtraint, but with the baſe view of affording them a dangerous indulgence; and even profiting by their diſpoſition to piety, in order to acquire a more perfect aſcendancy over their youthful minds. Vice, indolence, and ſloth, were the natural offſprings of ſuch an education.

Theſe acts of baſeneſs, however, cannot be attributed to Ægа and Pepin, both mayors of the palace; one in Neuſtria, under Clovis; and the other in Auſtraſia, under Sigebert. There appeared in their conduct nothing which betrayed a deſign to encroach on the royal authority or to oppreſs the people *. The firſt was a man of exemplary prudence, and approved fidelity †. The king, on his death-bed, had recommended his queen Nantilda, and the prince, her ſon, to his care; and the conduct of Ægа ſhewed that the confidence of his ſovereign was not miſplaced. The firſt uſe which he made of his power was to reſtore to individuals what the officers of the exchequer had unjuſtly exacted from them. Pepin, ſtill more reſpectable from his virtues than from his political knowledge, procured ſuch reſpect to the authority of his pupil,

* Fred. c. 80, 85. † Geſt. Dagob. c. 46.

that, ſo long as he lived, it experienced no interruption, either from foreign invaſions or domeſtic commotions. As ſoon as he entered upon the duties of his office, he ſent an ambaſſador to Clovis, to demand a diviſion of the treaſures of Dagobert. [A. D. 639.] The requeſt was complied with: the two miniſters repairing to Compiégne, divided the gold, ſilver, furniture, clothes, and jewels, into three lots; the firſt of which was given to Clovis; the ſecond to Sigebert; and the third to Nantilda, in compliance with the French Ripuarian Law, which ordains that a woman ſhall inherit a third of her huſband's acquired property *.

A. D. 640.] Pepin, unfortunately, died the year after this diſplay of his zeal for the intereſts of his maſter. The mildneſs and equity of his government, rendered his death an object of lamentation to the Auſtraſians; and the ſplendour of his virtues procured him a place in the liſt of Romiſh ſaints.

Æga ſoon followed him; ſo that the royal family ſuſtained a double loſs. The ſucceſſors of theſe virtuous miniſters, neither poſſeſſed the ſame fidelity, nor the ſame moderation. Erchinoalde, the new mayor of Neuſtria, governed more like a king †, than a miniſter. Among his ſervants was a girl of exquiſite beauty, named Batilda, whom he married [A. D. 646.] to the young monarch. She was a woman of ſtrict virtue, and an heroic courage. She was born in England, of a Saxon family, from whence ſhe had been carried off when a child, and ſold as a ſlave in France. The author of her life affirms, that ſhe was deſcended from illuſtrious parents ‡; but as Clovis was a king, and Batilda a ſlave, the virtue of the latter was inſufficient to counterbalance the inequality of the parties in the eyes of the nation.

Grimoald, the ſon of Pepin, aſpired to the enjoyment of his father's poſt; and though powerfully oppoſed by Otho, the ſon of an Auſtraſian nobleman, who had been governor to the king ‖, he found means to procure the aſſaſſination of his rival, and by that means obtained the object of his wiſhes. This was the firſt time that the office of mayor paſſed from father to ſon. It afterwards became hereditary.

While the court of Auſtraſia was harraſſed and divided by the intrigues of theſe ambitious young men, the ſtandard of rebellion was hoiſted in Thuringia, by Radulfus, duke of that province. This nobleman was poſſeſſed of great military talents: having conquered the Sclavonians, and reſtored tranquillity to the province over which he precided, he became elated with ſucceſs §, aſſerted his independence, and adopted means for the eſtabliſhment of his authority. It is probable the court had intended to recall him; but as they had never put their deſigns in execution, he ſeized the earlieſt opportunity that occurred openly to declare his ſentiments, and to commence hoſtilities againſt

* Tit. 37. artic. 2. † Fred. c. 83, 84 ‡ Vita S. Batild. c. 1. ‖ Idem. Fred. c. 88.
§ Ib. c. 87.

his ſovereign. He had entered into a league with a Bavarian, named Fare, a man of quality, deſcended from the illuſtrious family of the Agilolfingians, hereditary dukes of Bavaria. That young nobleman, who poſſeſſed great riches, a high ſpirit, and extenſive connections, was actuated by reſentment for the death of his father, Crodoalde, whom Dagobert had ordered to be killed for ſome crimes which he had committed. An eager deſire of vengeance ſupplied him with the means of raiſing a conſiderable army, which he led to the aſſiſtance of Radulfus.

All the troops in the kingdom were aſſembled to quell this formidable inſurrection, and the king marched in perſon to oppoſe the rebels. When the armies met, victory, at firſt, ſeemed to declare in favour of Sigebert. Fare, who had taken poſt beyond the Buconian foreſt, on the frontiers of Thuringia, was defeated and ſlain; but the face of the day was ſpeedily changed. The French army next advanced againſt Radulfus, who had entrenched himſelf on an eminence, on the banks of the river Unſtrut. The advantage of his ſituation induced the king to hold a council of war, in which the ſentiments of his officers were divided; ſome were of opinion, that the aſſault ſhould be immediately given; while others maintained the propriety of deferring it till the next day, when the troops would be recovered from their fatigue. The former, however, prevailed; and thoſe who were of the oppoſite opinion, foreſeeing the conſequence of this raſh deciſion, remained near the king, with a reſolution either to protect his life, or die at his feet. The event fully juſtified their conjectures. As the troops were aſcending the hill, the duke of Thuringia ruſhed out upon them, and attacking them with great fury, put moſt of them to the ſword. The ſlaughter was ſo dreadful, that Sigebert ſeeing the whole mountain covered with the dead and the dying, could not refrain from burſting into tears.

This terrible check ſpread an univerſal conſternation throughout the Auſtraſian army, and the king's perſon being thought in danger, it was judged prudent to enter into a negociation with the conqueror. Radulfus acknowledged that he held Thuringia under the authority of Sigebert; but, at the ſame time, expreſſed his hopes that he ſhould be confirmed in a poſt, which he had ſo richly deſerved by his numerous victories over the Sclavonians. The Auſtraſians were obliged to content themſelves with this kind of ſubmiſſion, and to re-eſtabliſh him in his government, where he afterwards exerciſed all the powers of a king.

This is the only memorable event in the reign of Sigebert, who was a good, though not an active prince; more buſied in religious foundations, than in military eſtabliſhments: a pious monarch, but a bad politician; and rather formed by nature for obedience than command. He erected and endowed twelve monaſteries; yet from a letter of his, which is ſtill extant, it appears, that he had ſufficient ſpirit to maintain his authority againſt eccleſiaſtical encroachments: it is addreſſed to Didier, biſhop of Cahors, and contains ſome ſevere repri-

mands on the ſubject of a ſynod that had been convened without his knowledge; with a ſtrong prohibition to the prelates, not to aſſemble in any place whatever without his expreſs permiſſion. It is ſaid that though he was very young, and recently married, he adopted the ſon of Grimoald *. But having a ſon, ſome time after, named Dagobert, by his queen Imnichilda, the adoption was revoked †.

The birth of this prince encreaſed the devotion of the monarch, and the credit of the mayor of the palace. Sigebert devoting his whole time to works of piety, Grimoald held the reigns of government, diſtributing favours as he pleaſed, and regulating every thing according to his wiſhes. The king's confidence in this ambitious miniſter was ſo great, that, finding himſelf attacked by a dangerous diſeaſe, he recommended his ſon to his care.

A. D. 654.] Sigebert died at Metz, and was buried in the magnificent church which he had recently built in that city, and dedicated to Saint Martin. Dagobert ſucceeded to the throne without oppoſition; but he had no ſooner aſcended it, than he was removed from his ſtation by an act of treaſon the moſt abominable. The conſpirators being afraid to make an attempt on his life, cut off his hair and ſent him to Scotland—where he long lived in a ſtate of obſcurity—under the conduct of Didon, biſhop of Poitiers; who, though deſcended from Clovis, was not aſhamed to undertake the infamous commiſſion ‡.

A. D. 655; 656.] A report was immediately ſpread that young Dagobert was dead; and they even affected to bury him with great pomp. The ſtory of the pretended adoption was renewed; no circumſtance was omitted that could tend to eſtabliſh its truth; and, ſuch was the extent of Grimoald's power, that his ſon Childebert was proclaimed king. But the Auſtraſians, ſhocked at theſe proceedings, had recourſe to arms ‖, depoſed the new monarch, and ſeizing the mayor of the palace, conducted him to the king of Burgundy and Neuſtria §. It is not known what puniſhment was inflicted on this perfidious miniſter, nor what became of the young uſurper. Dagobert, either from a belief that he was dead, or from ignorance of his retreat, was not recalled. Auſtraſia ſubmitted to Clovis, who re-united, for the fourth time, the different kingdoms of the French monarchy.

The reign of this prince, like that of his brother Sigebert, was undiſtinguiſhed by any brilliant atchievement. There are few kings of whom more good and more evil has been ſaid. The motives of their commendation and cenſure exhibit, in a juſt light, the judgment and ſpirit of the writers of thoſe times. [A. D. 657.] A great famine happening in France, Clovis, in order to procure nouriſhment for the poor, ſold the plates of gold and ſilver, which

* Vita Sigeberti Reg. † Geſt. Franc. c. 43. ‡ Vita Sancti Vulfridi. ‖ Vita Sigeberti Reg. Act. S. Audoeni. § Geſt. Franc. c. 43.

covered the tombs of Saint Denis, and his companions. This was a charitable action, and truly worthy of a Chriſtian king; but, at the ſame time, it was an encroachment on the treaſures of the monks. Clovis, ſays the continuator of Fredegarius *, was a prince addicted to every ſpecies of vice:—he was brutal and unfeeling; a debauchee, and a drunkard. Some time after this, he obtained for the ſame abbey, of Saint Denis, an exemption from all juriſdiction; Landry, biſhop of Paris, conſented to it, and the deed for that purpoſe was drawn up in a general aſſembly of the prelates and nobles of France. Then the ſcene changed; he was no longer that monarch, who, during the *whole courſe of his life had not performed one virtuous action*; he was now a great king, ſays Aimoin †; wiſe, valiant, brave, equitable, full of religion, and highly agreeable to God.

A. D. 660.] The monks have imputed another crime to him—the ſeizure of an arm of Saint Denis, for the embelliſhment of his oratory. This appeared a matter of great importance to thoſe who dreaded a diminution of the number of pious pilgrims who went to pay their devotions at the ſhrine of the French apoſtle. It was a crime, they tell us, which Heaven took care to puniſh, by depriving Clovis of his ſenſes. And, if the monks may be credited, to that impious meaſure muſt be aſcribed all the calamities which France experienced under the ſucceſſors of this monarch; who died in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and the fifteenth or ſixteenth of his reign. He was buried at Saint Denis.

* Monachus Dionyſianus, c. 1. † Aimoin Hiſt.

CLOTAIRE THE THIRD.

A. D. 660.] CLOVIS left three ſons, Clotaire, Childeric, and Thierri; the eldeſt of whom was proclaimed ſole king, under the conduct of queen Batilda, and of Ebroin, mayor of the palace of Neuſtria, who was a man of addreſs and courage, capable of great undertakings, but cruel and ambitious. He had the art, however, to conceal his vices, to which he was induced through the fear of diſpleaſing Batilda, whoſe wiſe plans he ever ſeconded with cheerfulneſs and alacrity. The regency of that princeſs was diſtinguiſhed by its mildneſs, prudence, juſtice, and virtue*. The Gauls, without diſtinction of age or ſex, paid a heavy poll-tax, which either prevented them from marrying, or elſe ſubjected them to the neceſſity of expoſing, or even ſelling, their children. They now carried their complaints to the foot of the throne; and Batilda, moved by their ſupplications, remitted this onerous tribute; and redeemed all thoſe whom the rigid exaction of it had reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. Nor was ſhe leſs attentive to the intereſts of the church; ſhe diſplayed her zeal for religion in her endeavours to promote a reformation of manners; in the repreſſion of intrigues for obtaining the honours of epiſcopacy, and in the extermination of ſimony.

The Auſtraſians, however, bore with impatience the yoke of the Neuſtrians; they demanded a king of their own; and the queen, in compliance with their requeſt, appointed her ſecond ſon to reign over them. Wlfoalde was created mayor of the palace, and declared guardian to the young prince, whom Imni-

* Vita Batild. c. 127.

childa obtained permiſſion to accompany. In this condeſcenſion, Batilda diſplayed more goodneſs than policy; for Imnichilda was beloved*, and Dagobert was ſtill alive; ſo that the reſidence of that princeſs, in a kingdom which belonged to her ſon, might be attended with diſagreeable conſequences. But the virtuous mind, conſcious of its own rectitude, is ſeldom open to ſuſpicion. Childeric was received and crowned with every poſſible demonſtration of joy, and tranquillity appeared to be eſtabliſhed throughout the three kingdoms.

A. D. 665.] The virtuous regent was ſtudiouſly bent on promoting the intereſts of religion, the welfare of the ſtate, and the education of her ſon. Her court was filled with people renowned for their wiſdom and piety. But, unfortunately, her partiality to biſhops proved prejudicial to the church, and injurious to her own reputation. She invited to court, among others, two men equally celebrated for their mental endowments, though not poſſeſſed of an equal portion of merit. One of them, the illuſtrious Leger, who was allied to the royal family, was prudent, pious, and learned; endued with a ſuavity of manners that captivated every heart, and with a ſtrictneſs of virtue that conciliated univerſal reſpect. Him the queen appointed to the biſhoprick of Autun, and the ſanctity of his life evinced the wiſdom of her choice†. The other was Sigebrand, biſhop of Pariſ‡, a prelate whoſe conduct had been hitherto irreproachable, but whoſe vanity proved the cauſe of his deſtruction. This haughty favourite, in order to enſure a greater degree of conſequence, ſuffered a wrong conſtruction to be put on Batilda's kindneſs to him. The nobles, jealous of the credit he enjoyed, began to murmur; and, at laſt, put him to death. The aſſaſſins then haſtened to the queen, and adviſed her to ſhut herſelf up in a monaſtery. As ſhe had long ſighed after a life of ſolitude, ſhe was eaſily prevailed on to liſten to their advice, and retired to the abbey of Chelles, which ſhe had founded ‖. She there paſſed the remainder of her life, in the exerciſe of every virtue. She was afterwards canonized.

A. D. 668.] Batilta's ſeceſſion from the regency left the kingdom a prey to the unbridled licentiouſneſs of the mayor of the palace. Ebroin, poſſeſſed of ſovereign authority, now ſhowed himſelf in his true character—a monſter of avarice, cruelty, perfidy, and pride. His adminiſtration was one continued ſcene of injuſtice, tyranny, outrage, and oppreſſion. If a man was rich, powerful, or virtuous, he was expoſed to become the victim of his avidity, ambition, or malice. Deteſted by all men of integrity, he baniſhed the nobles from court, and forbade them to appear there without an expreſs invitation from him. Things were in this dreadful ſituation when Clotaire died, in the twentieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. He left no children: it is not even known whether he was married. Some pretend that he was interred in the church belonging to the abbey of Chelles: others, at Saint Denis§.

* Vita Batild. c. 23. † Vita S. Leodeg. c. 1. ‡ Vita San. Batild. c. 8. ‖ Ibid. c. 7, 8.
§ Ib. Diplom. p. 467.

The ambitious Ebroin, hated by all the world, could not hope to preſerve his place, if the uſual forms were obſerved in the election of a mayor of the palace. Influenced by this conſideration, without ſummoning the nobles of the kingdom to deliberate on the matter, he raiſed Thierri to the throne, and had him proclaimed King of Burgundy and Neuſtria. This exertion of power aſtoniſhed the nobles*, though it did not give them any kind of averſion to their new monarch. They were even on the road, for the purpoſe of paying their reſpects, and doing homage to him, when they received a renewal of the prohibition to appear at court without permiſſion. Enraged at an inſult ſo pointed and groſs, they immediately aſſembled and flew to arms. The crown was unanimouſly transferred to Childeric, who haſtened to join them at the head of a powerful army †. The conſpiracy was ſo general and ſo ſudden, that Ebroin, forſaken by every body, had but juſt time to eſcape the fury of the nobles, by taking refuge in a church. His life was ſpared, but his poſſeſſions were all confiſcated, and he was conſtrained to paſs the remainder of his life in the convent of Luxeuil.

A. D. 669.] Thierri experienced a ſimilar treatment. They cut off his hair, though without any orders from Childeric, who expreſſed great compaſſion for him. He even told him that he was ready to grant whatever he could deſire. "I aſk nothing," replied Thierri, "I have been unjuſtly dethroned; "and I truſt that Heaven will revenge my cauſe." He retired to the abbey of Saint Denis, not to turn monk, but to let his hair grow. He had not quite completed the firſt year of his reign.

* Vita S. Leodeg. Diplom. p. 46. † Geſt. Franc. c. 45.---Continuat. Fred. c. 94.

CHILDERIC THE SECOND.

THE commencement of this reign was devoted to acts of gratitude, and to the support of the laws. Childeric made a point of rewarding such of the nobles as had contributed to his elevation; and as Leger, bishop of Autun, had been greatly instrumental in effecting this revolution, he entrusted him with the administration of affairs, and declared him his principal minister. The great credit which this prelate enjoyed with his sovereign, has made some writers believe*, that he was created mayor of the palace of Neustria and Burgundy: but they did not reflect, that an office which gave the command of armies, and the power of judging in matters of life and death, was incompatible with the character of a priest and a prelate. However that may be, to the prudent councils of this great man was the king indebted for the reformation of numerous abuses that had crept into the state. It was ordained, that judges should be guided in their decisions by the ancient laws and customs of each province. One law in particular was made, [A. D. 670.] which might have redeemed the kings from a state of subjection, had they possessed sufficient firmness to enforce it—it enacted, that no children should succeed their fathers in any of the great offices of state. But all these flattering symptoms of a wise and virtuous reign speedily vanished. The nobles, seeing that this reformation would effect a diminution of their own enormous power and undue consequence; adopted every means they could devise for corrupting the mind of their young sovereign. Having acquired a perfect ascendancy over him, they led him into every kind of excess; debauchery soon gave way to indolence,

* Vita S. Leod.

and indolence, to cruelty *. He ſuffered all thoſe ordinances which he had ſo properly renewed to be violated with impunity; and authorized a contempt of the laws by his own example, in contracting an inceſtuous marriage with his couſin-german. In vain were the ſolicitations and remonſtrances of his miniſter exerted to induce him to the purſuit of a different courſe of life. His repreſentations, though at firſt they were liſtened to with ſome degree of attention, ſoon became inſupportable; and it was reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity that ſhould occur for effecting his ruin.

A. D. 671.] It was cuſtomary in ancient times for biſhops to invite their ſovereigns to celebrate the feſtival of Eaſter in their cathedrals: Leger requeſted Childeric to do him that honour, and the king ſtill retaining ſome degree of reſpect for him, accepted his invitation, and repaired to Autun. He there found Hector, patrician or governor of Marſeilles, who had a favour to aſk of him. That nobleman, whoſe merit was equal to his birth, was intimate with the miniſter †, and knowing the credit he enjoyed with his ſovereign, had frequently conferred with him on the ſubject of his preſent application. It was inſinuated, however, to the king, that there was ſome myſtery in this interview, and that the two friends had formed a deſign to interrupt the tranquillity of the ſtate. Thus prejudiced againſt the prelate, inſtead of going to the cathedral on the night of Eaſter Sunday, which the early Chriſtians always paſſed in prayer, he repaired to the church of Saint Symphorien, where he received the ſacrament from the hands of biſhop Prejectus. The next morning, after a grand repaſt, he went almoſt intoxicated to the cathedral, ſwearing and blaſpheming, and threatening Leger in the moſt indecent manner. From thence he repaired to the epiſcopal palace, where the biſhop joined him as ſoon as he had ſaid maſs. Childeric loaded him with reproaches and inſults; and Leger, finding from his conduct that his ruin was inevitable if he remained any longer at Autun, left the city with his friend Hector: but they were very ſpeedily purſued;—Hector after a vigorous defence, was killed, and Leger was brought back to the king, who ſent him into confinement at the monaſtery of Luxeuil. There the prelate met with Ebroin, the depoſed mayor of the palace, who earneſtly beſought his friendſhip.

A. D. 673.] Childeric, being now deprived of the advice of his miniſter, fell into the extremes of vice, and finally became an object of univerſal contempt ‡. A nobleman, named Bodillon, venturing to repreſent to him the danger that would ariſe from an oppreſſive impoſt that he was on the point of eſtabliſhing ‖, the king ordered him to be tied to a poſt, and had him ſeverely flogged. The nobles, enraged at ſuch an inſult to a man of rank, conſpired againſt his life. Childeric was then with the royal family at a ſeat in the foreſt of Leuconia, ſuppoſed to be the foreſt of Livri, near Chelles. Thither the conſpirators repaired; and, forcing his palace, maſſacred him, with his queen

* Vita S. Leod. † Ibid. c. 5. 6. ‡ Geſt. Franc. c. 43. ‖ Continuat. Fred. c. 94.

Bilihilda, who was pregnant, and, their ſon, Dagobert, an infant. Another ſon, named Daniel, had the good fortune to eſcape, and afterwards reigned, under the title of Chilperic the Third. Childeric was in the twenty-third year of his age; the length of his reign is not preciſely known, but the moſt probable opinion ſeems to be that he reigned nineteen years *.

This prince was deſtitute both of courage and conduct. He neither poſſeſſed ſufficient knowledge to govern a great kingdom, nor ſufficient deſcernment to appreciate and purſue the wiſe councils of a prudent and virtuous miniſter. He was not interred at Saint Peter's at Rouen, as the author of the life of Saint Ouen † affirms, but at the abbey of Saint Vincent, now Saint Germain des Prés.

We are told by ſome writers, that Childeric overcome by the prayers of Imnichilda, whom he always eſteemed, allowed her to recal Dagobert, to whom he ceded a part of Auſtraſia. Others aſſert that this prudent princeſs took advantage of the interregnum which enſued on the death of Childeric, to win over the Auſtraſians, by whom ſhe was tenderly beloved, and to prevail on them to proclaim her ſon king. Be that as it may, it appears certain, from a variety of circumſtances, that this young prince re-aſcended the throne, from whence he had been unjuſtly depoſed, and reigned ſeveral years ‡.

* P. Anſelme Hiſt. Geneal. de. France, t. i. p. 10. † Fred. in vita S. Audoen. ‡ Henſchenius, lib. de tribus Dagobertis.

THIERRI THE THIRD.

A. D. 673.] LEGER, who, as well as Ebroin, had left the convent of Luxeuil, on the death of Childeric, was received at the court of Thierri as a tutelary deity. His firſt care was to procure the election of a mayor of the palace; and the choice fell upon Leudeſie, ſon of Archinoalde *. The news of this election diſconcerted Ebroin, who retired into Auſtraſia, where his friends were numerous †. Wlfoalde, who governed that kingdom under Dagobert the Second, ſupplied him with troops, with which the preſumptuous rebel advanced as far as Nogent-les-Vierges, near Verneuil, where the king then held his court. The alarm was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that every one had recourſe to flight; Thierri, the mayor of the palace, and all the noblemen of their retinue, fled, firſt to Baiſieu, between Amiens and Corbie, and then to Crecy in Ponthieu. The royal treaſury was plundered, the churches were pillaged, and the whole country was laid waſte. The conqueror, however, deſpairing of ſucceeding by force, had recourſe to ſtratagem; and, inviting Leudeſie to a conference, which that credulous nobleman accepted, he there put him to death.

A. D. 675, 676.] This murderous deed only ſerved to render Thierri's hatred of Ebroin more inveterate, and to ſhow that monarch the danger of entruſting ſuch a man with any conſiderable degree of authority. Ebroin, ſenſible that that the conjuncture was not favourable to his deſigns, again retired into Auſtraſia ‡, but with the determination to put his plans in execution whenever an opportunity ſhould occur. He had the audacity to produce a pretended ſon of Clotaire the Third; and poſſeſſed ſufficient credit to get him crowned, under the title of Clovis the Third. In this infamous project he was

* Geſta Reg. Franc. c. 45. † Continuat. Fred. c. 96. ‡ Vita S. Leodeg. c. 8.

assisted by two prelates, who had been deprived of their episcopal dignity on account of their crimes: these were Didier, bishop of Châlons-upon-Saone, and Bobon, bishop of Valentia. All the provinces that refused to acknowledge this phantom of a monarch were exposed to the most cruel and destructive depredations. Leger was the first who felt the effects of Ebroin's resentment *. Vaymer, duke of Champagne, was sent to besiege him in Autun, aud the place was on the point of being carried by assault, when the good prelate having distributed his effects among the poor, surrendered himself to the enemy; that the inhabitants might not be exposed to the fury of a military mob.—Didier was so inhuman, as to order his eyes to be put out.

A. D. 678, 679.] The king, having lost his best friend, and most prudent adviser, found himself reduced to the necessity of treating with his rebellious subject. Ebroin was declared mayor of the palace, and the pretended son of Clotaire sunk into his original nothingness. The new minister at first published a general amnesty †; but soon after, affecting a profound respect for majesty, he ordered a strict enquiry to be made into the conspiracy against Childeric. The crime was certainly deserving of the severest punishment; and had Ebroin been really actuated by motives of justice, his conduct on this occasion would have merited the highest commendation. But the inquisition which he established was solely for the purpose of sacrificing such of the nobles as had hitherto escaped his resentment. Count Guerin, Leger's brother, though a nobleman of unimpeached fidelity to his sovereign, was stoned to death; and the virtuous prelate himself, after being inhumanly tortured, was sent in disgrace to the monastery at Fécamp. Some years after this period, the tyrant assembled a council of slaves, rather than of bishops, at which Leger was first degraded, and then delivered to Chrodobert, count of the palace, who had him beheaded in a forest in the diocese of Arras, not far from that of Amiens, where he was buried at a place that still bears his name. Two years after his body was conveyed into Poitou, and honourably interred in the church of Saint Maixant.

A. D. 680.] About this time Dagobert the Second, king of Austrasia, was assassinated, in an insurrection of his subjects. The cause of the revolt, and the names of its authors, are not mentioned in history. He was interred at Saint Peter's, at Rouen. This prince had, by his queen Matilda, one son, named Sigebert, who died before him, and four daughters, Irmina and Adella, who were afterwards canonized; and Rotilda and Ragnetrude.

The death of Dagobert ought to have re-united the whole monarchy under the authority of Thierri; but the aversion of the Austrasians to the government of Ebroin deterred them from acknowledging that monarch. Martin and Pepin being declared dukes or governors of the kingdom ‡, they took up arms; but their new leaders being defeated near the forest of Leucofao, on the

* Vita S. Leodeg. c. 9. † Ibid. c. 12, 13. ‡ Gest. Franc. c. 46.

frontiers of Neuſtria, were compelled to fly *; the firſt to Laon, where he periſhed by the perfidy of the mayor of the palace; and the ſecond to the fartheſt part of Auſtraſia, where he exerted all the endowments with which nature had favoured him for the purpoſe of undermining the royal authority. This nobleman was deſcended, on his father's ſide, from Saint Arnaud, biſhop of Metz, and on his mother's, from Pepin, ſurnamed *the Old*, or of Landen. He is ſometimes called, in hiſtory, *Pepin the Fat*, from his corpulence; ſometimes *Pepin of Heriſtal*, from the name of a palace which he had on the banks of the Maeſe, a little above Liege; ſometimes *Pepin the Young*, to diſtinguiſh him from his grandfather; and ſometimes *Pepin the Old*, to diſtinguiſh him from his grandſon, who reigned under the appellation of Pepin the Short.

A. D. 683.] Ebroin did not long enjoy the fruits of the victory at Leucofao. A nobleman, named Emanfroy, attacked him as he came from church, clove his head aſunder with a broad ſword, and delivered his country from a monſter who merited univerſal execration †. The mayors who ſucceeded him made war on Pepin at different times but without ſucceſs ‡; and Bertaire, the laſt of them, a man wholly deſtitute of every good quality, was doomed to be at once the witneſs and the victim of his elevation.

A. D. 687.] A great number of noblemen, who were diſcontented with the government of Neuſtria, had retired into the kingdom of Auſtraſia, where Pepin, as well from policy as generoſity, ſupported them. He even ſent deputies to the king to beg he would pardon theſe unfortunate men, whom a violent ſpirit of perſecution had compelled to quit their country. The monarch || proudly anſwered, that he would ſave him the trouble of ſending them back, by going to fetch them in perſon, at the head of a powerful army. Preparations for war were immediately made, and the two armies met at Teſtris, a village ſituated on the ſmall river Daumignon, between Saint Quintin and Peronne §. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy; but victory at laſt declared in favour of the Auſtraſians. The king obliged to fly, retired with precipitation to the capital of his empire. Bertaire alſo had the good fortune to eſcape from the enemy, but he was aſſaſſinated by his own ſoldiers. The conqueror took poſſeſſion of the royal treaſury, forced the gates of Paris, ſeized the perſon of Thierri, and, cauſing himſelf to be declared mayor of the palace of Neuſtria and Burgundy, reduced the whole kingdom under his own domination.

Pepin, when he had ſecured this enormous extent of power, conducted himſelf with ſo much prudence, moderation, and propriety, that he attracted the attention of foreign powers, many of whom honoured him with particular marks of eſteem; enforced reſpect from the nations dependant on France; and ex-

* Secund. Contin. Fred. c. 97. † Geſt. Fr. c. 47. ‡ Idem Continuat. Fredeg. c. 98.
|| Geſt. Franc. c. 48. § Idem Contin. Fred. c. 100.

cited the benediction of his countrymen, by the deſtruction of tyranny oppreſſion *. He re-eſtabliſhed the biſhops, who had been depoſed, in their ſees and poſſeſſions; he reſtored to the nobles their dignities and eſtates; to the orphan and widow, their lawful rights; and to the laws their primitive vigour: he eſtabliſhed order in the finances, introduced diſcipline among the troops, and vigilance and regularity in the police. So many objects of public utility, conceived and effected in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, excited univerſal aſtoniſhment; and men began to be perſuaded that the ambitious duke had only taken up arms to promote the happineſs and welfare of the nation.

A. D. 689.] While duke of Auſtraſia, he had ſubdued the Bavarians, the Saxons, and the Suevi; and he now propoſed, at an aſſembly of the nobles, to march without delay againſt the reſt of the German rebels †. This propoſal was accepted with joy; but, before he ſet out on this expedition, he left a man, of the name of Norbert, in whom he could confide, to watch the motions of Thierri. Victory followed his ſteps. Radbode, duke of the Friſians, having offered him battle, was attacked and defeated; Pepin took from him a part of his dominions, and made him pay tribute for the reſt. On his return to Neuſtria, he aſſembled a council, in which ſome excellent regulations were adopted for the reformation of manners, the aſſiſtance of the poor, and the protection of the widow and orphan. By this artful ſyſtem of policy, and by a thouſand actions of piety, juſtice and valour, he conciliated the affections of the people, and attempted to overcome their ſettled averſion to acknowledge any other maſters than the deſcendants of their ancient monarchs.

A. D. 692.] Such was the ſtate of France when Thierri died, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. By his wife Clotilda, whom ſome writers call Doda, he had two ſons, Clovis and Childebert. He was buried at Saint Waſt, at Arras, which he had founded ‡. Without entering into the character of this prince, of which we know but little, ſince all the writers of that age were devoted to the family of Pepin, we may obſerve, that he was continually the ſport of fortune, and a victim to the ambition of his nobles. Excluded from the ſucceſſion in his infancy, and dethroned by an ambitious brother, he only recovered his rights to become the ſlave of thoſe whom he was born to command. The battle of Teſtris finally decided the fate of his empire, and left him but the ſhadow of royalty.

* Geſt. Fr. Contin. Fred. c. 100. † Paul. Diac. l. xvi. c. 37. ‡ Geſt. Franc. c. 49.

CLOVIS THE THIRD.

CLOVIS, the eldeſt of Thierri's children, was proclaimed king of Neuſtria and Burgundy. Auſtraſia, ſtill detached from the crown, acknowledged no other authority than that of Pepin, who continued to reign under the name of the new monarch *. No event of importance occurred during the life of Clovis, the length of whoſe reign is not aſcertained, though, from ſome public acts ſtill extant, it appears that he reigned at leaſt four years †. One of theſe is an account of an aſſembly of the ſtates of the kingdom, holden at Valenciennes ‡ [A. D. 693.] Clovis preſided, and after him twelve nobles or prelates are mentioned in the act, and the title of Illuſtrious is given to them, the ſame as to the kings who had no other diſtinction than the epithets *moſt glorious*, *moſt pious*, *moſt merciful*, or *moſt excellent*, annexed to their names. The next on the liſt are eight noblemen of inferior rank, who are ſimply denominated *Counts*; eight *Graſions*, who were magiſtrates appointed to try cauſes relating to the exchequer or public finances; four domeſtics, or governors of royal manſions; four referenderies, whoſe buſineſs it was to affix the royal ſignet to all public acts; and four ſeneſchals, who were inferior officers ſubordinate to the mayors—they were in thoſe times only entruſted with the adminiſtration of the revenue of the king's houſhold, but in the ſequel the office of ſeneſchal became the firſt dignity in the realm. The Count of the Palace is mentioned the laſt. He, perhaps, had a ſeparate place at the king's feet, or what is more probable, as he was obliged to give an account of his deciſions, he was not ſeated among the judges. The ſentence of the aſſembly is ſigned by the chancellor, who was the perſon appointed to write or ſubſcribe thoſe acts which the referendary was to ſeal.

* Secund. Cont. Fred. c. 101. † Geſt. Fred. c. 49, 50. ‡ Ann Metenſ.

It does not appear, that Pepin attended this assembly, since his name is not inserted in the list. He was probably employed in some expedition. It was in one of these assemblies, holden during the preceding reign, that he issued a command, in the king's name, for every duke to hold himself in readiness to march on the first order of the mayor of the palace; and on the second, to lead his stipulated quantum of men without delay to the place of rendezvous. Regular troops were then unknown; each province had its militia: and that was generally commanded to march, which was nearest the scene of action. All who held *benefices* of the prince or church, all who possessed *Salic lands*, all the French, in short, were obliged to serve the king in person*. Even the bishops were not exempted from personal service. Such of the prelates as were of a martial disposition armed themselves cap-a-pie, and mixed with the throng: while those who were averse to shedding blood, contented themselves with invoking the benedictions of Heaven on the arms of their countrymen; and the most prudent among them bought off the obligation with a sum of money. In that case they sent their vassals under the command of an *avoue* or *vidame*, who was a brave and powerful nobleman, appointed by the church to defend their patrimony. Such as were incapacitated from attending through age, obtained letters of dispensation; and those who failed to appear at the general rendezvous of the army, were sentenced to pay a heavy fine.

In the different provinces, and particularly on the frontiers, there were magazines established, for providing the troops with subsistence. It does not appear that the soldiers had any pay; their sole reward consisted in the booty they made, which it was customary to collect into one common mass, and then to divide it equally. The prisoners were condemned to slavery; and the hostages experienced the same fate, when those who gave them, failed to perform their engagements. The French armies, during the reign of the Merovingian princes, were wholly composed of infantry. If there were some few horsemen, it was only for the purpose of escorting the commander in chief, and carrying his orders. During the same period too, the only banner used by the French troops, was the *cope* of Saint Martin; it was a kind of veil made of silk, and bearing the image of the Saint, from whose tomb it was brought with great pomp, whenever it was wanted. It was kept under a tent; and just before the battle began was carried round the camp in triumph. The early kings had such confidence in the protection of their saint, that, with this standard, they thought themselves sure of victory.

A. D. 694, 695.] The assembly of Valenciennes was the last memorable event of the reign of Clovis, who died in the fourteenth or fifteenth year of his age, and was buried at Choisy upon the Aisne, near Compiegne.

* Baluze Capit. t. i. p. 146, 155, 190.

CHILDEBERT THE THIRD.

A. D. 695.] CHILDEBERT ſucceeded to the dominions of his brother, and became equally a captive with that monarch. He was but in his tenth or eleventh year when he aſcended the throne; and his minority gave Pepin a freſh opportunity of acquiring a conſiderable augmentation of authority *. His court was attended by all the chief officers—the count of the palace, the grand referendary, and the attendant of the royal manſions. He only placed about the perſon of his youthful ſovereign a few faithful ſervants of his own, who were leſs ſtudious to ſerve him than to watch his motions †. The ambitious regent had two ſons, Drogon and Grimoald, the firſt of whom he created duke of Burgundy, and the ſecond he appointed mayor of the palace of Neuſtria. The eldeſt dying ſoon after, the youngeſt ſucceeded to his *principality*, as it is called by the author of the annals of Metz ‡; whence it appears that this dutchy was a kind of ſovereignty.

A. D. 706, 707.] Pepin did not ſuffer his whole time to be occupied by projects of ambition; he devoted a part of it to the ſofter purſuits of love. Some writers pretend that he repudiated Plectrude, in order to marry Alpaida, by whom he had a ſon, afterwards ſo well known by the name of *Charles Martel.* But there are ſeveral acts ſtill extant, which prove that the former was never ſeparated from her huſband: ſo that the ſecond only enjoyed the title of miſtreſs ‖; or elſe the Auſtraſian duke, like many of the firſt kings of France, and according to the cuſtom of the ancient Germans §, had two wives at the ſame time. This offence againſt the ſacredneſs of the marriage rites excited the zeal of Lambert, biſhop of Liege, who openly inveighed againſt it, as a public inſtance of adultery, that merited the ſevereſt reprobation.—The prelate was aſſaſſinated by Odo, brother to Alpaida.

* Geſt. Franc. c. 49. † Secund. Contin. Fred. c. 104. ‡ Annales Metenſes, ad Annum 712.

‖ Id. Con, c. 101. § Ann. Met.

Some military expeditions took place during this reign. War was declared againſt Egica, king of the Viſigoths; but no accounts of its progreſs or termination have been preſerved. Radbode, duke of the Friſians, revolted a ſecond time *, and was again defeated and reduced to ſubjection. The Germans, or Allemani, in union with the Suevi, ſhook off the French yoke; and Pepin, marching againſt them, defeated Williare their duke; but yet he could not ſubdue the ſpirit of that nobleman †, who, in a ſhort time again took up arms, and experienced a ſimilar check. Still his courage was unabated, and it was found neceſſary to ſend a third army againſt him, which was on the point of entering on the German territories, when the death of Childebert ſuperinduced its recal.

This prince died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the ſixteenth or ſeventeenth of his reign. He was buried, with his brother, at Choiſy upon the Aiſne. Childebert had a wife whoſe name is unknown; and one ſon, who ſucceeded him under the appellation of Dagobert the Third. But few monarchs have paid a greater attention to the precepts of Chriſtianity than Childebert. His ſtrict obſervance of juſtice, and his efforts to enforce a due adminiſtration of it, throughout his dominions, procured him the ſurname of *Juſt.*

* Geſt. Reg. c. 49, 50. † Ann. Metenſ.

DAGOBERT THE THIRD.

A. D. 711.] DAGOBERT, on aſcending the throne, was deſtined to experience the fate of his predeceſſor. He was ſhewn to the people, received their homage and their preſents, and was ſhut up in a country ſeat, to lead a life of indolence, unworthy his birth and ſtation. He was not more than twelve years of age; ſo that Pepin continued to enjoy his uſual extent of authority *.

That nobleman renewed his deſign of ſubduing the Germans and Suevi; and, in the courſe of the war that he waged againſt them, ſo many of them were killed, that they were diſabled, for ſome time, from the purſuit of hoſtile meaſures. But Radbode, duke of the Friſians, continued to give him ſerious cauſe for apprehenſion †. In order to avert the effects of his enmity, Pepin aſked the hand of his daughter Theudilinda, for his own ſon Grimoald ‡. The marriage was accordingly concluded, though it was not attended with any of thoſe advantages which Pepin expected to derive from it.

A. D. 714.] Some time after this, Pepin fell dangerouſly ill at Jupil, one of his country-houſes, on the banks of the Maeſe, oppoſite his caſtle of Heriſtal. Grimoald immediately left the capital, in order to viſit him, and as he paſſed through Liege he entered the church of Saint Lambert, where he was aſſaſſinated by a man, named Rangaire ‖. He left an infant ſon, called Theodald, whom Pepin appointed mayor of the palace of Dagobert. Such an appointment was a groſs encroachment on the privileges of the nobles who had always enjoyed the right of chuſing the mayor; it was alſo an injury to the ſtate, by

* Secund. continuat. Fredeg. c. 104. † Ann. Metens. ‡ Ges. Re. Fr. c. 50.
‖ Ann. Met. ad Ann. 714.

giving it a child for a governor; and an inſult on the king by placing him under the tuition of an infant. But as the duke's authority was abſolute, no one dared to murmur.

This was the laſt ambitious attempt of Pepin; his diſorder encreaſing, he expired at Jupil, after having reigned, with deſpotic authority, for twenty-ſeven years and an half. He certainly poſſeſſed many of thoſe qualities which are eſſential to the formation of a hero; his mind, though capacious and enterpriſing, was ever regulated by the laws of prudence; he poſſeſſed a boldneſs of ſpirit, which roſe ſuperior to every impediment, though it never betrayed him into unneceſſary peril; he had wiſdom and penetration to foreſee and ſurmount dangers, with courage to face them whenever it was neceſſary; and he poſſeſſed in a ſuper-eminent degree, the admirable talent of keeping turbulent ſpirits in awe, and of ſo managing them, always to turn them to his own advantage. He proved uſeful to his country, by the re-eſtabliſhment of order, piety, and juſtice. But, at the ſame time, he muſt be conſidered as an uſurper and a tyrant, becauſe he deprived his ſovereigns of their lawful authority, and kept them in a ſtate of ignominy and oppreſſion.

He had four ſons, Dragon and Grimoald, who died before him *; *Charles Martel*, to whom according to Eginard, he bequeathed the office of mayor; and Childebrand, from whom, it is pretended by ſome, the third race of monarchs deſcended. Theodald had ſucceeded his father Grimoald in the office of mayor of the palace of Neuſtria and Burgundy, and diſcharged the duties of his office under the tuition of his grandmother Plectrude †. This ambitious woman, in order to regain all the power which her huſband had poſſeſſed, cauſed Charles Martel to be arreſted and put in confinement at Cologne, where ſhe generally reſided.

A. D. 715.] But the Auſtraſian nobles, ſoon becoming diſguſted with a female government, applied to Dagobert, who was then in his eighteenth year, and excited him to war ‡. The young prince, rouſed by their repreſentations, took the management of affairs upon himſelf, and marching againſt the Auſtraſians, came up with their army in the foreſt of Guiſe ‖, and obtained a complete and deciſive victory. The ſlaughter was ſo dreadful and univerſal, that Plectrude's grandſons could with difficulty eſcape. But the king wanted firmneſs to profit by his ſucceſs; he ſubmitted to a renewal of his captivity, by ſuffering the election of an other mayor of the palace. This important poſt was given to Rainfroy, one of the braveſt and moſt powerful noblemen at the court of Neuſtria. He carried the war into the heart of Auſtraſia, and according to the ferocious ideas of thoſe times, he ſignalized his valour by the extent and cruelty of his depredations.

* Egin. in vit. Carol. Mag. † Geſt. Re. Franc. c. 51. ‡ Ibid. ‖ In Cotia Sylva;---it is now called the Foreſt of Compiégner

A. D. 716.] It was during theſe troubles that Charles Martel eſcaped from priſon. The Auſtraſians received him with every demonſtration of joy; and, as he poſſeſſed all the brilliant qualities of Pepin, they looked on him with a kind of adoration, and with an unanimous voice, choſe him their duke. Such was the ſtate of affairs, when Dagobert died, in the fifth year of his reign*. He was buried at the monaſtery of Choiſy, upon the Aiſne. This monarch left one ſon, Thierri, by a wife whoſe name has not been preſerved in hiſtory. Rainfroy, thinking the prince too young to hold the reins of goverment, took Daniel, ſon to Childeric the ſecond, from the monaſtery in which he had aſſumed the habit of an eccleſiaſtic, and placed him on the throne, under the title of Chilperic the Second

* Geſt. Reg. Franc. c. 52.

CHILPERIC THE SECOND.

A. D. 716.] THIS monarch was in the forty-ſixth year of his age when he aſcended the throne. Scorning the ſpiritleſs indolence of his immediate predeceſſors, his reign was diſtinguiſhed by activity and vigour. Accompanied by Rainfroy, he marched into Auſtraſia to oppoſe the pretenſions of Charles Martel. Radbode, duke of the Friſians, who was in alliance with him, had paſſed the Rhine, and advanced to the very gates of Cologne †. Charles attacked him before he could be joined by the royal army: but though that nobleman diſplayed the moſt intrepid courage, he was overpowered by numbers, and obliged to retire.

After this victory the Friſians formed a junction with the Neuſtrians; and the two armies, having ravaged the whole country from the Ardennes to the Rhine, laid ſiege to Cologne. But Plectrude averted the ſtorm by the payment of a conſiderable ſum of money which was no ſooner received than Radbode and Chilperic returned home. Charles in the mean time had collected the ſcattered remains of his army, and thrown himſelf into the foreſt of Ardenne with five hundred men, in order to profit by any favourable circumſtance that might occur ‡. He had not been long in this ſituation, when the king fixed his camp at Ambleſ‖, a royal manſion, ſituated on a river of that name near the Abby of Stavelo. An Auſtraſian ſoldier applied to Charles, and offered to throw the Neuſtrian army into diſorder, provided he ſhould be permitted to attack it alone. He accordingly marched towards the camp, and found the Neuſtrians unarmed and defenceleſs. He attacked them ſword in hand; and exclaiming with a loud voice, *Here is Charles with his troops!* bore down all reſiſtance. The whole camp became a ſcene of confuſion; and Charles, obſerving the conſternation that prevailed among them, advanced with his men, and put the Neuſtrians to flight; they fled with ſo much precipitation, that Chilperic and Rainfroy had ſcarcely time to eſcape.

* Secund. Contin. Fred. c. 106. † Idem. c. 53 and 107. ‡ Ann. Met.

A. D. 717.] This victory encreaſed the reputation of Charles, and revived the hopes of his party. The Auſtraſians flocked to his ſtandard in crowds, and he ſoon found himſelf enabled to carry the war into the enemy's country. As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he opened the campaign; and, paſſing the Carbonerian foreſt, puſhed his deſtructive march as far as Cambray, where he was met by Chilperic *. A battle enſued, at the village of Vinchy, and was long diſputed with equal ſpirit; but Charles, though inferior in numbers, at length obtained a complete victory, put the Neuſtrian army to flight, and purſued the king to the gates of Paris †. Finding that capital prepared for a vigorous reſiſtance, he ſuddenly changed his courſe, and marched to Cologne, which opened its gates to him. Plectrude was obliged to give up the treaſures of Pepin, and to ſurrender her grandſons, Theodald, Hugh, and Arnould, whom the conqueror ſecured. By this means Charles became maſter of all that part of the French empire and again cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed duke of Auſtraſia.

A. D. 718.] But notwithſtanding his recent ſucceſs, he was ſtill of opinion that his power required a more ſolid ſupport. He knew the ſecret attachment of the Auſtraſians to the deſcendants of Clovis, and their deſire to have a monarch who was ſprung from that prince: he, therefore, reſolved to gratify them; and accordingly raiſed up a phantom of royalty, in the perſon of Clotaire the Second, who, according to ſome, was the ſon of Thierri the third; and according to others, of Clovis the Second ‡. Rainfroy, juſtly alarmed at this ſtroke of policy, formed an alliance with the Gaſcons, who, having quitted their native mountains, had, during the preceeding reigns, taken poſſeſſion of that country which now bears their name. They were commanded by duke Eude, a man of talents and addreſs, who, profiting by the troubles which prevailed in the kingdom, extended his conqueſts, and ſeizing all the country beyond the Loire, refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the king or kingdom of France ‖. To this daring rebel did the court of Neuſtria apply for aſſiſtance; and, on condition of being confirmed in the independent poſſeſſion of what he had uſurped, he conſented to grant the ſuccour required.

Chilperic, thus reinforced, marched againſt the Auſtraſians in full hopes of ſucceſs. But the intelligence that Charles was advancing towards Soiſſons produced ſuch a conſternation among his troops, that they refuſed to face the enemy; Eude returned with precipitation to Aquitaine; Chilperic followed him, with as much of his treaſures as he was able to carry with him; while Rainfroy fled tó Angers, where, four years after, he capitulated, and ſubmitted to the authority of Charles, who left him the poſſeſſion of that country for the remainder of his life.

A. D. 719.] The conqueror purſued the fugitives: and paſſing the Seine took Paris over-ran the Orleanois and Touraine, compelled the nobles to pro-

* Ann. Met. † Ann. Met. ad. An. 717. ‡ Geſt. Franc. c. 53. ‖ Sec. Cont. Fred. c. 107.

claim Clotaire king of Neüſtria and Burgundy, and to elect him mayor of the palace of both kingdoms *. But the new monarch did not live long to enjoy his newly-acquired dignity; he died either this, or the following year, at the age of forty-nine, according to father le Cointe, who ſays he reigned three years and a half; but the majority of writers are of opinion that he only reigned ſeventeen months. His tomb is ſtill to be ſeen at Coucy, in Vermandois.

The death of Clotaire was followed by an interregnum, occaſioned by the policy of Charles, who wiſhed to ſound the ſpirit of the people. But finding they ſtill cheriſhed the title and authority of a king, he at length diſpatched ambaſſadors to the duke of Aquitain to demand Chilperic, whom Eude ſent to Paris, loaded with magnificent preſents. On his arrival at the capital, that prince was proclaimed king of the whole monarchy, and the duke of Auſtraſia declared mayor of the palace of the three kingdoms.

A. D. 721.] Having completely eſtabliſhed internal tranquillity, Charles made a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Saxons, who perſecuted with extreme violence the Bructeri, the Attuarian, the Celti, and the Thuringians, people who ſtrictly preſerved their attachment to the Chriſtian faith, and to the French monarchy. Soon after his return, Chilperic died at Noyon, where he was buried. This prince did not complete the ſixth year of his reign: though he was unfortunate in moſt of his undertakings, his merit was conſpicuous. His wiſdom, goodneſs, courage, activity and prudence, have procured him an honourable exemption from the liſt of *Faineans*, or indolent princes; an epithet which has juſtly been beſtowed on the latter monarchs of the Merovingian race. As he had no children, Charles raiſed to the throne Thierri the Fourth, (ſon of Dagobert the Third) ſurnamed of *Chelles*, becauſe he had been brought up at that place.

* Sec. Cont. Fred. c. 107.

THIERRI THE FOURTH.

A. D. 722] THIERRI was in his eighth year, when he was proclaimed king of Neuſtria, Burgundy, and Auſtraſia. That is the title by which he is diſtinguiſhed in two of his charters, ſtill extant, both of which were drawn up in Auſtraſia, one at Zulpic, and the other at his caſtle of Heriſtal*. Charles continued to reign under the name of this infant prince†. The remainder of that nobleman's life, was one continued ſucceſſion of wars, battles, victories, and triumphs‡. He had no ſooner ſubdued the Saxons, and recovered poſſeſſion of all the country, as far as the Weſer, than his attention was called to the Germans, who had revolted. [A. D. 723] Having reduced them to ſubmiſſion, he waged war againſt the Bavarians, whom he alſo ſubdued.—[A. D. 725] The duke of Aquitaine, who took up arms about the ſame time, was overcome by Charles in two general actions, [A. D. 730] and compelled to ſue for mercy. But he had now a more formidable enemy to encounter; as the Saracens had entered France with a powerful army.

This people, the conquerors of the Eaſt, and of Africa, had been invited into Spain, [A. D. 714] by Count Julian; from a wiſh to revenge himſelf of Rodrigue, king of the Viſigoths, who had diſhonoured his daughter; or, as ſome ſay, his wife. At an interview with the Emir Muza, lieutenant to Valid, caliph of the Saracens, he offered him his country, on condition of receiving immediate ſuccour‖. Eager to embrace ſo fair an opportunity of extending their conqueſts they entered the dominions of Rodrigue, and committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations. A battle was fought on the banks of the river Guadaletta, in

* Le P. Labbe Melanges curieux, p. 439. † Ges. Reg. Fr. C. ultim. ‡ Secund. Contin. Fred. c. 107, 108. ‖ Rodoric, l. iii. c. 11.

which the king of the Viſigoths was overcome; and he was afterwards ſlain in the purſuit. This victory decided the fate of the empire. The kingdom of the Viſigoths, which had exiſted for more than three centuries, was extinguiſhed, and the nation almoſt annihilated. A ſmall part of them, indeed, took refuge in the mountains of the Auſtraſians, of Gallicia, and of Biſcay, where they founded a new monarchy, under the conduct of Pelagus, from whom the kings of Caſtille are deſcended. Some of them retired into France; and ſuch as ſubmitted to the Moors preſerved their religion, under the name of Mozerabian Chriſtians.

The conqueſt of Spain was followed by that of Languedoc, and of other territories which the Viſigoths ſtill poſſeſſed in France. The Saracens firſt took Albi, Rhodes, Caſtres, and then beſieged Toulouſe. They were compelled, indeed, to raiſe the ſiege; but they returned ſome years after, under the conduct of Abderame, when they entered Aquitaine, paſſed the Garonne*, took Bourdeaux and Poitiers, burnt the church of Saint Hilary, and threatened that of Saint Martin at Tours, which was ſaid to contain immenſe riches. Eude, alarmed at the rapidity of their progreſs, applied to the French monarch for aſſiſtance. Charles was aware of the duke's deſigns; he knew that, in order to ſecure his independence, he had formed an alliance with Munuza, governor of Cerdagna, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage; but his concern for the public good riſing ſuperior to the dictates of private reſentment, he marched againſt the Infidels, with the united forces of Auſtraſia, Burgundy, and Neuſtria.

A. D. 732.] The two armies met between Tours and Poitiers, and the battle laſted a whole day; at the cloſe, the ſuperiority of courage and conduct over numbers was evidently manifeſted. On that memorable occaſion, the weighty ſtokes of Charles firſt acquired him the ſurname of *Martel*, the *hammer*; Abderame himſelf was killed, and the bloody field was ſtrewed, if the monkiſh writers may be credited, with the bodies of three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand Mahometans. The camp of the Saracens, filled the ſpoils of conquered provinces, was pillaged, and the plunder divided among the troops.

It is ſaid, that Charles after this victory inſtituted the celebrated order of *the Genet*, which conſiſted but of ſixteen Knights, who wore a gold collar with three chains, to which was ſuſpended a *Genet* of ſolid gold. Favinus and the Abbé Juſtiniani† aſſure us, that this order was much in vogue under the ſecond race of kings: it does not, however, appear, that military orders were in uſe before the twelfth century; which occaſioned Father Meneſtrier to fix this inſtitution of *the Genet* at the reign of Charles the Seventh.

[* Roderic. l. iii. c. 11. † Juſtiniani, t. i. c. 13.

A. D. 734, 735, 736, 737.] A ſecond eruption of the Muſſulmans into Provence revived the laurels of Charles, who, in a deciſive battle, again ſubdued the Friſians, and ſlew their duke with his own hand. On the death of Eude, Charles granted Aquitain to Hunalde, the ſon of that prince, reſerving to himſelf and his heirs the claim of homage, without even mentioning the name of his ſovereign.

A. D. 738.] A new war againſt the Saxons, equally ſucceſsful with the former, terminated the reign of Thierri the fourth, who died in the twenty-third year of his age. It is ſuppoſed he was buried at Saint Denis.

INTERREGNUM.

THE interregnum which enſued on the death of Thierri, laſted ſix or ſeven years, according to the general opinion; though the Abbe Conrad, in his Chronicle, fixes its duration at five; and M. de Valois at four or five. Charles thought that the ſervices he had rendered the ſtate ought to have procured him an offer of the crown. Poſſeſſed of ſovereign authority, he might, without impediment, have placed it on his head; but knowing that the French were firmly attached to the royal family*, he did not dare to aſſume a title which would have excited ſuch general envy†; and the nobles, who would have been ſorry to ſee him on the throne, had not ſufficient reſolution to deſire he would chooſe them a king from among the deſcendants of Clovis. Still he continued to exert an abſolute ſway, under the title of duke of the French. Pope Gregory the ſecond, in one of his letters, ſtyles him Duke and Mayor of the Palace of France, which appears to confirm the idea that he always conſidered himſelf as an officer of the kingdom, and not of the king.

A. D. 740, 741.] The emperor Leo having publiſhed an edict prohibiting the worſhip of images, which he condemned as idolatrous, and accordingly ordered the objects of ſuch adoration to be taken from the churches, and broken in pieces, he was excommunicated by the popes, who excited an inſurrection in Italy. The Lombards, profiting by the opportunity, took poſſeſſion of Ravenna, and threatened Rome itſelf. Gregory the third, a man of an inflexible temper, then filled the chair of Saint Peter, and was the firſt of the ſovereign pontiffs who took a deciſive part in the temporal concerns of princes: a pernicious example, that was attended with fatal effects both to the church and the empire‡. He wrote ſeveral affecting letters to the duke of the French, to entreat his protection; but Charles, either from regard to Luitprand, king of the Lombards, or from the hope that more advantageous offers might be made him, was in no haſte to comply with his urgent ſolicitations||. This affectation of neglect, however, did not diſcourage Gregory, who ſent ambaſſadors§ to him,

* Secund. Contin, Fred. c. 109. † Ann. Meten. ‡ Idem. Cont. Fred. c. 110. || Ann. Meten. ad Ann.

§ The ancient French writers remark, that this was the firſt embaſſy ſent by the popes to the court of France.

with the keys of Saint Peter's tomb, and ſome links of the chains with which that apoſtle had been fettered. The ambaſſadors had orders to offer him the conſulſhip of Rome, on condition that he ſhould grant them aſſiſtance immediate and effectual. Charles agreed to accord the protection required; but, unwilling to break with Luitprand, he remonſtrated with him on the impropriety of his conduct, in uſurping the patrimony of the church, and urged him to reſtore what he had taken from the pope:—The king of the Lombards, either from fear or conviction, complied with his requeſt. To this application from Gregory, ſays the Abbe Velly, was Rome indebted for her temporal greatneſs, and the family of Charles for its elevation to the empire.

Charles, more debilitated by fatigue than by age, had been for ſome time afflicted with a diſorder that inſenſibly preyed upon his conſtitution; he therefore began to think of ſettling his family concerns. By his firſt wife, Rotrude, he had three children, Carloman, Pepin, and the princeſs Hildetrude. By Sonnichilde, his ſecond wife, who was niece to Odilon, duke of Bavaria, he had another ſon, named Grippon or Grifon. Having convened an aſſembly of the nobles at Verberie, a country ſeat near Compiegne, he obtained their conſent to make the following diviſion of the French empire:—to Carloman he gave Auſtraſia, Germany, and Thuringia; to Pepin, Neuſtria, Burgundy, and Provence: but a very ſmall portion of territory was aſſigned to Grifon. This diviſion gave riſe to ſome commotions in Burgundy; but they were ſoon appeaſed by Pepin and his uncle Childebrand.

A. D. 741.] Soon after he had made theſe arrangements, Charles died at Qerſi-upon-Oiſe, in the fifty-firſt year of his age; and was interred with great pomp, at the abbey of Saint Denis. Although his victories over the Saracens moſt probably preſerved Europe from the impending yoke of Mahomet, yet has his character been impeached by the legends of the monks; and the clergy, who reſented the freedom with which he applied the revenues of the church, to the defence of the chriſtian religion, have not ſcrupled to enrol him among the damned. In a letter addreſſed to Lewis the grandſon of Charlemagne, it is aſſerted, that on opening the tomb of Charles Martel, the ſpectators were affrighted by the ſmell of fire, and the aſpect of an horrid dragon; and that a ſaint of the times was indulged with a viſion of the ſoul and body of the founder of the Carlovingian race, burning in the abyſs of hell.—But the ſtory is of a very clumſy conſtruction, for Saint Eucher, of Rheims, to whom this wonderful viſion is aſcribed, certainly died before Charles Martel.

Charles was undoubtedly right in ſeizing the eccleſiaſtical property, for the purpoſe of defending the church, ſo long as the clergy were able to defray theſe expenſes. Their revenues at this time were immenſe: the augmentation was owing, firſt, to their own induſtry, in cultivating the barren lands that had been granted; ſecondly, to the indiſcreet liberality of thoſe who impoveriſhed their families to enrich the miniſters of the goſpel; and laſtly, to tythes, which had now been paid for nearly two centuries. Theſe were at firſt a mere voluntary

gift, though they were afterwards exacted as a tribute. Saint Auguſtin recommends their payment as a work of charity—the council of Tours inculcates the ſame idea; and the ſecond council of Macon renders it obligatory. But though Charles was ſo far juſtifiable, yet ſome part of his conduct to the church merits reprehenſion. Not content with taking to himſelf the moſt conſiderable benefices, he diſtributed the biſhopricks and abbies among the principal noblemen in his army, and gave the livings to the ſubaltern officers, which opened a door to very flagrant abuſes.

The great ſees, ſuch as Rheims, Vienne, and Lyons, were ſoon deſtitute of paſtors. Their eccleſiaſtics, that they might not be diſpoiled of their livings, made no ſcruple to bear arms. Benefices became hereditary—they were converted into an article of commerce, and divided among children like any other poſſeſſions. Inventories have been ſeen*, in which churches, altars, bells, ornaments, communion-cups, croſſes, and relics have been expoſed to ſale.—The abuſes were carried ſtill further—when a girl was married, her fortune frequently conſiſted of a church living, of which her huſband received the tythes and chance-perquiſites. Some law-writers have regarded this liberality of Charles to his officers, as the true epoch of *feudal tythes*—that is, of tythes holden as fiefs by noblemen, or others of the laity.

The death of Charles occaſioned great confuſion. His daughter Hildetrude, retired from court; and, paſſing the Rhine, repaired to Bavaria, where ſhe married duke Odilon. Carloman and Pepin, being perſuaded that ſhe was induced to the adoption of this meaſure by the intrigues of Sonnichilde, who was diſcontented with the trifling inheritance of her ſon Grifon, reſolved to ſecure both the prince and his mother. The queen, aware of their intentions, retired to Laon, which was reduced after an obſtinate ſiege. Sonnichilde, was by the victors diſmiſſed to the abbey of Chelles, and Grifon was confined in the caſtle of Neuchatel, near the foreſt of Ardenne. Theodald, the ſon of Grimoald, did not experience an equal degree of indulgence; his pretenſions were powerful, and he was accordingly ſacrificed to intereſt and ambition.

A. D. 742.] The two princes next marched againſt Hunalde, duke of Aquitaine, who, in violation of his oaths, refuſed to acknowledge their authority. He was ſpeedily ſubdued, his country laid waſte, and a renewal of homage exacted from him. During this expedition, they fixed the boundaries of their reſpective dominions; and Carloman, then paſſing the Rhine, advanced to the banks of the Danube, and conſtrained the Germans to ſue for peace. About this time, Charles, the eldeſt ſon of Pepin, who afterwards acquired the name of Charlemagne, from the ſplendour of his actions, was born at the caſtle of Ingelheim, near Mayence.

* Council of Chalons,

But the French were by no means ſatisfied with the long continuance of this interregnum; and thoſe princes who paid tribute to the crown, though willing to acknowledge the authority of a monarch, refuſed to pay obedience to men who, they ſaid, had annihilated royalty, and now oppreſſed the nobles.—Influenced by theſe conſiderations, Pepin reſtored the regal title in Childeric the third.

CHILDERIC THE THIRD.

A. D. 743.] CHILDERIC, according to an ancient genealogical table of the kings of France*, was ſon of Thierri of Chelles. He only reigned over Neuſtria, Burgundy, and Provence; Carloman reſerving Auſtraſia as an independent principality, which he governed himſelf.

The tributary princes ſtill obeying, with regret, the children of Charles Martel, entered into a freſh league, in order to ſhake off the authority of Pepin and Carloman. But the Alemanni, Bavarians, and Saxons, were ſucceſſively reduced to obedience; as well as Hunalde, duke of Aquitaine. [A. D. 744.] This laſt prince, entertaining ſome ſuſpicions of his brother's fidelity, ordered his eyes to be put out; and being afterwards ſtricken with remorſe for the barbarous act, reſigned his dominions to his ſon Gafre, and retired to a convent.

A. D. 747.] Far different were the motives which influenced Carloman to embrace a life of religious ſolitude; even in the moment of triumph, in the midſt of ſucceſſive victories, he conceived the deſign of ſecluding himſelf from the follies and vices of the world, in the ſilent gloom of a cloiſter. He accordingly repaired to Rome, where he received the monaſtic habit from the hands of pope Zachary, who aſſigned him a place in the Benedictine abbey on Mount Caſſin.

A. D. 748.] Pepin, now become ſole maſter of the monarchy, releaſed his brother Grifon from confinement, loaded him with careſſes, and aſſigned him an apartment in his palace, with a penſion ſuitable to his rank. Intent on promoting the happineſs of the people, he eſtabliſhed tribunals in every part of the kingdom, for the more ſpeedy and effectual redreſs of grievances; and he ſought to conciliate eſteem, by protecting religion, rewarding merit, defending innocence, and puniſhing oppreſſion. In this ſtate of grandeur, of glory, and of

* Chronique de Fontenelle. See p. 792, of the firſt vol. des Hiſt. Franc. de Duchesne.

power, Pepin entertained ſerious thoughts of uniting in himſelf the authority and title of king. But his ſchemes ſuffered a temporary interruption from the ambition of Grifon, who ſuddenly withdrew from court, accompanied by a number of young nobility, and taking refuge among the Saxons, once more excited that people to revolt. The army of Pepin, however, again proved triumphant; the Saxons were routed, and the duke, Theodoric, was taken priſoner.

On the death of Odilon, duke of Bavaria, his ſceptre had devolved on his infant ſon, Taſſilon; and his widow Hildetrude readily offered an aſylum to her half-brother, the fugitive Grifon. Aſſiſted by a ſtrong body of malcontent French, the perfidious ſuppliant ſeized his ſiſter and her ſon, and uſurped the dukedom of Bavaria. But his tranſient power vaniſhed on the approach of Pepin; Taſſilon was reſtored to his dominions: and Grifon again pardoned by his brother, again endeavoured to awaken the dormant embers of faction; and, eſcaping from the city of Mons, ſought protection in the court of the duke of Aquitaine.

As this laſt attempt of Griſon, was followed by an interruption of the public tranquility, Pepin renewed his project for aſcending the throne. The chief obſtacle to his elevation aroſe from the oath of fidelity which the French had taken to Childeric. This impediment Pepin undertook to remove; though the means which he adopted for this purpoſe are variouſly related. The generality of writers pretend, that being aſſured of the favour, eſteem, and ſuffrages of the nation, he propoſed to them to conſult pope Zachary, [A. D. 750.] who replied, that being already in poſſeſſion of the regal authority, he might certainly aſſume the title of king. The people were accordingly perſuaded that this declaration was ſufficient to releaſe them from the obligation of their oath*; and Pepin was proclaimed king. There are others, on the contrary, who affirm, that Childeric, impreſſed with an earneſt deſire of embracing a religious life, voluntarily, and with the conſent of his principal vaſſals, abdicated the throne; by which means, the right of electing a new ſovereign reverted to the people, who unanimouſly conferred that dignity on Pepin. This laſt account, if not the moſt true, is, at leaſt, the moſt honourable to the pope, the new monarch, and the nation. It exculpates Zachary† from the charge of prevarication, in taking advantage of the religious prejudices of the people, in order to ſanction an act of injuſtice; it clears Pepin from that of uſurpation and oppreſſion of his lawful ſovereign; and it fully aquits the nation of the crimes of perjury and treaſon. Whatever was the real ſtate of the caſe, it is certain that Childeric deſcended from the throne, and retired to the monaſtery of Sithieu‡. He did not ſervive his depoſition more than three or four years. He had one

* Eginard. in Annal. add Ann. 750. † Father le Cointe's Eccleſiaſtical Annals of the year 752.
‡ Now the abbey of Saint Bertin, at Saint Omer.

ſon, named Thierri, who lived and died in a ſtate of obſcurity, at the abbey of Fontenelle, now Saint Vandrille.

A. D. 751.] Thus finiſhed the Merovingian race, which had reigned three hundred and thirty-three years from Pharamond, and two hundred and ſeventy from the acceſſion of Clovis. It gave ſix and thirty monarchs to France, one and twenty of whom reigned over Paris. The four firſt were pagans, the others chriſtians, but rather in name than in manners. Till the reign of Clotaire the ſecond, cruelty, ferociouſneſs, and barbariſm, were generally prevalent: more mildneſs, religion, and goodneſs appeared under the later monarchs; and to thoſe qualities, indeed, may be aſcribed the deſtruction of the race—the daring projects of ambition being encouraged by meekneſs, and only repreſſed by exertions of ſeverity. The characters of the Merovingian princes, as pourtrayed by thoſe who wrote at the commencement of the ſecond race of kings, muſt be read with caution and miſtruſt. In order to juſtify the uſurpation of Pepin, to the Merovingians have been aſcribed all the calamities of the empire; while they have imputed to the Carlovingians every national improvement, and all the good that was done during their government of the kingdom under the title of Mayors of the Palace.

THE

SECOND, OR CARLOVINGIAN RACE.

PEPIN.

A. D. 751.] THE deplorable end of the Merovingian race affords one of thoſe examples (which are not leſs common than dreadful) of the inſtability of human affairs. The antiquity of its origin, traced to the very earlieſt times; the ſplendor of its exploits; the number of its victories; the extent of its conqueſts; the habitual reſpect of the nation, and the natural attachment of the French to their lawful ſovereigns, all proved inſufficient to inſure its duration.

Pepin was crowned at Soiſſons, in a general aſſembly of the nation. A contemporary author* obſerves, that queen Bertha was, according to ancient cuſtom, placed by his ſide on the throne. But it is remarkable, that this is the firſt mention of ſuch a cuſtom to be found in hiſtory; whence we are induced to believe that it was an innovation adopted either for the purpoſe of rendering his inauguration more memorable, or elſe to inſpire the people with a greater degree of reſpect for the children which that princeſs had borne him. Actuated by the ſame principle, he reſolved to receive the ſacred unction from the hands of Boniface, archbiſhop of Mayence, and the pope's legate; by which means he led the people to regard his election as an order from heaven†, and acquired additional veneration to his perſon, and reſpect to his power. This ceremony, hitherto unknown in France, was performed in the cathedral at Soiſſons, and it was found to be productive of ſo many advantages, that all the ſucceſſors of

* Sec. Cont. Fred. c. 117.

† Eginard, in Ann. ad An. 750.

Pepin followed his example, except Lewis the *debonnaire* or *gentle*, who, being ordered by his father, Charlemagne, to go and take the crown from the great altar, in the church of Aix-la-Chapelle, put it on his head, and without any farther confecration, was acknowledged king of the whole monarchy.

The ceremony of confecration was formerly performed by the metropolitan of the province in which the new monarch was crowned. Philip, the firft of his name, was alfo the firft king who was confecrated at Rheims; the right of confecration was afterwards claimed by the bifhops of Rheims; but it was not confirmed to them till the reign of Lewis the young.

A. D. 752.] The commencement of this new reign was diftinguifhed by a fignal defeat of the Saxons, who had again revolted, and were again reduced to fubmiffion, and compelled to pay an annual tribute of three hundred horfes. The Britons experienced a fimilar fate. During this expedition* he was delivered from the active enmity of an implacable relation, by the death of Grifon, who was flain in the valley of Maurienne†. It was not known whether he was killed by the emiffaries of the duke of Aquitaine, in revenge of a criminal intercourfe which he maintained with his wife; or by affaffins hired by Pepin himfelf, who was fearful that if he paffed into Italy, he would induce the Lombards to efpoufe his quarrel.

A. D. 753, 754.] The kingdom of the Lombards, which, from the royal refidence of Pavia, extended to the gates of the ancient capital, oppreffed the waining ftrength and feeble age of Rome. Aftolphus, the fovereign of that hoftile nation, had poffeffed himfelf of Ravenna, and extinguifhed in Italy the nominal authority of the emperor of the eaft. Rome was menaced by the victorious Lombard, and the life of each citizen was fixed at the annual tribute of a piece of gold. The Roman pontiff had in vain endeavoured to deprecate the injuftice of his enemy: with fearful fpeed he traverfed the Pennine Alps, and implored the protection of the French monarch. He was lodged in the abbey of Saint Denis, and treated with every poffible mark of refpect. At the requeft of Pepin, Stephen folemnly placed the diadem upon his head, beftowed the regal unction on his fons, Charles and Carloman, and conferred on the three princes the title of Patrician of Rome.

Pepin's firft care after his new confecration, was to affemble a parliament at Crecy-upon-Oife, in order to declare war againft the Lombards. But he was extremely furprifed to fee his brother Carloman attend the affembly, who, after having abdicated the throne, had affumed the monaftic habit. The king of Lombardy, who was afraid that Stephen would prevail on the French monarch to efpoufe his caufe‡, had perfuaded this prince to counteract his projects‖. The pious monk accordingly obeyed the orders of his fovereign in oppofing the intereffs of the pope. A recollection of his former dignity, his birth, and his virtues,

* Ann. Metens. † Idem, Contin. Fred. c. 118. ‡ Ann. Metens. ‖ Eginard. in Annal.

gave a great weight to his arguments. He ſpoke in favour of Aſtolphus with ſuch ſtrength and eloquence, that it was determined to ſend ambaſſadors to that monarch, to engage him to the adoption of pacific meaſures, before the nation ſhould arm. This proof of the influence which Carloman ſtill poſſeſſed, gave umbrage to Pepin; who, having conferred on the ſubject with the ſovereign pontiff, ſent him into cloſe confinement at a monaſtery at Vienne, where he died that ſame year*. The ſubſequent ſeiſure of his children, who were immediately ſhaved, and immured in a convent, gave birth to ſtrange ſuſpicions on his ſudden death; and it was generally ſuppoſed, that he had fallen a ſacrifice to the fears and ambition of his brother.

A. D. 755.] Aſtolphus received the French ambaſſadors with proper reſpect, and offered to forego his pretenſions to Rome; but he refuſed to reſtore either the Exarchate, or the Pentapolis, which the pope claimed as the ſpoils of a heretic. Pepin, not content with this propoſal, ſent a ſecond embaſſy†, which did not prove more ſucceſsful than the firſt. He then, accompanied by his two ſons, made, with the conſent of his nobles, that celebrated donation to the church of Saint Peter, which gave riſe to the temporal power of the court of Rome‡. It compriſed, under the name of Exarchate—Ravenna, Adria, Ferrara, Imola, Faenza, Forli, and ſix other towns, with their dependencies; and, under that of the Pentapolis—Rimini, Peſaro, Fano, Senigaglia, and Ancona, with ſeveral places of inferior note. Pepin's generoſity in thus diſpoſing of territories which did not belong to him, is truly curious: he reſolved, however, to acquire by conqueſt a right of diſpoſal; and for this purpoſe he marched into Italy. Aſtolphus, beſieged in Pavia by the French army, renounced all pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Rome, and reſtored to the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. The king of the French, exulting in the ſucceſs of his expedition, repaſſed the Alps in triumph.

A. D. 756.] The ſatisfaction of Pepin was but of ſhort duration; the retreat of the French diſſipated the fears of Aſtolphus; he rejected the conditions which had been extorted from him, and already preſſed with menaces and arms the independence of Rome. On the receipt of this intelligence, the ſon of Martel again reſumed his armour; and the rapidity of his march was only to be equalled by that of his ſucceſs. The diſtreſs of Stephen was relieved, and the perfidy of Aſtolphus chaſtiſed. The Lombard was a ſecond time compelled to ſue for peace; and to the former terms was added the ſtipulation of an annual tribute of twelve thouſand ſols of gold.

It was on Pepin's return from this expedition that he poſtponed the general aſſembly from the firſt of March to the firſt of May. As cavalry began to be introduced into the French armies, during his reign, the neceſſity of finding forage cauſed the diet to be thus delayed till a more commodious ſeaſon of the year.

* Secund. Continuat. Fred. † Annal. Fuld. ad Ann. 756. ‡ Anaſt. in vita Stephan. Pap.

A. D. 757.] Pepin had now attained to the ſummit of glory: the crown of Lombardy had, on the death of Aſtolphus, through his intervention, been conferred on Didier; the pope was indebted to him for a conſiderable extent of territory; and the emperor courted his favour, and ſpared no pains to ſecure his friendſhip. At this period he convened a parliament at Compiegne, at which ſome regulations were adopted with regard to marriages. The leproſy was adjudged a ſufficient cauſe for diſſolving a marriage*; and the party who ſued for the divorce was allowed to marry again. It appears from hence, that this diſorder was then very common. When the aſſembly were about to ſeparate, ambaſſadors arrived from Conſtantinople, loaded with magnificent preſents, among which was an organ, the firſt that had been ſeen in France†. Pepin gave it to the church of Saint Corneille, at Compiegne. All theſe advances, however, on the part of Conſtantine Copronynus, were attended with no effect; the French monarch returned attention with attention, but perſiſted in ſecuring to the pope the poſſeſſion of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis.

On the death of Stephen, his brother Paul ſucceeded to the chair of Saint Peter, and experienced from Pepin an equal degree of protection with his predeceſſor. The repoſe of France was again diſturbed by a general revolt of the impatient Saxons; but their endeavours to break only ſerved to rivet their chains; they were ſpeedily ſubdued, and reduced to unconditional ſubmiſſion‡. The news of this ſucceſs filled with conſternation all the enemies of Pepin. The king of the Sclavonians ſent him an offer of tribute, and acknowledged himſelf the vaſſal of France. The king of Lombardy, too, who had recently made an irruption into the papal territories, followed his example.

A. D. 759, 760, 761.] This victorious monarch was every where ſucceſsful. Narbonne, after reſiſting the terrors of a blockade, during three years, ſubmitted to his domination, on the ſole condition of preſerving the Roman laws, which its inhabitants had conſtantly followed, and which ſtill prevail in Septimania. Gaifre, duke of Aquitaine, was the next that experienced his reſentment: that prince, having uſurped the poſſeſſions of ſeveral churches‖ that were under the protection of France, Pepin ſummoned him to reſtore them, and on his refuſal marched an army into his country, and reduced him to ſubmiſſion. Gaifre, however, had again recourſe to arms; and this ſecond revolt produced a war which laſted ſome years, and at length terminated [A. D. 768.] in the death of Gaifre, and in the re-annexation of the duchy of Aquitaine to the crown of France. During this conteſt, Taſſilon, duke of Bavaria, renounced his homage to the French king, and prepared to aſſert by arms his claim of independence. But intimidated by the misfortunes of Gafre, he was induced to ſeek a reconliation; and, by his ready ſubmiſſion, diſarmed the reſentment of the victor.

A. D. 768.] Soon after theſe achievements, Pepin was ſeized with a ſlow fe-

* Continuat. Fred. † Ann. Metens. ‡ Eginard. ‖ Id in Annales.

ver, at Xaintes, was conveyed with difficulty to Saint Denis, and there expired of a dropſey, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his reign. He was interred at the place where he died; and was buried, according to his own orders, at the church-door, with his face downwards, and in the poſture of a penitent. By his wife Bertha, or Bertrude, daughter of Charibert, count of Laon, he had four ſons—Charlemagne, who ſucceeded to the kingdom of Neuſtria; Carloman, who governed Auſtraſia; Pepin, who died in his infancy; and Gilles, a monk, in the monaſtery of Saint Sylveſtre. He had alſo three daughters—Rothade, Adelaide, and Giſele: the two firſt died young, and the third took the veil at the abbey of Chelles.

Pepin poſſeſſed great martial abilities, and great political talents; hence his ſkill and ſucceſs were equal in the cabinet and the field. Under his auſpices, France attained that ſtrength and conſequence, which enabled his ſon to purſue his triumphant career of greatneſs. But amidſt the ſplendour of his virtues his vices and defects have been totally forgotten. Not one of his biographers has, in the delineation of his character, noticed the aſſaſſination of Theodald, ſon of Grimoald; the deſpotic authority which he exerted over his lawful ſovereign; the violation of his oath, in depoſing Childeric, and taking poſſeſſion of the throne; or the tyrannical confinement of his brother Carloman in a convent.—Theſe are weighty defects; and, though oppoſed by many great and glorious actions, are ſurely ſufficient not only to preclude indiſcriminate commendation, but to command a conſiderable degree of cenſure.

Pepin acquired the ſurname of *ſhort* from his diminutive form, which became a ſubject of pleaſantry to ſome of his courtiers. The king, being informed of their remarks, determined to convince them of their error: with this view, he cauſed a combat to be exhibited, at the abbey of Ferrieres*, between a lion and a bull. The former, having thrown down his adverſary, Pepin turned to the noblemen, who were preſent, and aſked, which of them had courage enough to ſeparate or kill the furious combatants. The bare propoſal made them all ſhudder—not a ſoul replied.—I will do it then myſelf, ſaid the monarch calmly.—He accordingly drew his ſabre, leaped into the *arena*, attacked and killed the lion, and then turning to the bull, aimed ſo ſevere a blow at his head, that he ſeparated it from his body. The whole court were aſtoniſhed at this prodigious exertion of courage and ſtrength. The nobles, who had indulged their wit at the expenſe of the king, were confounded. Pepin, turning towards them, exclaimed in a lofty tone—"David was ſmall, but he overthrew the proud giant who had dared to treat him with contempt."

This ferocious kind of amuſement was common in theſe times. The kings not only exhibited combats of wild beaſts to the people, but they frequently indulged themſelves with this favourite diverſion within the precincts of the palace.

* Monach. San—gal. l. ii. c. 23.

The plenery courts, (*cours plenieres*) alſo formed one of their principal amuſements; theſe were thoſe famous aſſemblies, which all the nobles were obliged to attend, on an invitation from the king. They were holden twice a year, at Chriſtmas and Eaſter, generally for the celebration of a marriage, or ſome other great rejoicing; they laſted a week; the place in which they were holden was ſometimes the royal palace, ſometimes a celebrated city, and ſometimes a vaſt plain; but always in a ſpacious place, capable of affording convenient accommodations for all the nobility in the kingdom: the ceremony commenced by a ſolemn maſs*; and the prieſt who performed it, before he read the epiſtle, placed the crown on the king's head, which the monarch wore till he went to bed. During the whole time of the feſtival, the king always dined in public, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed dukes and prelates ſat with him at table: there was a ſecond table for the abbots, counts, and other noblemen; profuſion, rather than delicacy, was the leading characteriſtic of both. On the removal of each courſe, the flutes and obois played. When the *entremets* were ſerved, three heralds at arms, each with a rich cup in his hand, cried out three times, "Bounty of the moſt powerful of kings!" and then threw gold and ſilver to the people, who collected it with loud acclamations of joy. This diſtribution was announced and accompanied by a flouriſh of muſical inſtruments.

The amuſements of the afternoon conſiſted of fiſhing, gaming, hunting rope-dancing, juggling, farce-playing, and pantomimical repreſentations. The pantomimes, or buffoons, are repreſented as poſſeſſed of admirable ſkill in training dogs, bears, and apes, to acts of imitation and mimicry. Theſe animals had parts aſſigned them in their different performances. Such was the taſte of the times. Plenary courts were particularly in vogue during the reign of the Carlovingian monarchs; they were ſupported with unuſual magnificence under Charlemagne, when they were attended by dukes and counts, who came from the fartheſt extremity of this vaſt empire, each accompanied by a brilliant court, and incurring an expenſe equal to that of his ſovereign.

This magnificence began to diminiſh from the time of Charles the ſimple, the revenues of whoſe immediate ſucceſſors were inadequate to ſupport the expenſe of ſuch ſplendid feſtivals. They were revived, however, by Hugh Capet, continued by Robert, and maintained in their preſtine ſplendour by Saint Lewis: Charles the ſeventh, finding them extremely burthenſome to the ſtate, finally aboliſhed them. The abolition was prudent, ſince they led the nobility to ruin themſelves at play, and the monarch to exhauſt his treaſures. At each of theſe feſtivals the king was obliged to give new dreſſes to the officers of his houſhould, as well as to thoſe who belonged to the queen and the princes. Thence came the word *livery*, becauſe theſe dreſſes were *delivered* at the king's expenſe. In ſhort, the whole expenſes attending the plenary courts, amounted to an im-

* Ducange Differt. iv. ſur le Regne de S. Louis.

menſe ſum. If there was any veſſel on the ſide-board of great value, or any ſcarce and curious jewel in the crown, cuſtom required that the king ſhould make a preſent of it to ſome one. In the room of theſe plenary courts, feſtivals were eſtabliſhed, which, though devoid of that cumbrous magnificence that marked the former, were diſtinguiſhed by the ſofter and more pleaſing allurements of gallantry, politeneſs, and taſte.

CHARLEMAGNE.

A. D. 769.] PEPIN, aware of the ſuperior talents of his ſon Charles, had bequeathed him Auſtraſia; from a conſciouſneſs that the reſtleſs ſpirit of the German nations, and the unſettled ſtate of affairs in Italy, would afford him an ample field for the diſplay of his courage. According to this diviſion, Carloman was to have Burgundy, Provence, Languedoc, Alſace, a part of Germany, and of Aquitain*. But ſuch is the neglect of ancient authors, that not a word is ſaid of Neuſtria, one of the moſt valuable portions of the French empire. The laſt will of the deceaſed monarch, however, was not fulfilled†. The nobles, paying no attention to it, aſſembled in order to proceed to a new diviſion of the realm; by which Neuſtria, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, were given to Charles; and Auſtraſia, with all French Germany, to Carloman. The two brothers were crowned the ſame day; the eldeſt at Noyon, and the youngeſt at Soiſſons.

A. D. 770.] But the harmony that ſubſiſted between them was ſpeedily interrupted by the dictates of ambition. The firſt year of their reign a rupture took place, and Charles obtained poſſeſſion of part of Auſtraſia. Carloman was preparing to reſent this injury, and the flames of war were on the point of deſolating the empire, when their attention was attracted by another object of their mutual enmity. This was Hunalde, the old duke of Aquitaine, who, ſuddenly burſting from the fetters of a monaſtic life, which he had patiently borne for more than twenty years, aſſumed the garb of royalty, and was received by his ſubjects with the moſt unequivocal demonſtrations of joy. The moſt important cities freely opened their gates to their long-loſt ſovereign; and a conqueſt, the laborious achievement of ſeveral years, was threatened to be overturned in a few

* Continuat. Fredeg. † Egin, in vit. Carol. Mag.

weeks. Charles was ſenſible how much his own reputation was concerned to oppoſe the torrent: his entreaties perſuaded the reluctant Carloman to take the field; but the forces of the royal confederates had ſcarcely formed a junction, before the fickle prince withdrew, with the troops immediately attached to his ſtandard, and left his brother to ſupport alone the weight of the war*. The commanding genius of Charles ſupplied the deficiency of his numbers; the duke of Aquitaine, defeated in a deciſive battle, eſcaped with difficulty to the territories of Lupus, duke of Gaſcony, who ſurrendered him to his enemy; and the captive Hunalde was diſmiſſed to a priſon.

The ſucceſs of Charles induced Didier, king of the Lombards, and Taſſilon, duke of Bavaria, who had planned hoſtilities againſt him to forego their deſigns. The former endeavoured to ſecure the friendſhip of the youthful monarch by a double alliance. He had a ſon and a daughter; the former he propoſed to marry to the princeſs Giſele, ſiſter to Charles, and the latter to Charles himſelf, though he was already married to Himiltrude, by whom he had a ſon. This conſideration, however, was inadequate to make him deſiſt from the purſuit of a plan whence, he conceived, ſo many advantages muſt enſue. A negociation was accordingly entered into; and, notwithſtanding the violent oppoſition of the pope, who, in his holy invective againſt the Lombards, reproached them with the firſt ſtain of leproſy†, terminated in the repudiation of Himiltrude, and the concluſion of the projected marriage. But Charles ſoon rejected his new wife, on account of ſome ſecret infirmities‡, which prevented her from bearing children; and transferred the title and rank of queen to Hildegarde, who was deſcended from a noble Suevian family.

A. D. 771.] In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, Carloman died at Samancy, near Laon, and was interred at the abbey of Saint Remi, at Rheims. He left two ſons, Pepin and Siagre; but neither of them was permitted to ſucceed him; the Auſtraſians, impreſſed with reſpect for the talents of Charles, acknowledged him for their ſovereign. Gerberga, the widow of Carloman, trembling for the fate of her children‖, fled with them into Lombardy, where they were received with great affection by Didier, who was eager to embrace any opportunity of revenging the inſult offered to his daughter. The court of Lombardy ſoon became an aſylum for all the enemies of the French monarchy; Hunalde, having eſcaped from priſon, repaired thither; and ſeveral of the Auſtraſian nobles, diſguſted with the government of Charles, took refuge with his enemy.

A. D. 772.] Charles was not ignorant of theſe proceedings; but his immediate attention was called to another quarter. A revolt of the Saxons engaged him in a war, which, with ſome ſhort intervals, exerciſed his perſevering valour during thirty-three years. From the Rhine, and beyond the Elbe, the mar-

* Egin. in Ann. † Epiſt. 45. in cod. Carol. ‡ Monach. San—gal. l. ii. c. 26.
‖ Egin. in vit. Carol. Mag.

tial inhabitants of the north of Germany were ſtill inimical to the government and religion of the French; they rejected with contempt the ſervile obligation of tribute; and, in ſucceſſive engagements, diſplayed a ferocious courage, which could only be repulſed by the veteran intrepidity of the troops of Charles. This firſt war was occaſioned by an irruptiou of the Saxons into the territories of France.

Charles entered their country, and laid waſte all before him; ſtill, far from being intimidated, they offered him battle; but fortune proving unfavourable, they were obliged to bend beneath the yoke of the victor*. Town after town was taken; their temples were demoliſhed, and their idols broken in pieces. Finding their inability to reſiſt, the Saxons ſued for mercy, and obtained it. Charles having exacted from them twelve hoſtages, as a pledge of their future ſubmiſſion, returned home, and prepared for an expedition into Italy.

A. D. 773.] Pope Stephen was dead, and had been ſucceeded by Adrian, who was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the papal dignity, than he ſent to the king of Lombardy, to demand reſtitution of ſome places belonging to the patrimony of Saint Peter, which he ſtill retained. That prince, inſtead of ſending an anſwer to his requiſition, advanced towards Rome, at the head of a powerful army, and took with him the two ſons of Carloman, on whom he wanted the pope to confer the crown of Auſtraſia. But Adrian, being convinced that the only means of eſcaping from the domination of the Lombards was by ſecuring the protection of the king of France, perſevered in his refuſal to crown the young princes†; and, profiting by this pretended mark of his attachment to Charles, he wrote the moſt preſſing letters to that monarch, to entreat he would march to his aſſiſtance. Charles, averſe from engaging in this war, made ſuch advantageous propoſals to Didier, that he began to imagine he was become formidable to the French monarch. Impreſſed with this idea, he rejected the proffered terms; and was ſoon ſurpriſed to hear that Charles was advancing at the head of ſuch a powerful army, that it was evident he not only meant to aſſiſt the pope, but to conquer the whole kingdom of Lombardy. He had ſkilfully evaded the fortified poſts of the Alps; his preſence diſperſed the army of the Lombards; and, while Didier, with the old duke of Aquitaine, who had eſcaped from priſon, took ſhelter in Pavia, his ſon Adalgiſe, with the widow and children of Carloman, ſought immediate ſafety in Verona. Both cities were beſieged at the ſame moment by the impatient activity of Charles. Verona was ſoon compelled to ſurrender; Adalgiſe eſcaped to Conſtantinople; the widow, and two ſons of Carloman diſappeared, and none of them were ever heard of after, till an account of the fate of Siagre, the eldeſt ſon, was received by the celebrated Bouſſet, biſhop of Meux, in an ancient manuſcript, ſent him from the abbey of Saint Pons, at Nice. This manuſcript contained the life of that prince, written by

* Egin. in vit. Carol. Mag. † Anaſt. in Adrian.

a contemporary author; by which it appears, that he perſuaded his uncle to found the ſaid convent, where he aſſumed the monaſtic habit, and lead ſuch a life of ſanctity, that pope Adrian was induced to take him from the convent and make him biſhop of Nice. He was afterwards canonized.

A. D. 774.] Didier diſplayed great courage in the defence of his capital. The ſtrength of the place, the abundance of every thing that was neceſſary for a vigorous reſiſtance; the number and bravery of the troops it contained; and, laſtly, the preſence of the ſovereign, who was fighting for his crown—all conſpired to perſuade Charles, that its reduction would prove a work of conſiderable time. This determined him to convert the ſiege into a blockade, and to pay a ſhort viſit to Rome. He was received by Adrian with the moſt grateful marks of attention; but that artful pope, in the midſt of his civilities, did not forget his intereſt. The king having accompanied him to the church of St. Peter, Adrian conjured him to remember the donation which his father made to it*. Charles immediately ordered it to be read to him, and afterwards confirmed it with his *mark*—for though one of the moſt learned men of the age, he could not write. The only return which the king received for this pious offering, was that code of the holy canons which was uſed by the Roman church. It compriſed all thoſe which Dionyſius the Little had collected in the ſixth century, that is to ſay, the fifty-firſt of thoſe which are falſely attributed to the apoſtles; thoſe of Nicæa, Ancyra, Neocefara, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Conſtantinople, Chalcedon, Sardis, and of ſome African councils. To theſe were added the epiſtles of the popes, from Siricius to Hormiſdas. This code, with the letters of Gregory the ſecond, and the falſe decretals compoſed by Iſidorus, was all the eccleſiaſtical law which the French had, till long after the commencement of the third race of kings. It is dedicated to the Liberator of Rome. The preliminary epiſtle, compoſed by Adrian, is a poem in praiſe of Charles: each verſe begins with a letter of his name.

The king, on his return to Pavia, preſſed the ſiege with great vigour; the arms of the French were ſeconded by an internal enemy, and the ravages of the plague determined the inhabitants to implore the clemency of Charles. The old duke of Aquitaine fell a ſacrifice to his conſtancy in oppoſing the tumultuous clamour of the people; the gates were thrown open—the kingdom of the Lombards was finally extinguiſhed, and their unhappy monarch, Didier, was ſent to a convent in France, where he aſſumed the habit of a monk. At Milan, the victor was crowned king of Lombardy.

On the ruins of Lombardy a new monarchy was raiſed, which afterwards aſſumed the appellation of the kingdom of Italy. It compriſed not only Piedmont, the duchy of Montferrat, the republic of Genoa, the duchies of Parma and Modena, Tuſcany, the Milaneſe, Breſcie, Verona and Friuli, but all that country

* Egin. in Vita Carol. Mag.

which Charles had given to the pope—that is, the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, the Terra Sabina, Terracina, the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, the March of Ancona, the diſtricts of Ferrara and Bologna; and, if Anaſtaſius, the librarian, may be credited, the iſland of Corſica, the provinces of Venice and Iſtria, Mantua, and the duchy of Reggio. But though Charles extended the papal dominions*, he was careful to reſtrain the temporal authority of the pope within due bounds. All affairs were conducted in Rome by the king's orders. The money coined there bore his impreſſion; the public acts were dated according to the years of his reign; an appeal lay to his officers from all the ſentences pronounced by the popes with regard to their vaſſals; the ſovereign pontiffs themſelves had recourſe to the juſtice of the French monarch in their own perſonal concerns.

A. D. 775.] Such was the ſtate of affairs in Italy when Charles was ſummoned to repaſs the Alps, in order to reſtrain the deſtructive incurſions of the Saxons, who had already re-aſſumed their arms, and recovered Ereſbourg, near the Weſer, which they had loſt in the former campaign. That city, at the appearance of the French monarch, was again compelled to change its maſter; but a conſiderable detachment of French troops, appointed to guard the paſſages, and ſeparated from their companions by the broad ſtream of the river, was, in the moment of heedleſs confidence, overwhelmed by the crafty barbarians. This check, with new diſturbances in Italy, induced Charles to receive, with hoſtages from the different tribes, the doubtful profeſſions of the Saxons; and, after ſtrengthening the fortifications of Ereſbourg, he directed his march to the weſt.

A. D. 776, 777, 778.] The clouds which obſcured Italy, and which had been ſwelled by the intrigues of the emperor of the eaſt, and the fugitive Adalgiſe, the ſon of Didier, were diſpelled by the preſence of the monarch: but the ſtorm ſtill ſhook the north with unabated violence, and the boaſted works of Ereſbourg were ſwept away by the fury of the tempeſt. Charles, by his rapid return, ſurpriſed the Saxons in the ſiege of Sigebourg, and his unexpected appearance once more renewed their profeſſions of loyalty. The fortifications of Ereſbourg were reſtored, new forts were conſtructed along the Lippe; an aſſembly of the barbarous chiefs was holden at Paderborn, in Weſtphalia; and Charles having received their homage, prepared, at the ſolicitation of Ibinalarabi, lord of Saragoſſa, to march into Spain, and to reſtore the ſuppliant Emir.

The authority of the exiled Arabian was reſtored by the proweſs of the chriſtian monarch; who reduced Pampeluna, traverſed the Ebro, and ſucceſsfully inveſted the city of Saragoſſa. The rebellious followers of Chriſt and Mahomet were impartially puniſhed by the defender of inſulted ſovereignty; and the March of Spain, which the victor inſtituted, extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro. Barcelona was the reſidence of a French governor; he obtained

* In Cod. Carolin. Epiſt. 51, 52, &c.

the counties of Rouſſillon and Catalonia; and the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were ſubject to his juriſdiction. But, on his return, his rear-guard was attacked and defeated in the Pyrenean mountains; and this action, which has been ſo much celebrated in romance for the death of the famous Roland, ſeems to impeach the military ſkill and prudence of Charles.

The return of Witikind a Saxon chief, who had twice retired from the victorious arms of Charles, to the friendly court of Denmark, again rouſed the latent ſpark of independence in the martial boſoms of his countrymen. They advanced as far as the Rhine, ravaged the whole country from Duitz to Coblentz, plundering the churches, burning the monaſteries, violating the ſacred perſons of the nuns, and putting all who fell in their way to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex.* Charles was at Auxerre, when he received intelligence of this new revolt; he immediately diſpatched ſuch troops as were neareſt the frontiers, in ſearch of the enemy, whom they came up with at a place called Liheſi, ſituated on the banks of the Eder, in the principality of Heſſe. The battle was obſtinate and bloody; but victory at length decided in favour of the French, who, in revenge of the exceſſes committed by the barbarians on the Rhine, gave no quarter, but left the whole army dead on the field.

A. D. 779.] The lateneſs of the ſeaſon not permitting the French to purſue their advantage, the king aſſembled a parliament at his palace of Heriſtal, where ſeveral excellent regulations, or capitularies, were adopted, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular.† The moſt remarkable of theſe relate to theft, and the franchiſes of the church. The right of aſylum was ſubject to a thouſand abuſes. Charles did not dare to authoriſe violence in order to force the criminal from his ſacred aſylum; but a canon was paſſed ‡ to prohibit ſuch as ſhould take refuge on account of any capital crime, at the foot of the altar, from receiving any food or nouriſhment whatever. This was a ſerious attack on the privilege of eccleſiaſtic immunity, of which the biſhops were extremely jealous. But all their attempts to elude it proving unavailing, it was decreed—That theft ſhould, the firſt time, be puniſhed by the loſs of an eye; the ſecond time, by that of the noſe; and the third time, by death.§

The aſſembly was no ſooner diſſolved, than Charles paſſed the Rhine, at the head of a numerous army. The Saxons had the courage to wait for him on the banks of the Lippe; where their army was cut in pieces. The victor then advanced as far as the Weſer; where deputies from the nation came to renew thoſe oaths which they had ſo repeatedly violated. He again pardoned them; but on condition that they ſhould admit prieſts and prelates to reſide among them, ‖ and engage to attend the diet, which he appointed to be holden the enſuing ſpring, at Horheim, on the banks of the Onacre. The Saxons were faithful to their promiſe. Every means which prudence could ſuggeſt was adopted

* Ann. Metens. † Tom. xi. Concil. Gall. ‡ Can. 8. § Can. 9, 11, 12, 24. ‖ An. Moiſſiac.

to prevent a repetition of revolts, and ſeveral of the barbarians received baptiſm. The king was ſenſible of the inſincerity of their converſion, but being under the neceſſity of repairing to Italy, he aſſumed an appearance of content and ſatisfaction.

A. D. 781.] The Greeks had, for ſome time, ſtopped the revenues of certain poſſeſſions belonging to the pope, which was ſituated in the province of Naples; and the ſovereign pontiff, in order to make repriſals, had ſeized Terracina. The affair was ſubmitted to negociation; but, in the mean time, the Imperialiſts retook all the places that had been taken from them. The conferences, therefore, were broken off; and the court of Conſtantinople refuſed to liſten to any propoſals, either of reſtitution or accomodation. The ſovereign pontiff requeſted the king would ſend him one of his generals,† with orders to raiſe an army of militia, to enable him to exact juſtice from his enemies. He gave him notice, at the ſame time, that the duke of Benevento continued to hold a correſpondence with prince Adalgiſe. Charles, who had the eſtabliſhment of his children in view, ſent him word that before the end of the year he would viſit Italy himſelf. The French king had four ſons—Pepin, by his firſt wife; and Charles, Carloman, and Lewis, by queen Hildegarde. Neuſtria, Burgundy, and Auſtraſia were deſtined for the two eldeſt; and he had a ſcheme in contemplation for inſuring a part of his ſucceſſion to the two youngeſt, whom, for that purpoſe, he took with him into Italy. They left Worms, attended by a numerous and ſplendid court, and arrived in Lombardy towards the end of autumn. His preſence ſufficed to diſſipate the clouds of faction; and the pope's diſpute with the empire was terminated to the ſatisfaction of Adrian.

Having paſſed the winter at Pavia, he went to celebrate the feſtival of Eaſter at Rome; where the pope, at his requeſt, baptized Carloman by the name of Pepin, crowned him king of Lombardy, and conſecrated prince Lewis as king of Aquitaine. The firſt of theſe kingdoms extended, as we have before obſerved,‡ from the Alps to the Offanto; and the duchy of Bavaria was afterwards annexed to it. The laſt compriſed Poitou, Auvergne, Perigord, the Limouſin, and Gaſcony. The new Italian monarch remained in his own dominions; of which Milan became the capital, and Ravenna the place of his reſidence. Young Lewis was carried back to France in a cradle; he was then only in his fourth year. At Orleans, cloaths and arms, ſuitable to his age and ſtature, were made for him; he was then mounted on a horſe, and conducted to Aquitaine, where he received the homage of the nobles and people.

The abbe Velly, tells us, that it was during this journey to Italy that Charles held many conferences with Alcuinus, a celebrated Engliſhman, who had been induced to viſit the king, from the high character which he had heard of him, The fact is true, but the motive is miſtated.

† Epiſt. 64, in Cod. Carolin. ‡ Annal. Eginard. et alu.

Alcuinus was librarian * to Egbert, archbiſhop of York, and brother to Eadbart, king of Northumberland. Being highly diſtinguiſhed for his talents, he was ſelected by Offa, king of Mercia, as a proper perſon to ſend on an embaſſy to Charles. This was the motive of his journey to the continent, where Charles conceived ſo great an eſteem and friendſhip for him, that he earneſtly ſolicited, and at length prevailed upon, him to ſettle at his court, and become his preceptor in the ſciences.† Alcuinus accordingly inſtructed him in rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and divinity; and he acquitted himſelf of his taſk in ſo able a manner, that he became one of the king's chief favourites. "He was treated with "ſo much kindneſs and familiarity," (ſays Muratori, a contemporary writer) "by the emperor, that the other courtiers called him, by way of eminence, "—*the emperor's delight*."‡ Charles engaged his learned favourite to write againſt the heretical opinions of Felix, biſhop of Urgel, in Catalonia, and to defend the orthodox faith againſt that hereſiarch, in the council of Francfort, holden in 894; which he performed to the entire ſatisfaction of the king and council, and even to the conviction of Felix and his followers, who abandoned their errors.‖ An academy was eſtabliſhed by Charles, in the royal palace, over which Alcuinus preſided, and in which the princes and chief nobles were educated; other academies were alſo eſtabliſhed in the principal towns of Italy and France, at his inſtigation, and under his inſpection.§ "France" (ſays Cave¶) "is indebted to Alcuinus for all the polite learning it boaſted of in that and the "following ages. The univerſities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, Soiſſons, and many others, owe to him their origin and increaſe; thoſe of which he was neither ſuperior nor founder being, at leaſt, enlightened by his doctrine and example, and enriched by the benefits he procured for them from Charlemagne." —Alcuinus, at length, with great difficulty, obtained permiſſion from Charles to retire from court to his abbey of Saint Martin at Tours. Here he maintained a correſpondence by letters with the king, (whom he ſtiles king David, according to the cuſtom of that age, of giving ſcripture names to princes) by which it appears, that both Charles and his learned friend were animated with the moſt ardent love of religion and learning, and conſtantly employed in contriving and executing the nobleſt deſigns for their advancement.**

A. D. 782, 783.] But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory—Charles having ſettled his affairs in Italy, returned to Saxony, where he held a parliament in his camp, on the banks of the Lippe. The attention of this aſſembly was chiefly directed to the adoption of means for ſtifling the ſpirit of revolt; and they imagined that they had effectually fulfilled this object of their convention: but

* See a poetical account of the contents of Egbert's library, at York, then one of the beſt collections in the world. Alcuinus de Pontificibus et Sanctis Eccleſiæ Ebor. apud Gale. t. i. p. 730.

† W. Malmſ. l. i. c. 3. ‡ Murat. Antiq. t. i. p. 131. ‖ Du Pin. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Cent. 8. § Crevier Hiſt. des Univerſ. de Paris, t. i. p. 26, &c. ¶ Cave Hiſt. Literar. ſec. viii. p. 496. ** Epiſtolae Alcuini apud. antiq. lection. Caniſſii, t. ii.

the French troops had ſcarcely paſſed the Rhine, when Witikind again excited that martial people to aſſert their native claim of independence. Charles, engaged in other projects, ſent three of his lieutenants to chaſtiſe them. Theſe were joined by count Teuderic, a French nobleman, nearly allied to the royal family. The count's military talents were holden in high eſtimation; but, from the jealouſy with which they inſpired the other leaders of the French army, they proved fatal to the cauſe they were calculated to promote. The three generals, fearing that the victory would be ſolely aſcribed to Teuderic, reſolved to engage without giving him notice of their intention. They accordingly broke up their camp in great haſte, and marching towards the Saxons, who had pitched their tents at the foot of a mountain near the Weſer, attacked them with all that confidence which troops long accuſtomed to ſucceſs are apt to feel. The Saxons, however, ſuſtained the firſt onſet with ſucceſsful vigour; and by a rapid extenſion of their wings, contrived to take their enemy in flank, when the diſorder became general, and the ſlaughter dreadful. The few that eſcaped took refuge in the camp of Teuderic. Many officers and perſons of diſtinction were killed, and among others Gellon, the king's conſtable.

The office of *Conſtable* began to acquire importance at this period, although it had not yet arrived at that degree of grandeur and power which it afterwards enjoyed. The conſtable was originally entruſted with the care of the king's ſtables—his poſt was equivalent to that of *maſter of the horſe;* he had two officers under him, who were called mareſchals. Some of the conſtables diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo highly by their courage and conduct, that they were employed by their ſovereigns in the moſt important affairs of ſtate, and entruſted with the command of fleets and armies; but they only acted under a temporary commiſſion. It was Matthew the Second, lord of Montmorency, who made the dignity of conſtable the firſt military rank, under the reigns of Philip Auguſtus, Lewis the Eighth, and Lewis the Ninth. That of mareſchals was raiſed in proportion; and at laſt, took the place of the former. The conſtable was chief of the army and council; he took rank of the chancellor, even in the parliament; he appointed the officers, and gave orders to the troops. The king himſelf, if an ancient deed in the chambers of accounts at Paris may be credited, *could not undertake any military enterprize without his conſent.* This poſt having become vacant by the death of conſtable Leſdiguieres, was ſuppreſſed by Lewis the Thirteenth.

A. D. 784, 785.] The defeat of his army proved a ſource of uneaſineſs to Charles, who was little accuſtomed to the reception of ſimilar intelligence. He immediately marched into Saxony, with a full reſolution to inflict exemplary vengeance on men, whoſe ſole crime conſiſted in repelling the attempts of a foreign invader. At his approach their troops diſperſed, and their nobles flocked to him with proteſtations of innocence and fidelity; but though he met with no

oppoſition, he ſeized four thouſand five hundred of the inſurgents, and ordered them to be beheaded, as an example to their countrymen. After this unprecedented execution, by which he relinquiſhed his claim to humanity, without attaining the ſubmiſſion of Saxony, he went to paſs the winter at Thionville. There he loſt his queen Hildegarde, who was highly regretted by the nation; and ſome time after he married Faſtrade, the daughter of a French nobleman.

The conſternation occaſioned by the recent ſlaughter of the Saxons, was ſoon converted into rage and deſpair. Witikind, that brave warrior, whom no threats could intimidate, no dangers appal, accompanied by duke Albion, again rouſed his countrymen to arms. The inſurrection was ſo general, and the ſpirit of the inſurgents ſo determined, that three bloody defeats were inadequate to reſtrain their attempts, and reduce them to ſubmiſſion*. But clemency effected what force could not operate. Charles, filled with eſteem for the untameable courage of Witikind, offered him an unconditional pardon, with hoſtages for the performance of his promiſe. The noble Saxon, ſubdued by this inſtance of generoſity, repaired to the aſſembly at Paderborn, and from thence to the palace of Artigny, on the river Aiſne, where Charles received him with ſo much kindneſs, that he became a convert to his government and faith. He was accordingly baptized, and after his admiſſion into the boſom of the church, he led a life of exemplary piety. Some authors pretend, that the illuſtrious family which now govern France are deſcended from him. Albion followed his example:—they both returned to their own country, where they kept the people in a ſtate of ſubmiſſion, and remained faithful to God and their king.

The expedition into Saxony had nearly proved fatal to Charles. As he was in purſuit of Witikind and Albion, who had retired beyond the Elbe, he received information of a conſpiracy againſt his life. It has been ſuppoſed that the new queen was the authoreſs of it; Eginard ſpeaks of her as a woman addicted to cruelty; and ſays, that Charles was too condeſcending to her†. Whoever gave riſe to the conſpiracy, it appeared formidable from the number and rank of thoſe who were concerned in it: fortunately, however, it was attended with no bad conſequences. On its diſcovery, count Haſtrade, one of the leaders, had his eyes put out; and the other conſpirators were ſent into exile.

A. D. 786, 787.] The empire of France was, at this period, doomed to experience a continual interruption of its tranquility. A revolt of the Britons now called the attention of Charles, who had no ſooner chaſtiſed the inſurgents, than he repaired to Italy, and, by his preſence, diſconcerted the hoſtile projects of his enemies in that part of his dominions. Aregiſe, duke of Benevento, who was diſpoſed to reſiſt his authority, gave up his plan, and ſent him his ſecond ſon as a pledge of his ſubmiſſion. The court of Conſtantinople, on the point of coming to a rupture with France, ſent ambaſſadors to compliment the king on

* Annal. Egin. † Anal. Egin. & in vita Carol. Magn.

his arrival, and to assure him of their friendship. Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, uneasy under a state of dependance, was ripe for revolt; he now threw himself at the feet of Charles, took a new oath of fidelity, and gave his eldest son as an hostage. But being afterwards induced to renew his intrigues, his hostile negociations were extended to the barbarian Huns, the emperor of the Greeks, and the fugitive Adalgise; he fomented the discontents of the factious nobles of Aquitaine and Lombardy, but his subjects dreading in his rash designs their own destruction, revealed the secret of his perfidy to Charles; and Tassilon, as he fearlessly entered the diet of Ingelheim, [A. D. 788.] was arrested by the command of the French monarch. The evidence of his guilt was incontestable; he was condemned, with his two sons, to loose his head; but the punishment was commuted into monastic confinement, and the principality of Bavaria was annexed to the dominions of Charles.

The fate of Tassilon could not avert the effects of his intrigues with the enemies of the state. The Huns had raised two powerful armies to assist the duke, one of which they led into Bavaria, to ravage the territory of France, and with the other they marched to Friuli, in order to support prince Adalgise, who, assisted by the emperor, was preparing to invade the duchy of Benevento.

The empress Irene, fearing that Charles might wrest from the Greeks their remaining possessions in Italy, had, some time before, sent him a celebrated embassy, to ask the hand of his eldest daughter Rotrude for young Constantine. The marriage was accordingly settled, and the princess betrothed. An eunuch named Elisee, was sent to superintend her education, to teach her the Greek language, and to instruct her in the manners of the country over which she was intended to reign. But this alliance never took place; though who was the means of preventing its completion is not ascertained. Theophanes, a contemporary writer, pretends that it was Irene, who was afraid that such an union might inspire her son with a spirit of independence, and a desire of holding the reins of government. Eginard, Charles's secretary, assures us, it was Charles himself (who, from excess of affection, could not bear to part with his daughter) that prevented the connection from taking place. Be that as it may, the emperor, after the marriage was broken off, made no scruple openly to assist the Lombards, who, in conjunction with the Greeks and Huns, now conspired to promote the expulsion of the French from Italy. But the king, without leaving Ratisbon, issued his orders, and dispelled the storm which threatened him.

The Huns were entirely defeated both in Bavaria and Friuli:—A second time they returned to the charge, and again experienced a similar fate. The Greeks were not more fortunate; and the Lombardian prince was compelled to return to Constantinople, where he passed a life of indolence and ease.

A. D. 789, 790.] Charles took advantage of a short interval of repose to send envoys into Africa, Egypt, and Syria, in order to distribute considerable sums to those christian churches, that were oppressed by the tyranny of the infidels.

Theſe envoys were entruſted with magnificent preſents for Aaron, caliph of the Saracens,* to induce him to treat with humanity the chriſtians that were eſtabliſhed in his dominions. That prince had conceived ſo high an idea of the French monarch, that he ſought to purchaſe his friendſhip by giving him up the ſovereignty of the Holy Land, reſerving to himſelf the title of his lieutenant. Among other preſents which Charles ſent him, was a pavilion made of fine linen cloth, of various colours;† it was ſo lofty that an arrow ſhot from a bow could not attain its ſummit,‡ and ſo large, that it contained as many apartments as the moſt ſpacious palace. But what particularly attracted the attention of the curious, was a clock worked by water. The dial was compoſed of twelve ſmall doors,‖ which repreſented the diviſion of the hours; each door opened at the hour it was intended to repreſent, and out of it came the ſame number of little balls, which fell one by one, at equal diſtances of time, on a braſs drum. It might be told by the eye, what hour it was by the number of doors that were open; and by the ear, by the number of balls that fell. When it was twelve o'clock, twelve horſemen in miniature iſſued forth at the ſame time, and marching round the dial, ſhut all the doors.

It was about this time that Angibert, ſo well known in the king's academy, under the name of Homer, retired from court, and aſſumed the monaſtic habit. He was a young nobleman of great talents;§ and Charles's daughter Bertha was ſo ſtricken with his perſonal accompliſhments, that ſhe liſtened to his addreſſes, and had two children by him—Nitard, who wrote the hiſtory of his own times; and Harnide, whoſe fate is unknown. Eginard aſſures us, that the king would never ſuffer his daughters to marry,¶ which imprudent reſolution gave riſe to ſome unpleaſant circumſtances, that he was prudent enough to conceal. This adventure, and Hiltrude's intrigue with another nobleman, named Odilon, cauſed him no ſmall uneaſineſs. Rotrude, another of his daughters, alſo maintained an amorous intercourſe with count Roricon, by whom ſhe had a ſon, named Lewis, who was abbot of Saint Denis, and chancellor of France.

A. D. 791.] Charles had now reſolved to chaſtiſe the Huns, who had renewed their incurſions; he accordingly entered their country, forced their entrenchments, after an obſtinate engagement, and penetrated as far as Raal, on the Danube; an epidemic diſorder, with the approach of winter, compelled him to retire; and his tranſient exultation was ſoon interrupted by a calamity of a domeſtic nature.

A. D. 792.] His eldeſt ſon, Pepin, impatient to taſte the joys of empire, and envious of the eſtabliſhment of his younger brothers, conſpired againſt the life of his father. The unnatural project was revealed by a prieſt, named Fardulfe,

* Egin. in vit. Car. Mag. † Idem in Annal. ‡ Ann. Metens. & Moiſſiac. ‖ Poeta Saxon. l. iv.
§ In vit. poſter. Angilbert. ¶ In vit. Carol. Mag.

who had accidentally fallen asleep in the church where the conspirators assembled; he was awakened by a number of voices, and found the associates deliberating on their last measures. Charles was summoned from his bed to learn the guilt of his son; the parliament was assembled, and the criminals were condemned; but the feelings of a father checked the hand of justice, and doomed Pepin to expiate his crime by a life of religious penitence. Fardulfe was rewarded with the abbey of Saint Denis.

A. D. 793.] The two monarchs, Charles's other sons, hastened to Ratisbon on the first news of the conspiracy, which was totally stopped, however, before their arrival. They were received with all the tenderness which their zeal deserved*; and with all the honours that were due to them for the recent defeat of the rebels in the duchy of Benevento. Pepin staid but a short time, as the jealous disposition of the Greeks rendered his presence necessary in Italy. Lewis remained with his father the whole winter, with an intention of accompanying him in his next expedition against the Huns. But that project was suspended by the news which Charles received from Saxony and Spain. Count Theuderic had marched with an army of Frisians into Saxony, where he expected to find every thing in a state of perfect tranquility and submission; but he was suddenly attacked at Rustringen, and sustained a total overthrow. The Saracens, on their side, had taken Barcelona by surprise, forced the passage of the Pyrenees, burned the suburbs of Narbonne, defeated the duke of Toulouse, who had attempted to impede their progress, and ravaged the whole province of Languedoc. The revolts of the Saxons, when left to their own exertions, were never considered of much importance†; but an excursion of the Moors, about the same time, excited more serious apprehensions.

Charles sent young Lewis back to Aquitaine, in order to oppose the Saracens; while he assembled his own army, with a view to terrify, though not immediately to attack, the Saxons. He had a grand project in contemplation: it was to open a communication between the ocean and the Euxine sea. This would have been an object of great utility, as well for internal commerce, as for his intended expedition against the Huns; nor was it very difficult of accomplishment, as he had only to form a junction between the Rednitz and the Athmul. The first of these rivers mingles its waters, near Ramberg, with those of the Mein, which empties itself into the Rhine, near Mayence, and the Rhine flows on to the ocean: the last, joins the Danube at Kelheim, and the Danube falls into the Euxine or Black Sea. The canal, by which this junction was to have been effected, was intended to be three hundred feet in width, and about two leagues in length. The whole army was employed in digging it; they completed two thousand yards of their work, but the softness of the soil, the continual rains, the falling in of the earth, and the want of a

* Eginard. in Annal. † Chron. Moissiac.

thouſand inventions, which are ſo common in the preſent age, compelled them to deſiſt; and the little hope that remained of ſucceſs, cauſed the ſcheme to be totally abandoned.

A. D. 794.] About this period, Charles received intelligence that Iſſem, king of Cordova, having been defeated in a bloody battle, with Alfonſo, ſurnamed *the Chaſte*, had recalled the Saracens from Languedoc. Releaſed, therefore, from his fears on that ſide, he determined to purſue his hoſtile plans in Saxony. But before he commenced his expedition, he aſſembled the famous council of Francfort,* one of the moſt celebrated of the weſtern church. It was attended by more than three hundred biſhops, from France, Germany, Lombardy, England, and Spain. The monarch appeared ſeated on his throne, with all that authority which the chriſtian emperors had formerly enjoyed in theſe religious aſſemblies.—The hereſy of Felix, biſhop of Urgel, had ſuperinduced the convention of this council; it was conſequently the firſt affair that occupied its attention. That prelate, ſupported by Elipand, archbiſhop of Toledo, publicly maintained, that Jeſus Chriſt, conſidered in a natural view, was but the adopted Son of God; by which he admitted two ſons, and conſequently two perſons. This doctrine, already condemned at Epheſus, was unanimouſly proſcribed at Francfort.

The next object of diſcuſſion, was the deciſion of the ſecond council of Nice on the worſhip of images. The abbe Velly, in defending that deciſion, which tended to eſtabliſh both the uſe and adoration of images, has been obliged to have recourſe to thoſe frivolous and incomprehenſible diſtinctions, of which the Nicene fathers availed themſelves,† probably for the purpoſe of obſcuring what they were unwilling to elucidate, and what they foreſaw would prove equally repugnant to religion and common ſenſe. In contradiction to the abbe's aſſertions, though we have, in moſt caſes, the greateſt reſpect for his opinion, we muſt contend, that a peruſal of the canons of the council of Nice is ſufficient to convince any man, of the plaineſt underſtanding, that they were meant to enforce both the uſe and adoration of images. In this light were they conſidered at the time by the prelates of England, who met for the purpoſe of examining them, by the orders of Offa, king of Mercia, who had received a copy of the canons, from Charles his friend and ally. They condemned them, "as "containing many things contrary to the true catholic faith, eſpecially *the wor-* "*ſhip of images*, which the catholic church utterly deteſted and abhorred‡." This ſentence of the Engliſh biſhops had been tranſmitted to Charles, prior to the convocation of the council of Francfort, and the prelates who attended that council were convinced of its juſtice; they adopted the ſame opinion of the canons of the council of Nice, an elaborate confutation of which they drew up in four books, which were publiſhed in the king's name, and are commonly called,

* Eginard in Annal. † Du Pin. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent. 8. ‡ M. Weſtminſter, ad Ann. 793.

"The Carline Books*." The abbe Velly is of opinion, that theſe prelates were miſtaken with regard to the interpretation of the condemned canons, and that this miſtake was owing either to their ignorance of the Greek language, or to the introduction of falſe canons, inſtead of thoſe which were enacted by the ſecond council of Nice. The firſt ſuppoſition appears to us to be highly frivolous. Why are we to ſuppoſe that the fathers of Francfort were leſs learned than the Nicene fathers? Independent of their equality in point of rank, the former had a vaſt ſuperiority of numbers—there were three hundred prelates at the council of Francfort, and but one hundred and fifty, or thereabouts, at that of Nice—among the former too, was Alcuinus, who is confeſſed by the abbe himſelf to have been a man of great learning, and profound erudition. The ſecond ſuppoſition is ſtill more untenable; for the interval between the two councils is ſo ſhort—that of Nice having met in 787, and that of Francfort in 794—that it is groſsly improbable the fathers of the latter, could have been impoſed on by a forgery, which muſt imply a total ignorance of the canons enacted at the former, when it is notorious too that a copy of the acts of that council was ſent into France. The members of the council of Francfort, therefore, were perfectly juſtified, in condemning what really tended to encourage a ſpecies of idolatry.

Taſſilon, the depoſed duke of Bavaria, appeared at the aſſembly in the habit of a monk, to implore the clemency of Charles. He publicly confeſſed his repeated violation of oaths, and formally renounced, as well for himſelf as his ſons, all his pretenſions to the duchy, which he had forfeited by the treachery of his conduct. The king aſſigned him a penſion, and ordered him to be removed to the monaſtery of Junieges, where he paſſed the remainder of his days in company with his two ſons.

Queen Faſtrade died about this time. Charles, who had loved her to exceſs, lamented her loſs with great bitterneſs. But her pride and cruelty had rendered her odious to the nation. Twice had ſhe expoſed the life of her huſband, as a reward for the ſuperabundance of his kindneſs towards her.

As ſoon as the council of Francfort was diſſolved, the king marched againſt the Saxons; but the preſence of a monarch, who had ſo frequently ſignalized his proweſs to their coſt, ſpread ſuch a conſternation among them,† that, inſtead of flying to arms, they haſtened to proſtrate themſelves at the feet of their maſter. Charles again received their ſubmiſſion, and contented himſelf ‡ with taking from them one third of their army, which he diſtributed in different parts of his dominions.

A. D. 795.] But even this diminution of their force proved inadequate to reſtrain them from farther attempts. Charles had advanced, at the head of his troops, to the banks of the Elbe, in order to give audience to the king of

* Du Pin. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent. 8. † Chron. Moiſſiac. ‡ Ann. Fuldens.

the Abodrites, when he learned that that prince, who was a firm friend as well as an ally of the French, had been killed in an ambuſcade prepared for him by the Saxons.* He was ſo enraged at the news, that he abandoned the whole country to the fury of his ſoldiery, who extended their depredations from one end of it to the other, and ſlew above thirty thouſand inhabitants.

A. D. 796.] Charles, in the courſe of this expedition, gave audience to the ambaſſadors of Theudon, a powerful chief of the Huns, who ſent to aſſure him of the ſubmiſſion of that part of Pannonia over which he preſided. From theſe envoys he learned that the Huns were conſiderably weakened by domeſtic commotions; he therefore judged it a proper opportunity for attacking them. He ſent orders for this purpoſe to Henry, duke of Friuli, who fulfilled his commiſſion with alacrity and ſucceſs. Having forced the capital, he found in it immenſe treaſures, the ſpoils of all the nations of Europe, which theſe barbarians had been accumulating for the ſpace of two centuries. They were all ſent to the king, who out of them diſtributed rewards to his nobles and his ſoldiers, and, in ſhort, to all that had ſerved him with fidelity. A part of the ſpoils were deſtined for Adrian, but that pontiff died about this time, and his loſs was deeply lamented by Charles,† who ordered prayers to be read for the repoſe of his ſoul, in all the churches of his dominions‡, and wrote his epitaph in Latin verſe, which is engraven on his tomb, at the entrance of Saint Peter's church. Leo the Third, Adrian's ſucceſſor, ſent legates to the king, to make known his elevation to the chair of Saint Peter, to carry him the ſtandard of the city of Rome, and to beg he would ſend ſome one to receive from the Romans the oaths of fidelity and allegiance‖; which ſufficiently proves that when the French kings ceded to the pope the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, they by no means intended to give up the ſovereignty of thoſe territories.

The Huns, in the mean time, ſacrificing private intereſt to public good, had choſen a prince, and, under his conduct, had taken poſſeſſion of one of their principal forts. Charles on this news, cauſed the king of Italy to collect the united forces of Lombardy and Bavaria, and march againſt the new monarch, before he was in a ſituation to oppoſe him. Pepin§ accordingly traverſed that part of Pannonia, which is now called Auſtria, and paſſed the Danube, not far from the capital of the country. The prince haſtened to meet him, at the head of an army which was chiefly compoſed of the principal nobility of the kingdom¶; the battle was long and bloody, but the Huns were at length, defeated, and their brave commander ſlain; the city of Ringa was next reduced, pillaged, and levelled with the ground; the garriſon were put to the ſword, and the inhabitants driven beyond the Teiſſe. This deſtructive expedition marked

* Ann. Egin. et alii. † Egin. in vit. Carol. Magn. ‡ Tom. ii. Concil. Gall. ‖ Idem.
§ Egin. in Ann. ¶ Ann. Fuldens.

with the ſame cruelty which too frequently diſhonoured the French arms, at this period, extinguiſhed the power of the Huns; a republic of warriors, diſtinguiſhed for their bravery and their wealth. All their nobility fell in the courſe of thoſe numerous battles which they fought in defence of their liberty. Such of the people as eſcaped the fury of the conqueror, either ſubmitted to the yoke of France, or retired to the neighbouring ſtates. The few commotions that afterwards occurred, are leſs to be conſidered as the efforts of a powerful nation ſtruggling for its independence, than as the laſt convulſions of expiring liberty.

Pepin, loaded with the ſpoils of Pannonia, directed his march to Aix-la-Chapelle, whither his father, after having ravaged Saxony, had repaired with Lutgarde, whom he had recently eſpouſed. The young prince's march reſembled a triumphal proceſſion; his cloaths, and thoſe of his ſoldiers, ſhone with gold and ſilver; ſuch magnificence had never before been ſeen in France. He paſſed the winter with his father at Aix, where they celebrated the feſtivals of Chriſtmas and Eaſter, in a ſuperb chapel * which Charles had juſt raiſed in honour of the bleſſed virgin. This chapel gave the name of Aix-*la-Chapelle* to the town, which Charles afterwards made the capital of his empire. It was adorned with the fineſt marble that Rome and Ravenna could produce. The dome was embelliſhed with a globe of ſolid gold. The gates and balluſtrades were of bronze; the vaſes and chandeliers of gold or ſilver, and all the ornaments diſplayed a richneſs and magnificence hitherto unexampled.

The palace which the king conſtructed at the ſame place was equally grand and ſuperb. Some of its porticos, we are told by contemporary writers, were ſo ſpacious, that all the troops and attendants of the king could dine in them.† Over theſe porticos were apartments for the nobles who attended the court. This grand edifice was ſo contrived, that the king, without leaving his room, could ſee every perſon that entered the other apartments.‡ The *thermæ*, or warm baths, were ſufficiently large to contain a hundred perſons. In ſhort, from the account of Eginard, the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle appears to have been a work of uncommon extent and magnificence.

A. D. 797.] The ſeaſon was far advanced, and the king was preparing for an expedition to Saxony, when the emir Zara arrived, who, having taken Barcelona, came to do homage to Charles, and to acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal of the French monarchy. The king received him with kindneſs; and in order to quell the commotion which, he learned from Zara, ſtill prevailed in Spain, he ſent orders to the king of Aquitaine to repair thither with an army and lay ſiege to Hueſca. Lewis obeyed, but the ſucceſs of his efforts is not known.‖ Zara's example was followed by Adalla, uncle to the new king of Cordova. That prince, eager to obtain poſſeſſion of his inheritance, had recourſe to the protection of the

* Egin. in vita Carol. Magn. † Idem. ‡ Monach. San. Gal. ‖ Egin. in Ann.

French monarch, who was then regarded by the generality both of chriſtians and infidels as the arbiter of Europe. Charles promiſed to redreſs his grievances, and took him with him into Saxony, where he had determined to paſs the winter.*

A. D. 798, 799.] Having fixed his camp on the banks of the Weſer, he ſurrounded it with fortifications, and erected ſo many houſes, that a town was ſpeedily formed, to which was given the name of Heriſtal, which it ſtill bears. But all his efforts to ſubdue the ſpirit of the Saxons were fruitleſs: having ſent them ſome commiſſaries to adminiſter juſtice to ſuch as ſhould aſk for it, they were all maſſacred†.

This act of cruelty was followed by a prompt and deciſive puniſhment—Charles laid waſte the whole country between the Weſer and the Elbe. But, far from being diſpirited, they prepared to retaliate, and entering Mecklenburgh, began to commit the moſt dreadful devaſtations, when they were attacked by the governor of the country, and four thouſand of them put to the ſword. Weakened, though not diſcouraged, by ſuch repeated loſſes, they were compelled to give hoſtages for their future fidelity; and Charles, diſdaining to purſue his advantage, returned to his capital.

The cares of government did not prevent the king from attending to the conduct of his children. He had ordered the king of Aquitaine to meet him at Heriſtal, in order to give an account, not only of his expedition to Spain, but of the adminiſtration of his finances‡. That prince, preyed upon by a ſet of needy and rapacious courtiers, had been obliged, on his laſt viſit to the court of France, to borrow money for the purchaſe of thoſe preſents which it was cuſtomary to make to the king. Charles being informed of it, repreſented to him, in the moſt urgent manner, the evil conſequences ariſing from the prodigality of monarchs, which not only led to the ruin of their people, but reduced them to a ſtate of dependence incompatible with the majeſty of the throne. He had the ſatisfaction to find that his remonſtrances were not ineffectual, and that Lewis had paid his debts, and lived with dignity, without oppreſſing his ſubjects. The king of Aquitaine had four royal manſions—Doue, on the confines of Anjou; Poitiers; Caſſeneuil, in Agenois; Andiac, in the dioceſe of Xaintes; and Ebreuil, in Auvergne.§ He made it a rule to paſs a year at each of theſe ſucceſſively; (for the ancient kings of France ſcarcely ever reſided in towns) whence they were only burdened with the ſupport of the monarch and his court once in four years. The revenues, being duly adminiſtered, afforded a conſiderable ſurplus; by which means Lewis, without exacting anything from his ſubjects, was enabled not only to defray the expences of his houſhold, but to pay his troops; whom, for that reaſon, he forbade to exact forage from the country people. Charles was ſo well pleaſed with this

* Ann. Fuld. † Egin. in Ann. ‡ Vita & Act. Ludovic Pii. § Lib. tert. de Re Diplomat.

conduct, that he adopted it himself, and ordered his troops to be paid, in future, out of his own revenue.

It appears to have been at this period, that Lewis obtained his father's permission to give the title of Qeen to Ermengarde, daughter to count Ingramne, one of the most powerful noblemen in Aquitaine. He had previously married this lady; but though a prince was allowed to take a wife without the consent of his parents, he could not raise her to the dignity of queen.

The dissentions of the Moorish chiefs invited Charles to the conquest of the islands of Majorca and Minorca; but the satisfaction attending this expidition was more than balanced by the tumults which reigned at Rome. Two nephews of the deceased pontiff, Pascal, and Campule, jealous of the elevation of Leo, formed a design to take away his life. The day of a solemn procession was the time fixed upon for the execution of their project:* they accordingly made a furious attack on the person of the pope, and shut him up in a convent, whence he had the good fortune to effect his escape during the night; and hastening to the residence of the French ambassadors, was by them conducted to Spoleto. From thence he wrote to the king, who invited him to repair to his camp at Paderborn, in Westphalia, where he was received with all the honours due to his station. Charles appointed a certain number of prelates to accompany him to Rome, and to examine the different accusations that had been preferred against him: for Pascal and Campule had already presented a request to the king, charging Leo with the commission of several enormous crimes. The commissaries, after the most careful investigation, assured the monarch of the pope's innocence, and his two accusers were immediately arrested. But as they had still many friends at Rome, Charles, in order to restore perfect tranquillity to that city, resolved to repair thither in person.

A. D. 800.] In a few days after his arrival, he assembled the clergy and nobles of both nations in the church of Saint Peter; where, after hearing the accusers of Leo, he declared them guilty of gross calumny, and pronounced the justification of the sovereign pontiff. As a testimony of his gratitude, Leo resolved to confer on his benefactor the dignified title of Emperor of the West. It was on the festival of Christmas, after Charles had devoutly assisted at the celebration of mass, in the church of Saint Peter, that the pope suddenly placed a crown on his head, and the dome resounded with the acclamations of—"Long life to Charles the August, crowned by the hand of God!—Long life "and victory to the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!" The pope immediately consecrated his head and body by the royal unction, and conducting him to a throne, paid him those marks of respect which had been only claimed by the ancient Cesars. In his familiar conversation with his secretary

* Ann. Egin.

Eginard,* Charles, who indiſſolubly blended in the name of *Charlemagne* the appellation of *Magnus*—Great—proteſted his ignorance of the intentions of Leo; and declared, had he known them, he would have diſappointed them by his abſence on that memorable day. But the preparations for the ceremony muſt have diſcloſed the ſecret; and though the ſon of Pepin affected to deſpiſe a title which was accompanied by no real advantages, yet, in his correſpondence with the emperors of the eaſt, he exacted, with a ſcrupulous jealouſy, their acquieſcence in the dignity which he derived from the gratitude of the ſucceſſors of Saint Peter.

A. D. 802.] The high degree of power now enjoyed by Charlemagne (by which name we ſhall hereafter diſtinguiſh this monarch) might have enabled him to conquer that part of Italy which was poſſeſſed by the Greeks. Of this, the empreſs Irene was aware, and therefore ſpared no pains to avert the misfortune ſhe dreaded. By putting her ſon to death, ſhe had acquired the government of the eaſtern empire; and ſhe now endeavoured to ſecure the protection of Charlemagne—at this time a widower—by a propoſal of marriage. The emperor encouraged the plan, and two of his ambaſſadors had been ſent to Conſtantinople, to ſettle the preliminaries, when that princeſs was depoſed by Nicephorus, who, being crowned Emperor of the Eaſt, baniſhed Irene to the iſland of Leſbos.

The firſt care of the uſurper was to ſend ambaſſadors to the French court for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a friendly intercourſe between the two empires. Charlemagne, on their arrival, was at his palace of Seltz, where, in order to give them an idea of French magnificence, and to humble the arrogance of the Greeks, he reſolved to receive them in ſuch a manner as ſhould equally ſurpriſe and embarraſs them. They were led to their firſt audience through four ſpacious apartments, ſuperbly decorated, in which the officers of the king's houſehold were diſtributed, all richly cloathed, and ſtanding, in a reſpectful manner, before the chief their reſpective offices. In the firſt apartment, in which the conſtable was ſeated on a kind of throne, the ambaſſadors were about to proſtrate themſelves before him, but were prevented, by an aſſurance that this was only one of the officers belonging to the crown. The ſame error occurred in the ſecond, which contained the count of the palace, attended by a ſplendid retinue of courtiers. The third, in which was the maſter of the king's table, and the fourth, where the chamberlain preſided, by encreaſing their uncertainty, gave riſe to freſh miſtakes: the farther they advanced, the greater magnificence was diſplayed. At length two noblemen approached, and conducted them to the emperor's apartment. Charlemagne was ſtanding near the window,

* It has been pretended that Eginard was ſon-in-law to Charles. The fact is, that this ſecretary had an intrigue with this ſovereign's daughter, Emma; but he certainly did not marry her. Had that been the caſe, would he not have been the firſt to have boaſted of the honour of ſuch an alliance? Yet not a ſyllable can be found in his writings to authorize the ſuppoſition.

ſurrounded by his children, and by a great number of dukes and prelates, with whom he was engaged in familiar converſation. He was leaning on the ſhoulder of biſhop Hetton, to whom he appeared to pay a greater degree of attention than to the reſt of his nobles, becauſe he had been treated with greater contempt on his embaſſy at the court of Conſtantinople. The ambaſſadors alarmed, threw themſelves at his feet; but Charlemagne, perceiving their embarraſſment, raiſed them up, and diſpelled their fears, by telling them that Hetton forgave them, and that he himſelf, at the ſolicitation of the biſhop, was willing to forget what had paſſed.

The treaty which they came to negociate was ſpeedily ſigned. It was agreed that Charlemagne and Nicephorus ſhould both retain the appellation of Auguſtus;* that the former ſhould take the title of Emperor of the Weſt,† and the latter that of Emperor of the Eaſt;‡ that all that part of Italy, which extends from the Offanto and the Voltorno to the Sicilian Sea, ſhould remain ſubject to the eaſtern empire; and that all the reſt ſhould belong to the weſtern empire, together with the two Pannonias, Dacia, Iſtria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia. This treaty was followed by the ſumiſſion of Grimoald, duke of Benevento, [A. D. 803.] who had revolted at the inſtigation of the Greeks.

A. D. 804.] The Saxons were now the only people who reſiſted the authority of Charlemagne. Though they had ſo often ſuffered for their obſtinacy, they now took up arms again under the conduct of Godfrey, king of Denmark, a prince of great power, both by ſea and land. The emperor immediately marched to attack them, and advancing as far as the Elbe, drove them from their moſt inacceſſible retreats. The Daniſh prince, who was on the frontiers of his dominions with a numerous body of cavalry,§ propoſed an accommodation, and promiſed to meet Charlemagne, but he ſuddenly changed his mind, and retired with precipitation. The rebels, deprived of his ſupport, had recourſe to the clemency of their ſovereign; who, in order to prevent any future inſurrection, ſent one half of them into Switzerland, and the other into Flanders; and gave their country to the Abodrites, who had always preſerved their fidelity. But a change of climate ſeldom produces a change of manners.‖ Theſe emigrants, to the number of ten thouſand families, far from loſing their ferociouſneſs with their country, infected their new allies¶ with that ſpirit of revolt which always reſided in their own boſoms. It became a proverb, during the troubles in Flanders, under the reign of Philip of Valois, that Charlemagne, *by mixing the Saxons with the Flemings, of one devil had made two.*

From this time, however, Saxony was free from commotions; and that proud nation, which had hitherto reſiſted the yoke with ſuch perſevering courage, was at length induced, partly by force, and partly from inclination, to ſubmit to the rites of baptiſm, and to acknowledge the ſovereignty of Charlemagne.

* Theophan. † Eginard. ‡ Aventin, l. iv. § Annal. Egin. ‖ Jacob. Myer, Annal. rerum Fland. ¶ Joan, Iſaac,—Pontan, Hiſt.

A. D. 805, 806.] The emperor, after the total reduction of Saxony, repaired to Rheims to wait for the pope, who had aſked his permiſſion to make a journey to France. The pretended motive for this excurſion, was to diſcourſe with him on the ſubject of a miracle, ſaid to have occurred at Mantua; but its real object was to confer on the affairs of Venice.* The reſult of the conference is not mentioned by the hiſtorians of thoſe times; but the return of the ſovereign pontiff by the exarchate of Ravenna; the numerous army raiſed at this period, by Wilhaire—an effort which greatly exceeded the power of an individual; the ſudden irruption of that Tribune into the iſland of Malamauc, which he reduced; the capture of Heraclea, from Maurice and John, who favoured the party of Nicephorus; the re-eſtabliſhment of the patriarch Fortunatus, who, notwithſtanding the protection of Leo, had been expelled from his church at Grado;—all theſe circumſtances occuring at this conjuncture, ſeemed to authoriſe the opinion, that they were occaſſioned by the late interview between Charlemagne and the pope. The ancient annaliſts are ſtrangely confuſed in their accounts of the government of the ſtate of Venice. It appears, however, that that diſtrict which lies on the continent, on the nothern coaſt of the Gulph, was holden of the weſtern empire; while the neighbouring iſles were ſubmitted, in appearance, to the domination of the Eaſt, but were in fact independent.† There are ſeveral hiſtorical records, which tend to prove that thoſe iſlands, in imitation of ſome of the ſea-port towns in Dalmatia, were inclined to acknowledge the authority of Charlemagne, and that with this view they ſent envoys to him at Thionville. Eginard, in ſpeaking of this deputation,‡ formally ſays, *every thing which regarded the dukes and people of Venice and Dalmatia was ſubject to his orders.*—Such a declaration evidently implies a ſovereign authority, and muſt effectually deſtroy the ſyſtem of thoſe who maintained that, at this early period, Venice was a free and independent ſtate.

While a momentary calm allowed him a ſuſpenſion from the labours of the field, Charlemagne ſettled, at an aſſembly holden at Thionville, the final diſtribution of his dominions. Aquitaine and Gaſcony, with the Spaniſh march, he aſſigned to his ſon Lewis;‖ his poſſeſſions in Italy he confirmed to Pepin, and added to them the beſt part of Bavaria, with the country at preſent inhabited by the Griſons; the reſt of his dominions he left to his eldeſt ſon Charles, whom he deſtined for the empire; and after publicly ſubſcribing the royal donation, he rendered it, in a ſuperſtitious age, more authentic by the ſanction of the Roman pontiff.

He did not confine himſelf to merely ſettling the quantum of territory which each was to poſſeſs; but his foreſight extended to every future ground of diſquiet, and ſubject of diſcontent. In order to ſecure a laſting peace and firm

* Ann. Egin. Met.—Moiſſiac. & alii. † Adelmus in Chron. ‡ In Annal. ‖ Annal. Metens et alii.

union between the brothers, he ſtipulated, that in caſe any difference ſhould ariſe, which the teſtimony of men ſhould prove inadequate to ſettle, recourſe ſhould be had—not to the general mode of deciſion, by duel—but to the judgment of the croſs. This was a cuſtom then in vogue, which, though ridiculous in the extreme, was ſtill regarded as a ſolemn appeal to the Almighty.* In the deciſion of doubtful matters, two men were choſen, who being conducted to the church, ſtood erect, with their hands lifted up in the ſhape of a croſs, during the celebration of divine ſervice; and the cauſe was determined in favour of him whoſe champion remained motionleſs for the longeſt ſpace of time.

Soon after the determination of this grand affair, the three princes were ſummoned to defend their new dominions by the force of arms. In Aquitaine and Italy, Lewis and Pepin triumphed over the infidels, whom the former expelled from the iſland of Corſica, and the latter defeated in Catalonia. The revolted Sclavonians, who had ravaged Bohemia, were cruſhed by the power of Charles;† and the declining age of Charlemagne liſtened with paternal fondneſs to the martial achievements of his ſons.

A. D. 808.] The king of Aquitaine was recalled from the purſuit of his conqueſts in Spain, by intelligence that a fleet of Normans had entered the channel, and was directing its courſe towards the maritime parts of his dominions. Theſe *Normans*, or *Men of the North*, were a body of ravagers, compoſed of Norwegians, Swedes, Friſians, Danes, and adventurers of all nations, who, being accuſtomed to a roving, unſettled life, took delight in nothing but war and plunder. Charlemagne, forſeeing the evils they were likely to bring upon France, exclaimed with a ſigh‡, "If, notwithſtanding the extent of my power, "they dare inſult the coaſts of my empire, what will they not attempt when "that power ſhall be diſunited?" The event fully juſtified this prediction.—The king, however, adopted the moſt prudent meaſures for reſtraining their incurſions: he viſited all the ſea-ports, and cauſed ſuch a prodigious number of veſſels to be conſtructed, that, according to Eginard, no part of the coaſt was unprovided with them, from the mouth of the Tiber to the extremity of his German dominions. All theſe veſſels he ordered to be kept conſtantly armed and equipped; and he obliged the nobles to ſerve on board them in caſe of attack, in the ſame manner as they were bound to ſerve‖ by land. His grand marine arſenal was eſtabliſhed at Bologne, where he erected an ancient pharos, that had been conſtructed by the emperor Caligula, and gave the moſt poſitive orders, that a fire ſhould be kept burning in it during the whole night. It is that which is now called the *Tour d'Ordre*.

Of all the weſtern empire, Godfrey, king of Denmark, was the only prince that ſtill refuſed to acknowledge the authority of Charlemagne. The emperor

* Vide Gloſſar. Ducange, verbo Crux. † Ann. Egin. Met. & alii. ‡ Monach. San—Gal. l. ii. c. 2.
‖ Eginard, in Annal. et in vita Car. Mag.

now prepared to invade his dominions; and the Dane, aware of his hoſtile intentions, and unawed by the extent of his power, threw down the gauntlet of defiance, and made incurſions into the territories of the Abodrites. Having formed a league with ſome of the neighbouring people*, he extended his depredations into the province of Meckelbourg, whoſe inhabitants, alarmed at his approach, and terrified at the rapidity of his progreſs, threw down their arms, and ſubmitted to the impoſition of an annual tribute. The conqueror then marched forward to the banks of the Elbe, and reduced ſeveral fortified places. One fort, however, withſtood his moſt vigorous efforts; and he was compelled to raiſe the ſiege, after having loſt a great number of men, and many of his principal officers. This check, and the news of Charles's approach, haſtened his return; and, afraid of encountering the ſuperior force of the French, he totally demoliſhed the port of Rieric, from which he derived a conſiderable revenue. He carried his precautions to a ſtill greater height, and in order to ſecure his dominions from hoſtile irruptions, he erected a high wall, defended by ſtrong towers, which extended from one end to the other of that neck of land which lies between the German ocean and the Baltic ſea. Such was the ſituation of affairs when young Charles reached the banks of the Elbe. He immediately paſſed that river, and advancing far into the country, ſpread terror and devaſtation around him. At length, finding no enemy to encounter, and the ſeaſon being far advanced, he marched back to France, after having erected two forts on the confines of Saxony.

A. D. 809.] While theſe tranſactions were paſſing in the weſtern empire, the truce that had been concluded between the Venetians and the emperor of the Eaſt expired, and both parties prepared for the renewal of hoſtilities. The fleet of Nicephorus appeared in the gulf of Venice, under the command of Paul, who detached a part of it to ſurpriſe Comachio, a town ſituated in a bay near the mouth of the Po. But the garriſon made a ſally, in which the Greeks were repulſed, and compelled to re-embark with the utmoſt precipitation. They then directed their courſe towards Populoni, now Piombino, which they took and pillaged. Paul, nevertheleſs, cauſed propoſals for an accomodation to be made, to which the king of Italy was inclined to liſten; but it was the intereſt of the Venetians to widen the breach between the two empires. The dukes, Wilhaire and Beot, who had three years before placed themſelves under the protection of the French, took ſuch effectual pains to prevent the concluſion of peace, and to encreaſe the ſubſiſting animoſity, that the commander of the Grecians, thinking his life was in danger, retired without coming to any arrangement. The following year, it appeared, that theſe noblemen were not more faithful to Charlemagne than to Nicephorus; Pepin, enraged at their duplicity, attacked the forces they had collected by land and ſea, defeated them

* Annal. Egin. Loiſel.—Metens. & alii.

in ſeveral engagements, and compelled them to ſue for pardon. This exploit put an end to the war between the two empires; peace was concluded—Venice reſtored to the Greeks, and Dalmatia to the French*.

The capture of Piombino was not the only diſgrace which attended the French arms during this campaign. In Spain they were tarniſhed by the loſs of Tortoſa, which the king of Aquitaine in vain endeavoured to retake. At the ſiege of Hueſca, too, that monarch was equally unſucceſsful: but in Germany, the ſituation of affairs was more pleaſing and proſperous†. The king of Denmark, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of his entrenchments, was anxious to appeaſe the reſentment of Charlemagne. A conference was appointed for that purpoſe, but it paſſed in mutual complaints; and no plan of accommodation being adopted, duke Traſicon, by the orders of Charlemagne, renewed hoſtilities, and in a ſhort time retook all the places which Godfrey had ſubdued. The Daniſh monarch threatened the Abodrites with deſtruction, and talked of invading both Saxony and Frieſland. The emperor, informed of his threats, ſent a body of troops to ſeize the principal paſſages of the Elbe, and to erect a fortreſs at Eſſesfelt.‡ This precaution diſconcerted the projects of the Dane, and obliged him to direct his efforts to another quarter.

A. D. 810.] Godfrey having aſſembled his troops, embarked them on board a fleet of two hundred ſail, and made a deſcent on Frieſland, where he defeated an united body of French and Friſians, took many places of importance, and compelled the inhabitants to pay tribute. The emperor no ſooner received intelligence of his motions, than he paſſed the Rhine, and advanced as far as the Weſer; but he had ſcarcely pitched his tents when he was informed that the enemy was retiring in diſorder, and that the Daniſh Prince had been aſſaſſinated by one of his guards. This event put an end to the war. Hemming, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Godfrey, humbly ſued for peace, and obtained it by a renunciation of all his father's conqueſts. Peace was alſo concluded on the ſame conditions, with the Saracens of Spain. The king of Cordova either openly ſurrendered, or ſecretly favoured the re-capture of all the places which had been taken from the French. The river Ebro was fixed on as the limits of the two ſtates. The Gaſcons had recently received a ſevere chaſtiſement; and the Navarreſe began to grow accuſtomed to to the French yoke; ſo that a perfect ſubmiſſion prevailed throughout that vaſt extent of country, which was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the *Spaniſh March*.

The ſatisfaction experienced by Charlemagne on the re-eſtabliſhment of peace and tranquillity, was embittered by the death of Pepin, king of Italy; an infant ſon of that prince, named Bernard, was appointed, by the diſconſolate emperor, to ſucceed to the Italian ſceptre.

* Sigon. l. iv. de Regn. Ital. † Vit. Ludov. Pii. ‡ Idem in vit. Carol. Mag.

A. D. 811, 812.] In a few months after this ſevere loſs, he had freſh cauſe for lamentation in the death of his eldeſt ſon, Charles, who died in the thirty-fifth year of his age. All his hopes were now centered in his remaining child, Lewis, king of Aquitaine, a prince who bore the higheſt reputation for prudence, economy, and valour. Indeed, the extraordinary accounts that were given to the emperor of the valuable qualities of this youthful monarch, were ſuch, as to ſtagger even paternal credulity. Reſolved, however, to aſcertain what degree of credit was due to them, he diſpatched Archinbaud, a perſon on whoſe veracity he could depend, to the court of Aquitaine, with orders to watch, with the ſtricteſt attention, the conduct of Lewis. The report of this courtier was favourable to the wiſhes of Charlemagne; who, finding that his ſon ſupported the dignity of a monarch, without oppreſſing his ſubjects, exclaimed—"O! my companions, let us rejoice that this young man is already wiſer and "more ſkilful than ourſelves."

A. D. 813.] The aged emperor, feeling his ſtrength decay, and the weight of public cares becoming too burthenſome for him to bear without aſſiſtance, now determined on the aſſociation of Lewis to the empire. Arrayed in his imperial robes, with a crown of gold upon his head, and ſupported by his ſon*, he repaired to the magnificent chapel which he had built at Aix-la-Chapelle; and, after inculcating in the mind of his youthful colleague the duties of a monarch and a man†, he commanded him to take the crown, which had been placed on the altar, and put it on his head.

A. D. 814.] The encreaſing infirmities of Charlemagne ſoon warned him to prepare for his end. About the middle of the month of January, which ſucceeded the aſſociation of Lewis, he was attacked by a fever, and conſcious of his danger, he beheld with firmneſs the approach of death. On the twenty-ſeventh, a fainting fit announced his ſpeedy diſſolution; and, on the twenty-eighth, after uttering, in a low and faultering voice, theſe words—"Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my ſpirit"—he immediately expired, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and the forty-ſeventh of his reign.

Moſt of the biographers of Charlemagne appear to have conſidered themſelves as panegyriſts, and not as hiſtorians; and even ſuch as have refuſed him indiſcriminate commendation, have injudiciouſly beſtowed their cenſures where they were not deſerved, and with-held them where they ought to have been applied. The ſplendid qualities of this brave emperor are, indeed, well calculated to faſcinate the mind and dazzle the judgment; nor, were they only obſcured by *trivial* defects, ſhould we think it proper to dwell on the partial diminution of their ſplendor, when their general glare would juſtify admiration. But fatal, as a deep flaw to a diamond of the firſt water, is the cruelty of Charlemagne to the general excellence of his character. The ſilent extinction of the ſons of

* Egin. in vita Carol. Magn. † Theogan. c. 6.

Carloman is a groſs impeachment of his humanity; and, even could he elude the doubtful fate of his nephews, the wanton maſſacre of four thouſand five hundred Saxons, who were beheaded on the ſame ſpot, beſpeak the unfeeling hero of a barbarous age. That ſpirit of ambition, too, which inſpired him with an inordinate thirſt for conqueſt, and led him to invade the rights and deſtroy the independence of his neighbours, is ſurely no theme for praiſe.

On the other hand, we contemplate with pleaſure his numerous virtues. In the infancy of legiſlative ſkill, his regulations for the preſervation of order and public tranquility throughout his extenſive dominions, together with his ſtrict and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, merit the higheſt commendation. Of his valour we ſay little:—it is a gift of nature that forms, perhaps, a juſt theme of gratitude to the poſſeſſor, but is not a fit ſubject for hiſtorical praiſe. Of a different deſcription are his zeal to protect, and his anxiety to cultivate, the arts and ſciences; his ſtudious attention to the duties of religion; his fervent piety; rigid temperance; unbounded charity; and, finally, his extreme earneſtneſs to improve and mollify the manners of his ſubjects, and to promote their welfare and felicity.—His counſels to his ſon and colleague, Lewis, which exhort him to conſider the people as his children; to be gentle in his adminiſtration, but firm in the execution of juſtice; to reward merit; to promote his nobles gradually; to chooſe his miniſters deliberately, but never to remove them capriciouſly;—are maxims that cannot be too ſtrongly recommended, nor too eaſily adopted.

The authority of Charlemagne embraced that part of Spain which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro, and comprehends Rouſſillon and Catalonia, Navarre and Arragon; in Italy his power was acknowledged from the Alps to the borders of Calabria. To the ſceptre of France he united that of Germany; and the ſchools which he eſtabliſhed in the barbarous regions, on either ſide of the Weſer, in ſome meaſure atone for the cruelties he perpetrated in the purſuit of dominion.—The empire of the Franks ſtretched between Eaſt and Weſt from the Ebro to the Elbe or Viſtula, and between the North and South from the duchy of Benevento to the river Eyder, which ſtill ſeparates Denmark from Germany.

The body of this monarch was depoſited in a vault, in his chapel at Aix, where he was ſeated on a throne of gold, arrayed in the imperial robes, and in the hair-cloth which he commonly wore* ; with his ſword at his ſide—the crown on his head—the bible on his knees, and his ſhield and ſceptre at his feet—theſe laſt were of gold, and deemed highly valuable in a ſuperſtitious age, leſs from the precious metal of which they were compoſed, than from the benediction which had been beſtowed on them by pope Leo. Beneath the regal mantle was placed the large pilgrim's purſe, which he always carried with him on his

* Egin. in vita Carol. Mag.

journey to Rome. The whole ſepulchre was ſcented with perfumes, and filled with a vaſt quantity of pieces of gold. Over the entrance was erected a ſuperb triumphal arch, on which the following epitaph was inſcribed:—*Here reſts the body of Charles, the great and orthodox emperor, who glorioufly extended the kingdom of the French, and governed it happily, during forty-ſeven years.*

Charlemagne had four wives, who were honoured with the appellation of Queen—Hermengarde, Hildegarde, Faſtrade, and Luitgarde. From the firſt, who was daughter to the laſt king of the Lombards, he was divorced, by the advice of the biſhops. By the ſecond, he had four ſons, Charles, Pepin, Lewis, and Lothaire, who died young; and five daughters, Adelaide, Rotrude, Bertha, Giſele and Hildegarde. Bertha was mother to Theodrade and Hiltrude, both abbeſſes; the firſt of Farmoutier, and the laſt of Argenteuil. The emperor before his marriage with Hermengarde, had taken a concubine, named Himiltrude, by whom he had Pepin, ſurnamed *The Hump-backed*, and the princeſs Rothais. After the death of Luitgarde, having three ſons who were capable of ſwaying the ſceptre, he reſolved to have no more wives, who could enjoy the title of Queen or Empreſs; he therefore took, ſucceſſively, four concubines, who gave birth to ſeveral children. By Madelgarde he had Rothilda; by Gerſwinda, Adeltrude; by Regine, Hugh, the abbot, Dragon, biſhop of Metz, and Adalinde; and by Adelaide, or Adelvide, he had Thierri, who took orders.—He had alſo another daughter, named Emma, who, it has been pretended, was wife to Eginard.

So great a number of wives and concubines has given occaſion to ſome modern authors to pollute the memory of Charlemage with the charge of incontinence and immorality. It is needleſs to repeat what we have before urged in favour of concubinage, which was then regarded as a connection equally lawful with the preſent *left-handed marriages* of Germany, and the French *marriages of conſcience*. But a few reflections, on the ſubject of this unjuſt accuſation, we muſt not with-hold. Is it probable that a prince who was frank, open, and ſincere in all his actions, ſhould deſcend to the little arts of hypocriſy—that offſpring of a mean and contracted mind; and prove faithleſs to thoſe laws which he openly profeſſed to ſupport and protect? Would he, in that caſe, have dared to promulgate that famous ordinance, in which he places fornication and adultery in the liſt of thoſe heinous ſins* which draw down the vengeance of heaven on ſuch as practiſe them? Had he himſelf been guilty of a crime which in others he puniſhed with impriſonment and confiſcation, inſtead of exciting eſteem, and conciliating affection, he muſt inevitably have become an object of contempt and indignation to his ſubjects. Eginard, though his ſecretary, is not ſparing of his reproaches where he thinks they are due; he accuſes Charlemagne of a culpable want of firmneſs, in forbearing to repreſs the cruelties of

* Incall. Stephan. Baluz. Col. 412, 528.

Faſtrade, and the licentious conduct of his daughters, who, it ſeems, were moſt of them endued with very amorous diſpoſitions. He would not therefore have failed to notice the moral incontinence of his ſovereign, had it really exiſted. The hiſtorian of Lewis the gentle, ſpeaking of the emperor's death, ſays—*Mortuus eſt vir juſtus**. The councils of Verneuil and Rome rank him in the number of thoſe great monarchs whom they dignify with the appellation of great ſaints: and all contemporary writers mention him in the ſame terms. It was not till many centuries after his death that any doubts aroſe as to the purity of his manners; as if it were impoſſible that a man, who had attained the age of ſeventy-two, ſhould have married nine wives, ſucceſſively. From theſe conſiderations we muſt pronounce the accuſation of immorality, with regard to his intercourſe with the fair ſex, to be wholly unfounded; though we can by no means aſſent to the indiſcriminate commendation of the eloquent Boſſuet, who ſays, that *he was a moſt chriſtian prince in all his actions*.†

The firſt ſumptuary laws known in France were enacted during this reign‡. They regulated the price of ſtuffs, and the ſorts that were to be worn by each claſs of citizens. The emperor himſelf was extremely plain in his dreſs, and, except on particular occaſions, was ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed, in that reſpect, from the meaneſt of his French ſubjects‖;—ſtill, however, he was fond of novelty. At firſt, he wore a long cloak that reached to his feet; but having ſeen ſome of the ſhort cloaks of various colours, that were worn by the Gauls, he preferred them to the others, which he then began to think were too troubleſome. The conqueſt of Italy gave him a taſte for ſilk cloaths, adorned with rich furs, which the Venetians imported from the Eaſt. The emperor, ſays the monk of Saint Gal, at firſt ſuffered his ſubjects to follow their own inclinations in point of dreſs, from a perſuaſion that the example he ſet them would ſoon bring them back to the primitive ſimplicity of their anceſtors; but finding that his courtiers paid no attention to him, he at length determined to exert his authority, and accordingly enacted thoſe laws abovementioned.

The tumult of war is ever unfavourable to commercial intercourſe. Commerce had flouriſhed in Gaul while under the dominion of the Romans: but the firſt monarch of the Merovingian race found it almoſt totally neglected; and the continual hoſtilities in which they were engaged, did not permit them to re-eſtabliſh it in its ancient ſplendour. The depreſſions, however, which it experienced at the commencement of the monarchy, did not effect its annihilation, it even appears to have acquired a degree of vigour under the reign of Gontran§, who, being diſpleaſed with the conduct of his nephew Childebert, forbade all communication between Burgundy and Auſtraſia¶. Under Clotaire the ſecond, there was

* In vita Ludovici Pii. † See his ſermon on the opening the general aſſembly of the clergy of France, in 1681. ‡ Capitul. Triplex, ann. 808, Art. v. t. i. p. 468. ‖ Memoires de L'Acad. des B. L. tom. vi. p. 726. § Greg. Tur. hiſt. l. ix. c. 32. ¶ Fred. Chron. c. 48.

a company of merchants, who went from the territory of Sens, under the conduct of Samon, to trade with the Sclavonians*. During the reign of Dagobert the firſt, there was a number of markets eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of facilitating commercial intercourſe. From a capitulary of the ninth century, we learn, that the French, in the time of Charlemagne, went in troops to traffic with the Sclavonians, the Avars or Huns of Pannonia, and the Saxons; on theſe trading excurſions they were forbidden the uſe of arms. From the Chronicle of Fontenelles, it appears, that even at the commencement of that emperor's reign, a regular commerce was eſtabliſhed between the French and Engliſh.

All trade was conducted, at this period, in markets or fairs; there only could be procured the chief neceſſaries of life: artiſts and merchants, diſperſed about the country, had not yet fixed their reſidence in towns, which were principally inhabited by prieſts and a few workmen. Neither monks nor nuns were to be ſeen in them; the generality of convents being built in the open country, or elſe in the vicinity of cities. The nobility either reſided on their own eſtates, or followed the court. In order to remedy the inconveniences naturally ariſing from this ſeparation of the members of the community, numerous fairs were eſtabliſhed†, at which they attended for the purpoſe of buying and ſelling ſuch articles as could not otherwiſe be procured or diſpoſed of. That of Saint Denis was one of the moſt celebrated‡.—It was frequented by people, not only from the moſt diſtant parts of the French empire, but from Frieſland, Saxony, England, Spain, and Italy;—as appears from the charter of Dagobert the firſt, by whom it was eſtabliſhed‖, and by an ordinance of Pepin the ſhort, which confirms the right of exacting toll for the paſſage of goods through the diſtrict of Paris, to the monks of the abbey of Saint Denis.

But though all commercial buſineſs was, generally ſpeaking, confined to theſe fairs, yet were there ſome few towns that were famous for their trade and manufactories. The city of Arles was celebrated, at a very early period, for its embroidery, and for its works of gold and ſilver inlaid§; all the veſſels from the Eaſt came to this port, to Narbonne, and Marſeilles. From Arles, a part of the riches imported in foreign bottoms, was ſent to Treves; they were conveyed by the Rhone to Lyons; from thence they were forwarded by the Soane and the Doux, and then landed and carried in carts to the banks of the Moſelle. The proſperity of theſe commercial towns was interrupted by continual wars, which deterred the Aſiatics and Africans from frequenting their ports. But under the Carlovingian monarchs, they again began to flouriſh; they then kept a certain number of veſſels that were employed in trading to Conſtantinople, Genoa, and Piſa. The inhabitants of Lyons, in conjunction

* Apud Dublet. in hiſt. Abbat. Sancti. Dion. p. 655. † Capit. Carol. Calv. tit. xxxvi. c. 19. ‡ Apud Dublet. ante cit. ‖ Apud Felibian in prob. hiſt. ejuſd. p. 24. § Huet, Traite du Com. des An. c. 39, n. 8.

with thoſe of Marſeilles and Avignon, were accuſtomed to go, twice a year, to Alexandria, to purchaſe perfumes and other objects of merchandize, which they ſold in Provence and in different parts of the kingdom. But commerce never flouriſhed ſo much as under the reign of Lewis the gentle, the ſon and ſucceſſor to Charlemagne*—who eſtabliſhed a company of merchants, with particular privileges, and adopted ſuch regulations, as enſured protection to their perſons, and ſucceſs to their operations.

Hence it appears, that under the two firſt races of the French monarchy, the commerce of France was of little importance. It was chiefly abandoned to foreigners, who imported but few objects of value into the kingdom. Spain ſupplied the French with horſes and mules†; Frieſland, with various articles of dreſs; England, with corn, iron, tin, lead, leather, and ſporting-dogs; Africa and the Eaſt, with wine, gauzes, *papyra*, or Egyptian paper, the only paper that was known in France, till the eleventh century‡, and ſweet-oil, which was then ſo ſcarce, that permiſſion was given to the monks, at a council holden at Aix-la-Chapelle, to make uſe of oil extracted from bacon.—The exports from France were not of much greater value than the imports; they generally conſiſted of earthen-ware, copper-veſſels, wine, honey, madder and ſalt.

The collection of capitularies contained many regulations, as well with regard to trade in general, as to the particular commerce of ſlaves, ſilver coin, rich vaſes, and precious ſtones‖, which were then very common objects of traffic in France. Some of the capitularies forbid the eſtabliſhment of markets without the king's permiſſion§, and prohibit the holding them on Sundays.—By others, rigorous puniſhments are decreed to thoſe who ſhall ſell ſlaves in a clandeſtine manner, or deliver a chriſtian into the hands of Jews or Pagans¶. Some forbid all ſales by night; others enjoin the uſe of equal weights throughout the empire**: by one, it is ordained, that a Jew merchant ſhall pay the tenth part of his profit, and a chriſtian the eleventh part††. Theſe impoſts, with the tolls exacted on paſſing through particular diſtricts, over bridges, and on entering or leaving the kingdom, formed a conſiderable part of the revenue of the crown.

* Vales Not. Gal. v. Maſſilia. † Monach. San. Gal. l. ii. de reb. bell. Car. Mag. c. 24. ‡ Greg. Tur. c. 6. l. v. c. 5. l. iv. c. 44. ‖ Tit. 36. c. 39. Capitul. an. 819. § Capit. l. vi. c. 424. ¶ Capit. an. 803, c. 2. ** Baluz. in c. 279, l. vi. cap. †† Capit. Carol. Calv. Tit. 53, c. 3.

LEWIS THE FIRST,

SURNAMED THE GENTLE.

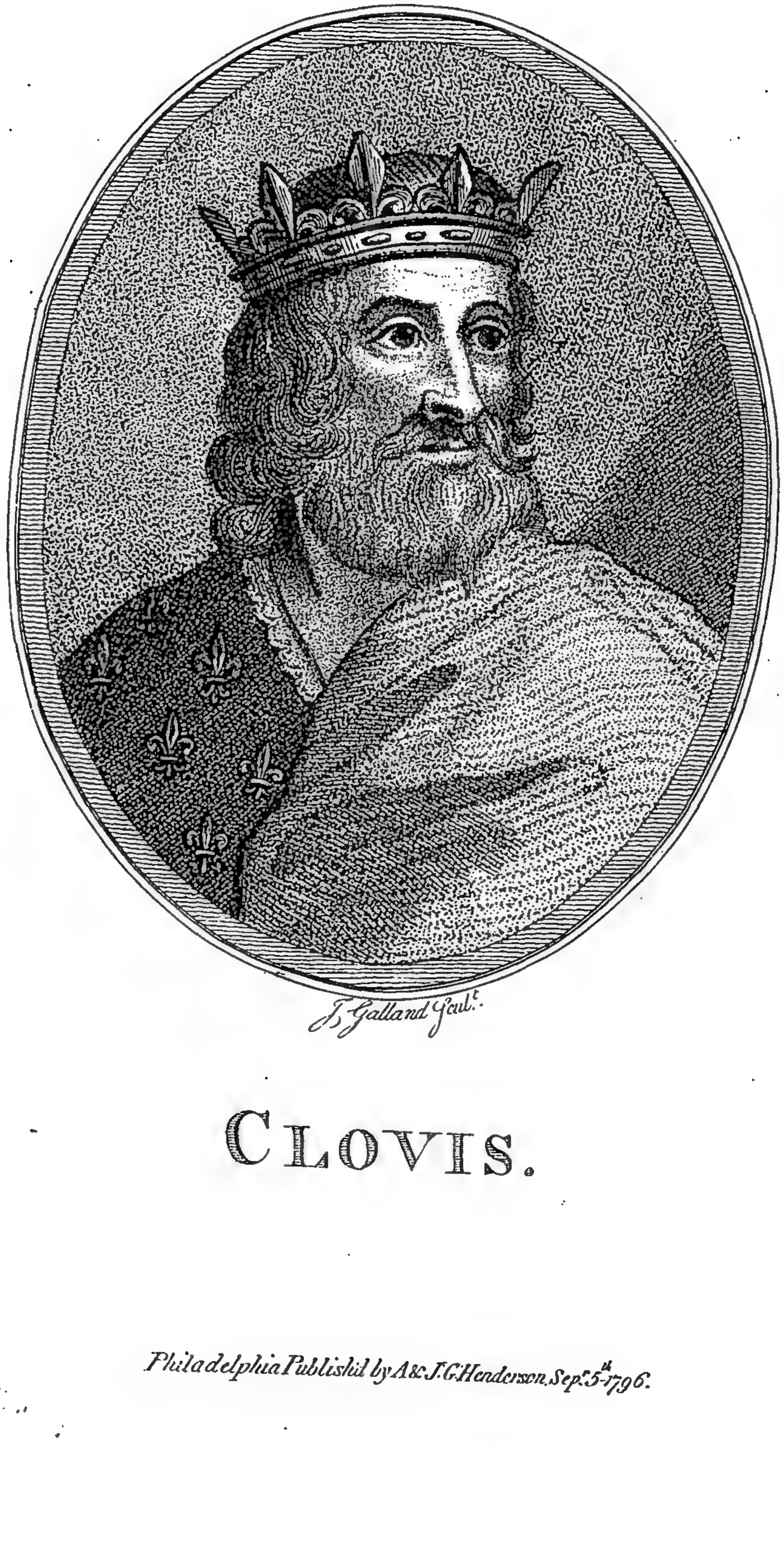
A. D. 814.] LEWIS was in Aquitaine when he received the news of his father's death, but he inſtantly repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was proclaimed king and emperor. At firſt he acquired a great reputation for piety, by his ſcrupulous attention to enforce the laſt will of his deceaſed parent;—though, at the ſame time, he created many enemies by attempting to reform ſeveral abuſes, which had either eſcaped notice, or met with toleration during the preceding reign. He had ſeven ſiſters, not one of whom was married. They were all ſupported in regal ſplendour; and many of them being endued with exquiſite ſenſibility, and with thoſe impetuous paſſions, that reaſon in vain attempts to ſubdue, yielded, with fewer ſtruggles, perhaps, than virtue required, to the pleaſing impulſe of nature. The effects of theſe amorous indulgences had given no ſmall uneaſineſs to Charlemagne; and his ſon Lewis, more rigid in his diſpoſition, refuſed to connive at frailties of which he had never been guilty himſelf. His firſt care * was to repreſs the familiarity of his ſiſters' favourites; ſome of which were baniſhed, and others—to the diſgrace of this *pious* prince be it ſpoken—had their eyes put out. One of the moſt powerful, named Hedoin, ſlew count Garnier, who was ſent to arreſt him, and was himſelf maſſacred†. The princeſſes immediately received orders to retire to the different houſes which their father had left them. The five daughters of Pepin, king of Italy, were involved in the ſame diſgrace. Lewis only ſuffered Drogon, Hugh, and Thierri to remain in his palace, and them he brought up with great care, placing them always at his own table.

* Eginard in vita Car. Mag. † Vit. Lud. Pii.

While Lewis was employed in theſe domeſtic regulations, the duke of Benevento ſent to demand a confirmation of the treaty which he had concluded with Charlemagne, by which he had agreed to pay a tribute of twenty-five thouſand ſols of gold; but Lewis reduced it to ſeven thouſand: Grimoald did homage to the new monarch, and received from his hands a new inveſture*. Bernard, king of Italy, was alſo ſummoned to pay the ſame mark of ſubjection; he obeyed, but his obedience wore ſo ſtrong an appearance of conſtraint, that it was evident he only waited for an opportunity to aſſert his independence. Lewis took from him Adelard and Vala, two grand-ſons of Charles-Martel, who were the friends of his heart, and the leaders of his council. The firſt of theſe was transferred from his abbey of Corbie to the monaſtery of Noirmoutier; and the laſt, being baniſhed from court, aſſumed the monaſtic habit, and ſucceeded his brother, as abbot of Corbie. The degradation of two men, who had enjoyed all the confidence and eſteem of Charlemagne, greatly injured the reputation of his ſucceſſor†. That part of his character which had hitherto been conſidered as meekneſs of diſpoſition and goodneſs of heart, was now regarded as weakneſs and timidity. His conduct was ſuch as rather marked the monk, than beſpoke the monarch‡; he paſſed whole days in reading the ſcriptures and ſinging pſalms. He ſent to Aquitaine for an abbot named Benedict, who, though a man of piety, was wholly unfit to be entruſted with matters of ſtate. To him was allotted the office of receiving petitions and requeſts, and the manner in which he diſcharged his truſt proved the rectitude of his intentions, but the unlimitted and almoſt excluſive confidence repoſed in him by the emperor, excited murmurs and complaints.

Lewis had three ſons by the empreſs Ermengarde—Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis. The firſt he ſent to Bavaria, and the ſecond to Aquitaine, but gave them no titles; ſo that in fact, they could only be conſidered as governors of thoſe territories. This was a prudent policy, which it would have been happy for him had he always obſerved. But he was afterwards induced, either from a deſire to procure more time for reforming the clergy‖, or for his own private devotions—or, perhaps, merely from a love of repoſe, to conſent to an imprudent participation of that authority of which he now appeared ſo jealous. A council of prelates and nobles was holden at Aix-la-Chapelle, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne; and ſome inſtances of oppreſſion in the provinces being diſcovered, Lewis ſent ſeveral of his courtiers, in capacity of envoys from the prince, *miſſi dominici*, to inveſtigate and redreſs them. That name (which is as old as the monarchy) was given to the commiſſioners who were ſent by the French kings into the provinces, to ſuperintend the publication and enforce the execution of their ordinances§. The people were obliged not only to find

* Vit. Lud. Pii.—Chron. Moiſſ. † Annal. Bertin. ‡ Libellus Ardonii de vita S. Bened. vide Secul. iii. part. 1. p. 215. ‖ Thegan. c. 26. § Chron. Moiſſ.



CLOVIS.

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them lodgings, but to ſupply them with a certain quantity of proviſions. They were authoriſed to receive complaints, and to redreſs ſuch as admitted of an immediate deciſion, and to report thoſe which required a more minute inveſtigation to the king: they were alſo empowered to inflict puniſhments on any counts or prelates who had been guilty of prevarication; and to repeal any unjuſt ſentence which they had pronounced—in ſhort, it was their duty to enforce a ſtrict obſervance of the laws. They made their tour four times a year—in the months of January, April, July, and October. Their aſſizes were always holden in an open place, which every body had a right to enter; the judges were ſummoned thither, and their conduct underwent a cloſe examination. An eſtabliſhment of this nature, when rigidly obſerved, muſt have been attended with the moſt beneficial effects.

A. D. 814, 815.] Immediately after the ſeparation of the aſſembly of Aix-la-Chapelle, Heriold, who governed a part of the kingdom of Denmark, came to claim the protection of Lewis, as his liege lord, againſt the children of Godfrey, who had deſpoiled him of his dominions. The emperor, convinced of the juſtice of his petition, ordered the Saxons to arm in his favour, and that brave people, having recently been reſtored by Lewis to certain rights, of which his predeceſſor had deprived them, evinced their gratitude by the alacrity with which they obeyed his commands. Having traverſed the Elbe and the Eyder, they entered Denmark, laid the whole country waſte, and reſtored the exiled monarch to his loſt inheritance.

A. D. 816.] Some commotions of the Gaſcons and Sclavonians threatened to interrupt the tranquility of the empire; but the latter were ſpeedily reduced to ſubmiſſion by the Saxons; and the former, after loſing two pitched battles, were compelled to acknowledge the authority of the duke whom Lewis had appointed to govern them. In the mean time, pope Leo died*, and was ſucceeded by Stephen, who aſſumed the pontificate, without waiting for the emperor's confirmation of his election†. He made the Romans, however, take an oath of fidelity to that monarch, to whom he paid a viſit at Rheims; and Lewis deſiring to be conſecrated by the hands of the ſovereign pontiff, that ceremony was performed in the church belonging to the abbey of Saint Remi, when Stephen placed a rich crown on his head, which he had brought with him from Rome, and another of inferior value on that of the empreſs Ermengarde, on whom he alſo beſtowed the appellation of *Auguſt*.

A. D. 817.] Pope Stephen died ſoon after his return to Italy, and Paſchal the Firſt, without deigning to ſolicit the conſent of the emperor, in imitation of his predeceſſor, ſeated himſelf in the apoſtolic chair. Lewis expreſſed great reſentment at this preſumptuous invaſion of his rights, and all Rome was alarmed at his threats; but the humble excuſes of the artful prieſt ſoon appeaſed

* Walf. Strab. de Reb. Eccleſ. c. 21. † Anaſt. Thegan. de Geſt. Ludov. c. 16, et alii.

his indignation; and he was induced to confirm his election; proteſting, however, at the ſame time, that any ſimilar infringement on his juſt prerogatives ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed*. This ſame year Lewis aſſembled a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, at which ſeveral regulations were adopted, with regard to canons—*canoneſſes*, and monks. The laſt, in the ninth century, inherited from their parents, and had property of their own, which at their death, belonged to their convent†. The canoneſſes were in fact nuns, bound by a vow of chaſtity, cloiſtered, veiled, and cloathed in black; they kept their patrimony, and were permitted to have ſervants. All prelates were forbidden to wear any dreſs that favoured of worldly pomp‡—a prohibition that appears to have been neceſſary, ſince moſt of them wore gaudy veſtments, very unbecoming their ſtation; they had rich girdles, from whence hung a ſmall knife decorated with ſtones, a croſs-belt and ſpurs—the martial embelliſhments of the early ages. Many of the prelates were highly offended at being obliged to renounce theſe appendages of vanity, and their reſentment was, in the ſequel, attended with fatal conſequences to their ſovereign. It was at this aſſembly, that Lewis aſſociated Lothaire with him in the empire, declaring him his ſole heir, and ſubjecting Pepin and Lewis to his authority, though they were both proclaimed kings—the firſt of Aquitaine, the laſt of Bavaria.—This partition of the empire proved a ſource of domeſtic diviſion, and gave riſe to the commiſſion of a thouſand crimes.

A. D. 818.] Bernard, king of Italy, ſon to the emperor's eldeſt brother, conceived himſelf to be treated with injuſtice; he was a young man of nineteen—handſome, well-made, brave, liberal, and beloved by his ſubjects‖. All the malcontents, who were very numerous, and ſome of the biſhops, enraged at a reform that was contrary to their inclinations, promiſed, if he would oppoſe the meaſures of the king, that they and all their vaſſals would openly eſpouſe his cauſe. Lewis, appriſed of the conſpiracy, immediately prepared to repel it, and marched, without delay, to Chalons-upon-Saone, at the head of a powerful army. This diſpatch ſurpriſed the rebels, who fled on all ſides; while Bernard, forſaken by his troops, threw himſelf at the emperor's feet, and with the principal conſpirators ſubmitted to his mercy. They were all tried, and their guilt being confirmed by their own confeſſions, Bernard and the nobles were condemned to die, and the biſhops were degraded and confined in a monaſtery§. But, as a great mark of *indulgence*, the ſentence of the former was mitigated, and they were permitted to purchaſe their lives with the loſs of their eyes; this cruel operation proved fatal to the king of Italy; and when we reflect, that the puniſhment was inflicted by an uncle, and on a youth of the greateſt accompliſhments and moſt amiable mind¶, we cannot but think that it was greatly diſproportioned to the offence, and betrayed a want of feeling and hu-

* Recherches de la France, l. iii. c. 4, p. 173.—l. v. c. 3, p. 441. † Pref. pour ſervir à l'Hiſtorie eccleſiaſtique & civile de Bretagne. ‡ Vit. Lud. Pii. ‖ Thegan. c. 21. § Eginard, Vit. Lud. Pii.—Annal. ¶ Nithard. l. i.

manity in Lewis, that accorded but ill with his avowed reſpect for the doctrine and precepts of chriſtianity. Though the three princes, Drogon, Hugh, and Thierri, the youngeſt ſons of Charlemagne, took no part in this revolt, yet Lewis, afraid that they might one day be tempted to follow ſo pernicious an example, ordered them to be ſhaved and confined in different convents.

A. D. 819.] Bernard's revolt was ſucceeded by ſeveral other inſurrections, which, though they indicated a radical weakneſs in the government, were attended with no bad conſequences. Brittany, reduced to ſubmiſſion in leſs than ſix weeks, received a duke from the hands of the emperor. The king of the Abodrites was taken in the firſt campaign, and deprived of his crown. The duke of the Gaſcons experienced a ſimilar fate; and the governor of lower Pannonia, though more determined, was not more ſucceſsful. But the moſt diſaſtrous events which diſtinguiſhed the year, were the death of Ermengarde, and the marriage of Lewis with Judith, deſcended from the nobles of Bavaria, and the dukes of Saxony, but whoſe beauteous form and ſplendid accompliſhments concealed an ambitious mind, the ſource of equal calamities to her conſort and the empire. His ſon, Lothaire, ſoon after married Ermengarde, daughter to count Hugh; and Pepin, king of Aquitaine, eſpouſed the daughter of Theodebert, count of Madrie—a diſtrict which comprehended that extent of country which is now bounded by Evreux, Vernon and the Seine.

A. D. 822.] The rejoicings which attended the celebration of theſe nuptials were inadequate to ſtifle, in the mind of Lewis, the riſing dictates of remorſe. The cruelty and injuſtice of his conduct to his nephew, his brothers, and to Adelard and Vala, the friends of his father, preyed upon his ſpirits, and proved a continual interruption to his repoſe. A national aſſembly was convened at his palace of Attigny*, and there, in preſence of his prelates and nobles†, he became his own accuſer; aſked forgiveneſs of his brothers, who were all preſent; granted a general amneſty to all who had borne arms againſt him; recalled thoſe whom he had baniſhed, and reſtored them to their eſtates and poſſeſſions; and finally entreated the biſhops to ſuffer him to atone, by public penance, for the crimes he had committed. By a miſplaced condeſcenſion of this nature, Vamba, king of Spain, had loſt his throne; but Lewis was more fortunate—he regained the affection of his ſubjects, which his late ſeverity had tended to eſtrange. About this time Judith gave birth to Charles, ſurnamed the Bald, whoſe fatal pretenſions afterwards ſhook the throne of his father, and involved the empire in the calamities of civil war.

A. D. 823, to 829.] Already that empire was aſſailed by the fury of its foreign enemies; the Britons once more reſumed their arms, and violated their recent oaths of allegiance; the Normans renewed their incurſions; a torrent of Moors deluged the face of Catalonia; the revolt of Navarre may be conſidered

* Egin. in Ann. † Vit. Lud. Pii.—Thegan.

as the foundation of its future independence; and the dark ſcene of domeſtic diſcord cloſed the gloomy proſpect.

Charles, the ſon of Judith, having, as yet, no allotment of empire, Lewis propoſed to diſmember the poſſeſſions of his other children, in order to form a ſeparate kingdom for him. The three princes, at firſt, refuſed to conſent to their father's propoſals; but Lothaire, being gained over by the careſſes of the empreſs, withdrew his oppoſition, and as he had holden the young prince on the baptiſmal font, he promiſed to become his protector, and ſwore to defend him againſt all his enemies. Lewis, being thus aſſured of the ſupport of his eldeſt ſon, convoked a general aſſembly at Worms*, where he gave to Charles, with the title of King, that part of Germany which is bounded by the Danube, the Maine, the Neckar, and the Rhine; the country of the Griſons, and the diſtrict of Burgundy, which comprehends Geneva and the Swiſs Cantons†.

A. D. 830.] This partition operated as a ſignal of revolt. Lothaire, at firſt, adhered to the promiſe he had recently made, but being unable to conceal his diſcontent, he ſpeedily forſook the court, and retired to Italy. The kings of Bavaria and Aquitaine alſo retired to their reſpective dominions. The prelates and nobles murmured at being obliged to violate the oaths they had taken to admit of no change in the firſt partition of the empire, without the conſent of the parties concerned; an oath which the emperor himſelf authoriſed by his example. Their complaints were loud, and their declamations violent, againſt the empreſs, and her miniſter, Bernard, count of Barcelona, a nobleman highly diſtinguiſhed by the luſtre of his rank, and by his brave and enterpriſing ſpirit; though, if contemporary writers may be credited, his birth was ſuperior to his virtue, and his courage better than his principals. His attachment to the intereſt of prince Charles, and his cloſe attention to the duties of his office, as chamberlain to the empreſs, gave birth to ſuſpicions inimical to the virtue of Judith‡. The empreſs was, at this time, intruſted not only with the care of the wardrobe, but of the money deſtined for the pay and ſupport of the troops; and it was the chamberlain's buſineſs to receive and execute her orders‖. The frequent enterviews which he had with his royal miſtreſs, for this purpoſe, were, by the calumnious and diſaffected, repreſented as amorous aſſignations; and a report was induſtriouſly propagated, that a criminal entercourſe ſubſiſted between them. They went ſtill farther—and maintained that Bernard had formed a project for putting the emperor and his three children to death, that he might marry the object of his guilty paſſion.

The abbot Vala was one of the firſt dupes to this injurious calumny; impreſſed with a conviction of Bernard's guilt, which exiſted but in the brain of Paſcaſe Rathbert, his friend, his biographer and ſucceſſor; he did not give himſelf the

* Egin. Ann.—Bertin. G. Fuld.—Vita et acta Lud. Pii. † Thegan c. 5. ‡ Paſcaſe Rathbert in vita Valæ Abbatis. ‖ Hincmar. de ordine Palatii.

trouble to inveſtigate the odious charge, but openly declared againſt the miniſter, in favour of a prince whoſe honour he affected to revere, and whoſe ſafety he pretended to conſult, by exciting his ſubjects to revolt. He was joined by the abbot of Saint Denis, with the biſhops of Lyons, Vienne, and Amiens—three prelates whoſe merit gave a degree of credit to the faction—by a great number of the nobles, and in ſhort by all the malcontents in the kingdom. The king of Aquitaine was the firſt who hoiſted the ſtandard of rebellion; having advanced as far as Verberie, at the head of a powerful army, he ſeized the perſon of the empreſs, who had taken refuge in the church of Notre-Dame, condemned her to perpetual exile, and forced her to take the veil in the convent of Radegonda, at Poitiers.

At this critical conjuncture, the emperor deſired a diet might be convened at his palace at Compiegne. Thither this timid prince repaired; and, inſtead of aſcending the throne that was prepared for him, he meanly deſcended to acknowledge his faults, and to commend the zeal of thoſe who had obliged him to reform his conduct*. An acknowledgement of this kind was little expected; and from the temper of the times, it might naturally have been ſuppoſed, that it would rather tend to encreaſe than to allay the ſpirit of diſcontent: it had, however, a contrary effect, and produced ſome tranſient gleams of returning loyalty; but the arrival of Lothaire gave a new aſpect to affairs; and Lewis, with his ſon Charles, was compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion to the rebels, who affected to treat him with profound reſpect, but were particularly careful to ſecure his perſon. He was ſurrounded by people who had ſecret orders to perſuade him to aſſume the monaſtic habit: though averſe to the plan, yet he pretended to favour it, and aſked but for a ſhort delay to give the matter a more mature conſideration.

During this interval a monk, named Gombaud, who poſſeſſed a bold and enterpriſing ſpirit, undertook to releaſe his ſovereign from that ſtate of captivity in which he was kept by his ſons. with this view he talked to the biſhops, and reminded them of the different privileges that had been ſecured to them by the emperor. To the nobles he employed the ſame arguments; and they proved equally ſucceſsful with both. He then waited on the kings of Bavaria and Aquitaine, and expatiated with ſuch energy and effect, on the goodneſs of their father, on their own ingratitude, and on the extreme pride and arrogance of their brother, that thoſe monarchs conſented to do whatever he required. To Lothaire, whoſe confidence he enjoyed, he artfully intimated the neceſſity of holding a parliament, (in imitation of his predeceſſors) by whom his authority might be fully and formally acknowledged; and Lewis declared incapable of ſwaying the ſceptre. The young prince liſtened to him with attention; and it was, accordingly decided, that the diet ſhould be holden at Nimeguen, and that every one

* Vita et acta Ludov. Pii.

ſhould repair to it unarmed. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, the abbot of Saint Denis went accompanied by a number of armed men; but he was immediately ordered to leave both the palace and the town; and the ſeverity he experienced alarmed the faxious, whoſe ſchemes were entirely fruſtrated by the ſteady zeal of the Germans. Theſe declared themſelves ſo openly in favour of their old maſter, and their numbers were ſo great, that Lothaire began to think his perſon was in danger; ſtimulated by his fears, he threw himſelf at the feet of his father, and invoked the protection of him whom he had ſo recently oppreſſed*. In the breaſt of Lewis, the reſentment of the ſovereign gave way to the tenderneſs of the parent, and, overcome by the ſubmiſſion of his ſon, he publicly pronounced his pardon. The principal conſpirators were tried by the aſſembly, and received ſentence of death; but the emperor contented himſelf with confining them in different monaſteries. Jeſſe, biſhop of Amiens, one of the moſt factious, was depoſed by an eccleſiaſtical council, and Vala, who refuſed to accept a pardon, on condition of acknowledging that he had acted in oppoſition to his duty, was impriſoned in a caſtle, ſituated on the ſummit of a rock which hung over the lake of Geneva.

A. D. 831.] Lewis was no ſooner eſtabliſhed on his throne, than he recalled his empreſs from her religious retirement; and the monaſtic vows of Judith, having been extorted by force, were abſolved by the indulgence of pope Gregory the fourth. She appeared before an aſſembly of nobles at Aix-la-Chapelle, where ſhe ſwore to her innocence of the crimes that were laid to her charge; and the accuſations preferred againſt her were declared to be falſe and calumnious.

A. D. 832, 833.] Tranquility now appeared to be reſtored; but the eſtabliſhment of Charles, the rebellious diſpoſition of the emperor's ſons by his firſt wife, with the implacable enmity of Judith, again involved the empire in trouble and confuſion.—Pepin again hoiſted the ſtandard of revolt, and engaged his brothers to join him; but the vigorous reſiſtance of Lewis ſoon diſconcerted their projects, and compelled them to ſue for mercy. The kings of Italy and Bavaria received an unconditional pardon; and Pepin, who was the moſt guilty, was ordered to repair to Treves, and there wait till he ſhould have permiſſion from the emperor to return to his dominions. But he eſcaped from the guards who were appointed to eſcort him, and once more excited a war as impious in its object, as deteſtible in its effects. Lewis thought to ſtop its progreſs by revoking his grant of Aquitaine to his rebellious ſon, and transferring that kingdom to Charles; but this only increaſed the general diſcontent, and doubled the number of his enemies. The apprehenſion of a ſimilar chaſtiſement induced the kings of Italy and Bavaria to take up arms in defence of their brother—troops were levied on all ſides—and the forces of the confederate princes effect-

* Thegan. c. 57.

ed a junction near Rotsfeld, between Baſle and Straſbourg, in a plain ſince called—" 'The Field of Falſhood."

Pope Gregory the fourth, delighted with an opportunity of becoming arbiter in a diſpute the object of which was a crown, was baſe enough to eſpouſe the cauſe of children who were fighting againſt their parent. Repairing to the camp of the rebels, he menaced with the thunders of the church, all thoſe who, preſerving their loyalty, ſhould refuſe to take up arms againſt the emperor. Several prelates, men of known piety, either ſeduced by the intrigues, or intimidated by the threats of the ſovereign pontiff, inſiſted that Lewis ſhould ſubmit to his deciſions*. Others, however, remained faithful to their ſovereign, and, with becoming ſpirit, wrote to the officious prieſt†, expreſſing their concern that a man of his character and profeſſion ſhould appear at the head of a party, who had violated the laws of nature, of honour, and religion. They reminded him of the oath which he had taken to the emperor, after his exaltation to the chair of Saint Peter; an oath which he could not break without incurring the guilt of ſacrilege. They aſſured him that ſhould he dare to pronounce a ſentence of excommunication againſt them, he ſhould return to Rome branded by the anathema of the French and German churches‡. Finally they warned him, that affairs might take ſuch a turn as to produce his depoſition from the papal throne, of which he had proved himſelf unworthy by a conduct ſo repugnant to the ſacred canons, and to the ſpirit of chriſtianity. This firmneſs aſtoniſhed Gregory, and made him repent his haſty engagement in an enterpriſe that might be attended with ſuch fatal conſequences to himſelf; but the abbot Vala, Paſcaſe Rathbert, and ſome other monks, who frequented his court, diſſipated his fears, by giving him to underſtand that the holy ſee was ſuperior to any earthly juriſdiction. Thus encouraged, Gregory anſwered the French prelates in terms of arrogance and ſeverity‖; he dared to aſſert that the imperial was inferior to the papal power; openly declaring againſt the emperor, cenſuring his conduct, and diſclaiming all obligation, except that of reprehending him whenever he ſhould forget his duty.

Lewis, in the mean time, aſſembled his troops, and marched to meet his ſons in the hope either of reducing them to ſubmiſſion, or of bringing them to an engagement. The two armies were in ſight of each other, when the three brothers, by a ſtroke of policy conſiſtent with their perfidious projects, engaged the ſovereign pontiff to negociate an accommodation with their father. The pope accordingly repaired to the emperor's camp, where no honours of any kind were paid him; but where Lewis reproached him with the irregularity of his conduct, and particularly with his preſumption, in daring to enter the French dominions without his permiſſion. He kept him, however, ſome days in his camp, which

* Vit. Lud. Pii. † Thegan. c. 42.—Vita Valæ Abbot.—Nithard. Ibid.—Annal. Fuld. et Bertin.
‡ Si excommunicaturus adveniret, excommunicatus abiret, cúm aliter ſe haberet antiquorum canonum autoritas. Vita Ludov. Pii ad Ann. 824. ‖ In Agobard. t. ii. p. 53. Edit. Baluz.

were employed by the inſidious pontiff in debauching his troops:—The whole army went over to the rebels; and the unhappy monarch was haſtily depoſed by an obſequious aſſembly of the dependants of the confederates; and Lothaire, by the ſame authority, was raiſed to the vacant throne. The empreſs was diſmiſſed to a nunnery at Tortona, Charles was ſtrictly guarded in the monaſtery of Saint Medard, at Soiſſons, and his ſon Charles in the abbey of Prum, in the foreſt of Ardennes. The victorious princes, after ſolemn profeſſions of mutual attachment, ſeparated, and each retired to his reſpective dominions; the pope to Rome, and Pepin and Lewis to Aquitaine and Bavaria.

A. D. 834.] It had been formerly ſettled by pope Leo, and confirmed by a ſolemn decree of the twelfth council of Toledo, that no man who wore the habit of a penitent could diſcharge any civil or military functions. For this reaſon, Ebbon, archbiſhop of Rheims, a prelate of the moſt profligate manners, condemned his ſovereign to ſubmit to the degradation of a public penance in the church of Saint Medard; after which ceremony, they ſtripped him of his imperial veſtments, and clothed him in a dreſs ſtigmatized by the church, and incapacitating him from exerciſing the duties and prerogatives of royalty. But his ſubmiſſive reſignation to the inſults of an unnatural ſon, obliterated all his paſt errors and imprudence: the misfortunes of their lawful ſovereign excited the pity of the multitude, ever diſcontented with the ruling powers—and the active diligence of his adherents ſoon opened the road for his reſtoration. Drogon, biſhop of Metz, awakened Lewis of Bavaria to a ſenſe of his intereſt and duty; he armed in the cauſe of a ſovereign and a parent;—the nobility of France followed his example. The king of Aquitaine, through the perſuaſions of the abbot Hugh, joined him with his forces—the Saxons eſpouſed their cauſe. The aged emperor was at length reſtored at Saint Denis; his ſon Charles was releaſed from confinement; and Lothaire, after a fruitleſs reſiſtance, was compelled to acknowledge his crime, and throw himſelf on the mercy of his father.

A. D. 835, 836, 837, 838.] Lewis was now advanced in years, and the natural infirmities of age were greatly increaſed by the calamities he had experienced. The empreſs, aware that his death at this period, would leave her ſon unprovided for, offered to cede to the king of Italy one-half of the empire, on condition that he ſhould ſecure the other half to prince Charles. To this Lothaire conſented, but as he was on his road to the French court, he was attacked by an infectious diſorder, that proved fatal to his principal councellors; and being deprived of their ſupport, Judith conceived him to be an object of inſignificance no longer to be dreaded, and conſequently no longer to be courted. She therefore caſt her eyes upon the king of Aquitaine, and by promiſing to render the crown hereditary in his family, induced him to eſpouſe the intereſts of her ſon*. An aſſembly was accordingly convoked at Chierſi-upon-Oiſe,

* Nithard. lib. i. Annal. Bertin.

in which the emperor declared Charles king of that part of Germany which is bounded by Saxony and Switzerland, and of all Neuſtria—that is, of the whole country between the Seine, the Loire and the Sea, together with the territories of Toul, Bar, Auxerre, and Sens. This partition met with the approbation of the nobles, and was highly acceptable to Pepin; but the death of that monarch, ſoon after his return to Bourdeaux, rendered it neceſſary to adopt ſome new arrangements.

The emperor, when he aſſigned different kingdoms to his ſons, reſerved to himſelf the right, in caſe they ſhould die before him, of diſpoſing of them at his pleaſure. At the ſolicitation of the empreſs, he now conſented to deſpoil the two ſons of Pepin of their inheritance, in order augment the appanage of Charles. Lewis of Bavaria, diſpleaſed with the late deciſions of the aſſembly at Chierſi, had taken up arms; and though this revolt had been ſtifled in its birth, it neverthelefs excited a degree of reſentment in the emperor, that induced him to curtail his dominions by confining him ſolely to the poſſeſſion of Bavaria. Lothaire was now re-called from Italy, and a new diviſion of the empire took place. All the ſouthern and weſtern provinces of France, which formed nearly the preſent kingdom, were aſſigned to the ſon of Judith; and the reſt, with the exception of Bavaria, was ſecured to the king of Italy, who took an oath to become the guardian and protector of Charles.

A. D. 839, 840.] An inſurrection in Aquitaine, for the purpoſe of placing the eldeſt ſon of Pepin on the throne of his father, induced the emperor to march thither with a numerous army: but he had no ſooner reduced the inſurgents to ſubmiſſion, than he received information, that Lewis of Bavaria had embraced that opportunity to make an irruption into Germany. Thither he accordingly repaired; and, by his preſence, diſpelled the gathering clouds of rebellion. Having reſtored tranquillity to his dominions, he aſſembled a parliament at Worms, in the hope of eſtabliſhing a perfect harmony between his children; but he did not live to accompliſh this deſirable object. Finding his ſtrength fail him, he was conveyed to an iſland in the Rhine, near Mayence, where he languiſhed for ſix weeks, and then expired, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-ſeventh of his reign. A few days before his death, he ſent a crown, a ſword, and a ſceptre of gold, enriched with precious ſtones, to Lothaire, as a proof that he meant him to govern the empire; at the ſame time, he exhorted that prince to remember the ſolemn promiſe he had given to the empreſs and her ſon Charles.—Being preſſed by the biſhop of Metz to pardon Lewis of Bavaria, he replied—"I pardon him with all my heart; but tell him from me, "that he ought to think ſeriouſly of obtaining pardon from God, for bringing "my grey hairs with ſorrow to the grave."

The mind of Lewis exhibited a ſtrange mixture of virtue and weakneſs; intrepid in the field, but irreſolute in the cabinet;—humane from inclination, from timidity cruel; he had ſenſe enough to promulgate good and wholeſome

laws, but not ſufficient ſpirit to enforce their obſervance. Injudicious in the choice of his miniſters, he conferred favours on the unworthy, and was involved in calamities from vices not his own. Superſtitiouſly devout, his cloſe attention to the *minutiæ* of a religion, in which ſubſtance is but two frequently ſacrificed to forms, led him to neglect the moſt eſſential duties of government, and entruſt to favourites what he ſhould have executed himſelf. Hence the factious and turbulent derived encouragement; and, profiting by the meekneſs of the executive power, ſpread anarchy and deſolation throughout the empire.—In ſhort, the virtues of Lewis might have procured him diſtinction in a cloiſter, but were by no means calculated to embelliſh a throne.

This monarch was interred in the church of Saint Arnoul, at Metz. By Ermengarde he had three ſons—Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis; and four daughters, Adelaide married to Conrad, count of Paris; Giſele, mother to Berenger, king of Italy; Alpaide, wife to count Begon; and Hildegarde, who was married to count Thierri. By Judith of Bavaria, he had Charles, ſurnamed *the Bald*. Some of the capitularies of this prince regulate the quantum of contribution to be paid by certain convents towards the ſupport of the ſtate. The monks had become ſo rich, that the celebrated Alcuinus is ſaid to have had upwards of twenty thouſand ſlaves; and ſo powerful, that ſome of them had the audacity to ſtand forward as the leaders of a party, and in that capacity to aſſemble troops. The abbots, a title that was confined to the heads of monaſteries, from that time aſſumed the paſtoral ſtaff, which was the ſymbol of pontifical dignity with the ancient Romans.

CHARLES THE SECOND,

SURNAMED THE BALD.

A. D. 840.] THE ambition of Lothaire, which had frequently ſilenced the dictates of nature, ſcorned to be confined by the feeble barrier of an oath. On the firſt news of the emperor's death, he reſolved to effect the depoſition of his two brothers; and, with that view, levied a powerful army, and directed his march towards the frontiers of Germany. He hoped to take Lewis of Bavaria by ſurpriſe, but was greatly aſtoniſhed to find him prepared with a formidable body of troops, to diſpute the paſſage into his dominions*. A reception ſo unexpected diſconcerted his plan; and, not daring to advance†, he propoſed an interview, in which a ſuſpenſion of arms, till the following year, was mutually agreed on. Each party had his views in conſenting to a truce; Lewis was anxious to ſecure the Saxons, and the reſt of his German ſubjects; while Lothaire was intent upon an invaſion of France, whither he had been invited by ſome of the principal nobility. He accordingly paſſed the Meuſe, and laid waſte the poſſeſſions of all who refuſed to eſpouſe his cauſe. Charles, having aſſembled a ſmall army to oppoſe the progreſs of his perfidious brother, fixed his camp at Orleans; and the diſpute was on the point of being decided by a battle, when Lothaire, who had vainly endeavoured to ſeduce from their duty the troops of his opponent, ſuddenly propoſed an accommodation. Though he inſiſted on the ceſſion of a part of Neuſtria, Charles thought it more prudent to purchaſe a peace, even on theſe hard terms, than to riſque an action with an enemy whoſe forces were ſo greatly ſuperior to his own. Lothaire, however, promiſed to abide by the deciſion of a general aſſembly, which was immediate-

* Nithard. l. i. † Annal. Bertin.

ly ſummoned to meet at the palace of Attigny upon the Aiſne, in the month of May, in the following year; till which time no hoſtilities were to be attempted againſt Charles. This revived the hopes of the young monarch, who placed a firm reliance on the affection of his ſubjects, and the equity of the nation, which began to evince a ſtrong attachment to his intereſts.

A. D. 841.] The diet aſſembled at the appointed time; but Lothaire neglected to attend it, though it was convened by his orders. This violation of his word, together with a ſecond irruption into Germany, and ſome new efforts to gain over the nobles of Neuſtria, at length convinced the two kings that it was neceſſary they ſhould unite their utmoſt endeavours to reſtrain the ambition of their eldeſt brother. A junction of their forces was accordingly effected, on the confines of Lorraine; where, though greatly ſuperior in number to Lothaire, they made the moſt equitable propoſals of accommodation. To theſe the Italian monarch pretended to liſten; but he only waited till the ſon of Pepin had joined him with a ſtrong reinforcement, from Aquitaine, when he ſuddenly put a ſtop to the negociation, and advanced to the plains of Fontenay, a village in the Auxerrois; where a moſt bloody and obſtinate engagement took place*. The cauſe of juſtice prevailed; and Lewis and Charles were left maſters of the field. It has been pretended, by ſome modern writers, that one hundred thouſand men fell in the battle; but this muſt be a groſs exaggeration, as Nithard, a contemporary author, who was preſent at the action, takes no notice of a circumſtance, that, if true, could not have eſcaped his attention,

Lothaire, compelled to fly, took refuge at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he exerted his utmoſt efforts to give new ſtrength to his declining party. As the Saxons had been partly compelled to embrace chriſtianity, he ſought to ſecure their aſſiſtance by permitting them to renew their ancient laws and cuſtoms†. When, by his intrigues, he had collected a ſufficient force, he made an unſucceſsful attempt on the borders of Bavaria; then, directing his march towards Paris, he laid the whole country waſte; till, being ſtopped by an inundation of the Seine, he was compelled to return, without accompliſhing the object of his expedition.

A. D. 842, 843.] Lothaire's deſign was to effect a diviſion between the two kings, but all his efforts for this purpoſe proved fruitleſs. Charles and Lewis, convinced that their common ſafety depended on their union, ſolemnly confirmed the league that ſubſiſted between them, and renewed their alliance, by an oath drawn up in their reſpective languages: Lewis ſwore in the *Roman* language, that he might be underſtood by the French, to whom his oath was addreſſed; and Charles in the *Tudeſcan*, or, as it was indiſcriminately called, the *Frank-Teutch*, *Theotiſte*, *Theotique*, or *Thiois*, to render himſelf intelligible to his brother's ſubjects‡. The Roman language was ſpoken in Neuſtria, and was a

* Annal. Bertin et Fuld. † Annal. Bertin. ‡ The oath of Lewis being conſidered as a curious monument of the ancient Roman language, from which the preſent language of France is derived, we have, for the gratification of our readers, extracted it from Nithard, a contemporary writer.—"Pro don amur et

corrupt mixture of the Latin with the Celtic; the latter wa a kind of German, nearly reſembling the preſent dialect of the Friſians.

The two princes, though of ſuperior force, again ſought to bring the emperor to an accommodation; but he proudly refuſed to admit their ambaſſadors to an audience, and even diſmiſſed them with ignominy. An inſult ſo groſs, excited univerſal indignation; the troops of Lewis and Charles loudly demanded to be led againſt the man whom they juſtly conſidered as the author of thoſe troubles, to which the empire was expoſed. Their leaders chearfully complied with their requeſt; the army was put in motion; and, on its approach, the biſhop of Mayence, who had been appointed to guard the banks of the Moſelle, deſerted his poſt, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Lothaire, unable to reſiſt the torrent, left his palace at Sinſik, and took refuge at Aix-la-Chapelle; but, hearing that his brothers were advancing, he ſtripped his father's magnificent palace of all its moſt valuable effects, and retired towards the Rhone, with the intention, if purſued, to paſs on to Italy.

A doubt now aroſe in the minds of the conquerors, from the uncertainty whether they ought to take poſſeſſion of a country which there was noboby to diſpute with them, or to reſtore it to a brother who had left it only from his inability to defend it. This knotty point was referred to the deciſion of the biſhops; the epiſcopal character, according to the prevailing ſuperſtition of the times, being gifted with ſuperior knowledge, as well on political and martial affairs, as on eccleſiaſtical matters. From this abſurd idea was derived that enormous extent of authority poſſeſſed by the prelates, who, being empowered to decide on all queſtions, of whatever nature, found the means of turning every thing to their own advantage. Princes themſelves encreaſed, by their conduct, the ambition of the heirharchy; and, by accepting crowns from the hands of the biſhops, gave them the power to diſpoſe of them. Such prelates as followed the court, aſſembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to decide on the fate of Lothaire; and

"pro chriſtian poblo et noſtro commun ſalvament, diſt di en avant, in quant Deus ſavir et potir me dunat, "ſi ſalvarai eo ceſt meon fradra Karlo, et in adjudha et in cadhuna coſa, ſi cum hom per dreit ſon fradra "ſalvar diſt, ino quid il imi altre ſi faret; et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai, qui meon vol ciſt me-"on fradne Karle in damno ſit." The following is a literal tranſlation of it: "For the love of God and of "the chriſtian people, and for our common ſafety, from this day forward, ſo long as God ſhall give me "knowledge and power, I will ſave (DEFEND) my brother Charles, and will aſſiſt him in every thing, as "a man by right ought to ſave his brother, becauſe he would do as much for me; and I will enter into "no treaty with Lothaire, that by my inclination ſhall prove prejudicial to my brother Charles."—When the Romans firſt invaded Gaul, the Celtic was the prevailing language of the country: but the conquerors wiſhing, agreeably to their uſual policy, to accuſtom the people they had ſubdued to their own laws, manners, and cuſtoms, were ſtudious to promote the uſe of the Latin language, as the beſt mode of facilitating the accompliſhment of that deſirable object: and the Gauls themſelves, deſpairing of ever recovering their native independence, conſidered Rome as their native country, and aſpiring to the attainment of honours, were anxious to pleaſe their conquerors by learning their language. Hence, the Celtic became corrupted, and by degrees was totally loſt in that mixed jargon denominated the ROMAN.

See Origine et Revolutions des Langues Celtique et Francoiſe.

they all declared, with one voice, that he had forfeited his right to the crown, and that his ſubjects were conſequently abſolved from their oaths of allegiance. They next aſked Lewis and Charles, if they would promiſe to govern with greater juſtice than Lothaire; to this the monarchs, of courſe, replied in the affirmative; and the biſhop, who preſided, then ſaid—"We permit you, by divine authority, to reign in the place of your brother, to govern his kingdom according to the will of God—We exhort you, we command you ſo to do."—In virtue of this arbitrary deciſion, which eſtabliſhed a moſt dangerous precedent, and ſhewed, in the monarchs who ſubmitted to it, an aſtoniſhing degree of imbecility, the provinces which Lothaire had abandoned, were equally divided between the brothers. But this partition was ſpeedily changed; for the emperor, conſcious of his own inability to maintain a war againſt forces ſo ſuperior to his own, made his pride ſubſervient to his intereſt, and now humbly ſolicited that accommodation which he had ſo recently rejected with diſdain. His brothers, ſincerely wiſhing for the reſtoration of tranquillity, liſtened to his propoſals with joy; and the three monarchs meeting at Verdun, a new diviſion of the empire took place. Charles the bald was ſecured in the poſſeſſion of Neuſtria, Aquitaine, and Septimania; to Lothaire was confirmed, with the title of emperor, all Italy, Provence, Franche Comte, the Lyonnois, and all that country which lies within the Rhone, the Rhine, and the Saone; the Meuſe and the Scheld: and Bavaria, with the reſt of Germany, was aſſigned to Lewis—whence he acquired the appellation of "Lewis the German."—by which he will hereafter be diſtinguiſhed. To this territory were annexed the cities of Mayence, Worms, and Spires, with their dioceſes, merely for the purpoſe of ſupplying him with wine, no vineyards, having been yet planted, in any part of his German dominions*. Adelard, a nobleman of Aquitaine, whoſe grand-daughter Ermentrude Charles had recently married, acted as a mediator between the contending parties, and promoted the concluſion of the preſent treaty, by which the flames of civil war were, for the preſent, extinguiſhed.

The attention of Charles and his brother was now directed to ſome commotions of inferior conſequence, which prevailed in different parts of their dominions. A revolt of the Abodrites was ſpeedily quelled by Lewis the German; and count Bernard, who maintained a correſpondence with the enemies of Charles, paid for his diſloyalty with his life. But William, the count's ſon, ſeized the city of Thouloufe, and raiſed up the whole country that borders on the Pyrenees, in favour of young Pepin. In vain did the king lay ſiege to his new conqueſt; a conſiderable detachment of his troops were attacked by the rebels, and totally defeated. In this action fell the abbots Hugh and Rikbole, two noblemen equally diſtinguiſhed for the dignity of their birth, and the excellence of their character—they were both deſcended from the blood royal—the firſt being

* Regino in Chronogr.—Marſan. Scot. Chron.—Sigebert Gemblacenſis Chron.

uncle, and the ſecond couſin-german to the king. From this circumſtance, it appears, that the prohibition to bear arms was not much attended to by the dignified clergy. Charles was now compelled to leave William in poſſeſſion of Thouloufe, in order to quell an inſurrection in Brittany, of which count Lambert was the principal inſtigator and conductor. That nobleman, having been expelled from Nantes by duke Nomenoe, had called in the Normans to his aſſiſtance, who diffuſed terror and diſmay through the whole country.

Theſe ſavage hordes had made their firſt incurſions on the French territories, about the commencement of the ninth century; when all the power of Charlemagne had proved inadequate to prevent them from ravaging the countries of Frieſland and Saxony. During the reign of his ſucceſſor, Lewis the gentle, they returned; and, landing at Antwerp, reduced that city to aſhes. The troubles which prevailed in the empire after the death of Lewis, revived their avidity, and induced them to renew their depredations. They entered France by the Seine, [A. D. 842.] and ſacked the city of Rouen*, which they had taken by ſurpriſe. Another fleet of the barbarians, under the conduct of Lambert, ſailed up the Loire as far as Nantes, which experienced a ſimilar fate†. From hence they made irruptions into Anjou and Touraine, and laid waſte the whole province of Guienne. The monaſteries and churches were all plundered, and ſuch as refuſed to pay an exhorbitant ranſom were burnt. All the nuns were firſt raviſhed, and then divided among the ſavage plunderers; the prieſts, the monks, and all ſuch as were enfeebled by age, were maſſacred; but the young men and children were either condemned to perpetual ſlavery, or deſtined to become the companions and accomplices of theſe lawleſs barbarians. When they had collected as much booty as they could carry off, they either returned to their own country, or elſe repaired to ſome other coaſt, where they converted it into money.

Encouraged by the ſucceſs of their firſt incurſions, they were ſpeedily induced to renew them. In 844, the ocean was covered with their ſhips. It was no longer a band of thieves ſailing without order or regularity in purſuit of plunder, but a formidable fleet of ſix hundred veſſels, commanded by a king, and containing a numerous army. This prince, whoſe name was Eric‡, took Hamburg by ſurpriſe, then advanced into the interior parts of Germany, committed the moſt horrid devaſtations, defeated the natives in two pitched battles; and, returning to his dominions laden with plunder, diſpatched Regnier, one of his captains, into France. Entering the Seine with a hundred and twenty veſſels, he attacked Rouen, which was again taken and pillaged; he then continued his courſe up the river, till he came to Paris‖, which being unprovided with the means of defence, became a prey to the barbarians. Charles the bald had retired to Saint Denis, where he had thrown up entrenchments for the

* Annal. Bertin. † Reginio in Chron. ‡ Ann. Met. ‖ Ann. Bertin.

purpoſe of defending the ſacred relics that were there depoſited. Not daring to riſk a battle, he was compelled to liſten to the degrading propoſals of the Norman, who exacted, as the price of his abſence, ſeven thouſand pounds weight of ſilver.

This contemptible policy defeated the end it was meant to anſwer; ſince the money thus given to purchaſe a peace ſupplied the invaders with the means of renewing the war. Nor did they fail to profit by the advantage they had acquired. Every year of Charles's reign was ſignalized by ſome new irruption; Bordeaux, Ghent, Rouen, Nantes, Touraine, Angers, Blois, Saint-Valery, Amiens, Noyon and Beauvais, were ſucceſſively and repeatedly attacked, reduced, and plundered. To ſee a deſcendant of Charlemagne in league with theſe lawleſs depredators, was the only occurrence that could increaſe the horror of the ſcene. Young Pepin, abandoned by the people of Aquitaine, [A. D. 857.] did not bluſh to ſolicit their friendſhip, and to forward their ſchemes*. Encouraged by this acceſſion of force, they ſpeedily over-ran the whole kingdom of France; though attracted, at firſt, by the mere proſpect of plunder, they now began to conceive more important deſigns, and to ſeek for a place of ſettlement. They ſeized the iſland of Oiſel upon the Seine, and making that their head-quarters, ſent out detachments to ravage the ſurrounding country; nor could the king diſlodge them from their important poſt, [A. D. 861.] which opened them a paſſage into the very heart of Neuſtria, till he had procured the aſſiſtance of their own countrymen;—though ſometimes conquered, they ſpeedily returned with freſh forces.

It was not long before they re-appeared on the beautiful banks of the Loire, where they committed the moſt horrid exceſſes. In 864, Orleans and Poitiers, being taken by eſcalade, were pillaged and burnt. Another band of adventurers forced the paſſages of Piſte on the Seine†, and defeated a body of French that were ſent to defend them. Charles, apprehenſive that they meant again to eſtabliſh themſelves on that river, made propoſals for an accommodation, and was mean enough to ſubmit to terms ſtill more hard and degrading than thoſe which were impoſed on him by the treaty of Saint Denis. He gave them four thouſand weight of ſilver; engaged to pay a ſtipulated ſum for every Norman that had been killed by the peaſants in their own defence, and conſented to ranſom even ſuch of the French priſoners as had effected their eſcape. On theſe conditions the barbarians retired to Jumieges, where they remained till the year 865; that is, till every article of the treaty was literally fulfilled. Some time after, another detachment, in conjunction with the Bretons, ſurpriſed and ſacked the town of Mans. Theſe were purſued by Robert the Strong, who was unfortunately killed by an arrow, when on the point of forcing their entrenchments. This nobleman, with regard to whoſe origin ſo many different opinions have

* Ann. Bertin. † Ibid.

prevailed*, had been honoured with the government and ducal title of what was then called the duchy of Paris; he was the great-grandfather of Hugh Capet, from whom all the monarchs who have reigned over France for these last eight hundred years were descended. His loss was universally lamented, and he received the appellation of the Macabeus of the age.

A new incursion of the Normans into Anjou, at length awakened the king from his lethargy, and determined him to exert every effort, to expel the formidable ravagers from his dominions. Solomon, duke of Brittany†, was persuaded to join his forces to those of Charles. The principal leaders of these daring adventurers were besieged in Angiers, [A. D. 873.] and, after being reduced to the last extremity, submitted to purchase their retreat, and ransom their ships, by surrendering the spoil they had acquired. They were permitted to retire to an island on the Loire, on condition that they would leave it in the month of February in the following year. But when the time came for their departure, they refused to comply with the terms of capitulation; and as Charles had not ships sufficient for the purpose of dislodging them, they remained there some time longer; during which they continued their usual depredations.

Such were the calamities to which the kingdom was exposed, under the reign of Charles, by the dreadful incursions of the Normans. We judged it expedient to relate them together, that the attention of the reader might not be divided; and that, by bringing them, as it were, to a point, he might be the better enabled to appreciate the weakness of the government, which was incapable of adopting the necessary means of defence; and the ignorance of the age, which neither possessed the art of fortifying towns, nor the precaution of providing resources against the time of misfortune.

A. D. 844.] Lothaire's first care, after the accommodation with his brothers, was to regulate the affairs of Italy. Pope Gregory the fourth was dead; and Sergius the second, being elected to succeed him, had been consecrated without waiting for the emperor's confirmation. That prince, in order to prevent any future infringement of his authority, sent his son Lewis into Italy, accompanied by his uncle Drogon, bishop of Metz. The prelate was enjoined to assemble at Rome as many bishops as he could collect, and to investigate the circumstances attending the election of Sergius. The new pontiff thought to avert the impending storm‡ by loading the young prince with caresses, and by paying him extraordinary honours and respect. When Lewis went to the church of Saint Peter, he waited for him at the top of the steps‖, and after embracing him with great tenderness, placed him at his right hand, and conducted him to the sanctuary. Some days after his arrival, the Italian bishops assembled to try Sergius; Drogon presided, as uncle to the prince. The sovereign pontiff appeared before them, and answered all the accusations preferred against him.

* Gesta Norman. † Annal. Fuld. et Bertin. ‡ Severinus Binius. ‖ Annal. Bertin.

The verdict of the prelates cleared him from the imputation of miſconduct; his election was confirmed, and he took the oath of fidelity to Lothaire. It was ſettled that, in future, the popes, according to ancient cuſtom, ſhould never be ordained without the conſent of the emperor, and always in preſence of his envoys. This affair being terminated, Sergius crowned Lewis king of Lombardy, and made Drogon his vicar-general in Gaul and Germany. The French clergy, aſſembled at the palace of Verneuil, found themſelves greatly embarraſſed, with regard to the creation of this extraordinary office: they were loth to refuſe any thing to a prelate who was reſpectable from his age, his piety, and his birth, but, on the other hand, they were afraid to ſuffer the court of Rome to aſſume an authority that might be attended with dangerous conſequences*. It was determined, therefore, to refer the matter to the deciſion of a national council. The intentions of Drogon were good; he modeſtly regarded this determination as a delicate refuſal, and forbore to make uſe of the power entruſted to him.

A. D. 845.] The French empire had never been expoſed to ſo many calamities as it now experienced; Germany was laid waſte by the Normans: an inſurrection had taken place in Provence, at the inſtigation of duke Fulcrade, which was not quelled till the rebels had ſuſtained a total defeat. Young Pepin had collected a freſh army, and compelled Charles to grant him peace, and to cede to him all the kingdom of Aquitaine, except Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumoiſ†, to be holden as a fief of the crown. A revolt of Nomenoe, duke of the Bretons, induced the king to march an army againſt him; but falling into an ambuſcade, his troops were defeated, and he himſelf obliged to fly; returning, however, with a ſtrong reinforcement, the duke ſolicited a pardon, and returned to his duty.

A. D. 846.] The king of Lombardy, having attacked the Saracens, who had pillaged the church of Saint Peter, was defeated, and with difficulty eſcaped to Rome. The biſhops, at this period, as depoſitaries of the faith, thought that no limits ſhould be aſſigned to their prerogatives; and the nobles, as defenders of the country, imagined that their will ſhould be law. Charles, preſſed by the eccleſiaſtics, was conſtrained to ſwear that their perſons and their order he would ever hold ſacred; that he would levy no undue impoſt, nor exact from the church any other tributes than thoſe which had been paid during the reigns of his father and grandfather‡. The prelates, emboldened by ſucceſs, dared to preſent certain canons, or ſtatutes, to the aſſembly at Epernay, which were calculated to render them ſole arbiters of the ſtate. But they were ſtrongly oppoſed by the nobles‖; and the diſpute growing warm, the biſhops diſplayed ſuch inſolence and pride, that the king expelled them from the aſſembly. Things were in this ſituation, when a nobleman, named Gilbert, had

* Canon 12. † Annal. Crim. ‡ Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

the preſumption to carry off the emperor's daughter, and to marry her in public. Charles, who was his ſovereign, either did not dare, or had not the power, to puniſh him; the three princes met at Merſen upon the Meuſe, where an aſſembly of the nobles was convened, but they had not ſufficient credit to procure the condemnation of the culprit; they were fain to content themſelves with ordaining that, in future, the crime of ſeduction ſhould be puniſhed according to law.

A. D. 847.] At a ſubſequent aſſembly, holden at the ſame place, divers regulations were adopted, all of which tended to ſtrengthen the friendſhip that ſubſiſted between the brothers, who were, by this time, convinced that the preſervation of the empire depended on their union. It was decreed, that the children of him who ſhould die firſt ſhould ſucceed to the dominions of his father, without any hindrance or moleſtation from his uncles; provided, however, they treated them with all becoming reſpect and ſubmiſſion*. By this deciſion, *that* became a law which had hitherto been a matter of doubt. When France was divided into different kingdoms, if one of the ſovereigns died, the nation thought itſelf entitled to diſpoſe of the vacant throne, with the ſole reſtriction of confining their choice to the princes of the blood. We have ſeen Pepin ſucceed his brother, to the excluſion of his nephews, whom he confined in a monaſtery.—The Auſtraſian nobles, on the death of Carloman, excluded his children, to give the throne to Charlemagne. That prince himſelf, in the diviſion of his empire, ſeems to have acknowledged this elective power. "If any one of my chil-"dren," ſays he†, "ſhould die, and leave a ſon whom the people wiſh to ap-"point as his ſucceſſor, his uncles muſt give their conſent." The recent example of young Pepin, whom Lewis the gentle deſpoiled of his father's dominions, in order to give them to prince Charles, affords another proof that, hitherto, there had been no fixed rule of ſucceſſion to the throne. This queſtion, then, was firſt decided by the aſſembly of Merſen; and had the rule there laid down been ſtrictly adhered to, many commotions and much bloodſhed would have been prevented; but it did not long preſerve the force of a law.—The ſame noblemen who had adopted it will preſently be ſeen to reject or recall, to enthrone or depoſe their king, according to the dictates of caprice; under the influence of this principle—*that the people have a right to chuſe their own ſovereigns*—a principle which, though it be true in the abſtract, if generally received without thoſe reſtrictions and modifications that are indiſpenſably requiſite to render it applicable to civilized governments, will ever be found pregnant with deſtruction to the welfare and good order of ſociety. Were a monarch ſubject to depoſition, whenever the caprice of his people might urge them to wiſh for a change, who would be found willing to take upon himſelf

* Aubert Miræus, Codice Donat. piar. c. 15. † Charta Diviſionis Imperii Carol. Mag.

the burden of royalty?—Certainly no one, who was competent to bear it either with honour to himſelf, or advantage to the nation.

Without entering the labyrinth of *legal* diſquiſition, or raking up the embers of political fires, the end and object of *government* may be eaſily diſcerned. Its object is evidently to protect the weak from the violence of the ſtrong; the ſimple, from the ſnares of the crafty; and, in ſhort, to render all thoſe *diſtinctions*, which are inherent in the *nature* of man, and are given him for the wiſeſt purpoſes, ſubſervient to the general good, by placing a ſalutary check on thoſe paſſions, the perverſion of which diſturbs and empoiſons the very ſtream they are intended to ſweeten and purify. Its end is, conſequently, to promote the happineſs of mankind. But, will it be contended that when the ſtrong and the crafty become the moſt numerous and powerful, they have a right to overturn the fabric, erected for ſo glorious a purpoſe?—It would be a libel on human nature to admit the ſuppoſition.

The throne is not holden *durante bene placito*.—In every *monarchy* there is a compact, either expreſs or implied, between the ſovereign and his ſubjects.—So long as the former complies with the terms impoſed on him, whatever they be, he is as much entitled to the poſſeſſion of his throne, as a landholder is to a copyhold eſtate, on obſervance of the conditions annexed to his tenure. If the monarchy be hereditary, the ſame *right*, of courſe, extends to the heirs of the reigning ſovereign; and unleſs ſome violation of the original compact be proved, no diſinheritance can take place without the moſt flagrant injuſtice. A deviation from theſe plain rules, which are founded in truth and juſtice, ever have been, and ever will be, found productive of anarchy, confuſion, and general infelicity.

A. D. 848.] Of this the French empire now exhibited a ſtriking example; incurſions, revolts, and depredations prevailed throughout the kingdom. The nobles of Aquitaine, diſcontented with Pepin, ſubmitted to Charles; but a ſecond guſt of caprice ſoon induced them to forſake their new maſter, and to recall their lawful ſovereign. The territories of Lewis the German were laid waſte by an irruption of the Sclavonians, who defeated the troops that were ſent to oppoſe their paſſage*. Marſeilles was pillaged by a band of Greek pirates†. The Saracens took Benevento by ſurpriſe; and becoming maſters of Sicily, and the town of Berri, they kept the whole coaſt in perpetual alarm, and made even Rome herſelf tremble for her ſafety.

A. D. 849, 850, 851.] Nomenoe, who had been created duke of Brittany by Lewis the gentle, taking advantage of the general confuſion, ſeized the towns of Rennes and Nantes‡, together with the provinces of Maine and Anjou, and ſhaking off the yoke of France, openly aſſumed the title of king.—The troubles that prevailed in Aquitaine, prevented the French monarch from

* Chron. Fonten. † Annal. Fuld. ‡ Chron. Nannetens.

chaſtiſing this rebellious vaſſal; and while he was engaged in the reduction of Thouloufe, which had revolted, and in the capture of Charles, the brother of Pepin, whom he compelled to aſſume the monaſtic habit, the duke of Brittany died, and bequeathed his principality to his ſon Heriſpoe, who with the crown inherited the ambition of his father. Charles imagined that the death of the duke would facilitate the conqueſt of the Bretons, but the event proved the fallacy of his expectations. The French were defeated with great ſlaughter, and Charles flying to Angers was there met by Heriſpoe, when a peace was concluded greatly to the advantage and glory of the latter, who obtained a confirmation of the title his father had aſſumed, on the ſimple condition of paying homage to the crown of France*.

A. D. 852, 853, 854.] Theſe misfortunes ſeemed to be overbalanced by the capture of Pepin, who being taken about this time, was ſhaved, and diſmiſſed to the abbey of Saint Medard, at Soiſſons. But the ſatisfaction experienced by Charles on this fortunate event, was ſpeedily allayed by a freſh revolt in Aquitaine, where the inhabitants, inſtigated by the relations of a culprit who had been recently executed, depoſed their ſovereign, and called the ſon of Lewis the German to the throne. As Charles was advancing to oppoſe the uſurper†, he learned that Pepin, having effected his eſcape from the monaſtery, had made his appearance in Aquitaine, where a ſtrong party had declared in his favour. The French monarch, however, purſued his plan of hoſtilities, and was ſo fortunate as to overcome both his adverſaries. The ſon of Lewis was compelled to abandon his enterpriſe; and Pepin, being again taken, was ſent into confinement at Senlis, and his children were conſtrained to become monks.

A. D. 855.] When things were in this ſituation, Lothaire was ſeized with a dangerous diſorder. Alarmed at the proſpect of death, he reſigned the imperial ſceptre, and aſſumed the monaſtic habit, in the abbey of Prum, where he expired, before the concluſion of the week, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. Before his death, he had divided his dominions between his three ſons. Lewis ſucceeded him in the empire; to Lothaire he bequeathed the kingdom of Auſtraſia, which from him took the name of Lorraine; and to Charles, Burgundy and Provence. Their uncles, faithful to the engagements they had contracted at Merſen, ſuffered them to take poſſeſſion of their reſpective dominions, without oppoſition.

A. D. 856, 857.] The death of Lothaire, by multiplying the number of French monarchs, gave birth to new ſyſtems of policy. The young emperor concluded a treaty of alliance with Lewis the German; and the king of Lorraine entered into a league with Charles the bald, who had recently diſpatched his ſon Charles into Aquitaine, where he was proclaimed king by the unanimous

* Chron. Fontanel. Regino. † Annal. Fuld. et Bertin.

ſuffrages of the people. But this unanimity was of ſhort duration; depoſed one month, and reſtored the next*, the new ſovereign became a victim to the caprice and ambition of his nobles. His father's ſeverity gave additional ſtrength to the ſpirit of revolt, which was preſently communicated to the Neuſtrians, and in a ſhort time the inſurrection became general. Lewis the German was invited to depoſe his brother, and having entered the French territories with a powerful body of troops, a great number of Neuſtrian noblemen paid him homage at the palace of Saint Yon. From thence he advanced to Sens, into which town he was introduced by Venilon, a prelate, ſtigmatized for his ingratitude and treachery to a monarch, who, from a ſimple clerk, had raiſed him to the archiepiſcopal dignity. An aſſembly of biſhops was now convened at the palace of Attigny, where Charles the bald was formally depoſed, his ſubjects being abſolved from their oath of allegiance, and the crown declared to be devolved to Lewis the German†. The inſolent temerity of theſe rebellious prelates, could only be exceeded by the puſillanimous weakneſs of their ſovereign, who, in anſwer to their deciſion, publiſhed a manifeſto unworthy the majeſty of the throne. "They ſhould not," ſaid the ſpiritleſs monarch, "have depoſed "me without hearing what I had to ſay in my defence; or, at leaſt, without a "regular ſentence of the biſhops who conſecrated me, who are—*the thrones on* "*which God repoſes*—whom he employs to promulgate his eternal decrees; to "their paternal correction I have ever evinced a readineſs to ſubmit, and I am "ſtill endued with the ſame diſpoſition." To render this humiliation complete, the culprits remained unpuniſhed; and their perfidious preſident, Venilon, was ſuffered to retain poſſeſſion of his dignity, which he enjoyed in peace till his death.

A. D. 858.] When the news of his brother's invaſion was firſt brought to Charles, he was engaged in the ſiege of Oiſel, which he immediately raiſed, and ſailing up the Seine and the Marne, haſtened to Chalons, and from thence to Brienne, where he fixed his camp, and was joined by ſome of the Burgundian nobles. But his brother found means to ſeduce his troops from their duty; and had he known how to purſue his advantage, the ruin of Charles had been inevitable. But Lewis, inſtead of marching forward to ſecure the moſt important places, amuſed himſelf by diſtributing money to the leaders of the faction, and by iſſuing orders to convene an aſſembly of all the prelates in France. He was even prevailed upon to diſmiſs a part of his army, under a pretence that the diſorders committed by his troops might render him an object of averſion to the people. Charles, appriſed of his conduct, did not fail to profit by a circumſtance ſo favourable to his cauſe.

A. D. 859.] Collecting his ſcattered troops with the utmoſt expedition, he contrived, by forced marches, to reach his brother's camp, before Lewis had

* Annal. Bertin. † Libellus Proclamationis, adverſus Venilonem, t. ii. Concil. Gall.

any intelligence of his approach. The conſequence was a complete defeat of the rebels, and a reſtoration to that authority which Charles had ſo recently loſt. This event was followed by an attempt which ſhews to what a pitch of degradation the weakneſs of the government had reduced the majeſty of the throne. The prelates of France, aſſembled at Metz*, deputed three of their body to Lewis the German, with orders to inform him that he had incurred the penalty of excommunication, by the calamities which he had brought on the kingdom, from the introduction of his army. They exhorted him, therefore, to beg pardon of God, to confeſs his ſins, to repair the damages he had committed, to reject all bad counſel, to ſend back ſuch of the king's vaſſals as had taken refuge in Germany, and, finally, to reſtore to the clergy their privileges and authority. If he would faithfully fulfil theſe conditions, they promiſed him abſolution; but ſhould he perſiſt in his errors, he was threatened with all the anathemas of the church. This attempt appeared the more extraordinary, as theſe prelates had no kind of juriſdiction, either temporal or ſpiritual, over Lewis—it afforded a freſh proof that the clergy arrogated to themſelves the right of deciding the fate of kings and kingdoms. But the puſillanimity of monarchs ſeems to have kept pace with eccleſiaſtical arrogance. To theſe audacious propoſals Lewis replied, that, if he had given them offence, he aſked their pardon; and with regard to the conceſſions required of him, he would conſent to refer the deciſion of the matter to the prelates of Germany. A ſtate muſt be verging apace towards its deſtruction, when the monarch who rules it is forced to hold ſuch language as this. The proud pretenſions of the prelates were fortified by the mildneſs of the anſwer; and, at the council of Savonieres†, they vowed to preſerve a ſtrict union between themſelves—"In order "to correct the kings, the nobles, and the people of France." Such are the terms of the decree.

A. D. 860, 861, 862.] The extenſive authority eſtabliſhed by Charlemagne was now nearly extinguiſhed. Nobles, prelates, and princes, all treated the royal authority with contempt. Baldwin, grand-foreſter of Flanders, had the preſumption to carry off Judith, the daughter of Charles, who had been already twice married, firſt to Ethelwolf, and then his ſon Ethelbald, both monarchs of England. The king was extremely enraged, and had his daughter, as well as Baldwin, brought to trial; when a ſentence of excommunication was paſſed upon them; but they found means, after ſome time, to obtain forgiveneſs, and being formally married, Baldwin was created count of Flanders‡. Prince Lewis, Judith's brother, having aſſiſted the count in carrying her off, was deprived of the abbey of Saint Martin at Tours, which had been aſſigned him as a fortune. Incenſed at this puniſhment, he fled to Brittany, and, notwithſtanding the king's prohibition, married Anſgarde, the daughter of count Hardouin.

* Concil. Gall. tom. iii. † Ibid.—Ann. Bertin. ‡ Ann. Bert. et Fuld.

The loſs of a battle, however, induced him to ſolicit forgiveneſs, which he obtained on condition of future amendment.

Charles, king of Aquitaine, had followed the example of his brother, in marrying the widow of count Humbert without his father's knowledge, and in imitation of him he now ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and on his renewal of homage was received into favour. Lewis the German was equally tormented with his eldeſt ſon, Carloman, who retired to Carinthia, where he excited a revolt, that required both time and trouble to quell. Thus were theſe princes, who had ſet an example of diſobedience to their children, ſeverely puniſhed for the uneaſineſs they had occaſioned their father. They too had firſt taught the prelates to arrogate to themſelves a power ſuperior to that of their ſovereigns; and they were now convinced of their miſtaken policy, by becoming the victims of that inordinate authority to which they had given birth.

The king of Lorraine had repudiated his wife Theutberga, the daughter of a Burgundian noble, under pretence that ſhe had committed inceſt with her brother duke Hubert, a crime of which ſhe had been formally acquitted; but being afterwards induced to confeſs it, either from weakneſs or fear, the prelates aſſembled at Metz, pronounced it unlawful for the king to hold any farther commerce with her. Another aſſembly of the clergy, ſeduced by Gonthier, archbiſhop of Cologne, whom the king had flattered with the hopes of raiſing his niece to the throne*, declared, at Aix-la-Chapelle, that in caſe of infidelity on the part of the wife, the huſband might not only procure a divorce, *a menſa et thoro*, but *a vinculo matrimonii*†. After this declaration, the ambitious prelate immediately ſent his niece to the court of Lothaire, who ſeduced her, and then ſent her back to her uncle.—Such is frequently the reward of vice.—The prince, profiting by the prevarication of the pontiff, diſhonoured his family, and to complete the downfal of his pride, publicly married Valdrade, the firſt object of his love, from whom he had formerly been compelled to part.

A. D. 863.] Nicholas the firſt, who, from the boldneſs of his enterpriſes, had acquired the appellation of *great*, then filled the papal throne. He wrote to Lothaire, informing him that the chriſtian religion would neither permit him to repudiate his wife, nor to marry his concubine; and he threatened him with the thunders of the church, if he did not quit Valdrade. The monarch, who had every thing to fear from the united powers of his uncles, humbly anſwered, that he had done nothing without the advice of the biſhops; that even during his father's life he had married Valdrade, whom he had been compelled to leave in order to eſpouſe Theutberga‡; but that he left the matter entirely to the deciſion of the ſovereign pontiff. The pope, eager to profit by the weak condeſcenſion of the prince, ſent two legates, with orders to aſſemble a coun-

* Ann. Bert. † Hincmar. de divortio Loth. et Theutb. ‡ Ann. Bert.

cil at Metz, where the affair was examined according to the rules preſcribed by the canons. But, whether from fear, ignorance, or ſeduction*, the pope's envoys, in concert with the biſhops of Lorraine, condemned the marriage with Theutberga, and confirmed that with Valdrade†. Nicholas, being informed of their prevarication, convened an aſſembly of prelates himſelf, annulled the ſentence pronounced at Metz‡, depoſed the two archbiſhops of Treves and Cologne, and diſpatched a legate to the court of Lorraine, with letters replete with menaces‖, conveyed in a tone of arrogance very different to that ſtyle in which the popes had been accuſtomed to addreſs the monarchs of France.

A. D. 864, 865, 866, 867.] The papal envoy, whoſe name was Arſene, proved himſelf worthy of his ambitious maſter. He had the inſolence to tell the king, that unleſs he took Theutberga again, he ſhould expel him from the boſom of the church. Though his threats had but little effect on the mind of Lothaire, yet the peculiar ſituation of that monarch, ſurrounded by kinſmen who were ready to profit by any commotions that might take place in his kingdom, induced him to comply with the imperious mandate, and again to part from his beloved Valdrade. But the indigation of his ſubjects at the daring interpoſition of an inſolent prieſt, ſpeedily enabled him once more to purſue the dictates of his inclination: Theutberga was accordingly diſmiſſed, and Valdrade recalled. The inflexible pontiff, enraged at this open contempt of his authority, excommunicated the two lovers§: but his turbulent ſpirit was fortunately checked in its dangerous career, by the hand of death. His ſucceſſor, Adrian the ſecond, conſented to annul the ſentence of excommunication, on condition that Lothaire, who had repaired to Rome to aſk him for abſolution, ſhould, jointly with the noblemen of his retinue, make oath that he had holden no commerce with Valdrade ſince the pope's laſt prohibition¶. This was an infamous requeſt on the part of the pontiff, who muſt know that a compliance with it would involve Lothaire and his followers in the guilt of perjury—the king, however, was weak enough to ſacrifice his conſcience to the love of tranquillity, and his nobles followed the example of their maſter. Lothaire, and all who ſwore, dying within the year, the contemporary hiſtorians aſcribe their death to the violation of their oath.

A. D. 868, 869.] During theſe tranſactions, Solomon, king of Brittany, waited on Charles the Bald, whom he acknowledged for his lawful ſovereign, and taking the oath of allegiance, engaged to pay him tribute, *according to ancient cuſtom***. Charles profited by this interval of peace to have his wife Ermentrude crowned; the ceremony was performed in the church of Saint Medard at Soiſſons††, where the king had aſſembled a council; and at the

* Epiſt. lviii. Nicol. Pap. † Concil. Gal. tom. iii. ‡ Concil. Roman. c. iii. p. 217. ‖ Epiſt. Nicol. Pap. xii. § Append. et Epiſt. lv. ¶ Concil. Gal. tom. ii. ** Annal. Bertin. †† Concil. Sueſs. Apud. Hincmar. tom. i.

ſame time his eldeſt ſon Lewis received conſecration as king of Aquitaine, in the place of his brother Charles, who hand recently died.

During the tranquillity that now prevailed, ſome uſeful regulations of police were adopted. The edict of Piſtes* is the moſt curious record that remains of the ancient coins of France. It points out the only places that enjoyed the privilege of coining. Theſe were the Palace; Quentovic-upon-Cange in Ponthieu; Rouen; Rheims; Sens; Paris; Orleans; Chalons-upon-Saone; Melle in Poitou; and Narbonne. On the firſt of July, all the counts or governors of thoſe towns were ordered, by the above edict, to ſend their viſcounts or deputies to Senlis, each accompanied by the maſters of the mint, and ſome men of reſponſibility, to receive *five livres* from the treaſury, in order to begin to coin good money.

The ſmallneſs of this ſum is apt at firſt to excite aſtoniſhment, but a few reflections will ſuffice to remove the cauſe of ſurpriſe—all payments were not made in money, in the early ages of the monarchy; the gold and ſilver received from the people was, after being refined, depoſited in lumps, in the royal treaſury, from whence it was diſtributed by weight. This cuſtom, which was taken from the Romans, was followed by the people even ſo late as the reign of Philip the Fair. Nothing is more common in the acts of thoſe times, than payments and fines made and levied by the pound or by the mark of gold or ſilver. A thouſand examples of this may be found in the works of the learned father Mabillon†. Money, then, was only wanted for the more trifling articles of commerce; whence it was that ſo little was coined. Thus the fourteenth article of the ordonnance of Piſtes is by no means calculated to convey an unfavorable idea of the power of Charles the Bald. It appears indeed from ſeveral records that there was nearly as much money in France then as now. The miſtake ariſes from confounding the value of money at different periods.—It is thought ſtrange that the council of Thouloufe ſhould fix the price of three buſhels of wheat, as much barley, a meaſure of wine, and a lamb, (the contribution paid by every curate to his biſhop) at two ſols; and that twenty-four pounds of bread, under the reign of Charlemagne, ſhould be only worth one denier of ſilver. But the ſou then was very different from what it is now; and the denier would be worth thirty French ſols, according to the uſual mode of computation; ſo that that the pound of bread would come to nearly a ſou and a quarter, which is not much leſs than the uſual price of that article, in France, in plentiful ſeaſons.

The moſt common gold coins, under the firſt race of kings, was the ſou, the half ſou, and the third of a ſou of gold. This ſou, equal to forty deniers of ſilver, was compoſed of fine gold, and weighed about eighty-five grains and

* Edictum Piſtenſe, Carol, Calv. † M. Le Blanc, Traite Hiſt. des Mon. de France, p. 49.

one third; it would now be worth about fifteen French livres*. It is pretended by ſome, that the ſou of ſilver was an imaginary coin—but others maintain the contrary. If there really was ſuch a coin, it ought to have weighed, towards the end of the reign of Charlemagne, three hundred and forty-five grains, ſomething more than a modern half-crown. Be that as it may, no traces of it are to be found in the cabinets of the curious; though they contain a great number of the ſilver denier, and even of the *obolum*, marked with the heads of the kings who were deſcended from Pepin. Theſe deniers, under the Merovingian monarchs, weighed about twenty-one grains; under the Carlovingians, twenty-eight and ſometimes thirty-two; and under the firſt monarchs of the Capetian race, from twenty-three to twenty-four. Their intrinſic value may be appreciated by that of the ſilver ſou, of which they formed the twelfth part.

Beſides theſe real coins there was the *livre*, an imaginary one, invented for the purpoſe of facilitating calculation. Under the two firſt races it was worth a *livre*, or pound of twelve ounces, the only pound then in uſe for weighing gold and ſilver. Under Pepin, the livre, or pound weight of ſilver, was divided into twenty-two ſous. Charlemagne, whoſe conqueſts had rendered this metal more plentiful, ordered that only twenty ſhould be made out of a pound, —that is to ſay, the ſilver ſou was then preciſely the twentieth part of twelve ounces. Such is the true origin of the word *livre*, which is ſtill made uſe of in France, though now only as the repreſentative ſign of twenty copper ſols, or half-pence.

In order to give a juſt idea of the comparative value of money at different periods, it will be neceſſary juſt to notice the various changes that have taken place. The mark of ſilver, of eight ounces, has long been worth forty-nine livres. The livre, then, which in the time of Charlemagne was the repreſentative ſign of twelve ounces, would now be worth ſeventy-three livres, ten ſols†; the ſou, which was the twentieth part of the livre, would be worth three livres, thirteen ſols, ſix deniers; the denier, which was the twelfth part of the ſol, would be worth ſix ſols, one denier, and one obolum; and laſtly, the obolum, which was half a denier, would be worth three ſols one obolum, and one *pitte*. Thus, ſuppoſing a town had barrowed one hundred and fifty livres under the reign of that emperor, the loan would be equal to near four

* This computation, it is neceſſary to obſerve, was made by the Abbe Velly in 1754. By comparing the price of gold in France at that time with the preſent price, a correct eſtimation of the ancient gold ſou may be obtained.

† To make ourſelves more intelligible to our readers, we muſt obſerve, that the Engliſh pound ſterling was, at the time of this calculation, eſtimated at twenty-two modern French livres; hence it appears that the livre or ſilver pound of Charlemagne was worth about three pounds, ſix ſhillings and ten pence half-penny.

hundred and ſixty louis of the preſent money. A monaſtery which received from the treaſury of that prince an annual penſion of four hundred livres, would now enjoy an income of twenty-nine thouſand four hundred livres a year.—From this calculation it appears that the Engliſh pound ſterling (reckoning it at twenty-two French livres) is leſs removed from the ancient ſtandard than any European coin whatever.

A. D. 869.] On the death of Lothaire, had the deciſions of the aſſembly of Merſen been reſpected, his dominions would have devolved to the emperor Lewis; but ambition is neither to be reſtrained by the force of laws, nor the faith of treaties. The lawful heir being employed in guarding againſt a projected invaſion of Italy by the Saracens, Charles the Bald and Lewis the German divided his inheritance between them: to the latter was allotted Cologne, Treves, Utrecht, Morbel, Straſbourg, Baſle, Metz, Luxeu, Aix-la-Chapelle, a variety of places of inferior note, and two thirds of Frieſland or Holland. Charles acquired Lyons, Beſancon, Vienne in Dauphinne, Tongreſs, Tulles, Verdun, Cambray, a portion of the Ardennes, and the remaining third of Holland, with ſeveral abbeys and monaſteries.*

A. D. 870, 875.] The death of the emperor, Lewis the Second, not only confirmed them in the acceſſion of their new dominions, but induced Charles, under the ſanction of the pope, to attempt a farther extention of his power.—With this view he marched, with a numerous and well-appointed army, into Italy. His activity anticipated the deſigns of is brother Lewis the German; he was received at Rome with the applauſe of the inhabitants; and the Roman pontiff placed the imperial crown on his head, and ſaluted him emperor of the Romans. It is worthy of remark, that, in the beſtowal of this dignity, the pope, profiting by the preſent ſituation of affairs, acted as a ſovereign, and Charles received it as a vaſſal. "*We have judged him worthy of the imperial "ſceptre*," ſaid the pope†, "*we have raiſed him to the imperial dignity and "power, and we have honoured him with the title of Auguſt.*"—From this period may be dated that authority in the election of emperors, which the Roman pontiffs afterwards claimed.

A. D. 876.] It was with indignation that Lewis beheld himſelf the dupe of his brother; he reſented in arms what he deemed a ſhameleſs breach of faith, entered Champagne, and diſcharged his fury on the defenceleſs country: though he retired on the approach of Charles, he only ſuſpended his hoſtile meaſures; his preparations were continued with inceſſant diligence, and the new emperor had reaſon to rejoice at the death of the king of Germany, who united in his character the qualities of a ſtateſman and a general, and who, of all the deſcendants of Charlemagne, moſt reſembled him. His dominions were

* Capitul. Car. Cal. Tit. de diviſione regni Lothar. † Apud Labbeum, tom. ix. p. 295.

divided between his three ſons. To Carloman he aſſigned Bavaria, Bohemia, Corinthia, Sclavonia, Auſtria, and a part of Hungary. Lewis had Franconia, Saxony, Holland, Thuringia, the Lower Lorraine, Cologne, and ſome other cities on the Rhine. To Charles, ſurnamed *the Fat*, was allotted all that country which extends from the Maine to the Alps. The news of his brother's deceaſe no ſooner reached the emperor Charles, than his reſtleſs ambition tempted him to deſpoil his nephew Lewis; at the head of fifty thouſand men he advanced to ſeize what he had ceded at the laſt diviſion of the kingdom of Lorraine. At Meghen he was encountered by his nephew with inferior numbers, but ſuperior courage and ſkill; the French army was broken by the charge of the German cavalry, and Charles himſelf with difficulty eſcaped from the dreadful carnage of his devoted ſubjects. He had ſcarcely united his ſcattered forces before he was confounded with the intelligence that the Normans had entered the Seine, laid waſte the adjacent country, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of Rouen.

To complete the diſtreſs of Charles, he was ſummoned by the Roman pontiff to the protection of Italy. That country was ſtill expoſed to the deſultory attacks of the infidels, whoſe continual deſcents were encouraged by the intrigues of the duke of Benevento, and the emperor of the Greeks; and the banners of Mahomet daily inſulted the holy ſeat of the ſucceſſors of Saint Peter. Charles, after holding an aſſembly of the nobles, at Cherſi-upon-Oiſe, for the regulation of his domeſtic affairs, and the ſecurity of his kingdom, during his abſence, determined to obey the citation of the pope; he accordingly paſſed the Alps, with a ſmall train of followers, but he had ſcarce entered Pavia, to which city the Roman pontiff had advanced, in order to confer with him, when he was informed that Carloman, king of Bavaria, was already in Italy with a numerous army, and claimed, by the will of his father, the imperial title. The forces of Charles were ſtill in France; the general to whoſe fidelity he had entruſted them, conſpired againſt him, and the ſoldiers, in tumultuary exclamations, declared their reſolution not to leave the kingdom. The indignant emperor, aſtoniſhed and deſerted, retired to France, at the ſame moment that his competitor, Carloman, alarmed at the rumour of his approach, had precipitately reentered his German dominions.

Oppreſſed with ſhame, anxiety and fatigue, the emperor was ſeized on his retreat from Italy, with a violent fever; and Sedicias, his phyſician, by birth a Jew, betraying the confidence of his maſter, adminiſtered as a febrifuge, a doſe of poiſon, of which he died in the cottage of a peaſant, at the ſmall village of Brios, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, as king of France, in the ſecond as emperor, and in the fifty-fourth of his age.

Charles had ſix ſons by his queen, Ermentrude, of whom only Lewis, his ſucceſſor, ſurvived him; and three daughters: Judith, firſt married to two

kings of England, and laſtly to Baldwin count of Flanders; and Rothilda and Ermentrude, both abbeſſes, the firſt of Chelles and of Notre Dame at Soiſſons; the ſecond of Aſnon on the Scarpe. By his ſecond wife, Richilde, he had two ſons, Lewis and Charles, who died in their infancy.

Charles, ſays Paſquier, had few virtues, and many defects. He was ambitious and enterpriſing, but weak, timid, and irreſolute; capable of conceiving great projects, but deſtitute of ſpirit and ability to put them in execution. From his reign may be dated the dangerous augmention of eccleſiaſtical arrogance, and the rapid decline of the Carlovingian race.

LEWIS THE SECOND,

SURNAMED THE STAMMERER.

A. D. 877.] AS ſoon as Lewis was appriſed of his father's death, he repaired to Compiegne, where he aſſembled the nobles and prelates of the realm, in order to proceed to the ceremony of proclamation. Though his right to the throne was inconteſtible, he thought it neceſſary to ſecure the attachment of the nobles, by profuſely laviſhing the honours and eſtates of the crown. The empreſs, in the mean time, having received from her huſband the crown, the ſceptre, and the royal mantle, haſtened from Italy, with the deed by which Lewis was declared ſucceſſor to the throne. She was accompanied by a number of nobles, who were eager to partake of the bounty and munificence of their new ſovereign; and as the young prince did not dare to reject their applications, he was proclaimed, conſecrated, and crowned, with the unanimous approbation of all parties.

Every circumſtance attending this accommodation tended to give birth to ſuſpicions of a dark and ſanguinary nature. The great men of the kingdom had refuſed to march to the aſſiſtance of their ſovereign—at that very time the emperor was poiſoned; and immediately after his death the empreſs returned to France. Then thoſe ſame noblemen, who had conſpired againſt the huſband, flew to meet the wife, who obtained for them every thing they required, but betrayed not the ſmalleſt deſire to revenge the death of her lord; nor was any enquiry ſet on foot into the crime of the regicide, Sedecias. All this combination of circumſtances beſpeaks a dreadful myſtery; and all prove that the vaſſals of Lewis, too powerful to harbour the ſmalleſt apprehenſion, had left him but the ſhadow of authority. Boſon, brother to the empreſs Richilde, duke or viceroy of Italy, and governor of Provence, was the moſt powerful nobleman of the

realm; he had been entruſted with poſts of great importance under the preceding reign. When Charles was crowned king of Lombardy, he was appointed governor of that kingdom, with the power of chuſing all the counts. Abuſing the authority he enjoyed, he had the preſumption to carry off Ermengarde, the daughter of the emperor Lewis; and that proud princeſs, who was deſtined to wear a crown, did not diſdain to marry him. An alliance thus ſplendid, ſtrengthened by immenſe riches, inſpired him with the moſt ambitious hopes. Beſides theſe fortuitous advantages, he poſſeſſed a perſon the moſt engaging, and manners the moſt inſinuating. Hence he became an object of univerſal eſteem; and even the pope, thinking he might be of ſervice to him, appeared diſpoſed to grant him the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours. Thus favoured, courted, and careſſed, his ambition daily encreaſed, till at length it led him to aſpire to the throne itſelf.

A. D. 878.] Italy, during this time, remained without a ſovereign; pope John the eighth, who had impatiently expected the aid of Charles to repreſs the inſolence of the Saracens, endeavoured in vain to raiſe his ſon to the imperial dignity; his meaſures were ſucceſsfully traverſed by Lambert, duke of Spoleto, and Adelbert, marquis of Tuſcany: the former, compelled to reſign his own pretenſions, ſupported thoſe of Carloman of Bavaria; and the pontiff, incapable of reſiſting the arms of the duke of Spoleto, abandoned Rome, and embarked for France.

The reception of John was ſuch as he might naturally expect from a monarch whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed with ardour. In a council aſſembled at Troyes, the Roman pontiff preſided, and the authority and influence of the church, were not neglected by its holy father: among the various canons framed to ſupport the epiſcopal dignity, it was ordained, that all ſecular powers, under the penalty of excommunication, ſhould obſerve the reſpect due to biſhops; and all perſons, hower high their rank, were precluded from ſitting down in their preſence, without obtaining their permiſſion*. But although the pope repeated, at the deſire of Lewis, the ceremony of his coronation, and placed, with his own hands, the crown on his head, yet his fervour ſoon cooled towards a prince whom he diſcovered to be deſtitute of power and capacity; and his intereſts induced him to ſeek a more effectual ſupport in the friendſhip of the factious and independent nobles of his court. The thunders of the Vatican, which he brandiſhed againſt the rebellious peers of France, were rather intended to deceive the ſovereign, than diſmay the conſpirators; and John, after having in vain exhorted the nation to reſpect the diſtreſs of Rome, and to unſheath the ſword againſt the preſumptuous Saracens, proceeded on his return to Italy.

During the pope's ſtay in France, the marriage of Carloman, the ſon of Lewis by his firſt wife, Anſgarde, daughter of Count Hardouin, with a daughter of Boſon, was celebrated at Troyes with great magnificence.

* Canon 1.

After the council was diſſolved, Lewis repaired to Compiegne to receive the report of the ambaſſadors whom he had ſent into Germany to negociate a peace. The anſwer they brought was favourable to his wiſhes; and the two monarchs, meeting at Merſen, a treaty was concluded, which they ſigned at Foron, a royal manſion, ſituated between Maeſtricht and Aix-la-Chapelle. With regard to the kingdom of Lorraine, it was agreed, that the partition which had been made between Charles the Bald and Lewis the German, ſhould be ſtrictly adhered to: in Provence, each party was to keep poſſeſſion of what he then enjoyed; and it was determined, that in Italy matters ſhould remain as they were, till the month of February following, when a council ſhould be convened, which the four ſovereigns of the houſe of Charlemagne were to be invited to attend. But the revolt of Bernard, marquis of Septimania, attracted the attention of Lewis to a different quarter.

A. D. 879.] That nobleman, notwithſtanding the anathema that had been pronounced againſt him at the council of Troyes, notwithſtanding the ſentence by which Lewis had deprived him of his governments and eſtates, ſtill kept an army on foot, and ſet the power of the king at defiance. As Lewis advanced at the head of his troops, to chaſtiſe the inſolence and audacity of this rebellious ſubject, he was ſeized at Troyes with a diſorder that ſpeedily proclaimed his approaching diſſolution. He ſent his eldeſt ſon, Lewis, into Burgundy, under the conduct of duke Boſon, and of Bernard, count of Auvergne, the abbot Hugh, Thierri his grand chamberlain, and ſome other noblemen; then ordering his attendants to conve him to Compiegne, he there died—not without ſuſpicions being poiſoned—on good Friday, the tenth of April, in the ſecond year of his reign, and the thirty-firſt of his age. He was interred in the abbey of Saint Corneille.

Lewis had by Anſegarde two ſons, Lewis and Carloman; and he left his ſecond wife, Adelaide, pregnant of a ſon, who was ſoon after baptiſed by the name of Charles, and was diſtinguiſhed by the opprobrious epithet of *Simple*.

LEWIS THE THIRD,

AND

CARLOMAN.

A. D. 879.] THE king, on his death-bed, had commiſſioned Odo, biſhop of Beauvais, and count Albruin, to carry the crown and ſceptre, with the other emblems of royalty to his eldeſt ſon Lewis, whoſe coronation he ordered them to forward with the utmoſt expedition. To the accompliſhment of theſe orders no poſſible oppoſition could have occurred, had not the kingdom been divided by two powerful factions; one of which was headed by duke Boſon, Hugh the abbot, Thierri the grand chamberlain, and Bernard, count of Auvergne: the leaders of the other were Gauzelin, abbot of Saint Denis, and Conrad, count of Paris*. Theſe laſt, having met at Creil, invited Lewis of Germany into the kingdom, who accordingly advanced as far as Metz, where he experienced the moſt flattering reception. Their apology for thus inviting an uſurper to fill the throne of their lawful ſovereign, was founded on the incapacity and inexperience of the children of Lewis, the defect in their birth, (being ſprung from a repudiated wife); and, laſtly, on the known prudence, valour, and moderation of the German prince. Such was their pretext—but the real motives of their treacherous conduct were intereſt, and a deſire of revenge. Boſon, however, and the other nobles of his party, being determined to fulfil the laſt injunctions of the deceaſed monarch, repaired to Meaux, in order to deliberate on the dangers which threatened the ſtate. The news of the invaſion by Lewis filled them with alarm; and having no army to impede his progreſs, they reſolved to purchaſe his forbearance by ceding to him that part of the kingdom of Lorraine which had been allotted to Charles the Bald. This propoſal was

* Ann. Bertin et Fuld.

accepted; and the king immediately returned to Germany, where his preſence was required.

Carloman, king of Bavaria, having been attacked by a ſtroke of the palſey, Arnoul, his ſon by a concubine, profited by his father's illneſs to ſeize a part of his dominions. But the preſence of Lewis compelled him to reſign his conqueſts, and to content himſelf with the acquiſition of a few biſhopricks and abbies. The kingdom was confirmed, by the dying parent, to the monarch who had reſcued it from the hands of his rebellious ſon. Gauzelin and Conrad, in the mean time, not daring to remain in France, repaired to the court of Germany, and complained to the queen of her huſband's neglect in refuſing to profit by ſo glorious an opportunity of encreaſing his power, and extending his dominions. The ambitious princeſs, whoſe name was Luitgarde, entered into all their ſchemes, and had ſufficient influence over the mind of her huſband, to perſuade him to a violation of the late treaty. He had made every neceſſary preparation for a ſecond invaſion of France, when he was informed that a new enemy had appeared in Lorraine, and committed great devaſtations. This was Hugh, the hapleſs progeny of Lothaire and his beloved Valdrade. As he had reduced ſeveral towns, the retaking of which would neceſſarily require much time, Lewis was prevented from entering Neuſtria; but ſtill he ſent Gauzelin and Conrad thither with a body of troops, and promiſed to follow them as ſoon as poſſible.

The report of this ſecond irruption, ſpread a general alarm throughout the kingdom. The nobles, who had preſerved their fidelity to the family of the deceaſed monarch, ſaw no other remedy for the calamities which threatened them, than the ſpeedy coronation of the young princes. The king, on his death bed, had appointed his eldeſt ſon Lewis his ſole ſucceſſor; but the dread of diſpleaſing Boſon, by the excluſion of his ſon-in-law Carloman, induced them to adopt the reſolution of placing them both on the throne, and of dividing the kingdom between them, according to the ancient cuſtom of the realm. It was this diviſion, ſo difficult to make, that had urged them to delay their inauguration ſo long; and even now they were under the neceſſity of differing it to a future time. The princes, therefore, were ſent to the abbey of Ferrieres, where they were annointed and crowned by Anſegiſe, archbiſhop of Sens. At this time they had attained their fifteenth or ſixteenth year. The courts of their reſpective dominions were not fixed till the following year. Aquitaine and Burgundy were allotted to Carloman; and France and Neuſtria to Lewis. An attempt was made, by a few of the nobility, to aſſert the rights of Charles the Simple; but his mother, Adelaide, had not ſufficient influence to ſupport his claims.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in France when Boſon, taking advantage of the minority of the young princes, at length revealed his perfidious deſigns. Promiſes, preſents, entreaties, and threats, were ſo opportunely and ſucceſsfully exerted, that—*by the ſacred council of Mante, in the diſtrict of Vienne, aſſembled*

*in the name of our Lord, and by inſpiration of his Divine Majeſty**, he was elected and crowned king of Provence. This election was made and confirmed by the archbiſhops of Vienne, Lyons, Tarentaiſe, Aix, Arles, and Beſancon; and by the biſhops of Valence, Grenoble, Vaiſon, Die, Marienne, Gap, Toulon, Chalons-upon-Soane, Lauzanne, Agde, Macon, Viviers, Marſeilles, Orange, Avignon, Uſes, and Rheims; by which the extent of the new monarchy may be known: it is ſometimes denominated in hiſtory the kingdom of Arles, from the name of its capital; and at others the kingdom of Provence, as it was called when poſſeſſed by one of the ſons of the emperor Lothaire. Thus the ſons of Lewis beheld themſelves with indignation deſpoiled of the faireſt part of their inheritance by the ſword of a powerful neighbour, and the intrigues of a faithleſs kinſman.

A. D. 880.] Their throne indeed was ſhaken on every ſide, and its very foundation might poſſibly have been ſubverted, had it not been ſupported by the fidelity and abilities of Hugh the abbot. Lewis of Germany, urged on by his wife, prepared to fulfil his promiſe to the abbot of Saint Denis, and the count of Paris; but the malcontents were over-awed by the prudent diſpoſitions of Hugh; the Germans in vain penetrated into the heart of France; and the hopes of Lewis were chilled by the languid operations of his partizans. He conſented to an interview with his youthful rivals at Orbe, near the lake of Geneva; and a ſubſequent congreſs at Gondreville on the Meuſe, at which all the deſcendants of Charlemagne were preſent, ratified the ſucceſſion of Lewis and Carloman, and confirmed the poſſeſſion of Lorraine to the king of Germany.

The royal brothers, delivered from the terror of foreign invaſion, prepared to chaſtiſe the inſolence of domeſtic rebellion; ſtrengthened by their new alliances, they marched with a numerous army through Burgundy, and entered the revolted territories of their preſumptuous vaſſal. The confederate forces, aſſiſted by thoſe of Charles, king of Italy, formed the ſiege of Vienne, defended with maſculine valour by Hermengarde, the conſort of Boſon. But the princes were ſoon compelled to ſeparate, and while the continuance of the ſiege devolved on Carloman, Charles returned to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and Lewis, with a conſiderable detachment, directed his march againſt the Normans.

A. D. 881.] Theſe hardy adventurers, diſdaining the ſeverity of winter, had, in the month December, taken Ghent, where they eſtabliſhed their headquarters; ſurpriſed the city of Tournay; made themſelves maſters of Courtray, which they fortified; and ſtormed Saint Omer, which they reduced to aſhes. From thence they ſpread their devaſtations along the banks of the Scheld, and the Somme. Cambray, Saint Riquier, Saint Valery, Amiens, Cor-

* Concil. Mantenenſe, Labbe, tom. ix. p. 391.

bie, and Arras, were taken and pillaged, and moſt of the inhabitants put to the ſword. At Saucour, in Ponthieu, the rovers of the north were encountered by the maiden valour of Lewis: after a deſperate engagement victory declared for the French; nine thouſand Normans, with their leader Guaramond, were left on the field; the remainder repaſſed the Somme, and ſought their ſafety in flight. The victory of Saucour had diſplayed the courage, and the death of Lewis of Germany proclaimed the moderation, of the youthful king of France: he rejected with firmneſs the crown proffered by the inhabitants of Lorraine; and yielded to the ſuperior pretentions of the emperor, Charles the Fat.

A. D. 882.] But the promiſing virtues of this youthful monarch were cut off by a premature death. As he was haſtening to aſſiſt the duke of Brittany, in the expulſion of the Normans from the banks of the Loire, he was ſeized at Tours with a fatal diſeaſe, that compelled him to return to Neuſtria. Being conveyed to Saint Denis in a litter, he there expired, in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and the third of his reign.

The loſs of this prince was deeply deplored by his ſubjects, who admired his virtue, his valour, and moderation.

CARLOMAN.

A. D. 882.] LEWIS the Third dying without children, no oppoſition was made to the acceſſion of Carloman. That prince was ſtill before Vienne, when a deputation from the nobles brought him the news of his brother's death, and aſſurances of their fidelity. Leaving the blockade of Vienne to his principal officers, he immediately proceeded to Chierſi, where, after having ſworn to obſerve the capitulary of Charles the Bald, he was proclaimed king of Neuſtria. This ceremony was no ſooner performed than he received intelligence of the reduction of Vienne, and the capture of Hermangarde and her daughters, who were conducted to Autun. He now prepared to execute the plan of his predeceſſor for the expulſion of the Normans, but their leader, Haſting, ſuing for peace, his requeſt was complied with, on condition that he and his followers ſhould immediately quit the country.

Another band, however, of theſe northern plunderers, laid waſte the fertile plains of Germany; and, returning to the banks of the Meuſe, erected a fortified camp in the environs of Haſſou. The emperor haſtening his return from Italy, repaired to Worms, and having collected a numerous army, compoſed of Germans, Bavarians, Lombards, Thuringians, Saxons, Friſians, and French, advanced to attack the Norman intrenchments*. The attempts to diſlodge them, though conducted with equal ſpirit and ſkill, were vigorouſly repelled; and after a long and bloody conteſt, during which victory occaſionally ſhifted from one ſide to the other, both parties became eager for an accommodation. Sigefroy, one of the Norman leaders, repaired to the emperor's camp, and after a negociation that laſted two days, a treaty was concluded that reflects infinite diſgrace on the memory of Charles the Fat. That monarch agreed to cede to the Normans all the country of which they were then in poſſeſſion; and to pay them without delay a ſufficient ſum to defray the expences they had incurred, and the loſſes they had ſuſtained during the war; it was farther ſettled, that Godfrey, the chief of the Normans, ſhould, by his

* Chron. de Geſt Norman.

converſion to chriſtianity, obtain the hand of Giſele, the daughter of Lothaire and Valdrade; and that in conſideration of this marriage, all that part of Holland which Roric had poſſeſſed ſhould be ceded to him by Charles; and finally it was ſtipulated, that prince Hugh, brother to Giſele, ſhould enjoy the revenue ariſing from the biſhoprick of Metz, on condition of his renouncing his pretenſions to the kingdom of Lorraine.

By this ignominious peace, which nothing but a continued ſucceſſion of defeats could poſſibly have juſtified, a dangerous enemy was eſtabliſhed by Charles in the heart of his dominions. The churches were plundered in order to raiſe the ſtipulated ſum; Sigefroy was left in poſſeſſion of Haſlou: Godfrey, after having received baptiſm, married Giſele, and conveyed his bride to his newly acquired territory; while the emperor retired to Coblentz, where he received an embaſſy from the French monarch, who demanded the reſtoration of that part of Lorraine which had formerly belonged to his predeceſſors. This demand, which indignation had prompted, was received with contempt; and Charles, in order to vex Carloman, releaſed, at the pope's requeſt, the empreſs Ingelberga, mother-in-law to Boſon. The Normans, taking advantage of this miſunderſtanding, advanced from the banks of the Meuſe, ſpread themſelves over Picardy, where they committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations, and marched towards Rheims, with the intention of making that city experience the ſame fate with thoſe they had already reduced. But their progreſs was impeded by the approach of Carloman, who, having haſtily collected a ſmall army, attacked them, and forced them to retire in great diſorder. They ſoon, however, returned, with ſuch an addition of force, as reduced the harraſſed monarch to the degrading neceſſity of reſcuſing his provinces from pillage, by the payment of twelve thouſand livres; which, in thoſe days, was an enormous ſum.

A. D. 884.] Carloman did not long ſurvive this diſgrace: as he was enjoying the amuſement of the chace, an erring javelin, aimed at the boar by one of his attendants, pierced his thigh, and in ſix days brought him to the grave.—The memory of this prince is indeared to us by the pious deceit which he practiſed on his death-bed; endeavouring to ſcreen from the miſtaken reſentment of the public his unfortunate domeſtic, by imputing his wound to the rage of the animal he purſued.

CHARLES THE THIRD,

SURNAMED THE FAT.

A. D. 884.] HAD a proper reſpect been paid to the rules of ſucceſſion, Charles the Simple, the poſthumous ſon of Lewis the Stammerer, by his queen Adelaide, would, on the deceaſe of his brother without children, have aſcended the throne of France. But the kingdom being inceſſantly expoſed to the depredations of the Normans, it was deemed imprudent to fix the diadem on the brows of an infant, and the emperor, therefore, Charles the Fat, whoſe age was mature, and whoſe power extenſive, was called upon to ſucceed the generous Carloman. Prompt to obey the pleaſing citation, he haſtened to Gondreville*, where he received the homage of the nobles, together with their oaths of allegiance. The ſon of Adelaide remained under the care of Hugh, the abbot; who was confirmed by the emperor in his government of that part of Neuſtria which lies between the Seine and the Loire, and which was then called the duchy of France; Paris being its capital. Charles, by this conſiderable addition of territory, was now become one of the moſt powerful princes in the world; but his capacity was greatly unequal to the extent of his empire; and that good fortune which ought to have encreaſed his authority only tended to expoſe his weakneſs.

A. D. 885, 886.] The ſon of Valdrade had not yet renounced his pretenſions to the kingdom of Lorraine, and his brother-in-law Godfrey, duke of Holland, only waited for a favourable pretext to break with the emperor. But Charles, by a baſe and treacherous exertion of cruelty, contrived to rid himſelf of two formidable enemies, whoſe machinations he dreaded. Godfrey was aſſaſſinated by Evrard, an emiſſary of the emperor's at Liſle de Betau; and Hugh the Baſtard, being arreſted at Gondreville, a few days after the murder of his

* Annul. Fuld.

brother, his eyes were put out, and he was diſmiſſed to the monaſtery of Saint Gall; he was afterwards removed to the abbey of Prum, in the foreſt of Ardennes, where he was compelled to aſſume the monaſtic habit.

To revenge the death of Godfrey, Sigefroy entered the Seine, with a fleet of ſeven hundred ſail, and ſpread his devaſtations as far as Paris; and after having taken and burned the town of Pontoiſe he laid ſiege to that city. The capital of Neuſtria was then but a ſmall iſland, comprehending that part of the preſent metropolis which is diſtinguiſhed by by the appellation of *the city*. It was approached by two wooden bridges, the preſent *Pont au Change* and the *Petit Pont*, each of which was defended by a ſtrong and lofty tower. The ſiege was preſſed by the barbarians with uncommon vigour; by a ſkilful exertion of their battering machines a breach was made in the walls*; but three furious attempts to enter it were rendered abortive, by the perſevering valour of the Pariſians, who were headed by Eudes, count of Paris, ſon of Robert the Strong, and biſhop Gauſlin, who not only animated the people by his exhortations, but rouſed them by his example. This martial prelate was frequently ſeen on the breach with a helmet on his head, a quiver at his back, and a battle-axe at his girdle, driving back the enemy from a croſs which he had planted on the ramparts. He was ſeconded by many a valiant knight, who ſignalized their courage on this trying occaſion; but his nephew, the abbe Elbe, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a peculiar manner, and by the prodigies of valour he performed excited the aſtoniſhment of his friends, and ſpread terror and diſmay through the enemy's ranks. Never was greater fury diſplayed in attack, nor greater conſtancy and firmneſs in defence, than at this memorable ſiege, which laſted a year and a half, and during which the Pariſians experienced all the horrors of peſtilence and famine.

The emperor, in the mean time, remained in the vicinity of Francfort, from whence he contented himſelf with ſending ſuch ſupplies as the capital required. Twice was count Henry diſpatched with proviſion and troops for the relief of the garriſon; the firſt time he ſucceeded, but in his ſecond attempt he was ſurpriſed, and with his whole army cut in pieces. The news of his death at length determined the king to march in perſon; and the hopes of the Pariſians were revived by his appearance on the Mount of Mars, which is now called *Montmartre*. Yet Sigefroy beheld the hoſtile ſtandards with an undaunted countenance, and ſtedfaſtly maintained his ſtation before the gates of the city. The emperor, awed by the firmneſs of an enemy whom he might have overwhelmed, baſely conſented to purchaſe a peace, which he might have commanded. On condition of receiving ſeven thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, the Normans gladly conſented to raiſe the ſiege; and as the money could not be immediately paid, Charles allowed them to paſs the winter in Burgundy, where they com-

* Abbo Monach. de Bellis Paris. Urbit. Carmen.

mitted the moſt dreadful devaſtations. After the concluſion of this ſhameful treaty, the emperor returned to Germany, loaded with the contempt and hatred of the French. His German ſubjects were ſoon impreſſed with ſimilar ſentiments; and they began to look on him as a man wholly unfit for the ſtation he enjoyed. A timid diſpoſition, and an ill ſtate of health, confined him conſtantly to his palace; inceſſantly tormented with the fear of the devil, whom he fancied he had ſeen in his youth*, and conſcious of his own inability to ſupport the burden of a vaſt empire, he gave up the reins of government to Ludard, biſhop of Verceil. That miniſter exerted a deſpotic ſway in the emperor's name, and thoſe who were anxious to dethrone the prince began by attacking his favourite. The biſhop was accordingly accuſed of holding a criminal intercourſe with the empreſs [A. D. 887]; and as Charles was particularly delicate in that point, he was eaſily induced to believe what he dreaded, and, indeed, what he deſerved. The prelate was baniſhed from court, and the princeſs repudiated, at a general aſſembly, at which the emperor ſwore he had never touched her, although they had lived together more than ten years. In vain did Richarda offer to prove, either by ſingle combat or by any other mode of proof then in uſe, not only her innocence, but her virginity; her offers were rejected by her prejudiced huſband, and ſhe was diſmiſſed to the abbey of Andlaw, in Alſace, which ſhe had richly endowed, and where ſhe died, highly reſpected for her prudence and virtue.

A. D. 887.] Now that Charles was deprived of the advice and aſſiſtance of his miniſter, the native imbecility of his mind became viſible to every one. He even became conſcious of it himſelf, and this idea inſpired him with the moſt melancholy reflections. Having convoked a parliament at Tribur, between Mayence and Oppenheim, the nobles and prelates who were preſent remarked the uneaſineſs that appeared in his countenance, and the defect in his underſtanding†, and pronouncing him unfit for royalty, began to deliberate, without delay, on the choice of a ſucceſſor to the throne. Charles the Simple was indiſputably the lawful heir, but his youth being ſtill regarded as a bar to his ſucceſſion, all the efforts of his friends proved inadequate to procure him the crown of France. The ſole deſcendant (in a direct line) from Charlemagne was thus excluded from the dominions of his anceſtors, which were now offered to the baſtard ſon of Carloman, in direct violation of the rules eſtabliſhed under the ſecond race of kings, which deprived natural children of all rank in ſociety,

* The biſhops, in order to inſpire him with a greater degree of horror at the crime he had committed, in revolting againſt his father, had given him to underſtand that he was poſſeſſed by the devil. This idea made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on him, that he begged to be publicly exorciſed, in the preſence of the prelates and nobles of the realm; his requeſt was complied with, and the recollection of this formidable ceremony was never wholly effaced from his imagination; but had a viſible effect on his mind during the remainder of his life. Ann. Bertin. ad. Ann. 873.

† Chron. Hildenſheimenſe.

and consequently placed an effectual impediment in their way to the throne. Arnoul accepted with joy that sceptre, which he was actually preparing to wrest from its lawful possessor; and the revolt was so general that, in less than three days, his authority was acknowledged through the whole extent of Germany.

Charles in the mean time was reduced to the most dreadful situation; driven from his palace without a servant to attend him in his illness*, he was deprived of the mere necessaries of life, and yet was afraid to ask for assistance; nor did any one dare to afford him relief, through fear of incurring suspicions of disaffection to the usurper. Lutbert, bishop of Mayence, was the only person in the kingdom endowed with sufficient humanity to receive the hapless prince, and console him in the midst of his misfortunes†. An application to Arnoul at length procured him the assignment of a few petty fiefs in Germany, whose revenues scarcely afforded him a miserable subsistence. This state of wretchedness, however, was but of short duration—grief, or (as some writers have asserted) *poison* brought him to the grave [A. D. 888.] in three months from the time of his deposal. He was interred in the monastery of Richenoue, situated in an island on the lake of Constance.

Charles is represented by historians, as a just and pious prince, whose sole defect was weakness of mind—but his treacherous cruelty to Godfrey and Hugh, incontestibly prove that he was not exempt from vices, that are incompatible with justice and piety. In the other events of his life and reign, we must indeed confess that he was rather an object of pity than of indignation; but indiscriminate praise is seldom warranted, and the pen of the historian should never be disgraced by conferring it, where censure is due.

On the death of this prince the kingdom became a prey to the ambitious machinations of contending nobles. Though the sovereign authority had been almost unanimously voted to Arnoul, yet numerous rivals now started up to dispute his power, and lay claim to the vacant throne. This confusion was the effect of that property which the weakness of the French kings had suffered their aspiring nobles gradually to acquire, in fiefs, which at first were granted but for life, or during pleasure. These had been imprudently allowed to pass from father to son—the possessors insensibly accustomed themselves to regard as their own, what in fact belonged to their sovereign, and at length attempted to erect each petty government into an independent monarchy. The most plausive and powerful pretenders to the vacant throne were Berenger, duke of Frioul, grandson, by his mother, to Lewis the Gentle; Guy, duke of Spoleto, great-grandson to Charlemagne, by a daughter of Pepin, king of Italy: Lewis, the son of Boson, grandson, by his mother Hermengarde, to the emperor Lewis the Second; Rodolph, son of Conrad, count of Paris, nephew to the empress Judith, wife to Charles the Bald; and Eudes, son of Robert, count of Anjou, and

* Ann. Metens. † Regino. Sigebert, Otto Frising l. vi. c. 7.

deſcended, according to ſome genealogiſts, from Childebrand, brother to Charles Martel, and uncle to Charlemagne.

The duke of Frioul was the firſt to aſſert his pretenſions, and to procure an acknowledgement of his ſovereignty by a conſiderable part of Italy. Guy, duke of Spoleto, next entered the liſts, and marching to Rome, was there inveſted with the imperial dignity, and proclaimed king of France. He then haſtened to Metz, and from thence to Langres, where the biſhop, whoſe name was Geilon, performed the ceremony of conſecration, and declared him king of all Neuſtria. But finding the people indiſpoſed to receive him, he quickly repaſſed the Alps, defeated Berenger in two bloody battles, tore the diadem from his brows, and compelled him to take refuge in Germany. Rodolph, in the mean time, attentive to the motions of his formidable rival, had taken poſſeſſion of the whole country between Mount Jura and the Pennine Alps*, and was actually proclaimed king by the inhabitants. But Eudes, who enjoyed the eſteem and affection of the people, bore away the palm from his numerous competitors.

* Hiſt. Aquit. frag. v. Ducheſne, tom. ii. p. 632.

EUDES.

A. D. 888.] IT was in a parliament, aſſembled at Compiegne, that the nobles and prelates of the realm proceeded to the election of a new monarch; and Eudes, count of Paris and Orleans, and duke of Burgundy, was declared to be the object of their choice. To the remembrance of his father, Robert the Strong, who had died in defending the ſtate from the depredations of the Normans, and to the glorious feats which he himſelf had achieved, in the defence of the capital, was this nobleman indebted for the crown. The ceremony of his conſecration was performed at Sens, by Vautier, archbiſhop of that dioceſe. The prudent precautions adopted by Eudes, on his acceſſion to the throne, were well calculated to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it. He publicly proteſted that having been appointed guardian to young Charles by Lewis the Stammerer, he only accepted the diadem with the view of reſtoring it to the lawful heir, ſo ſoon as he ſhould be ſufficiently old to govern the kingdom. Threatened with a deſtructive war by the Germans, he ſent to Arnoul, and aſſured him, that if his nomination to the throne was likely to diſturb the tranquillity of France, he was ready to reſign the ſceptre. He even went to Worms, where he had an interview with Arnoul, into whoſe hands he ſurrendered the crown, ſolemnly ſwearing that he would never wear it but with his free conſent. The king of Germany, flattered by this mark of deference and condeſcenſion, reſtored the diadem, and promiſed to forbear from all kind of oppoſition to the government of Eudes.

A. D. 888, 889, 890, 891.] This prince began his reign by an earneſt endeavour to repreſs the inſolence of the nobility, and to humble the foreign and domeſtic enemies of the ſtate. At the head of one thouſand horſe he defeated an army of twenty thouſand Normans, in the foreſt of Mont-faucon*; and this glorious victory might have been attended with extenſive advantages, had not Eudes been haſtily recalled from the purſuit by a revolt in Aquitaine. His preſence reſtored the allegiance of that province; but the Normans had taken ad-

* Chron. de Geſt. Norman.

vantage of his abſence, and erected their victorious banners on the walls of Meaux, Toul, and Verdun; even Paris itſelf was again inſulted by the licentious arms of theſe northern adventurers. Their deſtructive incurſions into Lorraine were ſucceſsfully repelled by the king of Germany; but in France a ſcene of anarchy and diſcord preſented itſelf on every ſide; the nobles of each province diſobeyed their ſovereign, oppreſſed their vaſſals, and exerciſed perpetual hoſtilities againſt their equals and neighbours.

The princeſs Hermengarde, in the mean time, having ſecured the votes of Arnoul and the pope, that is, of two perſons who had not the ſmalleſt right to diſpoſe of the throne, endeavoured to procure the coronation of her ſon Lewis; and this ſtrange attempt was at length crowned with ſucceſs. In a council of prelates and nobles, aſſembled at Valence, that prince was unanimouſly proclaimed king. "We have examined," ſaid the members, "whether we could, "in prudence and juſtice, elect Lewis, the ſon of Boſon; and we have unani- "mouſly agreed that the ſceptre could not paſs into better hands*." Such were the attempts—and ſuch the pretenſions of an ambitious and ignorant clergy—pretenſions, founded on a dangerous aſſumption of power, which they inſidiouſly extended from ſpiritual to temporal matters; pretenſions authoriſed by the aſſembly of Compiegne, and long regarded as juſt and proper; though at length they are univerſally acknowledged to be errors, exploded by the Divine Author of our religion, who declared, in expreſs terms, that *his kingdom was not of this world.*

A. D. 892.] The inſurrection in Provence was followed by violent commotions, excited by the nobles of Neuſtria. Count Walgaire, though related to Eudes, was the firſt to take up arms in favour of the infant Charles; but having ſeized the important city of Laon, it was beſieged by Eudes, who ſpeedily compelled the garriſon to ſurrender, and ſentenced Walgaire to loſe his head. Aquitaine once more erected the ſtandard of revolt; thither the monarch repaired at the head of his victorious army, and had reduced all the rebels to fly before him, and take ſhelter in a ſingle town, when he was ſummoned back to Neuſtria, where the malcontents, more irritated than terrified at the fate of Walgaire, had openly eſpouſed the cauſe of Adelaide and her youthful ſon. The chiefs of this party were the queen-mother, Foulques, archbiſhop of Rheims, Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Pepin, count of Senlis. Charles, though only thirteen, was conducted to Rheims, and crowned by the archbiſhop, who publiſhed a long apology for his conduct, and exhorted all the ſovereigns of the earth to undertake the defence of his pupil againſt the uſurper.

* Concil. Valentin. apud Lab. tom. ix. p. 42.

CHARLES THE FOURTH,

SURNAMED THE SIMPLE.

A. D. 893.] THE king of Germany was highly diſpleaſed with the remonſtrance of Foulques, and he accordingly wrote to that prelate, threatening to make him feel the effects of his reſentment. The archbiſhop replied—that ſeeing the kingdom expoſed to the depredations of the Normans, he had thought it his duty to conſent to the coronation of Eudes, who was alone capable of defending the ſtate; but that the ſon of Lewis the Stammerer having now attained an age at which, with the aſſiſtance of his miniſters, he might ſafely be entruſted with the reins of government, he could not refuſe to comply with the unanimous requeſt of the nobles who called him to the throne of his anceſtors; and that, at a time when ſo many ſubjects aſpired to the crown, he deemed it dangerous and improper for him to ſet an example of infidelity to the lawful heir. Theſe arguments, however, were inſufficient to convince the ambitious monarch; but the commotions in Italy, and the revolt of ſome tributary ſtates, induced him to diſſemble. He ſaw the army of Eudes on the point of attacking the royaliſts, and he reſolved to wait the event of the action before he declared himſelf. Victory decided in favour of Eudes, and the youthful king was compelled to take refuge at the court of Germany.

A. D. 894, 895, 896, 897, 898.] Charles, after remaining ſome time in exile, returned to France, and took poſſeſſion of the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy; and Eudes himſelf, through the perſuaſions of the archbiſhop of Rheims, ſoon after extinguiſhed the torch of diſcord by acknowledging the ſovereignty of that prince, and only retaining, under an oath of homage and fidelity, the country from the Seine to the Pyrenees. Eudes ſurvived to enjoy but a ſhort time the tranquillity eſtabliſhed by his own moderation; in the month of January, ſubſequent to his abdication, he expired at La Fere, in Picardy, in the fortieth year of his age; eſteemed by the Normans whom he had

vanquiſhed, beloved by the people whom he had protected, and hated, yet dreaded, by the nobility, whoſe oppreſſions he had firmly oppoſed. His infant ſon, Arnold, ſucceeded to his principality, with the title of king; but his death, in a few days after, united France under the ſole authority of Charles the Simple.

A. D. 899 to 912.] This re-union of the kingdom might have been productive of the greateſt advantages, had the power of the monarch been ſufficient to reſtrain the daring attempts of his ambitious nobles; but the weakneſs of the government tended to increaſe their arrogance, and their audacity was carried to ſuch a heigth, that in a ſhort time the kingdom was divided into a number of petty ſovereignties, each of which aſſerted its independence of the crown. Hence all was anarchy and confuſion, the authority of the king was reduced to a ſhadow, and the ſtrength of the nation nearly annihilated. Such was the ſtate of France, when attacked by an enemy, who, to the moſt intrepid courage, united the moſt extenſive views.

Rollo was a powerful chieftain, who had been originally poſſeſſed of an independent principality in Denmark, of which the cruelty and perfidy of the reigning monarch had unjuſtly deprived him. Compelled to take refuge in a remote corner of Scandinavia, he reſolved to repair the loſs he had ſuſtained by following the example of his countrymen in committing depredations on the more ſouthern coaſts of Europe. For this purpoſe he collected a formidable band of adventurers, compoſed of Norwegians, Swedes, Friſians, and Danes, who, allured by the proſpect of plunder, flocked to him from all quarters; and, having equipped a numerous fleet, he bade adieu to his native country.

His firſt attempt was made on England, in the latter end of the reign of Alfred; but finding the iſland in a proper poſture of defence, and governed by a wiſe and courageous prince, he prudently deſiſted from his enterpriſe, and repaired to France, where he was ſuffered to ſpread his deſtructive ravages over the greateſt part of the kingdom with impunity. He continued his devaſtations for ſome years with uninterrupted ſucceſs, which ſo harraſſed the French, that they at length compelled their ſovereign, in the year 912, to ſue for peace.

As Rollo was victorious he impoſed ſuch terms on Charles as beſt ſuited his convenience. A ceſſion of territory was an object he inſiſted on; and the king was reduced to purchaſe a peace by the ſacrifice of one of his moſt fertile provinces. A great part of the extenſive country of Neuſtria was yielded to the Dane, which was thenceforward denominated Normandy, from its new inhabitants, and conſiſted of all the province which now bears that name, excepting the ſmall diſtrict of Bayeux, which did not fall under the dominion of the Norman dukes till many years after. For this he was required to do homage to the crown; and repaired to Clair upon Epte (where this diſgraceful treaty



J. Bowes Sculp.t

PHARAMOND.

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was ſigned) for that purpoſe, but he obſtinately refuſed to comply with the ceremony of kneeling to the king—a mark of ſubjection impoſed on vaſſals by the rites of the feudal law, and which appeared to him an indignity that his fierce ſpirit could not brook; and it was with ſome difficulty that he could be perſuaded even to put his hand within the king's, while he took the oath of fidelity. Beſides Neuſtria, Charles likewiſe gave him the turbulent province of Brittany, to hold as a fief of the crown; but the Britons, not leſs fierce and untractable than the Danes themſelves, refuſed to pay homage to Rollo, which occaſioned frequent wars between the two provinces.

In order to attach Rollo more firmly to his intereſt, Charles gave him his daughter Giſele in marriage; but required his converſion to chriſtianity as a previous condition. This was cheerfully complied with by the Norman, who accordingly received baptiſm from the hands of Francis, archbiſhop of Rouen, and was named Robert, from Robert count of Paris, who anſwered for him at the baptiſmal font. "The grace of this holy ſacrament," ſays Mezeray, "operated ſo powerful a regeneration in Rollo, that he became one of the beſt "princes of the age." Certain it is that he governed his new acquired territories with great equity and moderation. He treated the French, who ſubmitted to his ſway, with juſtice and lenity; and, reclaiming his followers from thoſe inveterate habits of plunder to which they had been accuſtomed from their cradle, effected the eſtabliſhment of good order and ſalutary laws throughout his dominions. The only flaw in the character of Rollo, was his barbarity to his wife, who died of a broken heart, in conſequence of his ill treatment; and when Charles ſent two of his officers to remonſtrate with him on the impropriety of his conduct, he had them both put to death.

Charles, in the ſame year, received ſome compenſation for the dominions he had diveſted himſelf of, by the death of Lewis, king of Germany. With that prince expired the male line of Charlemagne in Germany; and the vacant throne was, by the free voice of the nobility, filled with Conrad, duke of Franconia; but Lorraine refuſed to acquieſce in the injurious election, and in Charles ſought the protection, and acknowledged the authority, of the laſt prince of the Carlovingian race.

From 912, to 921.] The ſubjects of the French monarch ſoon diſcovered, that the weakneſs of Charles, under the name of a favourite, required a maſter; and the obſequious arts of Haganon, a private gentleman, without birth, and without fortune, gained the confidence of the king. The cares of empire were devolved on, and the hours of the prince were devoted to, this new minion of fortune; and it was obſerved, by Henry duke of Saxony, one of the ableſt princes of the age, and whoſe requeſt of an audience had been continually evaded by the anſwer that the king was engaged with Haganon, "Either Haganon will ſeat himſelf on the ſame throne with Charles, or Charles will become a private gentleman like Haganon." Yet the favourite, however un-

popular, cannot be denied the praiſe of wiſdom, penetration, vigour and fidelity; but the times were adverſe to the adminiſtration he had aſſumed; and the two Roberts, dukes of Normandy and France, overſhadowed, with united influence, the power of the crown. Their formidable confederacy at length compelled the king to diſmiſs his miniſter; and their ambition, nouriſhed by ſucceſs, ſoon revealed the pretenſions of Robert to a throne, which had been occupied by his brother Eudes. The recall of Haganon was the ſignal of war; Robert was ſolemnly crowned at Rheims; and, with the forces of the conſpirators, encamped under the walls of Soiſſons. While in oſtentatious ſecurity he enjoyed the pleaſures of the table, he was ſurpriſed by the appearance of Charles at the head of a few faithful followers; with undaunted courage he mounted his horſe, and endeavoured to reſtore order to his troops; but, in the tumult of the conflict, he received a mortal wound from the ſpear of his rival, and was diſpatched by his ſurrounding enemies. Yet his ſon Hugh, and Herbert, count of Vermandois*, maintained the battle with more ſucceſsful valour: and Charles, after having enjoyed the triumph of revenge, was, in his turn, compelled to retreat before ſuperior numbers, with the loſs of his baggage, and the braveſt of his companions.

After this victory, Hugh could have found no difficulty in placing the crown upon his own head; nor can his forbearance to do ſo be eaſily accounted for. An author, who wrote ſoon after the preſent period, obſerves, that he ſent to his ſiſter Emma, who was married to Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, to aſk her, whether ſhe would rather ſee himſelf or Rodolph on the throne; and that ſhe replied, ſhe would rather kiſs the knees of her huſband than of her brother†. On the receipt of this anſwer, Rodolph was proclaimed king of France, and the ceremony of his coronation was performed in the church of Saint Medard, at Soiſſons, by Gautier, archbiſhop of Sens.

Charles might ſtill have maintained a ſucceſsful ſtruggle with his enemies, but for the treachery of Herbert, count of Vermandois. This nobleman, being reſolved to ſeize the perſon of his ſovereign, ſent the count of Senlis to aſſure him of his loyalty, and of his readineſs to declare in his favour, together with his numerous vaſſals. Surprized at the news, the fugitive prince at firſt heſitated‡; but, as the count was his relation, being deſcended, like himſelf, in a right line from Charlemagne, he was at length prevailed on to diſmiſs his fears, and to give him the meeting at Saint Quentin. There the reception he experienced from the perfidious Herbert, tended to confirm his hopes, and diminiſh his ſcruples. But, he had no ſooner diſmiſſed his followers, than his perſon was ſeized, during the night, and ſecretly conveyed to Chateau Thierri. Herbert, after this act of baſeneſs, repaired to the court of Burgundy, to congratulate the new monarch on the capture of his rival.

* Chron. Magdeburg.—Chron. S. Medardi. † Glaber, l. i. c. 2. ‡ Flodoard.

RODOLPH.

A. D. 924.] RODOLPH was continually employed either in the repreſſion of domeſtic feuds, or the repulſion of foreign invaſions. Having repelled an attempt of the Normans to extend their domains, he repaired to Lorraine, whither he was invited by the nobles; and, having reduced a great part of that kingdom, he compelled the king of Germany to demand a ceſſation of hoſtilities. He next turned his arms againſt William, duke of Aquitaine, who, unable to oppoſe his ſuperior ſtrength, averted his reſentment by a feigned ſubmiſſion, and extorted homage.

A. D. 925.] He had no ſooner returned from his expedition to Aquitaine, than his attention was called to the rovers of the north, who had renewed their depredations, and were laying waſte the fertile plains of Burgundy. The Normans of Rouen too broke forth into open hoſtilities; and, having ſpread themſelves over Picardy and Artois, attacked Noyon, from whence they were repulſed with loſs. Hugh, duke of France, whoſe authority extended from the Loire to the Seine, aſſembled the militia of Paris, and, entering Normandy, deſtroyed the whole country with fire and ſword. He was ſoon joined by the king, who detached from his camp in the Beauvaiſis, the count of Vermandois, with a part of his army, to form the ſiege of Eu, which was taken by aſſault, and all the male inhabitants maſſacred, without mercy or diſtinction. Herbert, as a reward for his courage and conduct, obtained the archbiſhoprick of Rheims for his ſon, an infant of five years*; this was the firſt inſtance of the appointment of a child to the poſſeſſion of eccleſiaſtical dignities; it eſtabliſhed a dangerous precedent, and gave riſe to numerous abuſes.

A. D. 926.] Theſe advantages were counterbalanced by the loſs of Lorraine, which ſubmitted to the king of Germany†. Aquitaine alſo revolted; Champagne was threatened with an incurſion of the Hungarians; and the whole empire appeared in a ſtate of convulſion—a prey to the fury of its enemies, and the feuds of its citizens. It was at this period a crude and indigeſted govern-

* Hiſt. Rem. l. iv. c. 19, 20. † Flodoard.

ment, where force, alone, was acknowledged as law; an heterogeneous mixture of monarchy and oligarchy, where every one proportioned the extent of his power to his ability in acquiring it. Such is the frequent conſequence of uſurpation, and of a deviation from eſtabliſhed rules, and lawful authority. The moſt formidable of theſe turbulent vaſſals was the treacherous count of Vermandois.

A. D. 927.] Herbert, whoſe ambition was equal to his perfidy, claimed as the reward of his ſervices, the county* of Laon, recently become vacant by the death of Rotgaire. But he received a refuſal from the king, who beſtowed it on the ſon of the late count. Herbert, enraged at the failure of his application, reſolved on revenge; and he engaged Henry, king of Germany; Hugh, duke of France, who had lately married Ethelinda, the daughter of Edward, king of England, and the ſiſter of Charles's conſort; and William, duke of Normandy, to enter into his views. They all ſwore to aſſiſt him, to the utmoſt of their power, in reſtoring the throne to its lawful poſſeſſor; and the pope threatened with excommunication whoever ſhould dare to oppoſe the reſtoration of Charles. That prince was accordingly releaſed from confinement and conducted to Saint Quentin, where he was received by the ſame people who had rejoiced at his depoſal with every demonſtration of joy. From thence he repaired to Eu, where he received homage from the duke of Normandy.

A. D. 928, 929.] Rodolph, in order to avert the impending ſtorm, at length offered the city of Laon to Herbert; and that perjured traitor, having thus acquired what had alone induced him to take up arms, accepted his propoſal. The unfortunate Charles was again ſacrificed to the ambition of his nobles, and confined at Peronne, where he died ſoon after, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. By his firſt wife, whoſe name is unknown, he had Giſele, who married Rollo, the firſt duke of Normandy. By Frederune, his ſecond wife, he had no child; and by Egiva, ſiſter to Athelſtan, king of England, he had Lewis *d'Outre-Mer*. This monarch was buried at the abbey of Saint Fourcy.

A. D. 930 to 936.] The few remaining years of the reign of Rodolph were paſſed in reſtraining the incurſions of the Normans, and in quelling the turbulent ſpirit of the nobles. The friendſhip of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Hugh, duke of France, was ſoon converted into implacable hatred, and war was declared between them. But the former, after being ſtripped of moſt of his poſſeſſions, at length conſented to a truce, that was followed by a peace. This was the laſt remarkable event that occurred during the life of Rodolph, who died at Auxerre, in 936.

The death of this prince was followed by an interregnum of near ſix months. Such was the ſituation of affairs, at this period, that no attention was paid to

* By county is here meant a certain diſtrict, giving to its poſſeſſor the title of Count.

the eſtabliſhed rules of ſucceſſion. Hugh the Black, brother to Rodolph, who had died without children, aſpired to the crown; and his pretenſions were favoured by the Burgundians. But he had a powerful rival in the perſon of Hugh, duke of France, whoſe dignity of birth, and ſplendor of talents, render him a formidable competitor. But the nobles, however, were reſolved to exclude from the throne, any claimant who poſſeſſed ſufficient vigour and merit to enſure obedience. Hugh, therefore, was rejected. The conjuncture was favourable to the lawful heir, Prince Lewis, ſon of Charles the Simple, who had been taken to England by his mother, in order to ſecure him from the rage of faction. It was from his reſidence in England that he acquired the appellation of *Outre-Mer*, *Beyond the Sea*, or *Stranger*. Hugh, unable to obtain the regal dignity himſelf, was glad to ſee it conferred on a prince whom he hoped to keep in a ſtate of dependence. With this view he recalled Lewis from England; and, meeting him at Boulogne, paid him homage as a vaſſal, and took the oath of fidelity to the youthful monarch.

LEWIS THE FOURTH,

SURNAMED THE STRANGER.

A. D. 936.] LEWIS was but ſixteen when called to the throne of his anceſtors; and he had been abſent from his native country thirteen years. The example of Hugh was followed by a great number of nobles and prelates, who attended the king to Laon, where he was crowned by Artaud, archbiſhop of Rheims. To diſcharge his obligations to the duke of France, and to ſecure the fidelity of that powerful nobleman, he appointed him miniſter, and committed to his hands the reigns of government. The duke of Burgundy had preſumed on an infant reign to diſturb the tranquillity of the kingdom, and to ſeize the city of Langres: the inſult was reſented by Hugh, who, at the head of a powerful army, penetrated into Burgundy, and compelled the brother of Rodolph to purchaſe an ignominious peace, by the ceſſion of a great part of that fertile duchy. But Lewis ſoon became tired with remaining under the tuition of this ambitious ſubject, who wiſhed to keep him conſtantly at Paris, where he was ſole maſter. The young king had privately ſecured the duke of Normandy, and the counts of Flanders, Vermandois, and Poitiers, who, jealous of the miniſter's power, cheerfully united in order to releaſe him from the ſtate of captivity in which he was holden. He accordingly withdrew to Laon, where he was met by his mother Egiva. The duke, more aſtoniſhed than alarmed at this circumſtance, only ſought to encreaſe his power by the influence of fear. He found the means of gaining over the inconſtant and perfidious Herbert, who had ſufficient influence to make the Normans forſake the intereſt of the king. They were alſo joined by Gilbert, duke of Lorraine; and Otho, king of Germany, promiſed to protect them.

A. D. 937, 938.] As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the confederated princes began their march towards thoſe parts where the king's authority was moſt acknowledged. Lewis advanced to meet them, not with a powerful ar-

my, but with a band of biſhops, whoſe *ſpiritual* weapons were exerted with greater ſucceſs than the *temporal* ſwords and pikes of the troops. Theſe formidable prelates ſent to inform the duke of Normandy and the count of Vermandois, that they excommunicated them both—the firſt, for having burned ſome towns in Flanders; and the laſt, for unjuſtly retaining certain poſſeſſions belonging to the abbey of Saint Remi, at Rheims. This extraordinary interference of the eccleſiaſtical power, and the effect it produced, are ſtrongly characteriſtic of the ſpirit of the times. The rebels, alarmed at their threats, remained in ſuſpenſe. The laws of honour, ever ſacred; the obligation of an oath, the firmeſt bond of ſociety; the love of juſtice; a regard for their duty—all theſe potent conſiderations had proved inſufficient to deter them from taking up arms againſt their ſovereign—while the fear of excommunication, the motives for which were probably unjuſt, checked in a moment the uplifted arm of rebellion. Prince Hugh, for that was the title he aſſumed*, obſerving the indeciſion of his aſſociates, propoſed an accommodation; and a truce was accordingly agreed on.

A. D. 939.] Lewis employed this interval of tranquillity in ſecuring the kingdom of Lorraine, whoſe inhabitants invited him to reign over them. While he advanced to Verdun, an Engliſh fleet appeared on the coaſt of Flanders, in order to protect thoſe maritime towns of Lorraine which had declared for the king. The firſt offenſive and defenſive treaty between France and England† was concluded during this reign; till when but little intercourſe, except ſuch as was merely commercial, had ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms. Having made himſelf maſter of the greater part of Alſace, Lewis compelled ſeveral counts, who ſtill remained faithful to the king of Germany, to retire beyond the Rhine; but, receiving intelligence that the biſhop of Laon was about to ſurrender that important city to Herbert, he haſtened thither, and expelled the ſeditious prelate. The tide of ſucceſs then turned; the dukes of Lorraine and Franconia, to whoſe care he had entruſted his new conqueſt, ſuffered themſelves to be taken by ſurprize; the laſt was killed by the enemy, and the firſt was drowned in paſſing the Rhine, while his widow had taken refuge in the ſtrong fortreſs of Chievremont, in the county of Liege; whither Lewis repaired with a body of troops, and in order to ſecure her intereſt in Lorraine, married her in a few days after the death of her huſband‡; but the appearance of Otho ſpeedily reduced all the towns which had declared againſt him to return to their obedience.

A. D. 940.] The only effect of this war, in which Lewis had ſignalized his courage and activity, was to make him a new enemy in the perſon of Otho, who now renewed his ancient engagements with Hugh. That nobleman, in concert with the count of Vermandois, made incurſions upon the teritories of

* Dudo, l. 2. † Luitprand, l. iv. c. 14. ‡ Viſchind Hiſt. Saxon. l. ii.

the archbiſhop of Rheims, to whom the king accorded, by way of recompence for the damage he ſuſtained, the right of coining money. But the prelate did not long enjoy this privilege; for his epiſcopal city was preſently attacked, and, after a ſiege of ſix days, reduced*. His troops were better in appearance than in reality; and the prelate himſelf, being taken from a cloiſter to head a principality, was but little ſkilled in the art of defending towns. It is here neceſſary to remark, that the biſhops, in imitation of the nobles, had aſſumed the government of their epiſcopal cities and dioceſes. Hence the titles of prince, duke, or count, which many of them ſtill enjoy. Hence, too, that bloody and obſtinate war, (which laſted eighteen years) undertaken and ſupported by the count of Vermandois, in order to maintain his ſon Hugh in the poſſeſſion of a ſee, ſince become the firſt duchy in the kingdom; a war during which the two rivals were alternately confirmed or depoſed, according to the intereſt and caprice of the court of Rome, and of the eccleſiaſtical councils. Artaud, however, ſtrengthened by the king's intereſt, the ancient canons, and a majority of the councils, at length prevailed; though he was obliged to give up the government of the dioceſe, and to content himſelf with the abbies of Avenay and Saint Baſle, which were aſſigned him for his ſupport.

A. D. 941.] From Rheims the rebels marched to Laon, which, by the vigour of its defence, gave the king time to advance to its relief. On his appearance, the factious leaders retired; and, conducting Otho to the palace of Attigny, declared him, by an inſtance of treachery hitherto unexampled, ſovereign of France†. Though ſome of the French monarchs had before been depoſed, yet a prince of the blood had always been appointed to fill the vacant throne, to which no ſtranger had ever been called. Lewis, in this calamitous ſituation, ſhewed himſelf worthy of the crown he wore. By retreats, attacks, and negociations, ſagaciouſly planned, and opportunely enforced, he at length ſucceeded in his attempts to detach Otho from the factious league. But ſtill fortune diſplayed her uſual inconſtancy‡: his troops were defeated near Laon, and he himſelf was ſo cloſely preſſed by the enemy, that it was with difficulty he effected his eſcape. This victory was followed by a general defection of the whole kingdom, except the inhabitants of Aquitaine, who alone preſerved their fidelity. At laſt, through the pope's mediation, peace was concluded. Otho, though proclaimed king by the rebels, had the generoſity to declare againſt them: Hugh and Herbert, forſaken by this powerful ally, returned to their duty, and ſhewed ſubmiſſion to that authority which they were unable any longer to conteſt.

A. D. 943.] William, duke of Normandy, ſurnamed Long-Sword, had greatly contributed to the reſtoration of tranquillity; but that wiſe prince did not live long to enjoy the ſalutary effects of his interference, being aſſaſſinated

* Hiſt. Remens. † Flodoard. Chron. ‡ Dudo. l. iii.

at an interview with Arnoul, count of Flanders, on the river Somme. He left an infant ſon, named Richard, whom Lewis took under his protection, and conducted to Laon, where he kept him in close confinement. According to ſome authors, he intended to *hamſtring* the young prince, in order that, being maimed and lame, he might be deemed incapable of being placed on the throne, and at the head of armies. But two hiſtorians*, who wrote at a period nearer to the preſent, affirm, that he only threatened the prince with that puniſhment, in caſe he ſhould leave the city without his permiſſion. Richard, however, was preſerved from the danger, by the vigilance of his governor, Oſman, who, in the diſguiſe of a groom, eſcaped with his pupil, concealed in a truſs of hay, and, mounting him on a fleet horſe, conveyed him in ſafety to the friendly caſtle of Bernard, count of Senlis. Prince Hugh promiſed this nobleman to afford him effectual protection againſt the reſentment of Lewis; but he was induced to break his word, on a propoſal made him by the king to divide Normandy between them, on condition that the expence of reducing it ſhould be mutually borne. A treaty for this purpoſe was concluded in a few days; and Lewis, entering Normandy, advanced to Rouen, with a powerful army, while the duke of France penetrated into the country of Baieux†.

A. D. 944, 945.] The Normans, unable to reſiſt their united forces, endeavoured to ſow diviſion between the allies. With this view they offered to acknowledge the ſovereignty of Lewis, provided he would compel Hugh to leave their territories. The propoſal was accepted by the king, and the duke retired enraged at his perfidy, and vowing revenge. An opportunity for putting his threats in execution ſpeedily occured. Lewis having advanced to attack Aigrol, king of Denmark, who had landed with an army of Danes‡, in order to ſupport the claims of the infant duke, his troops were defeated with great ſlaughter, and he himſelf was taken priſoner. Hugh, at the ſolicitation of Queen Gerberge, immediately convened the parliament‖, and expatiated largely in favour of the royal authority. By his advice, it was reſolved that the king ſhould be releaſed on giving his ſecond ſon for a hoſtage, and that young Richard ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his duchy. The Normans, on this condition, ſurrendered Lewis into the hands of Hugh, who refuſed to ſet him at liberty till he had ceded the city of Laon.

A. D. 946.] During theſe tranſactions, Herbert, count of Vermandois, had died, and his laſt moments were embittered by the pangs of remorſe§. He left ſeveral ſons, and among others Albert, who was the head of the houſe of Vermandois. Lewis being determined to revenge the perfidy of the father upon the children, a bloody war enſued, in which that monarch was frequently worſted. But a conteſt ſtill more obſtinate and dangerous was he compelled to

* Dudo. l. iii.—Guill. Gemet. c. iv. † Flodoard. Chron. ‡ Idem. Ibid. ‖ Chron. ii. Breve, Ducheſne. tom. iii. p. 321. § Glab. l. i. c. 9.

maintain againſt Hugh, whoſe power ſet his utmoſt efforts at defiance. Aſſiſted by the king of Germany and the count of Flanders, Lewis marched againſt the rebels, at the head of an army of one hundred and eighty thouſand men; but Hugh prudently declined a combat with a force ſo ſuperior to his own; and the king reaped no other advantage from this acceſſion of ſtrength than the capture of Rheims, the expulſion of archbiſhop Hugh, the re-eſtabliſhment of Artaud, and the devaſtation of the duchy of France*. Having formed the ſiege of Rouen†, he was foiled in his attempts to reduce it; and, after loſing a great number of men, was compelled to withdraw with his troops.

A. D. 948.] Still, however, hoſtilities continued with unabated ardour, though without any other ſucceſs than the deſolation of fertile provinces. But Hugh at length prevailed ſo far that the crown was within his graſp, and he was ſtrenuouſly urged to ſeize it, by his numerous partizans‡. Lewis, in his dilemma, was reduced to the dangerous and degrading neceſſity of having recourſe to the authority of the church. He repaired to the council of Ingelheim‖, which had been convened by the pope, where he was met by Otho, his ally; and when the two monarchs had taken their ſeats on the ſame bench, the pope's legate read aloud the inſtructions he had received from his maſter, who delegated to him the power of crowning and of depoſing ſovereigns. The French monarch then aroſe and demanded juſtice for the daring attempts of an arbitrary ſubject who had uſurped his authority, and left him but the empty title of king. The fathers, moved by his ſituation, threatened to excommunicate his rebellious vaſſal, unleſs he inſtantly appeared before the council and juſtified his conduct. The duke refuſing to comply with the citation, the ſentence of excommunication was iſſued againſt him, that ſame year, by the council of Treves, and afterwards confirmed at Rome. Hugh, alarmed for the conſequences of this proceeding, which, though he deſpiſed it himſelf, he knew had great influence on the minds of the people, conſented to an accommodation with Lewis, to whom he reſtored the caſtle of Laon, and whom he acknowledged for his ſovereign. But ſtill he cheriſhed a ſecret enmity, which laſted till the death of that prince§, who periſhed by a ſingular accident.

A. D. 954.] One of his ſons, named Lewis, having died at Laon, he determined in future to reſide at Rheims: as he approached that city, he ſaw a wolf, which he immediately followed, on full gallop, when his horſe ſtumbled and threw him. The injury proved fatal: being carried to the archbiſhop's palace, he there expired, in the thirty-third year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign**; he was interred in the church of Saint Remi.

Lewis was poſſeſſed of many good qualities; his courage was undaunted, and his political talents were far from contemptible. The misfortunes of his reign

* Dudo. l. iii. † Guill. Gemet. Ibid. c. xi. ‡ Hiſt. Rem. c. 35. ‖ Tom. ix. Conc. Edit. Lab. Col. 623. § Flodoard. Chron. ** Chron. Breve Fragm. Hiſt. Franc. Chron. Floriac.

proceeded chiefly from a facility of diſpoſition, which laid him open to deceit—a defect, not uncommon in virtuous minds, though ſeldom to be found in thoſe of a contrary deſcription.

Lewis had, by his queen Gerberge, the widow of Gilbert, duke of Lorraine, five ſons; Lothaire, Lewis, Carloman, Charles, and Henry; and two daughters, Matilda, married, ſome time after his death, to Conrad, king of Burgundy; and Albrade, wife to Renaud, count of Roucy. Only two of the princes ſurvived him, Lothaire, who ſucceeded to the crown; and Charles who was unjuſtly excluded from the throne of his anceſtors. The firſt was only in his thirteenth or fourteenth year, and the ſecond but a year old. The eldeſt, whom his father had taken the precaution to aſſociate with him in the empire, had the ſole government of the kingdom, to the total excluſion of the youngeſt, contrary to the cuſtom that had prevailed from the very foundation of the monarchy: perhaps this was owing to the infancy of Charles, or more probably it was a ſtroke of policy in Hugh, who imagined that a diviſion of the kingdom would effect a dimunition of his authority. Whatever was the cauſe, this example, which experience has proved to be ſo highly beneficial, has ſince become a cuſtom, ſanctioned by the poſitive laws of the realm.

LOTHAIRE.

A. D. 956.] HUGH, poſſeſſed of power almoſt abſolute, might eaſily have placed the diadem on his own brows; but, affraid to aſſume a title which could not fail to enſure him the envy and reſentment of the nobles, he choſe to confer the regal dignity on the lawful heir, and Lothaire was accordingly crowned at Rheims. Still that imperious nobleman preſerved his extenſive authority; and, in addition to thē dignities he already poſſeſſed, he now acquired the duchy of Aquitaine, which was taken from the family of the counts of Poictiers, in order to gratify his ambition. Such was the degree of grandeur to which Hugh had attained, when he expired at Dourdan, little regretted by the king, on whoſe prerogatives he infringed, though greatly lamented by his numerous friends. It is ſaid of him, that he reigned twenty years without being king. He had acquired the appellation of *the White*, from his complexion; of *the Tall*, from his ſtature; of *the Prince*, from the extent of his power; and of *the Abbot*, from the three abbies of Saint Germain-des-Pres, Saint Denis, and Saint Martin at Tours, which he poſſeſſed: theſe he tranſmitted to his ſon, Hugh Capet. Beſides Hugh Capet, this nobleman left two other ſons, Otho, and Eudes or Henry, who were ſucceſſively dukes of Burgundy; and two daughters, Emma, married to Richard, duke of Normandy; and Beatrix, wife to Frederick the Firſt, duke of Upper Lorraine.

The reign of Lothaire is marked by no event of importance. His authority being almoſt confined to the city of Laon, he was long a quiet ſpectator of the wars between his powerful vaſſals. He made an unſucceſsful attempt on Aquitaine; and, after ſeeking in vain to gain poſſeſſion of the perſon of Richard, duke of Normandy, he was at length compelled to ſecure that duchy to him and his heirs. In Flanders, his efforts were more fortunate; he reduced Arras, Douay, and ſeveral other ſtrong places, and obliged count Baldwin the Third, to ſue for peace and mercy. On his return from this expedition, he concluded at Cologne, a treaty of marriage with the princeſs Emma, daughter of Lothaire, king of Italy, and of his wife Adelaide, who was afterwards married to the emperor Otho. The nuptials were celebrated ſome months after, and were ſuc-

ceeded by a perfect calm in the empire, which lasted several years; and which alone sufficed to prove the great capacity of a monarch, who, possessed only of a few towns, and a very small army, could still repress the ambitious attempts of his nobles, and keep within due bounds those haughty vassals, who had so long preserved a state of independence.

A. D. 965.] But the disputes with regard to Lorraine at length re-kindled the destructive torch of war, and proved fatal to the descendants of Charlemagne. The king had ceded his rights to that kingdom to his brother, prince Charles*, who had hitherto in vain endeavoured to assert them; when Otho, the Second, in order to divide the royal family, offered the duchy of Lower Lorraine to that prince, which comprehended Brabant, and all the provinces betweeen the Rhine and the Schelde, as far as the sea; but on condition that he should hold it as a fief, under the crown of Germany. Charles, whose revenue was small, joyfully accepted the offer; and, taking the required oath of fidelity, established his residence at Brussels. The French were highly enraged at this proceeding, and saw, with indignation, the brother of their sovereign become the vassal of a foreign prince. Such was the motive which operated to the exclusion of Charles from the crown, and made it pass into another family, in which it has remained ever since.

A. D. 977, 978, 979, 980.] When the king was apprised of his brother's conduct, he marched into Upper Lorraine; and, seizing Metz, received homage from the majority of the nobles. He then advanced to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he had nearly surprised the emperor as he was sitting at table. The town was pillaged by the troops. Otho, in his turn, over-ran France with a powerful army, and laid siege to Paris, where he was determined, he said, to sing *Hallelujah*†. Hugh Capet, whom he informed of his intention, prevented him from gratifying his wish; and, by a vigorous resistance, and sallies judiciously planned, and successfully executed, at length compelled him to raise the siege. On his retreat he was attacked by Lothaire, and lost so many of his troops, in different skirmishes, that not one-sixth of his army returned to Germany.

But the vigorous exertions of Lothaire were productive of no solid advantage; he reduced all the towns of Lorraine, but was unable to keep them, not having sufficient troops to supply them with garrisons. Besides, circumstances were unfavourable to long expeditions; as the vassals were only obliged to keep the field for a certain time. Before he dismissed his nobles, he repaired to Compiegne, where he associated his son Lewis, a boy of twelve years old, with him in the empire. A peace was at length concluded between Lothaire and Otho, to whom he ceded the kingdom of Lorraine, on condition that he should hold it as a fief of the crown of France. Notwithstanding this treaty, he soon after

* Guill. Nang. in Chron. Sigeb. † Glaber. l. i. c. 3.

made an irruption into that devoted country, where he committed great devaſtations, and took the town of Verdun. This was the laſt memorable exploit of his reign. He died the following year at Rheims, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-ſecond of his reign. He was buried in the church of Saint Remi, where his tomb may ſtill be ſeen. Some authors have affirmed that he was poiſoned by his wife Emma* ; and this ſuſpicion appears to receive confirmation, from her fears leſt the reports concerning her licentious conduct ſhould be inveſtigated ; from her ambition to reign, under the name of her ſon ; and from her connections with the imperialiſts, and the inhabitants of Lorraine. But the myſtery in which this dark tranſaction is involved, renders it impoſſible to ſpeak with deciſion on the ſubject.

Lothaire was diſtinguiſhed for his courage, activity, and vigilance ; his projects were well concerted, and his actions were generally marked by wiſdom, ſpirit, and perſeverance. In times of anarchy and revolt, his prudence ſufficed to gain him an aſcendancy over the minds of men†, which he endeavoured to turn to the advantage of the ſtate ; and, had his life been prolonged, it is probable that his bold attempts to re-unite the ſcattered portions of the French monarchy would have been crowned with ſucceſs. His principal defect was, an occaſional verſatility of mind, that ſometimes led him to a violation his promiſes. Beſides Lewis, who ſucceeded him, he had two natural ſons‡, Arnoul, archbiſhop of Rheims ; and Otho, who died in his infancy.

* Ademar Chron. Malleac. † Glab. l. ii. c. 34. ‡ Mabil. de re diplom. l. ii. c. 26.

LEWIS THE FIFTH.

A. D. 987.] LEWIS, on his acceſſion to the throne, neither poſſeſſed the good qualities of his father, nor the eſteem of his people. The contempt to which his reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition had given riſe would have excluded him from the ſucceſſion, but for the interpoſition of Hugh Capet, who took him under his protection. To this prince was the care of the king's perſon confided, while the regency of the kingdom devolved on the queen dowager. But Emma, being accuſed of a criminal connection with Adelberon, biſhop of Laon, was ſoon driven from her ſtation with ignominy and diſgrace. She had recourſe to her mother, wife to Otho the Great, who pitied her misfortunes, and promiſed her relief. An army of Germans was preparing to march into France, when the death of the young monarch, in the twenty-firſt year of his age, gave a new turn to affairs. He was buried in the church of St. Corneille, at Compeigne, where he had been crowned during his father's life. He had acquired the epithet of *Faineant*—not from any indolence of diſpoſition, or attachment to pleaſure, but becauſe his ſhort reign was diſtinguiſhed by no memorable act* : *Juvenis qui nihil fecit*.

It is believed that his death was owing to poiſon, adminiſtered either at the inſtigation of his mother, whom he had perſecuted with great cruelty, or elſe by his wife Blanche, to whom he was an object of averſion. This princeſs was daughter to a nobleman of Aquitaine; ſhe had left her huſband once to return to her family, which gave riſe to reports prejudicial to them both. It is ſaid by ſome, that Lewis made a will, by which he bequeathed his kingdom to Hugh Capet, to the excluſion of his uncle Charles, or, according to others, to queen Blanche, on condition that, after his death, ſhe would marry Hugh, whom the wiſhes of the nation at length called to the throne†. But it is certain that Adelaide, the wife of Hugh, lived ſome years after the coronation of her huſband. Beſides, it is highly improbable that Lewis ſhould have rewarded his wife's infidelity by the gift of a crown. Be that as it may, this prince was the laſt of

* Odoran. in Chron. † Idem Odoran. Gervaſ. Tilbert. apud Ducheſne, tom. iii.

the Carlovingian kings. As he died without children, Charles, duke of Lower Lorraine, was the lawful heir to the throne; but he had alienated the affections of the French, by becoming a vaſſal of the German crown. In conſequence of this conduct, Hugh Capet took poſſeſſion of the vacant throne, whoſe deſcendants have reigned over France, without interruption, for the long ſpace of eight centuries.

Thus expired the illuſtrious race of the Carlovingians, who had filled the throne of France for two hundred and thirty-ſix years. It had been divided into three branches, who reigned over three ſeparate kingdoms, Italy, Germany, and France. It is remarkable, that the laſt monarch of each branch was named Lewis. The kings of this family had ſeldom any fixed reſidence; but were conſtantly travelling about on horſeback, accompanied by their wives. Charles Martel and Pepin, when not in the field, reſided moſt frequently at Paris; Charlemagne and his ſon, at Aix-la-Chapelle or Thionville; Charles the Bald, at Soiſſons or Compiegne; Charles the Simple, at Rheims; and Lewis the Stranger, at Laon, the only place of ſtrength in his dominions. The fall of the Carlovingian race may chiefly be aſcribed to the diviſion of the empire into a number of independent ſtates. United under one head, the very dread of its power would have maintained its importance; but, divided into ſmall portions, it became impotent, and ſunk into a ſtate of inſignificance. We have ſeen as many as five princes at a time, of the blood of Charlemagne, wearing the crown. But what princes?—Unnatural ſons, ambitious brothers, and bad parents, who, intent on mutual deſtruction, taught their ſubjects to infringe on the ſovereign authority, which was too feeble to repreſs their rebellious attempts.

Hence the encroachments of the ſovereign pontiffs, who, conſidering themſelves as entitled to diſpoſe of an empire of which at firſt they were but ſubjects, extended an authority, merely ſpiritual, over all temporal concerns. Hence, too, that enormous authority aſſumed by the prelates, who, after dethroning a parent at the ſolicitation of a child, claimed the right of electing, confirming, or depoſing their maſters. Swayed by ambition, they were better calculated to ſhine in the field than the pulpit; contemptible from their ignorance—ſcarcely able to read, much leſs to write—yet formidable, as well from their ſpiritual thunders, as from the temporal authority they had uſurped over their dioceſes and epiſcopal towns. This gave riſe to thoſe principalities, almoſt independent, which the monks erected, in countries where, a few years before, they had been employed in the cultivation of a ſmall portion of land, the gift of liberal piety. Hence alſo thoſe uſurpations of the nobles, who inſenſibly made themſelves kings, as it were, of the provinces to which they had been originally appointed in the capacity of governors;—uſurpations which were ſoon converted into hereditary rights, at firſt tolerated through weakneſs, and the fear of making enemies; and at length, by neceſſity, from the want of power to repreſs them. The domains of Lewis, the laſt of the deſcendants of Charlemagne,

were confined to Laon, Soiſſons, and a few other diſtricts, his claim to which was diſputed. Many a vaſſal was more opulent and powerful than his maſter. Hence thoſe dreadful inundations of Normans, which, for the beſt part of a century, deſolated the empire, thus weakened by diviſion; and who, after eſtabliſhing a ſettlement in the heart of France, at length united with her tyrants, for annihilating the royal authority. Such were the chief cauſes of the decline of the houſe of Charlemagne; which, under Pepin, poſſeſſed all the brilliancy of youth; under Charlemagne all the force and vigour of manhood; and under Lewis the Gentle all the weakneſs of old age.

There were but few feſtivals obſerved under the ſecond race of kings; the nobles were obliged to attend their celebration in the principal city of the dioceſe, in which they reſided; the kings themſelves made a point of being preſent. A liſt of theſe feſtivals may be ſeen in a famous *conſtitution* of Charlemagne, where they are marked in red letters. They were Chriſtmas day; Saint John the Evangeliſt; the Innocents; the Octave of our Lord (New Year's day); the Epiphany; the Octave of the Epiphany; the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin; eight days at Eaſter; the great Litanies; the Aſcenſion; Whitſunday; St. John the Baptiſt; Saint Peter and Saint Paul; Saint Martin and Saint Andrew.

THE THIRD, OR CAPETIAN RACE.

HUGH CAPET.

A. D. 987.] FRANCE, on the death of Lewis the Fifth, was no longer in that flouriſhing ſtate in which it was found by Charles the Bald, on his acceſſion to the throne. Each province formed a ſovereignty, and there was ſcarcely a citizen endued with ambition, and poſſeſſed of power, but aſpired to a ſtate of independence. It was ſtill a great kingdom, which extended from the Schelde, and the Meuſe, to the Britiſh Channel; and from the Elbe to the Rhone; but, as Mezerai obſerves, it was rather governed like a large fief, than as a monarchy; the power of the king bore but a ſmall proportion to the extent of his dominions. Every province had its hereditary counts or dukes; vaſſals whoſe power was almoſt as formidable to their ſovereign, as that of the neighbouring princes. In order to convey a juſt idea of the ſituation of the kingdom, at this period, it will be neceſſary to take a curſory view of its various diviſions, and to offer ſome remarks on the nobles or princes who enjoyed thoſe great fiefs, on the acceſſion of Hugh Capet to the throne.

Flanders, which comprehended all that country which lies between the Scheld, the Sea, and the Somme, was then governed by Arnoul, the ſecond of his name. The care of this province had been entruſted by Charlemagne to a count who aſſumed the title of *Foreſter*—whether it then became a fief of the crown is not known, but it is certain that the ſucceſſors of that count enjoyed it, after the feudal manner, from the time of Bawldin, ſurnamed *Bras-de-Fer*, who married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. When theſe nobles thus became proprietors of a province, of which, originally, they were but governors, they introduced *ſub-infeudations*, and by that means acquired vaſſals, who were bound in the ſame duties to them as they themſelves were to the king. Such was the origin of the counts of Guiſnes, Boulogne, and Saint Pol, or Therouane, and of the lords of Montreuil and Lille.

The houſe of Vermandois was equally ancient and powerful; it derived its origin from Bernard king of Italy; and poſſeſſed, beſides the county of Senlis, and ſeveral diſtricts in the Iſle of France, a great part of Picardy, all Brie, and nearly the whole of Champagne. But its power had experienced conſiderable diminution from a diviſion of its domains. Robert, youngeſt ſon of Herbert the Third, was the firſt who took the title of count of Troies. He was ſucceeded by his brother Herbert, who left one ſon, named Stephen; and Stephen dying without iſſue, appointed Eudes or Odo, grandſon to Thibaut, and to Ludgarde, princeſs of Vermandois, as his heir. From him ſprang the counts of Champagne, whoſe poſterity enjoyed that province, till the reign of Philip the Fair, who, by his marriage with the heireſs, Joan, re-annexed it to the crown.

Burgundy had alſo its dukes; and, ſo early as the time of Charles the Simple, it was governed by Richard *the Juſticiary*, with almoſt ſovereign power. Under Lewis the Stranger, it paſſed into the family of Hugh, duke of France. At this time it was enjoyed by Henry, on condition of doing homage to his elder brother, Hugh Capet. From ſeveral ancient records it appears, that the extent of this duchy was nearly the ſame as it is at preſent. That part which lies beyond the Saone was divided between different counts, who are celebrated in hiſtory, ſuch as thoſe of Macon, Auxonne, and Chalons, who were vaſſals to Conrad *the Pacific*, king of *Transjurane* and *Cisjurane*, Burgundy, (ſo named from Mount Jura, by which they were ſeparated) that had long been diſmembered from the crown of France.

The duchy of France was neither leſs important from its extent, nor leſs formidable from the number of its vaſſals. It comprehended, beſides, its extenſive domains in Picardy and Champagne, the town and county of Paris; the Orleannois; the Chartrain; Perche; the county of Blois; Touraine; Anjou and Maine. This vaſt fief, which had long been enjoyed by the children of Robert the Strong, rendered its poſſeſſors more powerful than the ſovereigns whoſe vaſſals they were. The cuſtom of ſub-infeudations appearing to be attended with advantages, it was adopted by the dukes of France; whence aroſe the counts of Anjou, Blois, Chartres and Tours. But it is worthy of remark, that theſe *ſub-vaſſals* were not claſſed among the nobles of the kingdom. We read, in the annals of Rheims, that *Thibaut le Trichard* was excluded from one of the French parliaments, becauſe he was not a vaſſal of the crown, but of Hugh the White.

Normandy and Brittany had been ceded to Rollo the Dane; the former as an independent ſtate, the ſecond as a fief of the crown. They were at preſent governed by Richard the Firſt, brother-in-law to Hugh Capet, who had been brought up at his court. Such was the pride of the Norman princes, that they diſdained to conſider themſelves as vaſſals of the crown; ſuch their independence, that they pretended they were exempt from the obligation of furniſhing

troops for the king; and ſuch their power, that their revenues were infinitely ſuperior to thoſe of their maſter.

We learn from a deed of foundation, dated in the reign of Hugh Capet*, that the duke of Gaſcony was ſtill a vaſſal of the French monarch. That duchy included the whole extent of country between the Garonne and the Dordogne—the Pyrenees and the two ſeas, except the county of Comminge and Conſerans. William Sancho, who was the ſeventh hereditary duke, now governed that province.

It was ſome time before the counts of Thouloufe attained to that degree of power which they enjoyed under the reign of Lewis the Stranger. Confined, at firſt, to the mere province of Thouloufe, afterwards heirs to the principality of Languedoc, they annexed to their ancient title the quality of prince, duke, and marquis of Gothia or Septimania. This family appears to have loſt much of its original ſplendour, under Hugh Capet and Robert. William the Third, who lived under the laſt of theſe monarchs, only took the title of count of Albi, Cahors, and Thouloufe. But Raymond the Fourth reſtored it to all its ancient rights, and became one of the moſt powerful vaſſals of the crown, under the title of duke of Narbonne.

Aquitaine would indiſputably have been the moſt conſiderable fief in the kingdom, had it been united under one chief. We have ſeen with what difficulty it was reduced under Pepin the Short, and by what means it became a powerful kingdom under Lewis the Gentle and his children. From the time of Charles the Bald it was poſſeſſed, as a duchy, by the counts of Poitiers; and William, ſurnamed *Fier-a-Bras*, governed it in the capacity of a duke, on the acceſſion of Hugh Capet. But though he had ſucceeded to the rights of his anceſtors, he had not ſucceeded to their power. Aquitaine was, at this time, torn by the inteſtine commotions of its ambitious nobles, who, taking advantage of the general diſorder which prevailed in the monarchy, erected ſeparate, and almoſt independent eſtabliſhments. Such were the *Sires* of Bourbon, the dukes of Auvergne, the counts of Bourges, of La Marche, Angouleme, and Perigord, who all enjoyed their territories as *freeholds*, with ſcarcely any marks of feudal dependence.

To theſe times of anarchy, tyranny, and confuſion, may be traced the origin of that cuſtom, which afterwards became ſo prevalent among ſuch of the nobles as were neither counts nor dukes, of taking the names of their eſtates and caſtles. On reading the ancient authors, we find, that formerly none but proper names were uſed. Under the ſecond race of kings, an epithet was added, as a more evident mark of diſtinction; and this was either taken from the dignity or ſtrength of the perſon, from his complexion, or from ſome perſonal quality. Hence thoſe names that ſo frequently occur in hiſtory, of Hugh the

* Marca, Hiſt. de Bearn, p. 221—225.

Abbot; Robert the *Strong;* Hugh the *White*, Hugh *Capet*. The epithet given to this laſt prince is ſaid to be derived from the Latin word *Capito*, which literally means a large head, and figuratively a *ſenſible man*. Some however, affirm, that he was thus named from a kind of hat which he firſt introduced.

However that may be, it is certain that, from this time, ſurnames became faſhionable. The nobles took theirs from their fiefs or lordſhips; the citizen his, either from the place of his birth, as *Le Picard*, *Le Normand;* or from his profeſſions, as *Le Charron* (the wheelright); *Le Meuſnier*, (the miller); or elſe from ſome taunting apppellation beſtowed on him by his comrades, as *Le Roi*, (the king); *le Prince*, (the prince); *l'Eveque*, the (biſhop); or, laſtly, from ſome natural defect, as *le Camus* (flat-noſed); *Boſſu*, (hump-backed).

Such was the ſtate of France, at the time when the ſceptre was transferred from the family of Charlemagne to the illuſtrious houſe which ſtill retains it. Theſe numerous dukes and counts were not only accuſtomed to tranſmit to their deſcendants the principalities they poſſeſſed, but to have vaſſals of their own, from whom they received an immediate homage. The new ſovereign ſuffered them quietly to enjoy their uſurpations, and entertained no thoughts of diſputing their prerogatives. Nothing can tend better to demonſtrate the inſignificance of the ſovereign authority in theſe boiſterous times, than the anſwer of Aldebert, count of Perigord, to Hugh Capet, and his ſon Robert. That nobleman had laid ſiege to Tours, which belonged to Count Eudes; and the kings, ſays an ancient author, not daring to have recourſe to arms, merely ſent to aſk him, who had made him a count?—"And pray who made them kings*?" replied Aldebert, with great coolneſs, and continued the ſiege till he had reduced the place.

In the preſent ſituation of the empire, both courage and addreſs were requiſite to remove thoſe impediments which barred the approach of Hugh Capet to the throne. It has been generally aſſerted, that the crown was conferred on him by the general conſent of the nation aſſembled at Noyon. But if credit may be given to a letter diſcovered by Ducheſne, far from having recourſe to the authority of a parliament, he effected, by force of arms, the diſſolution of that parliament, which had actually aſſembled for the purpoſe of enſuring the ſucceſſion to duke Charles. This letter was written to Diederic, or Thierri, biſhop of Metz, by the famous Gerbert, who was raiſed from the dignity of a canon of Rhiems, to the archiepiſcopal ſee of that city, from thence tranſlated to that of Ravenna, and finally promoted to the papal throne, under the appellation of Sylveſter the Second. Theſe are his words—"Duke Hugh has "aſſembled ſix hundred men at arms, and on the report of his approach, the "parliament, which was then ſitting in the palace at Compiegne, ſeparated on the "eleventh of May. All took to flight, the duke Charles, the count Reinchard, and "the princes of Vermandois, and the biſhop of Laon, Adalberon, who has given

* Hiſt. Aquit. Frag. tom. iv. Collect. Ducheſne, p. 80, 81.

" his nephew as an hoſtage to *Bardas*, for the execution of what Sigefred and " Godfrey have promiſed*." It muſt be obſerved, that the duke of France is here called *Bardas*, in alluſion to what was then paſſing at Conſtantinople, where a nobleman of that name had uſurped the empire, to the prejudice of the children of his maſter and benefactor.

It was not to a parliament then, that Hugh Capet was indebted for the crown, but to that by which empires are eſtabliſhed and overturned—a fortunate combination of ſtrength and prudence. It is needleſs to trace the genealogical tree of this prince, or to examine the different opinions with regard to the deſcent of his anceſtor, Robert the Strong. It is ſufficient to know, that his grandfather had ſwayed the ſceptre of France, and that his father, without the title, had enjoyed the authority of a king. That his birth was illuſtrious admits not of a doubt; but ſtill it could give him no poſſible title to the throne. Had the rules of ſucceſſion been obſerved, Charles muſt have ſucceeded his nephew. Hugh, ſenſible of this, chiefly founded his own pretenſions on the baſeneſs of that prince in ſubmitting to become the vaſſal of a monarch, who had formerly been a ſubject of France. The neceſſity which induced Charles to the adoption of that meaſure, in order to obtain an eſtabliſhment, which the ſcanty poſſeſſions of his nephew were inſufficient to afford him, was totally overlooked. Nothing but the degradation of his family was inſiſted on, and that operated ſo powerfully on the minds of the French, as to effect his excluſion from the throne. In order to ſtrengthen his claims, Hugh called in the aid of ſuperſtition. He cauſed a report to be propagated, that Saint Riquier—a ſaint then in vogue—had revealed to him that he ſhould be king, as a reward for his piety in having compelled the count of Flanders to reſtore his (the ſaint's) relics, in order to depoſit them in the abbey which bears his name.

When the minds of the people were thus prepared, Hugh, having previouſly given orders to his principal vaſſals to be ready to aſſiſt him in caſe of neceſſity, found himſelf in a ſituation to aſſume the title of king, as ſoon as Lewis was dead. Advancing from Noyon, where he then was, to Rheims, with a conſiderable body of troops, he was there anointed and crown by archbiſhop Adalberon.

A. D. 988.] Hugh, conſcious that his title was defective, haſtened to take every ſtep which he thought could confirm his authority. With this view he convened a parliament, in the month of December ſubſequent to his coronation, in the city of Orleans, out of the reach of his rival, and in the midſt of his own friends and dependents. There, by the unanimous advice of the aſſembly†, his only ſon, Robert, was aſſociated with him in the government, and was accordingly crowned by Seguin, archbiſhop of Sens. We have already had occaſion to remark, that the moſt valuable eccleſiaſtical benefices had paſſed into

* Epiſt. 59. tom. i. Collect. Ducheſne, p. 803. † Glaber. Rodolph. l. ii. p. 1.

the hands of noblemen, moſt of whom were in the army, and married men. Hugh himſelf had inherited from his anceſtors the abbies of St. Martin at Tours, of St. Germain-de-Prez, St. Denis, and St. Riquier, which had fallen to him on the death of his father, Hugh the Great. He now reſtored them to the monks, with the liberty of electing their own abbots in ſuch places as enjoyed that privilege, according to the ancient canons. This liberality, which was imitated by all the nobles in the kingdom, ſecured not only immenſe riches to the clergy, but a degree of authority that became highly formidable to the ſucceſſors of this prince. It anſwered, however, the preſent purpoſe, by procuring him the unanimous votes of the clergy, whoſe gratitude led them to confirm his uſurpation.

But the new monarchs were not ſuffered long to enjoy in tranquillity the dominions they had thus acquired. Charles armed in Lower Lorraine, and with him Arnoul count of Flanders, and Herbert count of Vermandois, who, being both deſcended from Charlemagne, determined to ſupport the pretenſions of the lawful heir. But unfortunately the firſt died at this critical conjuncture; and the ſecond, who was father-in-law to Charles, was ſo much expoſed to the vengeance of the two kings, that he was afraid to declare himſelf openly. Charles, however, commenced the campaign; and, with a powerful army, laid ſiege to Laon. This place was exceedingly ſtrong; and the garriſon being encouraged by the preſence of queen Emma, and the exortations of biſhop Aſcelin an obſtinate reſiſtance was expected; but the duke preſſed the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that the town was carried before any ſuccours could arrive.

The queen and the prelate were made priſoners; and the obſtinacy of the prince, in refuſing to releaſe them, created him many enemies; and the clergy, as much from arrogance, as from reſpect to the reigning family*, overwhelmed him with the thunders of the church. Theſe eccleſiaſtical anathemas were then highly prejudicial, as they declared the object of them to have forfeited all his rights to the throne; but in this inſtance they were by no means deſerved, particularly with regard to the prelate, who, far from complaining of his captivity, was proud to become the miniſter and favourite of his conqueror.

Hugh was ſenſibly afflicted at the news of the capture of Laon; of the conſequence of which, at the commencement of his reign, he was fully aware. As no time was to be loſt, he aſſembled his vaſſals, and advanced towards the enemy; but the prince defended himſelf with heroic courage; and, making a judicious ſally on the beſiegers, he burnt their quarters, put numbers of them to the ſword, and obtained ſo complete a victory, that the whole army was put to flight, and Hugh with difficulty eſcaped the general carnage.

The news of this victory revived the hopes of the friends of the family of Charlemagne. William, duke of Aquitaine, either from attachment to that il-

* Gerbert. Epiſt. 12.

luſtrious houſe, or from jealouſy at ſeeing one of his equals become his ſovereign, conſtantly refuſed to acknowledge the authority of Hugh Capet. In converſation, and by letters, he ventured to reproach the French with the violation of their oath; and deteſting, (to uſe the words of an ancient writer*) the iniquity of thoſe who had attended the aſſembly at Orleans, he openly declared for the duke of Lorraine, whoſe birth, together with the wiſhes of a numerous body of the people, called him to the throne.

Hugh immediately took meaſures for preventing the progreſs of this ſpirit of diſcontent; and, marching to Poictiers, he formed the ſiege of that city. But here all his efforts proved equally unſucceſsful with his late attempts on the city of Laon; the inhabitants repelled his attacks, and defeated him in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes. At length, being in want of proviſion he was compelled to retire, when he was purſued ſo cloſely by William, that he was obliged to hazard a battle, which was fought near the abbey of Bourgueil. The conteſt was maintained with great vigour on both ſides, and victory was long doubtful; but at length it declared in favour of Hugh: and William, being defeated, was reduced to the neceſſity of acknowledging his authority.

Charles, in the mean time, profiting by this powerful diverſion, had made himſelf maſter of Soiſſons and Rheims; but, not purſuing the advantage he had thus acquired, with ſufficient ardour and alacrity, he gave time to Hugh to march to the aſſiſtance of archbiſhop Adalberon, who refuſed to give him the royal unction. The prelate's pretence was, that he had no right to diſpoſe of the crown, which could not be lawfully conferred without the conſent of the biſhops and nobles, who repreſented the whole monarchy. He had not ſuffered this ſcruple to operate as an impediment to the coronation of the duke of France, nor would he now have ſtarted it, had not that prince been very near to him. In fact, Hugh ſoon retook the city of Rheims; and Adalberon dying ſoon after, he beſtowed the vacant ſee on Arnoul, the natural ſon of Lothaire, and conſequently nephew to his competitor.

The elevation of an enemy to this important poſt was an inſtance of ſhort ſighted policy, which he ſhortly had cauſe to repent. It is true, he took every precaution in his power to avert the ill effects of his imprudence and to enſure the fidelity of the youthful prelate. He required hoſtages; and, accordingly, biſhop Bruno, Gilbert, count of Rouci, Bruno's brother, and Guy, count of Soiſſons, their couſin-german, were delivered to him. A form of homage was preſented, and ſubſcribed by Arnoul, by which he ſwore an inviolable fidelity to the two monarchs, and imprecated the vengeance of heaven on his head, if he failed in his duty. By entering into theſe ſolemn engagements, he not only ſecured an archbiſhoprick, valuable from the extent of its revenues, but the temporal dominion of the city, and of ſome other lands and dif-

* Chron. S. Cybar.

tricts, which the archbiſhop of Rheims had ſeized during the troubles that prevailed under the late reigns. He therefore ſwore an eternal fidelity to Hugh, and made his dependants take a ſimiliar oath; though it was no ſooner taken than violated.

The archbiſhop, unwilling openly to eſpouſe a cauſe, which he had publicly ſworn to abandon, had recourſe to ſtratagem*; and, by the means of a prieſt, named Adalgar, whom he admitted to his confidence, a body of troops, ſent by Charles, was ſecretly admitted into the town of Rheims, during the night.

The principal clergy were immediately ſeized; and, in order to favour the deception, the archbiſhop himſelf was arreſted and conducted to Laon, where they affected to treat him as a ſtate priſoner. From thence the thunders of the church were fulminated, by the artful prelate, againſt all who had been concerned in the plot; and he ordered his ſuffragans to iſſue ſimilar anathemas. Hugh was not deceived by his profeſſions, but, yielding to circumſtances, he courted and affected a reconciliation with Arnoul. But the perfidious prieſt again violated his promiſe, and fled to Laon. His defection, however, was attended with no bad conſequences to the new ſovereign. [A. D. 991.] But the treachery of another prelate, Aſcelin, proved fatal to his unhappy rival, Charles. Though the favourite of his prince, and the depoſitary of his ſecrets, he had long maintained an epiſtolary correſpondence with Hugh, whom he informed of every thing that paſſed in the councils of his maſter; and particularly appriſed him that the blind ſecurity which prevailed in the city of Laon, would render it an eaſy conqueſt. Hugh gratefully accepted the invitation; and the treachery diſplayed at Rheims was revived at Laon. The king was admitted by the perfidious prelate into the palace of his benefactor, in the night of Holy-Thurſday, when he was employed in the devotions appropriate to the day; and Charles and his family were immediately conducted to Senlis, and from thence to the tower of Orleans, where that prince, who was worthy of a better fate, died, after a captivity of two years.

Charles left four children—Otho, who ſucceeded him in the duchy of Lorraine, and who died without heirs; Lewis, who, according to ſome authors, founded the family of the Landgraves of Thuringia; but, according to others, died childleſs ſome years before his brother; Hermengarde, wife to Albert, count of Namur; and Gerberga, married to Lambert, count of Hainault. Queen Iſabel, wife to Philip Auguſtus, ſprang from the eldeſt of theſe princeſſes; and the landgraves of Heſſe are deſcended from the youngeſt.

A. D. 991, 992, 993, 994, 995.] Archbiſhop Arnoul had been taken with his uncle, and confined in the ſame priſon; but, in order to effect his depoſition, the king deemed it neceſſary to convene an eccleſiaſtical council, which, accordingly, aſſembled in the church belonging to the abbey of Saint Baſle, near

* Hiſt. Depos. Arnul. tom. iv. Collect. Ducheſne.

Rheims. Some of the members wiſhed to refer the deciſion of this matter to the pope; but Arnoul, biſhop of Orleans, a prelate diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge and eruditon, proved, by various examples from the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that biſhops ſhould be tried on the ſpot, where it was more eaſy to obtain the neceſſary proofs for eſtabliſhing their guilt. "We believe," ſaid that prelate*, "that we ſhould always honour the church of Rome, in memory of Saint "Peter; and we do not pretend to oppoſe the decrees of the ſovereign pontiffs "when they are conformable to the canons, the authority of which "ſhould ever remain in full vigour. If the popes are diſtinguiſhed for knowledge and virtue, we have nothing to fear from them, and if they are led "away by ignorance or paſſion, they are ſtill leſs to be dreaded." The biſhop then entered into a detail of the calamities produced by the ſee of Rome, and of the unworthineſs of ſeveral of its pontiffs. He repreſented John the Twelfth, ſurnamed Octavian, as a man addicted to the loweſt kind of debauchery, and as having excited a ſpirit of ſedition that filled Rome with aſſaſſinations and carnage. Boniface the Seventh he painted as a monſter, ſtained with the blood of his predeceſſor, and, in ſhort, as the worſt of men.

"If it be affirmed," ſaid he, "that the church of Rome ſhould judge every "other church, and be exempt from judgment itſelf, let a pope then be choſen "whoſe ſentences will not need reformation. We reſpect the church of Rome, "we conſult it. If its judgment be juſt, we receive it in peace; if it be otherwiſe we will follow the advice of the apoſtle, not to liſten even to an angel, "againſt the goſpel. If Rome be ſilent, as at preſent, we will conſult the "laws." The biſhops, and the king himſelf, had in fact written to pope John the Fifteenth, on the ſubject, but had received no anſwer.

The council therefore proceeded to the trial of Arnoul. The prieſt who opened the gates of Rheims betrayed his truſt, and acknowledged the orders he had received from the archbiſhop. That prelate was accordingly condemned, though with reluctance, by a decree of the council; and the favourable inclinations of the preſident—the archbiſhop of Sens—and of ſeveral other members towards him, were rendered ineffectual, by a voluntary ſubſcription to his own confeſſion and degradation: the vacant ſee was beſtowed on Gerbert, formerly a monk of Aurillac, and afterwards preceptor to the emperor Otho the Third;—a man celebrated, in thoſe days of ignorance, for his learning. But the court of Rome reſented with indignation the proceedings which had been adopted without her concurrence. The pope diſpatched a legate into France who was commiſſioned to reviſe the ſentence. A ſecond council was holden at Rheims, and the papal power was gratified by the depoſition of Gerbert, and the reſtoration of Arnoul.

* Acta Concil. Rhem. c. 28.

Gerbert, however, inſiſted on the illegality of the ſentence; and wrote ſeveral letters to the pope, whoſe interference, he maintained, was an attack on the rights of the kingdom, on the epiſcopal dignity, and on the king himſelf. "If," ſaid he*, "the biſhop of Rome, ſin againſt his brother, and, after repeated remonſtrances, ſhould refuſe obedience to the church, he ſhould be regarded as a publican. The higher the rank, the more dangerous the fall. The ſaying of Saint Gregory, that the flock ought to reſpect the ſentence of the paſtor, whether juſt or unjuſt, cannot be applied to biſhops; for biſhops are not the flock, but the leaders of the flock. We muſt not give our enemies an opportunity of ſaying, that the whole prieſthood ſhould be ſo far ſubmiſſive to an individual, that if he ſuffer himſelf to be corrupted by money, favour, fear, or ignorance, no man can be a biſhop without inſinuating himſelf into his good graces by ſimilar means. The common law of the church conſiſts of the ſacred writings, the canons, and the decrees of the holy ſee, when conformable to thoſe."

A. D. 996.] This diſpute with the pope was the laſt event worthy of notice in the reign of Hugh Capet, who died the year after the diſſolution of the ſecond council of Rheims, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. He is ſaid to have married Blanche, widow of Lewis, the laſt king of the blood of Charlemagne. By her he had no children; but by Adelaide, daughter, as it is ſuppoſed, of William the Third, duke of Guienne, he had Robert, whom he had aſſociated with him in the empire; Hadwige, married to Regnier the Fourth, count of Hainault; Adelaide, who eſpouſed Regnaud the Firſt, count of Nevers; and Giſelle, wife to Hugh the Firſt, count of Ponthieu.

A miſtaken principle of delicacy, founded on reſpect to the reigning family, has induced the generality of the French hiſtorians to *ſink* the *uſurpation* of Hugh Capet, and to exaggerate his virtues; as if the former could invalidate the title, or the latter enhance the reputation, of his deſcendants. Even the abbe Velly, whoſe ſpirit and good ſenſe moſtly riſe ſuperior to the little arts of adulation, and lead him to exert the dignified privilege of an hiſtorian, to enforce *truth* without regard to *rank*, has, in this inſtance, condeſcended to ſanction, by his authority, the general prejudice.—Though he ſcorns to deviate from veracity, yet has he deigned to *palliate* a fact, by obſerving—that "in that age, Hugh was, *perhaps*, conſidered as an uſurper."—That his acceſſion to the throne of France was ſtamped with the moſt glaring and indelible marks of uſurpation, who is there will dare to deny?—To the crown he could have no poſſible claim by *deſcent*—and, with regard to *election*, he diſſolved, by force, that parliament which had met for the purpoſe of conferring it on the lawful heir. Hugh Capet was, therefore, an uſurper in every ſenſe of the word; but that he ſwayed the ſceptre he had thus acquired with dignity, juſtice, and moderation, is

* Tom. ix. Concil. p. 744. Poſt. Conc. Rhem. p. 146.

equally certain. From the moment he aſſociated his ſon to the regal authority, he abſtained himſelf from the uſe of the enſigns of royalty; and, as a modern writer has juſtly obſerved, if ſome praiſe be due to the greatneſs of mind which ſcorned the pageantry of power, more will always be aſcribed to the clemency of a prince who transferred to his family a crown unſtained with blood, and who, in an age of violence, preſerved the reputation of unblemiſhed humanity.

The high idea which has ever been entertained of the wiſdom of Hugh Capet, has led ſome modern writers to make him the author of various eſtabliſhments, which owe their origin to the mutual conſent of the ſovereign and his ſubjects. Such is the cuſtom by which the younger ſons of the crown are excluded from partaking in the ſucceſſion; ſuch alſo is that which excludes natural children, even in defect of lawful heirs. An example of the firſt we have ſeen in the perſon of Lothaire, who left no part of his dominions to his youngeſt ſon Charles; and the ſecond had become a law under the ſecond race of kings, during whoſe reigns no baſtard ſucceeded to the throne. The emperor Arnoul may, indeed, be cited as an exception; but he was rather indebted to force and uſurpation for the imperial dignity, than to any right of ſucceſſion. Hugh, then, did no more than comply with an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, by excluding his natural ſon, Gauſlin, who was abbot of Fleury, and archbiſhop of Bourges, from any ſhare in the kingdom.

The inſtitution of the peerage has likewiſe been aſcribed to him; but this is an error that has no foundation whatever in hiſtory. The term *peer* (pair) is as old as the monarchy; it is derived from the Latin word *par* (equal). In this ſenſe only was it uſed under the firſt and ſecond race. The royal ſons of Lewis the Gentle call themſelves *peers* in the famous treaty of partition concluded at Verdun. In the time of Charlemagne, Chrodegrand applied the appellation to biſhops and abbots; and a century before that, it had been given to monks by Dagobert. Lewis the Gentle, in one of his ordinances, forbids the ſoldiers to force their *peers* to drink; *ut in hoſte nemo* parem *ſuum bibere cogat**. It will be ſeen hereafter, that, when the cities had acquired the right of municipal juriſdiction, by what were called *charters of community*, they conferred on their judges the name of *citizen-peers* (pairs-bourgeois). But inſenſibly this title became confined to gentlemen who poſſeſſed hereditary and patrimonial fiefs.

Peers then, properly ſo called, were the vaſſals who held under the ſame lord, not becauſe they were equal to their feudal lord, but becauſe they were *peers* among themſelves, holding their fiefs under the ſame perſon, in the ſame manner, and by the ſame obligation of paying *faith and homage*, of ſerving their lord in the wars, of attending him in all great ceremonies, and, finally, of aſſiſting him to hold his court of juſtice†; for the *peers* were judges throughout the extent of that lordſhip of which their peerage was holden. But the

* Capit. Ludov. Pii, l. iv. art. 77. † Loiſeau des grandes Seign. chap. 5. et 8.

law did not permit them to ſit as judges when they were parties concerned. This prohibition they endeavoured to extend to the king himſelf, but they could not prevail, as it was deemed that, in defending his own rights, he defended thoſe of the crown.

From theſe circumſtances we may infer, that there were as many peerages in the kingdom as there were fiefs immediately holden of one certain lordſhip. But all peers were not holden in equal conſideration. Thoſe of the king, who paid an immediate homage to the crown, were regarded as men of ſuperior dignity to thoſe of the count of Champagne, who were only ſub-vaſſals. Theſe were excluded from the national parliament, and from a ſeat among the nobles of the realm; while the former, being judges in all matters of ſtate, compoſed what was called, the court of France, the king's court, or the court of *peers*.

The number was neither fixed, nor yet confined to the dukes and counts: all barons, who held immediately of the king, were equally *peers* of France, becauſe the immediate dependance always conſtituted the eſſence of the peerage. In the hiſtory of Saint Lewis we read, that that prince having adopted a regulation with regard to the Jews*, it was ratified and approved by the barons and *peers*, who ſubſcribed it indiſcriminately; which ſeems to prove, that the precedency of the *twelve peers* was not thoroughly eſtabliſhed at the commencement of that monarch's reign. It was not till about the fourteenth century that the feudal dignity of barons began to be conſidered as inferior to that of duke or count.

The appellation of peer was not originally a title of dignity, for which reaſon it is that we find no ancient deed in which the dukes and counts aſſume it. They did not take that title till the number of peers were reduced to twelve; though at what period the reduction took place has been the ſubject of much controverſy, and has never been preciſely aſcertained. Some pretend, that this inſtitution was eſtabliſhed ſo far back as the reign of Charlemagne; but their ſuppoſition has no other foundation than the apocryphal tales of archbiſhop Turpin. Others aſcribe it to Hugh Capet; but theſe can produce no authority for their opinion. Favin imputes it to king Robert, who, he tells us, formed a ſecret council, compoſed of ſix of the principal nobles and ſix eccleſiaſtics, whom he honoured with the title of peers†. He, doubtleſs, did not recollect, that at the commencement of the third race, the cities of Laon, Langres, Beauvais, Noyon, and Chalons-upon-Marne, did not belong to their biſhops. The *county* of Langres was not united to the biſhopric till the reign of Lewis the Seventh. Du Tillet is of opinion that this reform in the peerage was effected by Lewis the Young, at the coronation of his ſon Philip-Auguſtus‡. The king, ſays he, in order to prevent confuſion at that ſplendid ceremony, ſelected, from among

* Chantereau, preuves du traite des fiefs, p. 209. † Theatre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie.
‡ Recueil de Rangs, chap. de Pairs de France.

the vaſt number of prelates and nobles who attended as immediate vaſſals of the crown, the twelve who have ever ſince been diſtinguiſhed for this illuſtrious function. The diſtinction, however, by no means detracted from the dignity of the ancient baronies of the kingdom: theſe have ever continued to be real peerages of France; though their poſſeſſors no longer enjoy the ſame privileges as before the reduction took place. The twelve peers, on the contrary, have always poſſeſſed, in virtue of their peerage, a ſeat in the parliaments, in the council-chamber, in the beds of juſtice, and in all great ceremonies.

France, from its diſmembered ſtate, was involved, during the reign of Hugh Capet, in poverty and barbariſm. While Greece and Italy were famous for their beautiful manufactures, the French were unable to imitate them; ſince their cities were unprivileged, and their country diſunited. Internal commerce was ſcarcely known; and the inhabitants of one province were frequently ſtrangers to the diſtance and ſituation of the next. Such was the ignorance which prevailed, that few people could read, and ſtill fewer write. There were no title-deeds of eſtates, and no deeds or regiſters of marriages. Hence the danger of contracting an alliance within the prohibited degrees was great; and this circumſtance gave riſe to numerous divorces and ſcandalous ſeparations.

ROBERT.

A. D. 996.] ROBERT, on the death of his father, had juſt entered his twenty-ſeventh year. As his ſubjects were already accuſtomed to ſee him hold the reins of government, they acknowledged him for their ſovereign without oppoſition or murmur. But though the commencement of his reign was, by this means, exempt from domeſtic commotions, his happineſs was interrupted by the intrigues of the ſovereign pontiff. The court of Rome was highly diſpleaſed at the treatment of archbiſhop Arnoul, who, though reſtored to his ſee by a decree of the council, was ſtill regarded as a ſtate priſoner. As a mark of his diſpleaſure, the pope evinced a diſpoſition to annul the marriage of Robert with Bertha*, widow of Eudes, count of Chartres and Blois, and daughter of Conrad, king of Burgundy. His pretext was, that Robert had ſtood godfather to a child of that princeſs; and that he was her couſin in the fourth degree—two impediments to a legal marriage, which a diſpenſation alone could remove.

A. D. 997.] Robert, who was extremely fond of his wife, took every means to prevent a ſeparation, in which his love and his honour were equally intereſted. He thought by reſtoring Arnoul†, a confirmation of that union in which his happineſs was centred might be more eaſily obtained from the pope; but this had no effect on Gregory the Fifth, who was the creature of the emperor Otho the Third, to whom he was related, and was wholly ſwayed by that monarch, and by Gerbert, who were both enemies to the reigning family. This pontiff had been expelled from his church by Creſcens‡, conſul of Rome, who cauſed John the Sixteenth, a Greek monk, named Philagathes, to be elected in his place: but Gregory was no ſooner reſtored to his dignity, than, after ordering the eyes of his competitor to be put out, and his noſe and tongue to be cut off, he aſſembled a council‖, in which he annulled the marriage of the French monarch.

Robert, enraged at his inſolence, refuſed to ſubmit to a ſentence which he juſtly regarded as an attack upon the majeſty of the throne. Gregory, however, per-

* Hiſt. Franc. Frag. Duch. tom. iv. p. 85. † Abbo. Epiſt. 1. ‡ Petr. Dam. Lib. i. Epiſt. Ultim. ad. Cadal. ‖ Chron. Saxo.

ſiſted, and by an infamous abuſe of power excommunicated the king, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; by which means* the celebration of divine ſervice was ſtopped throughout the realm, the adminiſtration of the ſacrament ſuſpended, and the burial of the dead, in conſecrated ground, forbidden. This was the firſt inſtance of a ſimilar ſentence being enforced in France; and the nation was ſo alarmed, and ſo blinded by a degrading ſpirit of ſuperſtition, that the monarch was abandoned by his courtiers, and even by his domeſtics.

The murmurs of the people, the defection of the nobles, and the well-founded dread of a general revolt, at length compelled the king to ſubmit, and to diſmiſs his wife, who ſtill preſerved, notwithſtanding, the title of queen. After their ſeparation, Robert being deſirous of heirs, married Conſtance, daughter of William the Firſt, count of Provence, a woman of extraordinary beauty, but whoſe perſonal charms concealed a mind polluted by pride, vanity, and caprice. Brought up in a country where the warmth of the climate, by affording a powerful ſtimulus to the impulſes of nature, ſtrongly invited to voluptuous enjoyments, her retinue was compoſed of dancers, farce-players, and youthful libertines of rank, who inſenſibly introduced luxury and debauchery into a court, which had hitherto been diſtinguiſhed for its gravity, ſimplicity, and modeſty†. The arrival of this princeſs may alſo be conſidered as the epoch in which a taſte for poetry firſt prevailed in France; a taſte that was afterwards improved by the Troubadours, and which has ſince attained to as great a degree of excellence as the language will admit. The ſplendour of her charms, and the aſcendancy which they gave her over her huſband, rendered the new queen ſo arrogant, that, in time, ſhe became inſupportable to the whole nation, even to her own children. Hugh de Beauvais, count Palatine, and prime miniſter, enjoyed the confidence of his maſter; and to him the king communicated the anxiety and uneaſineſs he experienced from the impropriety of his wife's conduct. This was ſufficient to make that nobleman an object of her hatred and revenge; ſhe accordingly had him aſſaſſinated in the preſence of her huſband, who, in vain, endeavoured to ſave the life of his favourite‡.

The internal tranquillity which the kingdom had enjoyed for ſome time, was interrupted by Eudes the Second, count of Champagne, a ſon of Bertha, by her firſt huſband. This politic and ambitious prince, being deſirous to open a communication between the county of Chartres and La Brie, by ſecuring a paſſage over the Seine, caſt his eyes on Melun, which Hugh Capet had given to count Bouchard. That nobleman kept but a ſmall garriſon in the place, under the command of a viſcount, named Gautier, who had a pretty and intriguing wife‖. Eudes feigned a violent paſſion for this lady; and being a handſome young man, his ſuit was ſucceſsful. By her means he bribed the huſband to deliver the town into his hands.

* Hiſt. Franc. Frag. loc. cit. † Glaber. l. iii. c. 9. p. 38 and 39. ‡ Idem, Ibid. c. ii. p. 39. Ducheſne. tom. iv. ‖ Guill. Gemet. l. v. c. 14.

Count Bouchard complained to Robert, who undertook his defence; and, being joined by the forces of Richard the Second, duke of Normandy, Melun was inveſted, and, in a few days, reduced. Eudes found means to eſcape; but Gautier and his wife were taken, and hung on a lofty mountain in ſight of the town. Gentlemen formerly were not capitally puniſhed for rebellion or felony: treaſon alone could incur the penalty of death.

A. D. 1000 to 1006.] This war was ſucceeded by another of greater importance, and longer duration. Henry, duke of Burgundy, uncle to the king, and brother to Hugh Capet, had married Gerberge, counteſs of Dijon, widow to Adelbert, king of Italy. He died ſome years after this marriage, and left but one natural child, named Eudes, to whom he aſſigned the county of Beaune: Robert was the lawful heir to the duchy; but the duke, previous to his death, had adopted for his heir Otho William, the ſon of his wife by her firſt marriage, who was already count of Burgundy. That nobleman, ſupported by Landri, count of Nevers; Bruno, biſhop of Langreſs; and Eudes, count of Champagne; took poſſeſſion of the diſputed territory; while Robert, determined to enforce his pretenſions, had recourſe to arms; and his forces were ſtrengthened by the troops of his kinſman, the duke of Normandy. Though repulſed in his firſt attempt on Auxerre, that town afterwards capitulated; its example was followed by Sens; and the walls of Avalon are reported to have fallen before the victor. Yet even the moſt credulous muſt allow, that the cruelty of the monarch ill-deſerved the interpoſition of Divine Providence. The favour of heaven was ill-repaid by the inhumanity of the king; and the wretched inhabitants were doomed to expiate their reſiſtance by exile and death.—More than five years were conſumed in the gradual reduction of Burgundy; Otho William was at length compelled to abandon his vain hopes, and to relinquiſh whatever places he had occupied; Eudes acquieſced in the peaceable enjoyment of the county of Beauvais; and Robert, to gratify the Burgundians, who were deſirous of an independent prince, and to ſoothe his own vaſſals, who were jealous of their power in the aggrandizement of the crown, beſtowed the duchy of Burgundy on his ſecond ſon Henry, with the title of Duke.

A. D. 1006 to 1020.] But few events of importance occurred during the long ſpace of fourteen years. After an expedition into Flanders, where the king promoted an accommodation between the emperor of Germany and the heireſſes of Charles of Lorraine, with reſpect to the territories of that prince, he reſolved, with the advice of his miniſters, to aſſociate to the throne his eldeſt ſon Hugh, who, though but in his eighteenth year, had deſervedly acquired the appellation of Great. The ceremony of his coronation was performed at Compiegne, in the year 1007. About the ſame time a ſect of heretics appeared in France, that ſoon demanded the attention of government.—

They held in deriſion all the myſteries of religion*; deſpiſed the ſacraments; condemned marriage; treated the accounts of the creation of the world, contained in the Old Teſtament, as ſo many dreams; and neither believed that virtue would meet with any future reward, nor the moſt criminal pleaſures incur puniſhment. They uſed to aſſemble in private houſes, during the night, where they recited a kind of littany in honour of evil ſpirits†, and did not ceaſe their invocations till they ſaw a demon appear amongſt them, when they immediately put out the lights, and each man, taking the firſt woman he could lay hands on, proceeded to the enjoyment of thoſe pleaſures for which they deemed any lawful permiſſion unneceſſary.

For repreſſing this licentiouſneſs, the king convened a council at Orleans, and the leaders of this voluptuous ſect being arreſted, they were taken before the biſhops, who deſired to be informed of their religious tenets. But they ſtudiouſly avoided any direct anſwers to the queſtions propoſed to them; till Arefaſte‡, a Norman gentleman, who had revealed the whole ſecret, reproached them with their cowardice, and explained the impiety of their ſyſtem. They then declared, that ſuch was their firm belief; in vain did the prelates advert to the doctrines of chriſtianity; in vain did they talk of the immaculate conception; of the birth and death of our Saviour; the only anſwer they could obtain from theſe obſtinate heretics, was—"We were not preſent; we cannot believe that to be true."

The council, finding them incorrigible, condemned them all to be burnt alive; as they proceeded to the place of execution they betrayed evident ſymptoms of gaiety and pleaſure; but when they felt the effects of the flames, their enthuſiaſm and their courage forſook them, and they exclaimed that they had been deceived. The king and queen attended this cruel exhibition; during which the latter thruſt out the eye of her confeſſor, who was one of the heretics, with her cane.

Two years after this execution, another ſet of theſe heretics appeared at Arras; but the biſhop, Gerard, a man whoſe fervent piety was regulated by reaſon, and tempered by charity, inſtead of having recourſe to threats, convinced them of their error by argument and perſuaſion, and brought them to a public abjuration. So true it is, that the throne of truth is not erected on a ſcaffold; and that mildneſs will lead where ſeverity diſguſts.

The king, finding tranquillity eſtabliſhed throughout the realm, reſolved on a journey to Rome, in order to viſit the tombs of the apoſtles. He was accompanied by ſeveral of the prelates, and every place he paſſed through experienced the effects of his munificence. On his return, he dedicated the church of St. Agnan, at Orleans, which he had recently built, and to which he afterwards bequeathed the treaſures of his own chapel; and, among a variety of other curi-

* Glaber. l. iii. c. 8. † Anon. tom. ii. Spicil. ‡ Chron. S. Pet. tom. ii. Spicil. p. 740.

ous articles, an enormous bell, which he had ordered to be ſolemnly baptiſed by the name of Robert.

A. D. 1022 to 1031.] In the following year an interview took place between Robert and the emperor, on the banks of the Meuſe, for the purpoſe of ſettling ſome trifling matters of diſpute, which, if neglected, might have led to a ſerious rupture. The magnificence diſplayed on this occaſion is ſpoken of in terms of rapture by the ancient writers; but the concluſion of an amicable treaty between the royal viſitors afforded a better theme for national congratulation. This excurſion was ſucceeded by a circumſtance that threatened the kingdom with all the calamities of a civil war: Hugh ſecretly withdrew from court; and, being joined by ſeveral of the young nobility, erected the ſtandard of revolt. His motive for this retreat was the pride and ſeverity of his mother, who obſtinately refuſed to eſtabliſh his houſhold, or to let him have any ſhare in that government to which he had been formally aſſociated. Fortunately the inſurrection was ſpeedily quelled; and Hugh, returning to his duty, was pardoned by his father, and admitted to a participation of his throne and authority.

The prince never after tranſgreſſed the rules of propriety, but obſerved the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion to the will of his parent and his ſovereign. If the authors of theſe times may be credited, (and there is no reaſon for impeaching their veracity), he was a father to the poor, a protector of the church, an advocate for the people, and the friend of virtue. The poſſeſſion of theſe numerous perfections rendered his name ſo celebrated throughout Europe, that Italy, at the death of Henry the Second, invited him to wear the imperial crown. But, in a ſhort time after this flattering offer was made, Hugh, to the great ſorrow of all France, was taken off in the flower of his youth. He was interred in the church of St. Corneille at Compiegne.

On the death of Hugh, it was natural that Robert ſhould aſſociate his next ſon, Henry, to the dignity which he had imparted to his deceaſed brother; but the juſtice of this nomination was oppoſed with indecent warmth and determined obſtinacy, by Conſtance; and her partiality for her younger ſon, Robert, agitated the court with all the fury of contending factions. Yet neither the ſecret arts of intrigue, nor the open violence of the offended queen, could ſubdue the inflexible integrity of her huſband. In an aſſembly at Rheims, Henry received the crown from the impartial juſtice of his father; and Robert, his younger brother, refuſing to join in the daring meaſures of Conſtance, became equally the object of her hatred and perſecution.—The two princes, harraſſed by the inceſſant enmity of their implacable mother, retired from court, and entered into an alliance for their mutual defence; the eldeſt poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle of Dreux, and the younger ſeized Avalon, in the duchy of Burgundy. The unnatural paſſions of a female, had already enkindled the torch of civil commotion; and the gloomy flame was beheld with horror throughout the kingdom of France. But an explanation enſuing between the king and his children, the

princes, returned to their duty, were again reſtored to the confidence of their father, and the force which had been aſſembled to extinguiſh the diſſenſions of his family, was happily employed by Robert in humbling the haughty nobles of Burgundy, who had preſumed to withhold the homage due to their ſovereign.

The remainder of this reign, during which the kingdom enjoyed more years of peace and proſperity than it had known for ſome centuries, was employed by Robert in the erection of pious edifices, in reforming the manners of the clergy, and in other works of devotion, private and practical. In the year 1031, this virtuous monarch was ſeized, at Melun, with a violent diſorder that ſoon brought him to the grave. He expired in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, and the forty-fifth of his reign. His body was conveyed to Saint Denis, where it was depoſited in the royal vault, without an epitaph, or any other ſepulcural embelliſhment.—Robert had three wives:—Ludgard or Roſale, widow to Arnoul, count of Flanders; Bertha, widow to Eudes, count of Chartres and Blois; and Conſtance, daughter of William count of Provence. By the laſt he had Hugh, who died before his father; Henry, who ſucceeded to the throne; Robert, to whom was allotted the duchy of Burgundy; Eudes, who, according to ſome writers, was biſhop of Auxerre; Adelaide, wife to Renaude, count of Nevers; and Adela, firſt married to Richard the Third, duke of Normandy, and afterwards to Baldwin, count of Flanders.

Robert was equally diſtinguiſhed for his piety, moderation, and prudence; wiſely ſtudious to avert the calamities of war, and anxious to promote the felicity and welfare of his ſubjects, who were never diſturbed by the oppreſſions of domeſtic tyranny, or the devaſtations of foreign armies. The rigour with which he puniſhed, in the reduction of Burgundy, the ſpirited reſiſtance of the inhabitants of Avalon, had caſt a ſlight ſhade on a reign of unprecedented clemency; yet a people, whoſe annals have hitherto diſplayed almoſt a conſtant ſucceſſion of ſanguinary and ferocious princes, might well exclaim, on the death of Robert, "We have loſt a father, who governed us in peace, beneath whoſe "authority we dwelt in ſecurity; who ſuffered not in others that oppreſſion "which he himſelf diſdained; who commanded our affections, and who baniſh-"ed our fears."

In his conduct to the poor, his humanity and his charity were eminently conſpicuous; the latter, indeed, almoſt degenerated into weakneſs, ſince, by encouraging a ſpirit of indolence in the lower claſs of people, it muſt certainly have tended to mar induſtry, and to impede thoſe agricultural improvements, which an enlightened monarch ſhould ever attend to, and the neceſſity of which was never more evident than in the reign of Robert.—He daily diſtributed food to three hundred poor people, and ſometimes a thouſand. Every Holy Thurſday he ſerved them on his knees; and, being clothed in ſackcloth, waſhed their feet*. Hence originated the cuſtom that has ever ſince been obſerved by the

* Helgal. p. 72.

French monarchs, of waſhing the feet of twelve poor people on Holy Thurſday, and of waiting on them at table, aſſiſted by all the princes of the blood, and the principal nobility. Robert's compaſſion for the poor would ſometimes betray him into acts of injuſtice; for, we are told, that when he had no money to give them, he would tell them to go and ſteal, and be angry if they were prevented from ſo doing. Helgaud, the monk, ſays, that rogues, under pretence of begging, would frequently follow him into his apartment, and take from him whatever was worth taking, either in his pockets or in his clothes. One of them having cut off the half of a piece of gold fringe, was about to take away the reſt, when the king mildly requeſted him to be contented with what he had, and to leave the reſt to ſatisfy the wants of his companions.—The diſpoſition of his queen, Conſtance, being very different from his own, he was under the neceſſity of performing his acts of charity in ſecret;—and his gifts were generally accompanied by this caution: "*Be ſure you don't let Conſtance know it.*" As he was going one day to church, he ſurpriſed two perſons in the act of fornication; the horror, ſays the abbe Velly, which he experienced at the ſin, did not extinguiſh his compaſſion for the ſinner; he threw his cloak over them, and went ſtrait to the altar to pray for their converſion; he then ſent one of his attendants to fetch another cloak, *forbidding him, under pain of his diſpleaſure, to mention the circumſtance to any one, but more particularly to the queen.*

Notwithſtanding the efforts of this prince to render his ſubjects happy, he had the misfortune to ſee his kingdom a prey to the horrors of famine, at ſeveral different times. The firſt was general throughout Europe; but the ſecond was confined to France, where it was attended with circumſtances peculiarly horrid. There were people, raging with hunger in ſuch a dreadful degree, that they dug up the dead bodies to eat; others ſeized upon the children in the ſtreets, or way-laid the travellers in the fields and woods*. At Tournus, in Burgundy, a butcher expoſed human fleſh to public ſale; but this inhuman traffic was put a ſtop to, and the brute who carried it on, juſtly condemned to the flames. Another man, who kept a public houſe in a foreſt near Macon, murdered his gueſts and eat them. He was detected by two paſſengers, a man and his wife, who were lucky enough to effect their eſcape; and when his houſe was ſearched, eight-and-forty human heads of men, women, and children, whoſe bodies he had devoured, were found. The barbarous wretch experienced the ſame puniſhment as the butcher. Such was the ſcarcity of food that people were reduced to the neceſſity of making bread with a kind of white earth, reſembling pipe-clay, mixed with a very ſmall portion of flour or bran. This dreadful famine was followed by a peſtilence, during which the people were ſo weak from want of ſuſtenance, that they were unable to aſſiſt each other. Thus the ſick remained without relief, and the dead without burial.

* Glaber. l. iv. c. 4. p. 44.

It is in vain that we ſeek for the probable cauſe of theſe calamities in any of the French hiſtorians, either ancient or modern; the former, inſtead of attempting to account for what muſt have had a natural cauſe, recite the ſuperſtitious tales of the times, and tell us of ſhowers of blood, and other diſmal tokens of divine vengeance, by which they were preceded; while the latter repeat theſe tales, and, though they treat them with the deriſion they merit, yet withhold the information we ſeek for. Had any violent drought, or other extraordinary circumſtance occaſioned the famine, it could not, we apprehend, have eſcaped the attention of contemporary writers: we are therefore of opinion it muſt have been occaſioned by a ſhameful neglect of agriculture, which appears the more probable, as the kingdom was evidently infeſted with crouds of beggars, from the numbers which the king himſelf maintained, and conſequently encouraged. Perhaps the early Franks, like the ancient Germans*, deemed the cultivation of their lands too ignoble and laborious employment for them; yet the monks, we find, ſet an example of agricultural improvement, in the lands belonging to their convents; and the time was peculiarly favourable for ſuch exertions, as the nation enjoyed a perfect ſtate of tranquillity for a long ſeries of years.

From the cuſtom that prevailed with the firſt monarchs of the Capetian race, of aſſociating their eldeſt ſons with them in the empire, we muſt not infer, either that the crown was elective by the nobles of the realm, or that it was neceſſarily entailed on the eldeſt ſon of the king†; under the firſt race we have ſeen the crown invariably hereditary in the family of Meroveus, and all his deſcendants ſucceed to it without interruption, for upwards of three hundred years. It is true, indeed, that ſometimes the kingdom was divided between all the ſons, and, at others, one reigned alone, to the prejudice of the reſt; ſometimes even a prince of a diſtant branch was preferred to the children of the deceaſed monarch. But what inference muſt we draw from theſe facts? That the crown, always hereditary in the reigning family, was only elective with regard to the different princes of that family.

Under the ſecond race we will find the ſame cuſtom and the ſame form of government prevail‡. "*Such is the cuſtom of the French nation*," ſays Foulques, archbiſhop of Rheims, in a letter to the emperor Arnoul, "*that the nobles*, "*without any dependance, chuſe a prince of the royal family to ſucceed the king*, "*when he is dead.*" Though Robert and Rodolph acceded to the throne without any previous election, no concluſion is to be drawn from thence, any more than from the elevation of Gondebald on a ſhield, during the firſt race. The ſtorm was ſoon diſpelled: Lewis the Stranger was recalled from England; "*and* "*all the nobles*," ſays a contemporary writer‖, "*elected him to reign over them*

* Tacit. de Morb. German, c. 15. † Mem. de Litterat. tom. iv. p. 672. ‡ Flod. Hiſt. Eccl. Rhem. l. 4. ‖ Glaber. l. 1. c. iii. p. 5.

"*by the hereditary right which he had to the crown.*" This is an apparent contradiction of terms; but the difficulty is ſolved by referring to the *double right* by which the ancient monarchs of France held their crown;—viz. by their royal birth, and by the choice of the nation.

The circumſtances attending the aſſociation of Henry the Firſt to the regal dignity, prove, that, at the commencement of the third race, the monarchy was ſtill governed by the ſame ſpirit, and the ſame maxims. They prove, that the hereditary right was inconteſtably eſtabliſhed in the family that had been recently placed on the throne. This then was the general law, and the invariable cuſtom of the realm.

Still an election always took place: but, as during the two firſt races, the choice was confined to the children of the king. With regard to the coronation of Henry the Firſt, *The king*," ſays Glaber*, "*after the death of prince Hugh*, "*began to conſider within himſelf which of his three ſurviving ſons would be moſt* "*capable of ſucceeding him in the throne.*" This could never have been an object of deliberation, had the throne devolved by right, to the eldeſt ſon of the reigning monarch. The biſhops, influenced by the queen, who did not like her eldeſt ſon, whom the king betrayed an inclination to favour, "*demanded*," ſays another contemporary writer†, "*that no deciſion might take place, on this* "*important affair, at leaſt, during the life of Robert.*" She flatered herſelf with the idea that, after the king's death, her intereſt would prove ſuperior to that of her eldeſt ſon, "whom ſhe affected to repreſent as a weak, effemi- "nate, and cowardly prince." But what became of theſe her hopes, if the laws of the realm had neceſſarily influenced the deciſion of the electors in favour of the eldeſt of the royal family? Notwithſtanding her oppoſition, prince Henry's party prevailed, and, continues Glaber, "*The king's choice, ſupported by the con-* "*currence of the nobles, at length placed him on the throne of France.*"

Theſe remarks ſolve all the difficulties that preſent themſelves with regard to the hereditary right of the reigning family to the throne of France. On one ſide, they ſhow, that a ſucceſſion, which was always hereditary, did not exclude a real right of election; and, on the other, that this right of election, though *paſſive* with reſpect to the family, was *active* with reſpect to the different members of that family; in other words, the nation had reſerved to itſelf the power of chuſing, from among the children of the laſt monarch, that prince which ſhould appear to it the moſt capable of holding the reins of government, without regard to primogeniture.

Thus, in aſſociating their eldeſt ſons to the throne, the ſix firſt monarchs of the Capetian race were not influenced by any views of fixing the crown in their family, but merely by a deſire of avoiding thoſe diſſentions which were but too common at elections. By degrees, theſe aſſociations led to the eſtabliſhment of the right of *agnation*, lineal and hereditary, which inſenſibly annihilated the elec-

* Glaber. l. 3. c. v. p. 37. † Inter. Fulbert. Epiſt. 50. Duch. tom. iv. p. 191.

tive power. In ſhort, the crown appeared to be ſo well ſecured in the family of Hugh Capet, that Philip Auguſtus did not think it neceſſary to crown his ſon. The right of primogeniture became a fundemental law of the realm, and has been obſerved for more than ſeven centuries without the ſmalleſt interruption, either from the youngeſt children, or from the eldeſt of the younger branches.

Several eccleſiaſtical councils were holden during the reign of Robert. By that of Selingſtad*, prieſts are ordered not to ſay more than three maſſes in a day, and all men, except crowned heads, forbidden to enter the church with their ſwords. The fathers of Limoges decreed, *that nobody could receive penance and abſolution from the pope without the leave of his biſhop.* The council of Anſe was ſtill more ſtrenuous in defence of the liberties of the Gallican church: it declared a bull of the pope's, by which the monks of Cluny were exempted from the juriſdiction of their ordinary, to be null and abuſive. The archbiſhop of Vienne having, in conſequence of that bull, ordained ſome of the monks of Cluny, without the permiſſion of the biſhop of the dioceſe, thought it neceſſary to make an apology, and to promiſe, that, in future, he would never deviate from the rules of the national church.

But the moſt remarkable of theſe eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies was that which was convened at Saint Denis, on the ſubject of tythes, offerings, preſentations, and churches. We have already obſerved, that eccleſiaſtical property, even tythes and church livings, had paſſed into the hands of laymen, who could not ſell them without the king's conſent, to which was always annexed the condition, that curates and biſhops, if they choſe to become purchaſers, ſhould have the firſt offer. At length the impropriety of theſe proceedings was univerſally acknowledged: Hugh Capet and Robert were the firſt to ſet the example of reſtitution; which was ſpeedily followed by the nobility, who haſtened to reſtore thoſe poſſeſſions which their anceſtors had uſurped from the church. The biſhops wiſhed to monopoliſe the advantages ariſing from this pious reſolution, and exerted their utmoſt endeavours to exclude the monks from any participation in them†. Abbo, abbot of Fleury, reſiſted theſe ungenerous efforts, and finding that the clergy, aſſembled at Saint Denis, were about to iſſue a ſentence to the prejudice of the monaſtic ſtate, he excited the monks and dependants of the abbey to riſe up againſt them, and they accordingly attacked the prelates, who were obliged to decamp without coming to any deciſion. Seguin, archbiſhop of Sens, a venerable old man highly reſpected for his virtue, was wounded between the ſhoulders, by a blow from an axe, and with difficulty eſcaped, all covered with mud. Such ſcandalous proceedings could ſcarcely obtain credit, were they not atteſted by contemporary writers; but what muſt appear ſtill more monſtrous, is, that a riot of this nature ſhould paſs unpuniſhed and unnoticed, even by the church.

* Concil. c. ix. p. 884. † Concil. c. ix. p. 771.

HENRY THE FIRST.

A. D. 1031.] THOUGH Henry had the choice of his father, and the ſuffrages of a majority of the nobles, to ſecure and confirm his ſucceſſion, yet Conſtance, to whom he was an object of averſion, had neither loſt the deſire, nor the hope of effecting his depoſition from that throne to which he had acceded in ſpite of her machinations. Baldwin, count of Flanders, and Eudes, count of Champagne, entered into her views; and, being joined by many noblemen of France and Burgundy, ſupplied her with forces for the execution of her plans*. Dammartin, Senlis, Melun, Sens, Poiſſy, Coucy, Puiſet, and ſeveral other fortreſſes declared in her favour, and hoiſted the ſtandard of revolt. Theſe were places of great ſtrength in thoſe days, and their importance was conſiderably increaſed by their vicinity to the capital, which waited for the event of the conteſt before it would come to a deciſion.

Henry, aſtoniſhed and incapable of reſiſting the torrent, left Paris, and eſcaped, with only eleven faithful followers, into Normandy; and, deſerted by his ſubjects, threw himſelf on the generous friendſhip of duke Robert. That prince received him with all poſſible honour, ſupplied him with a powerful army, and ſent orders to his uncle, count Mauger, who commanded in Corbeil, to declare war againſt the inſurgents, and lay waſte their poſſeſſions with fire and ſword. Similar orders were likewiſe iſſued to all the governors of the frontier towns. It was a maxim with the duke, to ſhew no quarter to rebels; to which ſeverity he was probably indebted for the name he acquired, of Robert *the Devil*.

The king fixed his camp before the walls of Corbeil, where he was joined by a great number of his vaſſals, accompanied by a formidable body of troops. He then proceeded to Poiſſy, which he retook; he next reduced Puiſet, and thrice defeated the count of Champagne, who eſcaped with difficulty the purſuit of the victor. This vigorous conduct diſconcerted the projects of the queen-dowager and her partiſans, who were compelled to acknowledge that the young monarch had been groſsly miſrepreſented to them. But Conſtance, ever implaca-

* Frag. Hiſt. MS. Apud. Duch. tom. iv. p. 148.

ble in her hatred, refuſed to liſten to any propoſals for an accommodation. In vain did her uncle, the count of Anjou, exhort her to be reconciled to her ſon; ſhe had long ſince abjured all the ſentiments of nature, and ſhe now obſtinately rejected the remonſtrances of reaſon. At laſt, however, finding herſelf forſaken by her friends and allies, ſhe was, reluctantly, perſuaded to enter into a ſecret treaty with the king: fortunately ſhe had no time to excite freſh intrigues, as ſhe died the following year, at Melun, and was interred at Saint Denis, by the ſide of a huſband whoſe repoſe ſhe had inceſſantly diſturbed.

The ſubmiſſion of the queen was followed by that of prince Robert, whom Henry not only pardoned, but generouſly aſſigned him the duchy of Burgundy, the inveſture of which he himſelf had received from the king his father. From this prince ſprang the firſt royal branch of the dukes of Burgundy, who reigned over that country for nearly four centuries. They were ſucceeded by Philip the Bold, ſon to king John, head of the houſe of Burgundy, which was extinguiſhed in the perſon of Charles the *Raſh*, who was ſlain before Nanci, at which period this duchy was irrevocably annexed to the crown.

A. D. 1032.] Henry being now peaceably ſeated on a throne, of which, by his activity, valour, and moderation, he had ſhewn himſelf worthy, directed his attention to the renewal of thoſe alliances which his father had contracted with the neighbouring powers*. For this purpoſe he had an interview with the emperor Conrad, whoſe ſiſter, Matilda, he eſpouſed. His next care was to acknowledge and repay the obligations he was under to the duke of Normandy. To that prince he ceded the towns of Giſors, Chaumont, and Pontoiſe, with all that part of the Vexin which had hitherto belonged to the dominions of France.

A. D. 1033 to 1036.] The death of Rodolph, who, with the title of king, ruled that part of Burgundy which comprehended the countries of Switzerland and Savoy, the counties of la Breſſe, Dauphine, and the Lyonnois, kindled a war between Eudes, count of Champagne, and the emperor Conrad, who each claimed the ſucceſſion, and ſupported their pretenſions by arms; but Eudes was compelled to yield to the ſuperior force of his rival; and, driven out of Burgundy, entered Lorraine, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Bar. Before he could improve this advantage, he was encountered by Gothelon, duke of Lorraine; the defeat of the count of Champagne, was rendered deciſive by his death; and king Henry, and the emperor Conrad, had equal ſubject for rejoicing at the deſtruction of a turbulent vaſſal, and an enterpriſing neighbour.

A. D. 1037 to 1040.] Eudes left two ſons, Stephen, count of Champagne, and Thibaud, count of Chartres, Blois and Tours. Both of them reſigned all pretenſions to Burgundy, and turned their arms againſt their ſovereign. The feudal law required, that before any vaſſal could enter on poſſeſſion of his territories, he ſhould do homage to the king. The two counts refuſed to comply

* Wippo in vita Conrad. Salic.

with this cuſtom*, becauſe the king had not aſſiſted their father againſt the emperor. In fact, the duty between the lord and his vaſſal was reciprocal. If the vaſſal was obliged to ſerve his lord in the wars; the lord was equally obliged to aſſiſt his vaſſal in defence of that fief which he held of him. But this reaſon could not operate with regard to the count of Champagne. Conrad had not taken up arms in order to deprive him of thoſe provinces which he held as a vaſſal of the crown; but to prevent him from uſurping a kingdom, to which he himſelf had been declared ſole heir. This then was only a pretext to which the inſurgents had recourſe for the purpoſe of concealing another deſign.

A. D. 1040 to 1044.] Their real project was, to place prince Eudes, the king's brother, on the throne, under whoſe name they expected to be able to exert a deſpotic ſway. An ancient chronicle, quoted by Ducheſne†, ſays, that this prince was the eldeſt of the ſons of Robert, but that he was excluded from the ſucceſſion, on the plea of inſanity. But all other contemporary writers poſitively affirm, that he was younger than either Henry or duke Robert. Be that as it may, Eudes, being left without territories or eſtabliſhment, was willing to liſten to any plan which the enemies of his houſe might propoſe; and as he was aſſured of a ſpeedy and effectual ſupport, he ſummoned the king to admit him to a participation in the domains of his father. This was the ſignal of war. Eudes, with his confederates, took the field, and committed dreadful devaſtations on the French territories; but they were ſoon routed by the royal army; Eudes himſelf was taken priſoner, and ſecured at Orleans; the pardon of Thibaud was purchaſed at the expence of Touraine; the count of Champagne was happy to eſcape by the ceſſion of a conſiderable part of his inheritance; but Galoran, count of Melun, who had enliſted under the banners of unſucceſsful rebellion, was formally attainted; and the forfeiture of his property and life, the firſt example of the kind mentioned in hiſtory, proclaims the power which the crown had imperceptibly acquired.

A. D. 1045, 1046.] Normandy, in the mean time, being governed by a child, was torn by inteſtine commotions. The reign of Robert had been greatly diſtinguiſhed for its wiſdom and ſplendour. After reducing the duke of Brittany to pay that homage which he had long refuſed to his liege-lord, he was ſtricken with remorſe for the ſins he had committed, and undertook a journey of penitence to the holy ſepulchre at Jeruſalem, which, according to the ſuperſtitious maxims of the age, was the moſt infallible means of procuring pardon for the greateſt crimes. But, previous to his departure, he deemed it neceſſary to appoint a ſucceſſor to the throne. He had no children by the ſiſter of Canute, king of England, whom he had married from policy, and repudiated from averſion‡. He therefore aſſembled the ſtates of the duchy; and, informing them of his deſign, engaged them to ſwear allegiance to his natural ſon William, a child of nine

* Frag. Hiſt. MS. Apud. Duch. tom. ii. p. 148. † T. iii. p. 361. ‡ Glaber. c. vi. p. 47.

years, whom he had by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaiſe. As he was a prudent prince, he could not but foreſee the great inconveniences which muſt attend this journey, and the ſettlement of his ſucceſſion, ariſing from the perpetual turbulency of the great, the claims of other branches of the ducal family, and the power of the French monarch. But all theſe conſiderations were ſurmounted* by the prevailing zeal for pilgrimages; and, probably, the more important they were, the more would Robert exult in ſacrificing them to what he imagined to be his religious duty.

This prince, as he apprehended, died in his pilgrimage; and the minority of his ſon was attended with all thoſe diſorders which might naturally be expected in that ſituation. The licentious nobles, freed from the awe of ſoverign authority, broke out into perſonal animoſities againſt each other, and made the whole country a ſcene of war and devaſtation. Roger, count of Toni, and Alain, duke of Brittany, advanced claims to the dominion of the ſtate; and the king of France thought the opportunity favourable for reducing the power of a vaſſal, who had long appeared formidable to his ſovereign.

The firſt expedition of Henry into Normandy ſpread terror and conſternation throughout the country; and the regency eſtabliſhed by Robert exerted their utmoſt endeavours to avert the vengeance of a king, whoſe enmity might prove fatal to their youthful ward. In conſequence of their remonſtrances, intereſt gave way to gratitude; and, mindful of the obligations he had received from the late duke, Henry now reſolved to march to the aſſiſtance of his ſon who was threatened with a formidable conſpiracy of the nobles. At the head of this rebellion was Guy, ſon of Renaud, count of Burgundy, by a daughter of Richard the Second, duke of Normandy. This young nobleman, when his family was in diſgrace, had retired to Rouen, where he was brought up with duke William, who had juſt created him count of Vernon and Brienne. But theſe marks of kindneſs were inſufficient to command a grateful return; he now joined the rebels, and in the valley of Dunes, between Caen and Argentan, was met by the forces of Henry. The rebels maintained their ground with obſtinate valour; the king himſelf was expoſed, and thrown from his horſe by the powerful arm of Haymon, a celebrated warrior, and was only preſerved by the immediate ſuccour of his attendants. But his victory was glorious and deciſive; and the battle of Dunes fixed the ſceptre in the hands of the duke of Normandy.

The acquiſitions of the Normans were not confined to their ſettlements in France; independent of their exertions in defence of which, they had recently revived their ancient fame, by the moſt hazardous exploits, and the moſt wonderful ſucceſſes, in the other extremity of Europe. A few Norman adventurers, in Italy, had acquired ſuch an aſcendant, not only over the Italians and

* Epod. Neuſt. p. 462. † W. Malmſ. p. 95.—Gul. Gemet. lib. vii. c. 1.

Greeks, but the Germans and Saracens, that they expelled thoſe foreigners, procured to themſelves ample eſtabliſhments, and laid the foundation of the opulent kingdoms of Naples and Sicily*. Whether their progreſs in Italy had alarmed the vigilant Henry, or that he had early diſcerned the lofty genius and unbounded ambition of William; that monarch ſoon after violated the friendſhip he had newly profeſſed, and ſeemed conſtantly to repent of the aſſiſtance he had afforded to the duke of Normandy. William de Arques, count of Tello, and ſon, by a ſecond marriage, of Richard the Second, the predeceſſor of Robert the Devil, no longer concealed his pretenſions to the ducal title, in which he was ſtrongly ſupported by his brother Mauger, archbiſhop of Rouen. The power which this dignity conferred, in thoſe days, on prelates, over their epiſcopal city, appeared to ſecure him the ſuffrage of the capital. William had juſt married Matilda, daughter to Baldwin, count of Flanders, by Adela, daughter of king Robert, and ſiſter to Henry. As the princeſs was related to him, it was neceſſary to have a diſpenſation, which was then regarded as a violation of the ſacred canons; the pope, however, did not ſcruple to grant it, on condition that the duke ſhould found four hoſpitals to contain four hundred poor people. Mauger, leſs moved by zeal for the diſcipline of the church, than by a deſire of exciting ſedition, favourable to the deſigns of his brother, excommunicated the new-married couple†. The ſovereign pontiff, enraged at his audacity, cauſed him to be depoſed by an aſſembly of prelates at Liſieux; and the duke baniſhed him to the iſland of Guernſey.

A. D. 1047.] The count of Tello, in order to facilitate the execution of his project, had erected a ſtrong fortreſs on the hill of Arques, where, being certain of aſſiſtance from the king, he hoiſted the ſtandard of rebellion, and refuſed to pay to William the Baſtard that homage which was due to him as his liege-lord. The fortreſs was accordingly beſieged by the duke, and the army which Henry had deſtined to co-operate with his ally, was compelled to retreat with diſgrace; a conſiderable detachment, in their march towards Rouen, had incautiouſly preſſed before the main body; between Eſcoucy and Mortimer, their negligence was chaſtiſed by the arms of the Normans; and few eſcaped to relate the melancholy fate of their companions. Henry himſelf, with the remainder of his forces, retired towards Paris, indignant at his diſgrace, and impatient to revenge his defeat by the deſtruction of his rival; while William, who had triumphed over his revolted ſubjects, was equally determined to purſue, with eternal enmity, the perfidy of the French monarch.

That prince had formed a new alliance with the duke of Guienne and the count of Anjou, and engaged again to invade the territories of the Norman; his preparations were ſuitable to the greatneſs of the enterpriſe, and two armies, which he had diligently levied, threatened the deſtruction of the young duke: the one

* Gul. Gem. l. vii. c. 30. † Wil. Malm. l. i. c. 3.

was led by Henry in perſon; the other he entruſted to his brother Eudes, whom he releaſed for that purpoſe from priſon. But the ſuperior number of his troops, only ſerved to augment his confuſion; thoſe led by himſelf were continually haraſſed and repeatedly ſurpriſed; while the army commanded by his brother was defeated in a deciſive action, in the Pays de Caux, with great ſlaughter. Preſſed or broken on every ſide, the French were compelled haſtily to evacuate a country which they had unjuſtly invaded; and the terms of peace, which ſoon after followed, were dictated by the victorious duke of Normandy.

A. D. 1054, 1055.] This unſucceſsful war was followed by a general peace, which laſted ſome years; when it had nearly been interrupted by the conduct of count Thibaut, who, having been deprived of Touraine, ſought and obtained the protection of the emperor, Henry the Third, who made him his knight, and gave him the title of Count-Palatine; a title to which no office was annexed, but which has, notwithſtanding, been enjoyed ever ſince by the counts of Champagne. This proceeding of Thibaut was conſidered as a violation of that duty and ſubmiſſion which a vaſſal owed to his lord. The king accordingly complained to the emperor, but could obtain no ſatisfaction or redreſs. It is ſaid that he ſent him a formal challenge to meet him in ſingle combat, but it was not accepted.—If the French monarch ſhewed the greateſt courage, the emperor diſplayed the greateſt prudence.

A. D. 1059.] The conſtitution of Henry being viſibly impaired, though more from infirmities than from age, he thought it neceſſary to provide for the ſafety of the kingdom, by the aſſociation of his ſon Philip, a young prince only in his eighth year, to the throne. With this view, he convened a numerous aſſembly of the nobles and prelates at Rheims. "The king," ſays Mezeray, "having reminded the aſſembly of the ſervices he had rendered the ſtate, requeſted them all collectively, and each of them individually, to acknowlege his eldeſt ſon Philip for his ſucceſſor, and to take an oath of fidelity to him." The whole aſſembly were unanimous in their compliance, and the young prince was immediately crowned by the archbiſhop of Rheims.

The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this event, was the attention ſhewn by the clergy to promote an augmentation of their prerogatives. The legates—Hugh, archbiſhop of Beſancon, and Hermenfroy, biſhop of Sion, proteſted againſt the coronation, which, they pretended, could not take place without the pope's conſent. Their proteſt, however, was treated with the contempt it deſerved. The archbiſhop of Rheims alſo profited by the occaſion to inſiſt on a confirmation of all the privileges of his church, as well temporal as ſpiritual. That artful prelate made a long ſpeech to prove, that the right of anointing the kings of France belonged to the archbiſhop of Rheims, in conſequence of a decree of pope Hormiſdas, in the time of Clovis; a decree that

was merely chimerical, ſince it is certain this pious cuſtom was abſolutely unknown during the firſt race.

The archbiſhop then adminiſtered the following oath to the young prince, which betrays a greater zeal for the private advantage of the prelacy, than for the general good of the nation; though the latter is not totally overlooked.—"I Philip, who, by the mercy of God, am going to be crowned king of France, "promiſe, in the preſence of the Lord and his ſaints, to preſerve to every one "of you, in particular, and to your churches, your canonical privileges; to "obſerve the laws; to adminiſter juſtice to you, and, with the aſſiſtance of the "Almighty, to protect you to the utmoſt of my power, as far as a prince ought "to protect the biſhops of his realm, and the churches which are entruſted to "their care, according to equity and reaſon. I alſo promiſe the people over "whom I am deſtined to rule, to enforce, by my authority, the obſervance of "the laws*."

A. D. 1060.] Henry did not long ſurvive the coronation of his ſon. A doſe of phyſic, adminiſtered at an improper time, put an end to his exiſtence at Vitric in Brie, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. He was interred at Saint Denis. He was a warlike prince, of heroic valour, and exemplary piety. A friend to virtue—merit was the beſt recommendation to his eſteem; and, being endued with a manly ſpirit, he knew how to make his authority reſpected.

By his firſt wife, Matilda, he had no children. But by his ſecond, whoſe name was Anne, he had Philip, who ſucceeded him in the throne; Robert, who died young; Hugh, who, by his marriage with Adelaide, daughter of Herbert, became the chief of the ſecond branch of the counts of Vermandois; and the princeſs Emma, whoſe fate is unknown. Queen Anne was daughter to Jaraſlau, prince of Muſcovy, to whom the Europeans gave the title of Duke, and who was called by the Ruſſians *Tzaar*, ſince corrupted into *Czar*.

It is remarkable that the regency was not entruſted to the queen-mother, although there were many precedents in her favour. It is even ſaid that ſhe advanced no claim to that dignity. Finding herſelf without ſupport, and without authority, in a country where ſhe had ſcarce any relations, reaſon more than neceſſity made her reſign her rights without heſitation or repugnance. This honour appeared to be reſerved for Robert duke of Burgundy, but he was too powerful. His connections with the nobles of France, his former pretenſions to the throne, and the fear of expoſing him to new temptations, all operated to his excluſion. Baldwin, count of Flanders, a wiſe prince, highly renowned for his courage and reſolution, was appointed regent of the kingdom, with the title of Marquis of France. The event demonſtrated the wiſdom of the choice. Baldwin diſcharged the duties of his ſtation with punctuality and honour; he

* Conv. Rhem. tom. ix. Concil.

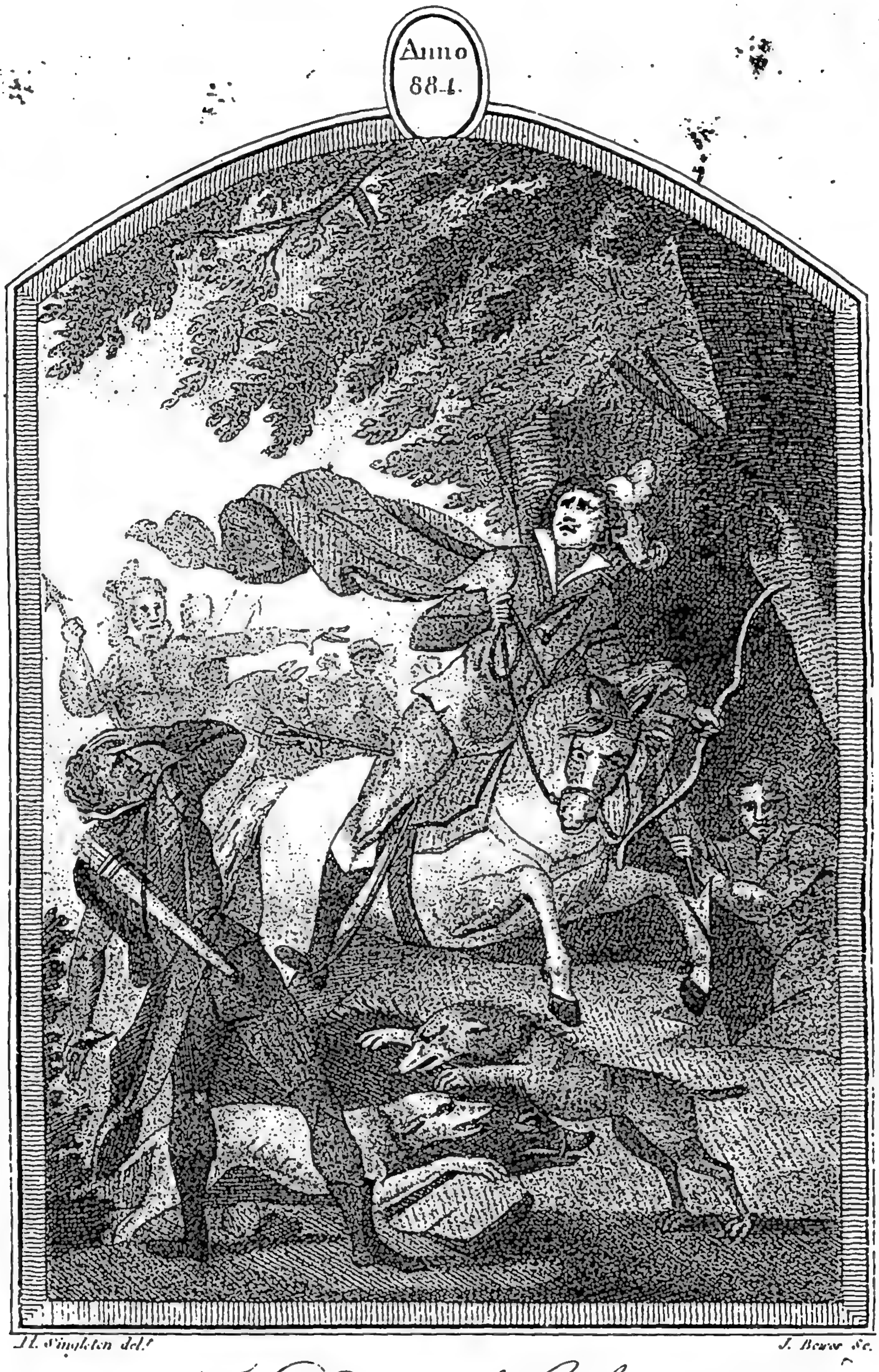
took care that his pupil ſhould have a proper education, and governed his kingdom with great prudence.

During a part of this reign, the Roman church was governed by three antipopes, who had all procured their election either by violence or bribery. Theſe three pontiffs*, by a convention hitherto unexampled, agreed to divide the revenues of the church equally between them, and to live in perfect union. This harmony ſubſiſted as long as they had money to pay for their pleaſures; but when that failed, each of them ſold his part of the papal dignity to dean Gratian, a man of wealth and quality, whom Glaber, a contemporary writer†, calls a good and pious prieſt, of known ſanctity. It was determined, however, that the gift of Peter-Pence, which was received from England, ſhould be aſſigned to young Benedict the Ninth, who had been elected to the chair of Saint Peter when only twelve years old and long before the other two.

Simony was extremely prevalent at this period. In a council, holden at Lyons, five-and-forty biſhops, and twenty-three prieſts, publicly acknowledged themſelves guilty of that crime, and reſigned their beneſices. The celibacy of prieſts, though eſtabliſhed in the weſtern church, was but ill obſerved, particularly in the provinces bordering on Germany, in Brittany and Normandy. Some of the clergy publicly kept women addicted to every ſpecies of debauchery; and others had concubines, or *chambrieres* as they were then called. There were ſome who even formed alliances by civil contracts, from the perſuaſion that it was better to have lawful wives than to live in a ſtate of fornication. In vain did the councils and popes, armed with all the thunders of the church, deprive them of their livings, lay them under an interdict, excommunicate them, and forbid laymen to attend their maſſes; they could not repreſs this licentiouſneſs, till they permitted the nobles to ſieze and ſell for ſlaves all the children who ſprang from thoſe illicit marriages. That ſeverity at length had the deſired affect; and, if the clergy did not become more chaſte, at leaſt they became more circumſpect in their conduct.

During this reign the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was ſtrongly combated in France, and the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament formally denied: this oppoſition the abbe Velly calls—"the ſad fruits of the vain ſubtilities of philoſophy."—We, however, muſt give it a different character, and aſſert it to be the triumph of reaſon over ſuperſtition. But a diſputation on points of faith would be idle, becauſe uſeleſs; thoſe whom we believe to be in error are equally certain that the error is with us; and, ſince all the arguments that have been employed for ages have proved inadequate to produce conviction on either ſide, we ſee no good that could poſſibly accrue from a continuation of the conteſt; but if a ſtruggle muſt be obſerved between the contending parties, let it be a ſtruggle of virtue—whoſe weapons are benevolence, charity, and brother-

* Caſt. l. iii. Dialog. Sæc. 4. acta Bened. t. ii. p. 461. † Glaber, l. v. p. 58.



H. Singleton del.

J. Beaver Sc.

The Death of Carloman.

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ly love. Let a ſpirit of emulation ſubſiſt; but let its object be to reconcile principle to practice, and to prove the juſtice of the one by the rectitude of the other.

The chief ſupporters of this *heretical* oppoſition, as it was then called, were Ratramne, a monk of Corbie; Berenger, archdeacon of Angers; and the celebrated John Scott *Erigena**, the friend and inſtructor of Charles the Bald. The doctrine they attacked was defended by Lanfrance, abbot of Saint Stephen's, at Caen, who afterwards accompanied William the firſt to England, where he was promoted to ſee of Canterbury. Fortunately the conteſt was attended with no ſerious conſequences.

PHILIP THE FIRST.

From 1061 to 1066.] THE firſt years of the minority of Philip were diſturbed by a revolt of the Gaſcons, who refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the regent. But the vigour and prudence diſplayed by Baldwin in reducing the rebels to ſubmiſſion, not only gave new luſtre to his reputation, but ſecured him univerſal obedience, the more durable, as it was founded on eſteem. The territories of Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, were diſputed by his two nephews, Geoffrey and Fulk, and the cautious integrity of the former was enſnared by the perfidions artifices of the latter. Baldwin, however, intent on preſerving tranquillity in the dominions of his wards, forbore to interfere in their quarrel, on the termination of which, Fulk, the ſucceſsful competitor, ſought to obtain the protection of Philip by the ceſſion of the Gaſtinois.

But, notwithſtanding the attention of Baldwin to the intereſts of the king, and the general welfare of the nation, his adminiſtration has not totally eſca-

* The abbé Velly has fallen into the ſame miſtake with William of Malmſbury and Hoveden, with regard to the fate of this learned man. They affirm that, after the death of his patron, Charles the Bald, he came over to England, at the invitation of Alfred; that he taught ſome time in the univerſity of Oxford, from whence he retired to the abbey of Malmſbury, where he was murdered by his ſcholars with their penknives. But theſe writers appear to have confounded John Scott Erigena, with another John Scott, an Engliſhman, contemporary with Alfred, who taught at Oxford, and was ſlain by the monks of the abbey of Ethelingy, of which he was abbot. (Aſſerius in vita Alfredi.) It is moſt probable that Erigena ended his days in France. HISTOIRE LITERAIRE DE FRANCE, ſiécle 9.

ped cenſure. He has been accuſed of neglect, in ſuffering ſo dangerous a neighbour as the duke of Normandy to extend the limits of his dominions, and to achieve the important conqueſt of England. It was ſcarcely poſſible however, that Baldwin could foreſee the fatal conſequences of this event; nor do we think that he could have been juſtified in expoſing the nation to the inevitable dangers of war, by an attempt to prevent the Norman prince from acquiring a new kingdom, which, it was natural to ſuppoſe, would render him leſs anxious to extend his native dominions. Be that as it may, the reduction of England by William gave riſe to a ſeries of bloody and deſtructive conteſts which always contributed to exhauſt, and frequently threatened to ſubvert, the monarchy of France. As from this revolution the wars and negociations of the French and Engliſh have been indiſſolubly blended, and form one great and complicated ſyſtem of politics, it will be neceſſary to take a curſory view of its riſe, progreſs, and accompliſhment.

In England the extinction of the Danes, and the reſtoration of the Saxon line, had been effected by the acceſſion of Edward the Confeſſor, who was ſon to Ethelred, by Emma, ſiſter to Richard, duke of Normandy. This weak but pious monarch had, in the year 1043, married Editha, daughter to the potent earl Godwin; but the hatred which he bore to the father was unfortunately transferred to the unoffending child; and, though Editha is repreſented by contemporary writers as poſſeſſed of all the graces of perſonal beauty, and endowed with every virtue that can adorn the female mind, ſhe never could acquire the confidence and eſteem of her unnatural huſband. It is even aſſerted, that he never conſummated the marriage; but abſtained from all connection with his wife, in conſequence of a pretended vow of chaſtity, which excited the praiſe and admiration of the monks, and contributed not a little to procure him the title of Saint and Confeſſor.

This ſtrange and unjuſtifiable conduct was attended with fatal effects; Edward having no children, the ambition of the Engliſh nobles was rouſed; and Harold, the brother of Editha, who was equally diſtinguiſhed for his power and talents, ſecretly formed the moſt judicious ſchemes for ſecuring his ſucceſſion to the throne. But the king, appriſed of his intention, and inexpreſſibly hurt at the idea of being ſucceeded by the heir of a family whoſe power had been built on the ruins of regal authority, adopted a plan which ſeemed to promiſe an effectual diſappointment to his projects. Though his natural affection for the Normans—among whom he paſſed his youthful days—had led him to wiſh that duke William might ſucceed him, he was now fearful that ſuch an appointment would prove favourable to the pretenſions of Harold, by affording the people, who were averſe from the domination of foreigners, a ſpecious pretext for ſupporting the claims of their favourite. For this reaſon, he judged it more prudent to fix on his nephew Edward, ſurnamed the Exile, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, for his ſucceſſor, who was the only remaining heir of the

Saxon line, and whoſe title could not have admitted of a diſpute, ſince it was preferable to that of Edward himſelf. This prince, indeed, would have ſucceeded to the throne on the death of Hardicanute, had he not, by his continual reſidence, from his infancy, in a country ſo remote as Hungary, ſo entirely eſtranged himſelf from the Engliſh, that they regarded him as a foreigner, and therefore gave the preference to Edward the Confeſſor. He arrived in his native country in the year 1057, after an abſence of forty years, but unhappily died within a month after his arrival, leaving an infant ſon, named Edgar Atheling.

Thus the fears of the king, which had been diſpelled by the arrival of his nephew, were renewed by his death, and he was conſtrained to look out for another ſucceſſor, as he plainly perceived that the youth and inexperience of Edgar would be able to form but a feeble oppoſition to ſo popular and powerful a rival as Harold. In this extremity, he again caſt his eyes on William, duke of Normandy, whoſe talents and power, he was induced to hope, would enable him to ſurmount every obſtacle that might be oppoſed to his ſucceſſion.

At this period, William had, by his valour and perſeverance, expelled all daring pretenders to the ducal crown, and reduced his turbulent and imperious barons to due ſubmiſſion; compelled them to ſacrifice their mutual animoſities to the public tranquillity, and eſtabliſhed his ſovereignty on the firmeſt baſis. In a moſt rigorous adminiſtration of juſtice he diſplayed the natural ſeverity of his temper, which was well adapted to reſtrain the impetuoſity of ſubjects whom lenity could not ſoothe to obedience: but, from the ſucceſs which attended this plan of government in his Norman dominions, William was unfortunately led to believe, that its excellence was not local, but univerſal; and therefore eſtabliſhed, as a maxim, that inflexibility of conduct was the firſt duty of a ſovereign.

Though Edward was fixed in his determination that William ſhould ſucceed him, yet, fearful to promote diſturbances by an open avowal of his intentions, he never put them in execution. Harold, whoſe hopes, which had been damped for a time, were now revived by the death of the lawful heir, openly proceeded to purſue the moſt effective meaſures for the increaſe of his popularity, and the eſtabliſhment of his power. There was one obſtacle, however, in his way to the throne, which it ſeemed difficult to remove. Earl Godwin, when reſtored to his fortune and honours, had given hoſtages for his peaceful and loyal demeanour; and, among the reſt, was a ſon named Ulnoth, and a grandſon named Haquin, whom Edward, for greater ſecurity, had conſigned to to the cuſtody of the duke of Normandy, at whoſe court they were ſtill detained.

Though Harold did not know that the duke was his competitor, yet he was ſtill anxious to procure the liberation of his brother and nephew, from an apprehenſion, that William might, in favour of Edgar Atheling, retain theſe pledges to operate as a check on the ambitious pretenſions of any other claimant. He

therefore repreſented to the king, that as Godwin was dead, there could be no reaſon for their farther detention; particularly as his own conduct had afforded the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of unfeigned ſubmiſſion to royal authority, and the moſt perfect attachment to his prince, and devotion to the ſervice of his country. But Edward, though inceſſantly importuned on the ſubject, ſteadily refuſed to comply with his entreaties, alledging, that his application ſhould not be addreſſed to him, but to the duke of Normandy, in whoſe poſſeſſion the hoſtages were; and Harold, at length, perceiving that all attempts to obtain a more ſatisfactory anſwer would prove unavailing, deſired the king's permiſſion to make a voyage to the continent, that he might have an opportunity of ſoliciting the duke in perſon, and endeavour to obtain from him the releaſe of his kinſmen. The requeſt was perfectly conſonant with the king's wiſhes, who did not doubt that William would find ſome ſpecious pretext for detaining him in Normandy, or at leaſt that he would take ſuch meaſures as would effectually prevent Harold from oppoſing any obſtacle to his deſign.

Having obtained the king's conſent, Harold, wholly ignorant of his intentions in favour of William, and conſequently unſuſpicious of the danger he was about to incur, made immediate preparations for his departure, and embarked for Rouen, with a numerous and ſplendid retinue; but, being driven by a tempeſt on the coaſt of Picardy, he was compelled to take refuge in a port, ſituated in the territories of Guy, Count of Ponthieu; who, being appriſed of his quality, ordered him to be detained as a priſoner, and demanded an exorbitant price for his ranſom. Fortunately Harold found means to convey intelligence of his ſituation to the duke of Normandy; to whom he repreſented, that the avaricious diſpoſition of the count of Ponthieu had compelled him to take an unfair advantage of a misfortune which had befallen him, as he was proceeding to the court of Normandy in execution of a commiſſion from the king of England.

The importance of this incident immediately ſtruck William in the moſt forcible point of view. He foreſaw, that, if he could once gain Harold, either by threats or promiſes, he ſhould encounter no farther obſtructions in his way to the throne; and Edward might then execute, without fear of danger, or dread of oppoſition, thoſe intentions which he entertained in his favour; he, therefore, diſpatched a meſſenger to the count of Ponthieu, to demand, in a peremptory tone, the liberation of his priſoner; and that nobleman, not daring to incur the diſpleaſure of ſo powerful a prince, delivered Harold into the hands of his emiſſary, who conducted him to Rouen.

William received Harold with every poſſible demonſtration of reſpect, and the moſt cordial marks of friendſhip; but, being acquainted with his ambitious projects, he was at a loſs in what manner to proceed; whether to deſtroy him as a dangerous competitor, or to ſecure him as a powerful friend. By the adoption of the firſt meaſure, he muſt have made a premature declaration of his own views, which

it was his intereſt to conceal: beſides, the deſtruction of a nobleman, ſo univerſally eſteemed, might have occaſioned a rupture between the Engliſh and Normans, which muſt have entirely fruſtrated any meaſures the king might wiſh to purſue, in order to enſure him the ſucceſſion; and had Edward died, during a war, it was even impoſſible he ſhould leave the kingdom to a prince by whom it was actually attacked. Harold, moreover, being entruſted with the government of Weſſex and Kent, all the forts in the ſouthern parts of the iſland were in poſſeſſion of his immediate dependants, who would doubtleſs defend them to the laſt extremity againſt his aſſaſſin; a circumſtance alone ſufficient to create a formidable obſtruction to the deſigns of the duke.

Theſe conſiderations, added to the uncertainty of the advancement which Harold had made in the affections of the Engliſh, and, conſequently, of the probability that exiſted of ſucceeding in his attempts, induced William to adopt the leſs deſperate mode of endeavouring to enſnare his friendſhip, though it was liable to objections equally valid, and was attended with equal danger: for, by communicating his intentions to Harold, he afforded him an ample opportunity of defeating them. He was willing, however, to believe, that, by ſo extraordinary a proof of his confidence, he ſhould excite the generoſity of Harold to make a ſuitable return; and, therefore, after evincing a diſpoſition to comply with his requeſt, in delivering up the hoſtages, he took an opportunity of diſcloſing to him the important ſecret of his pretentions to the crown of England, and of the will which Edward intended to make in his favour. This diſcovery was followed by the expreſſion of an earneſt deſire that Harold would aſſiſt him in eſtabliſhing his claims; and by a ſolemn aſſurance that, in return for ſo great an obligation, he would comply with the ſuggeſtions of unbounded gratitude in ſupporting the preſent unrivalled grandeur of Harold and his family; which, he remarked, would with difficulty ſuſtain itſelf againſt the jealous and inveterate averſion of Edward, but could not fail to receive a conſiderable increaſe from a ſucceſſor who would be ſo highly indebted to him for his elevation. He gave him to underſtand, at the ſame time, that he was not unacquainted with his own ambitious views; and endeavoured to impreſs his mind with a juſt ſenſe of the extreme difficulty with which an attempt to obtain his ends would be infallibly attended. To divert Harold from his purpoſe, he expreſſed to him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the determined oppoſition he muſt naturally expect to incur, as well from Edgar Atheling, as from the Engliſh nobility, who would not fail to regard his ambition with an eye of jealouſy. He made uſe of an argument ſtill more forcible, by plainly telling him that, ſhould fortune prove ſo far favourable as to enable him to ſurmount every other obſtacle, he would ſtill find a reſolute enemy in himſelf, who was amply poſſeſſed of every requiſite for undertaking a long and obſtinate conteſt, and whom no conſideration of danger or difficulty could deter from enforcing a claim which he conceived to be founded in juſtice. In ſhort, he obſerved to him, that by affording his aſſiſtance he might ſecure an

extent of power equalled by none but the royal authority; whereas, if he rejected his proffered friendſhip, he hazarded the loſs of a certain and eſtabliſhed advantage, for an uncertain and precarious proſpect of aggrandiſement.

Harold, though infinitely ſurpriſed at the duke's declaration, poſſeſſed ſufficient preſence of mind to be ſenſible of the danger he ſhould incur by a peremptory refuſal to favour his pretenſions; he therefore feigned to be convinced by the reaſons which the duke had alledged to deter him from the purſuit of his project; and, aſſuming a tone of hypocriſy juſtly adapted to the occaſion, confeſſed to William, with a plauſive appearance of candour, that, before the arrival of prince Edward, as the king was without heirs, he had indeed entertained hopes of ſucceeding to the crown, from a conſciouſneſs that there was no nobleman in England whoſe wealth and ſervices could give him ſo juſt a claim to the affection and obedience of the people: that, in conſequence of ſuch hopes, he had even proceeded to take certain meaſures, which had afforded him the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs; but that the arrival of the lawful heir to the throne had induced him to change his intentions, as he had been anxious to receive the crown as the free gift of the people, and not to ſeize it as an uſurper. He added, that, ſince he was acquainted with the pretentions of William, and the pleaſure of his ſovereign, he ſhould think it his duty to promote them; as he would much rather that the kingdom ſhould fall under the dominion of a prince who was able to defend it, than under that of a child, whoſe infant imbecility gave but little hopes of improvement.

William, to attach him more firmly to his intereſt, offered him one of his daughters in marriage; but the princeſs not being yet arrived at years of maturity, the conſummation of the marriage was deferred to a future period. He alſo required Harold to take a ſolemn oath to adhere ſtrictly to the promiſe he had made; and, in order to render it more ſacred and binding, had recourſe to an artifice which conveys a juſt idea of the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the times—he ordered the relics of ſome of the moſt revered martyrs and ſaints to be privately conveyed beneath the altar on which Harold had conſented to ſwear; and, when the oath was taken, expoſed them to his view, with an earneſt exhortation to obſerve moſt religiouſly an engagement contracted under ſuch auſpices, and ratified by ſo tremendous a ſanction: the duke then diſmiſſed him, with great profeſſions of friendſhip and future protection; having firſt delivered to him his nephew Haquin, and promiſed to bring over his brother Ulnoth, when he ſhould go to England himſelf.

Harold was no ſooner at liberty, than he conceived himſelf authoriſed to violate an oath, which had been extorted by fear, and which, if fulfilled, might tend to operate the ſubjection of his native country to the domination of a foreigner. He determined to take advantage of the confidence that had been repoſed in him, the more effectually to fruſtrate the deſigns of the duke of Normandy. He exerted the utmoſt diligence and aſſiduity in increaſing the number of his partizans,

and ſpared no pains to ſecure the eſteem of the people. If, hitherto, he had really experienced any ſcruples of conſcience from an attempt to uſurp the crown, to the excluſion of the lawful heir, he now conceived himſelf to be totally exempt from any imputation of injuſtice to Edgar Atheling; as, even ſhould he forego his pretentions, the ſucceſſion of that prince would be effectually impeded by the interpoſition of William. He, therefore, ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to reconcile the minds of the Engliſh to his own elevation to the regal dignity: he revived their ancient averſion to the Normans, and, by an oſtentatious diſplay of his influence and power, ſought to deter the wavering and timorous Edward from executing his intended will in favour of his Norman competitor.

The king, advanced in years and oppreſſed with infirmities, made no attempt to counteract his projects. Accordingly, on his death, which happened at the commencement of the year 1066, the crown was, by the unanimous voice of the people, conferred on Harold, who proved himſelf worthy to wear it, by a diſplay of wiſdom, vigour, moderation, and juſtice, that promiſed to ſecure the happineſs of his ſubjects, and the welfare of the ſtate. The duke of Normandy, enraged at the ſucceſs of his rival, made a vow, that he ſhould experience the moſt dreadful effects of his indignation; but, that his attempt might be ſanctioned by ſome colour of juſtice, he ſent ambaſſadors to England, to reproach Harold with a violation of his oath, and to demand, in a peremptory tone, the immediate reſignation of the throne which he had uſurped, threatening him with immediate war in caſe of a refuſal. To this inſolent ſummons, Harold juſtly replied, that William could have no poſſible pretenſions to the crown of England; that, if the late king had really made a will in his favour, it could be of no effect, as the laws of the land expreſsly forbade him to diſpoſe of the liberties of his ſubjects according to the ſuggeſtions of his own caprice; and that they had expreſsly provided againſt the ſucceſſion of a foreigner: that, for his part, the crown had been conferred on him by the unanimous ſuffrages of the people, whoſe favour he ſhould deſerve to forfeit, were he capable of betraying the deareſt intereſts of the nation, which had been conſigned to his care; that, with regard to the oath, with the violation of which his ambaſſadors had dared to upbraid him, it had been extorted by a well-grounded fear of perſonal violence, and could, therefore, never be regarded as obligatory. Finally, he gave the duke to underſtand, that, if he made any attempt to enforce his claim, he would find the Engliſh ready to defend their liberties to the laſt extremity, under a monarch who, conſcious of the importance of the truſt repoſed in him, was determined that his reign ſhould end but with his life.

William, on receiving this reſolute anſwer, made the moſt formidable preparations for war. Though fully aware of the dangers that muſt inevitably attend this important enterpriſe, he ſuffered the voice of prudence to be ſilenced by the dictates of reſentment; and, ſubſtituting ambition for juſtice, determined to ſurmount every obſtacle that ſhould be oppoſed to his progreſs.

He found his hopes of ſucceſs on the conſideration, that the long period of tranquillity which England had enjoyed, for the ſpace of near half a century, muſt have eſſentially enervated its inhabitants; that the Engliſh ſoldiers muſt be conſequently devoid of diſcipline, and the officers of experience. He knew that the kingdom was wholly unprovided with fortified towns, which afforded an opportunity of prolonging a war; and that one deciſive action muſt, therefore, determine its fate. He was, moreover, willing to believe, that, as Harold had aſcended the throne in direct oppoſition to the will of the late monarch, he was not ſo firmly ſeated on it, but that the leaſt commotion might occaſion a revolt that would prove fatal to his authority.

Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he haſtened the equipment of his fleet; and the fame of the intended invaſion being already diffuſed over the neighbouring kingdoms, great numbers of powerful noblemen, allured by the reputation which William had acquired by his military conduct, repaired to his ſtandard, accompanied by their vaſſals and dependents. But Conan, count of Brittany, who was the avowed enemy of William, embraced this favourable opportunity of advancing a frivolous claim to the duchy of Normandy, which he prepared to enforce by marching a powerful army into the Norman territories.

The duke, aware that a defeat at the preſent critical period muſt effectually fruſtrate his deſigns upon England, propoſed terms of accommodation to the count; but theſe being rejected with diſdain, William was compelled to prepare for deciding the diſpute by the ſword; and as the two armies were nearly equal in numbers, a deſperate engagement was expected to enſue, when the death of Conan, who died ſuddenly, very opportunely prevented the effuſion of blood.

Some hiſtorians affirm that this nobleman was poiſoned by his chamberlain, at the inſtigation of William; an aſſertion which acquires a great ſemblance of probability from a due conſideration of all the relative circumſtances; though it is not ſufficiently aſcertained to enable us to vouch for its authenticity.

Hoel, the brother-in-law, and ſucceſſor of Conan, deviated from the prudent policy of his predeceſſor, and not only concluded a peace with the duke of Normandy, but ſent his eldeſt ſon, Alain Fergeant, to join him with a body of five thouſand Bretons. The counts of Anjou, Poictou, Maine, and Boulogne, alſo engaged to ſupply him with troops and tranſports, on condition of being repaid for their ſervices by a ſtipulated portion of land, after the conqueſt with England.

William had even the audacity to apply for aſſiſtance to France; and Baldwin, rather through fear than friendſhip, permitted him to levy troops in the dominions of Philip, and even ſupplied him with a ſum of money. Henry the Fourth, emperor of Germany, not only gave permiſſion to his vaſſals to embark in this expedition, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, but ſolemnly engaged to protect the duchy of Normandy from inſult or invaſion during the abſence of William, who was thereby enabled to employ his whole force in the enterpriſe.

But an ally of ſtill greater importance, whom William had found the means of winning over to his intereſt, was the pope, whoſe influence on the minds of the people, in thoſe days of darkneſs and ſuperſtition, was immenſe. Far from confining his cares to the due performance of his ſpiritual duties, and the ſalutary regulation of his church, this aſpiring prelate aſſumed the right to interpoſe in all ſecular tranſactions, and to act as a deſpotic arbiter in the diſputes of monarchs; not merely with a laudable view of enforcing harmony, but, too frequently, for the malignant purpoſe of lighting the torch of diſcord, and affording a ſanction to injuſtice. Alexander the Second, who now enjoyed the papal dignity, highly pleaſed by William's appeal to his tribunal, and his offer to hold the kingdom of England as a fief of the apoſtolic ſee, determined to eſpouſe his quarrel; hoping too, by that means, to extend his influence to England, which ſtill maintained a certain degree of independence in its eccleſiaſtical government, and had, hitherto, ſtrenuouſly reſiſted thoſe exorbitant claims by which the grandeur of the papacy was ſupported. Urged by theſe potent conſiderations, without giving himſelf time to inveſtigate the juſtice and validity of William's claim, he openly declared in favour of it; and, to inſpire the Normans with confidence, ſent the duke a conſecrated banner, a golden Agnus Dei, and one of Saint Peter's hairs ſet in a ring; while, on the other hand, he attacked his adverſary, Harold, with the artillery of the church, denouncing excommunication againſt him and all his adherents.

Though this concurrence of favourable circumſtances had removed many obſtacles which had oppoſed themſelves to William's deſigns, by affording a colour of juſtice to his proceedings, and thereby diſpelling the doubts of ſome, who were deterred, by ſcruples of conſcience, from engaging in his cauſe; yet one eſſential difficulty ſtill remained to be obviated: this conſiſted in the means of raiſing a ſufficient ſum of money to defray the enormous expences of ſo vaſt an undertaking. He, at firſt, had recourſe to the ordinary mode of convening an aſſembly of the ſtates of Normandy, which, accordingly, met at Lillebonne; but, when he demanded their permiſſion to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies by means of a general impoſt, they unanimouſly refuſed to comply with his requeſt, from a judicious preference of the happineſs and repoſe of their country to the dangerous gratification of their ſovereign's ambition; for they plainly foreſaw, that, if William ſucceeded in his deſigns, Normandy would infallibly become a province of England; and that, if he failed in his attempt, the duchy muſt long feel the effects of his defeat. They therefore repreſented to him that the late wars having nearly exhauſted the principality, both of men and money, they were ſo far from being able to attempt new conqueſts, that they ſhould even find great difficulty in defending their own territories againſt the attacks of any powerful invader. They added, that though the claims of William might be founded in juſtice, they were not aware of any advantage that could poſſibly accrue to their country from the enterpriſe; nor were they obliged to ſerve in

foreign expeditions, in which the intereſt of Normandy was not immediately concerned.

The duke, finding there was no probability of ſucceeding with the ſtates, reſolved on a ſeparate application to the moſt wealthy individuals of the province; and, beginning with thoſe in whom he could place the firmeſt reliance, obtained, by degrees, the requiſite ſum for the equipment of his armament.

The counts of Longueville and Mortaigne afforded him great aſſiſtance in this negociation. Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, brother to the duke, fitted out forty veſſels at his own expenſe; William Fitz-Oſborne, count of Breteuil, and conſtable of the duchy, provided a ſimilar number, and the biſhop of Mons ſupplied him with thirty. The example of theſe noblemen was followed by many others; and the ſtates, finding it in vain to perſiſt in refuſing the required aſſiſtance, as without it he would be enabled to put his project in execution, at laſt conſented to grant his requeſt.

William had, by this time, collected a fleet of three thouſand veſſels, and aſſembled an army of ſixty thouſand choſen men; among which were more than five thouſand noblemen, four hundred and fifty of whom were of the firſt rank. The moſt celebrated were Guy, count of Ponthieu; Alain Fergeant, count of Dol; Amaury, viſcount of Thouars; the lords of Vetre, Chateaugiron, Gael, and Loheac; all of them Bretons. The chief of the Normans were Odo, biſhop of Bayeux; the count of Mortaigne and his ſon, Geoffry de Rotrou; Roger, count of Beaumont, and his ſon Robert; the count of Longueville; with the lords of Avranches, Touques, Etouteville, Arques, Gournay, and Saint Sauveur de Cotentin, an old general of eighty, who was reſolved to terminate a life of glory in the field of honour. There were alſo Euſtace, count of Boulogne; Hugh, count of Eſtaples; William Fitz-Richard, count of Evreux; William de Warrenne; Hugh de Grantmeſnil; Charles Martel; Roger de Montgomery, and Walter Giffard. To theſe courageous chieftains William promiſed the ſpoils of England, as a reward for their valour; and, pointing to the Britiſh coaſt, told them that was the field in which they muſt render their names immortal, and procure to themſelves honourable eſtabliſhments.

William had collected his fleet early in the ſummer of 1066, but was prevented from ſailing by contrary winds, and different incidents, till the month of September, when it ſet ſail from the harbour of Saint Valori; and, after a fortunate paſſage, arrived at Pevenſey, in Suſſex, on Michaelmas-day, when the army was diſembarked without the ſmalleſt oppoſition, as a large fleet, which Harold had aſſembled, and which had cruized off the Iſle of Wight during the ſummer, had been diſmiſſed, on a falſe report that William had diſcontinued his preparations.

After publiſhing a manifeſto, as falſe as his claims were frivolous, he advanced to the vicinity of Haſtings, where he was met by the Engliſh army, under the command of Harold and his valiant brothers; the fatal battle was fought on

the fourteenth of October, and, after an obſtinate and bloody conflict, which laſted from morning till night, William, by an artifice, ſecured that victory, which decided the fate of England. The death of Harold left this foreign uſurper in poſſeſſion of the field—and of the kingdom; and the ſceptre of Britain, which had been ſwayed by the Anglo-Saxons for more than ſix hundred years, was now transferred to the hand of a Norman.

A.D. 1067.] The power which William acquired by this new conqueſt, afforded juſt ſubject of alarm to all the neighbouring princes, who repented, when too late, their own weakneſs, in not oppoſing his efforts. King Philip, young as he was, conceived that a crowned vaſſal was an object of apprehenſion; and he loudly cenſured the regent, who had aſſiſted the duke of Normandy with money and troops. But Baldwin did not long ſurvive this event: his death was a great loſs to the kingdom which he governed with conſummate prudence; and a ſtill greater to the youthful monarch, who now became his own maſter, at an age when the underſtanding is generally weak, and the paſſions are ſtrong. Philip was then but fifteen; and, according to the ancient law of the realm, the king was not of age till he was twenty-one. It does not appear, however, that any other regent was named. The firſt expedition of the new monarch was into Flanders, whither reſpect for the memory of Baldwin reduced him to carry his arms.

It had long been a cuſtom with the counts of Flanders to reſpect the rights of primogeniture, ſo far as to leave all their dominions to the eldeſt ſon, to the total excluſion the younger children. The regent left two ſons, Baldwin the Sixth, who ſucceeded him; and Robert, who, according to the romantic ideas of the age*, was ſent to ſeek his fortune on the Spaniſh coaſt. He landed in Gallicia; and, after making a conſiderable booty, was compelled to retreat to his ſhips, and return home. He then went, as a pilgrim, to Conſtantinople, whither he was invited by ſome Norman gentlemen, who had formed a deſign of making themſelves maſters of Greece. But their project being detected, Robert turned back, with a firm reſolution of eſtabliſhing himſelf in the vicinity of Flanders. He accordingly collected what troops he could, and made an attack upon Friezeland, which was then governed by Gertrude of Saxony, widow to count Florent, and guardian to her infant ſon, Thierri. The Flemiſh prince, though twice repulſed, renewed his attacks with ſuch determined courage, that the counteſs, fearing that he muſt finally ſucceed, offered him her hand, with the county of Friezeland; which he accepted, and from thence acquired the appellation of Robert the Friſon.

A. D. 1070.] Such was the ſtate of Flanders at the death of the regent of France, a prince of ſtrong talents, and inflexible integrity. Baldwin the Sixth, his ſucceſſor, either from jealouſy, ambition, or antipathy to his younger bro-

* Lambert Aſchaff. de reb. Germ.

ther, reſolved to deprive him of an eſtabliſhment, for which he was ſolely indebted to his courage and good conduct. In vain did Robert ſue for peace, and ſolicit his friendſhip; bent on war, he had recourſe to arms; and a battle enſuing, he paid for his unjuſt aud criminal attempt with his life. His two ſons, Arnoul and Baldwin, being ſtill in their infancy, were incapable of ſtopping the progreſs of the victor, who eaſily made himſelf maſter of his brother's principality. Deſpoiled of their inheritance, they fled, with their mother, Richilde of Hainault, to the court of France, and implored the protection of Philip, who received them with kindneſs; and, raiſing an army, advanced againſt the uſurper. But, in a deciſive battle, near Caſſel, the French were defeated; and the young count, Arnoul, periſhed in the action. Robert, by no means elated with his victory, was ſtill eager to obtain the friendſhip of Philip; who accepted the profferred alliance, and even conſented to marry Bertha, daughter to his wife Gertrude, by Florent, count of Friezeland. Young Baldwin being thus abandoned by France, was compelled to content himſelf with the diſtrict of Hainault, and the title of count, and to leave his uncle in the peaceable enjoyment of Flanders.

A. D. 1073.] The church of Rome was, at this time, governed by the famous Hildebrand, a man of low extraction, formerly a monk of Cluni, afterwards a cardinal, and at length, on the death of Alexander the Second, promoted to the papal dignity, under the appellation of Gregory the Seventh. This turbulent and aſpiring pontiff, not content with the arbitrary exerciſe of his ſpiritual authority, laid claim to univerſal dominion; nor ſuffered his enterpriſing genius to be reſtrained by fear, decency, or moderation. His impious zeal engendered more inſurrections, and cauſed a greater effuſion of blood, than the ambition of the moſt ſanguinary tyrants. "He neglected nothing*," ſays Paſquier, "which either arms, the pen, or ſpiritual cenſures, could effect, in "order to promote the advantage of the papacy, and the diſadvantage of ſo"vereign princes." He was the firſt who dared to advance the dangerous doctrine, that the pope had a right to depoſe emperors, and to abſolve ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance†. At leaſt, ſuch is the doctrine, contained in the famous publication known by the name of *dictatus papæ*‡, becauſe it gave the particulars of the pope's inſtructions to his legates. All the *circular letters* of this pontiff breathe the ſame ſpirit of arrogance; they contain repeated aſſertions

* Paſqueir, Recher. de la Fran. c. viii. et xiv. p. 190 et 219. † Epiſt. 35. Greg. vii. lib. ii.

‡ That candour and impartiality by which an hiſtorian ſhould never ceaſe to be ſwayed, compel us to obſerve, that many able critics, particularly Pagi and Father Alexandre, have been decidedly of opinion, that the treatiſe entitled, Dictatus Papæ, was not the production of Gregory; but written by ſome of his enemies, in order to render him odious. At this diſtance of time, it is almoſt impoſſible to verify the fact; but we muſt remark, that all the circular letters, ſent by that pontiff to the different biſhops, breathe the ſame ſpirit, and contain the ſame pernicious doctrine of ſpiritual authority over temporal concerns; and certain it is, that the conduct of Gregory was well calculated to impreſs a belief, that the publication in queſtion was really compoſed by him,

that biſhops are ſuperior to kings, and are made to judge them; a precept to which his practice was ſtrictly conformable.

He excommunicated and depoſed Boleſlaus, king of Poland, and even took from that country the title of kingdom. The emperor of Conſtantinople alſo received an order from the imperious pontiff* to abdicate a throne which he had uſurped. The princes of Calabria, in order to avoid the thunders of the church, were compelled to take an oath of fidelity to the pope, and to hold their territories as fiefs of the holy ſee†. In his letters to Manaſſes, archbiſhop of Rheims, and to ſome other French prelates, he ſays—"Your king is a tyrant, "unworthy to ſway the ſceptre: his life is paſſed in infamy and crime‡." Theſe inſolent expreſſions are followed by his uſual threat of excommunication. But this was only the prelude to his daring attempts upon France. His legates ſoon received orders to exact from the French an annual tribute‖ of a ſilver denier, for every houſe in the kingdom, which was equivalent to the Peter-Pence paid by the Engliſh. Philip, however, treated this audacious demand with the contempt it deſerved.

Spain was treated with ſtill greater arrogance. "*You cannot but know*§," ſaid he, in his letters to the chriſtian princes of that country, "*that Saint Peter* "*is liege lord of all your petty ſtates, and that they are the ſole property of the holy* "*apoſtolic ſee. They had better be in the hands of the Saracens, than not pay* "*due homage to the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt. You muſt have learned from your fa-* "*thers*¶, (ſpeaking to Solomon, king of a country but juſt converted to chriſtianity) "*that Hungary is a domain of the church of Rome. Be aſſured, you will ex-* "*perience her indignation, unleſs you acknowledge that you derive your authority from* "*the pope.*" The duke of Bohemia paid him an annual tribute of a hundred marks of ſilver, for permiſſion to wear a mitre. Sardinia, Dalmatia, and Ruſſia, were, he maintained, all fiefs of the triple crown. "*Your ſon,*" ſays he, in a letter to king Demetrius**, "*has declared that he wiſhes to receive the crown* "*from our hands; this demand appearing to us to be founded in juſtice, we have* "*given him your kingdom on the part of Saint Peter.*"

But Henry the Fourth, emperor of Germany, was more haraſſed by the daring pretenſions of this turbulent prieſt, than any of the other princes. Under a pretence that he ſold eccleſiaſtical benefices and dignities, the pope ſummoned him to appear at Rome, to anſwer the accuſations that were preferred againſt him. Henry had juſt returned from a glorious expedition into Saxony, when he received this ſtrange citation. Inſtead of anſwering it, he aſſembled a ſynod at Worms, at which the pontiff was condemned and depoſed. Gregory, on his part, convened a council, and pronounced the following anathema. "*On the* "*part of the Omnipotent God, I forbid Henry to govern the kingdoms of Ger-*

* Mabill. Præf. 2, tom. ix. p. 28. † L. viii. Epiſt. Greg. Poſt. Primam Epiſt. ‡ Epiſt. 32. 35. l. ii.
‖ Greg. Epiſt. 23. § L. i. Epiſt. 6. 7. l. 6. Epiſt. 28. ¶ L. ii. Epiſt. 28. ** L. vi. Epiſt. 24.

"*many and Italy: I abſolve all chriſtians from every oath they either have taken* "*or may take to him: and I excommunicate whoever ſhall ſerve him as a king.*"

This ſentence, for which our language can afford no epithet ſufficiently ſtrong to mark the infamy of the prelate who pronounced it, had influence enough—ſuch was the darkneſs and ignorance of the age!—to arm the whole empire againſt its chief. Henry ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded by an army of rebels, who, with the pope's bull in their hand, compelled him to promiſe, that he would retire to Spires, and there live in the capacity of a private citizen, without attempting to diſcharge any of the functions of royalty, till ſuch time as Gregory ſhould repair to Augſbourg, in order to preſide at the court of princes and prelates who were to try their ſovereign. To avert a ſentence ſo degrading, the emperor reſolved to aſk abſolution of the pope; who was then at Canoſſa, near Reggio, with the counteſs Matilda, who may be conſidered as the true cauſe of the diviſions which prevailed between the imperial and prieſtly dignity*. Henry accordingly repaired to that fortreſs, wholly unattended, with his feet naked, and his body enveloped in ſackcloth. He was ſtopped at the gate, and ordered to faſt for three days. At length he was admitted to kiſs the pontiff's feet, on condition that he would ſhow a perfect ſubmiſſion to his will, and repair to Augſbourg, there to wait his pleaſure.

But the Lombards, moved at the ſtate of humiliation to which this young prince, who had frequently ſignalized his courage and conduct in the field of victory, was reduced by the impious arrogance of an aſpiring prieſt, promiſed to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his dignity, provided he would break the diſgraceful engagement he had juſt contracted. In conſequence of this unexpected ſuccour, the face of affairs was ſpeedily changed, and Gregory was beſieged in the very fortreſs from whence he had recently given laws to the princes of Europe. Still his courage was inflexible; he carried on his uſual war of words; was laviſh of his threats and excommunications†, and had even ſufficient credit to promote the election of a new emperor, in the perſon of Rodolph of Rheinfeld, duke of Suabia, to whom Gregory ſent a crown of gold, with the following Latin verſe, containing a ſtupid play upon words.—

"*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.*"

As ſoon as Henry was appriſed of this revolt, he haſtened into Germany, where, notwithſtanding the ſpiritual thunder of the pope, *who condemned him to have no ſtrength in battle, and to gain no victory*‡, he fought and defeated his rival. The uſurper, being mortally wounded by Godfrey of Bouillon, acknowledged, on his death-bed, that he was juſtly puniſhed for having taken up arms againſt his lawful ſovereign.

* Dambert, p. 240. † Hiſt. Bel. Sax. p. 135. ‡ Tom. x, Conc, p. 381.

The emperor then returned to Italy, and laid ſiege to Rome. He took with him a new pope, who had been elected under his auſpices, at Mayence. This was Guibert, archbiſhop of Ravenna*, afterwards known by the appellation of Clement the Third. The city was taken; but Gregory eſcaped and went to end his days in exile at Salerno. Had this ſpiritual Alexander, whoſe ambition ſoared beyond the ſcanty limits of the world, lived in a more enlightened age, it is probable that he would either have been confined on the plea of inſanity, or that his criminal enterpriſes would have met their juſt reward on a ſcaffold.

In times of darkneſs and ſuperſtition, that the moſt atrocious crimes, when veiled beneath the ſpecious maſk of piety, acquire a different complexion, and are conſidered as worthy of imitation and praiſe, is a fact that rather incurs pity, than excites aſtoniſhment; but, when the film of prejudice is removed, when the judgment ceaſes to be obſcured, and the mind is no longer bound by local ties, or private partialities, that then the infamy, which for ages has attached to vicious characters, ſhould be done away by the mere force of words, and the powers of ſophiſtry, is a matter of deep concern, that leads us to lament the depradation, or, at leaſt, the groſs miſapplication of genius and ability. Hildebrand and Becket, have both found a champion, in the *eighteenth* century!!! A champion who has devoted his ſplendid talents, not to the mere taſk of palliation, but to the converſion of abſolute crimes into active virtues. With regard to Hildebrand, it has been urged, that he aimed at univerſal dominion, for the ſole purpoſe of promoting a reformation of manners, which was generally wanting, and of enforcing and extending the precepts of chriſtianity and the practice of piety. Admitting this to have been his motive, his conduct was *ſo far* laudable; ſtill, however, the means he adopted for the execution of his plan, were inconſiſtent with his ſtation, and deteſtable from their immediate effects. Beſides, how can his endeavours to extend a deſpotic authority over all temporal concerns be reconciled with the expreſs declaration of that Being, whoſe vicar he profeſſed himſelf to be—*that his kingdom was not of this world?* or how will the arrogant and preſumptuous language of Gregory be made to ſquare with the meekneſs and humility of Chriſt? Can treaſon, perjury, rebellion, and murder, be proper inſtruments for enforcing obedience to *a God of mercy and peace?* But, we are told, what we now conſider as vice had formerly a different denomination, and that in appreciating crimes, we ſhould always conſider the age and country in which they were committed—to this we reply—that truth and virtue are fixed and immutable; confined to no age; peculiar to no ſoil; attached to no party. Their precepts are plain and ſimple; correctly defined, and eaſily underſtood; though ſophiſtry may diſguiſe, it can never ſubvert them. Their nature ever was, is, and ever will be the ſame. Were it poſſible to change it, the firmeſt bond of ſocial harmony would be diſſolved; and every

* Acta ap. Boll. c. iii. tom 17.

crime admit of juſtification. The abbe Velly has obſerved, not unjuſtly, that the misfortunes of Gregory may be chiefly aſcribed to his ignorance of the proper boundaries of ſpiritual authority, and to his having arrogated to himſelf a power over temporal matters, that Jeſus Chriſt never granted, either directly or indirectly, to any of his diſciples. This bold aſſumption gave riſe to numerous wars, that were attended with a vaſt effuſion of blood, and a long train of calamities both to church and ſtate.

The diſpute between the emperor and the ſovereign pontiff induced all the ſovereigns of Europe to take proper precautions againſt the daring and dangerous power of the pope*. Such precautions, if Paſquier may be credited, had long been adopted in France. "We have had," ſays that author, "from the "earlieſt times, three propoſitions which have ſerved us as a ſhield. The firſt "is, that the king of France cannot be excommunicated by the authority of "the pope: the ſecond, that the pope has no juriſdiction or power over the "temporalities of kings:—the laſt, that the general and univerſal council is "ſuperior to the pope†."

An inſurrection of the inhabitants of Mans, called William the Norman from England, to reduce the rebels to ſubmiſſion. This taſk was no ſooner accompliſhed, than he was obliged to turn his arms againſt Ralph de Guader, a Breton, who had taken refuge in the city of Dol, whither William purſued him, and laying ſiege to the place, ſwore that he would not deſiſt till he had taken it, and gained poſſeſſion of his enemy. But he was compelled to violate his oath, for the king of France, together with Hoel count of Brittany, having ſent a formidable body of troops to the aſſiſtance of Ralph, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and relinquiſh his enterpriſe. Nor was this the only repulſe which William experienced; an event that occurred about this time was attended with much greater diſgrace and mortification.

Robert, his eldeſt ſon, ſurnamed *Gambaron*, or *Court-hoſe*, from his ſhort legs, was a prince who inherited his father's courage without his diſſimulation. Being impatient of controul, he was prompted to aſpire to an early independence; and ſeveral circumſtances had occurred to favour his deſign. When William received the ſubmiſſions of the province of Maine, he had promiſed the inhabitants that he would appoint Robert to govern them; and, previous to his firſt embarkation for England, while he was ſoliciting ſuccours from the French, he had expreſsly declared, that if his deſigns upon that country met with ſucceſs, the prince ſhould ſucceed him in the duchy of Normandy. This artful declaration was intended to quiet the jealouſy of his neighbours, who were fearful that he would acquire too great an extent of territory: but when Robert, after the acceſſion of his father to the throne of England, had demanded the performance of his promiſe, William anſwered, that the numerous inſurrections of

* Pere Daniel, tom. ii. p. 472. † Recherches de la France, l. iii. c. 16, p. 224.

his ſubjects, and the threatened invaſion of the Scots and Danes, rendered his power in England ſo precarious and uncertain, that prudence forbade him to part with his hereditary dominions, to which he might, perhaps, be finally, compelled to retire. This evaſive anſwer ſerved his purpoſe for a time; but all thoſe pretended obſtacles being now removed, he was compelled to lay aſide his diſſimulation, and to confeſs to his ſon, that it was his determination not to reſign any part of his territories during his life. This explicit avowal increaſed the diſcontent of Robert, who made no attempt to conceal his diſpleaſure; and was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having inſtigated Philip and the count of Brittany to that oppoſition which had compelled him to raiſe the ſiege of Dol with ſuch precipitation.

A. D. 1079.] At length the ſignal for war was given; the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, together with thoſe of Anjou and Brittany, in general, declared for the prince, who was privately ſupplied with money by his mother Matilda, and thereby enabled to ſupport an unnatural conteſt, which, during three years, convulſed the hereditary dominions of William, and totally deſtroyed his domeſtic repoſe. Philip ſpared no pains to foment the diviſion, and to enlarge the breach which ſubſiſted between father and ſon.

William, finding his authority in Normandy conſiderably diminiſhed by the attachment of the Norman nobility to his ſon, was compelled to have recourſe to England, where his tyranny had eſtabliſhed his power on a more ſolid baſis, and where the doctrine of paſſive obedience had been more ſucceſsfully inculcated. An Engliſh army was accordingly tranſported to the continent; and Robert, unable to withſtand ſo formidable a reinforcement, was compelled to leave his father in poſſeſſion of Normandy, and to retire to the caſtle of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoiſis, a retreat which Philip had ſecured for him. Here he was joined by a great number of French noblemen, who repaired thither with their vaſſals, to ſignaliſe their courage under the command of a prince who was eſteemed one of the beſt ſoldiers of his time. From thence they ravaged all the Vexin Normand, and the Pays de Caux.

William, to put a ſtop to theſe incurſions, purſued his ſon, and laid cloſe ſiege to the caſtle, which was defended with great valour. Before the walls of Gerberoy there paſſed many rencounters, which more reſembled the achievements of chivalry, than the operations of regular troops. In one of the numerous ſallies which were made during the ſiege, Robert, perceiving an officer in the Engliſh army who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his vigorous exertions, rode up to him; and, making a furious thruſt with his lance, wounded and diſmounted him at the firſt onſet. As he fell, he called out for aſſiſtance, and his voice immediately diſcovered him to be the king. Robert, ſtricken with horror at the crime he was about to accompliſh, ſprang from his horſe; and, falling on his knees, moſt earneſtly entreated his father's forgiveneſs.

William, ſtung with ſhame and indignation, did not anſwer the virtuous effuſions of filial reſpect with an equal return of tenderneſs; but, mounting his ſon's

horſe, departed for his camp, beſtowing a malediction, where a heart leſs ferocious muſt have pronounced a pardon. He ſoon after raiſed the ſiege, and returned to Rouen, where, by the importunities of the queen, and the interpoſition of his nobles, he was prevailed on to liſten to a reconciliation with Robert: but he did not think it prudent to leave him in Normandy after his own departure from that country; and therefore took him with him to England, under the ſpecious pretence of entruſting him with the command of an army, which he ſent to repel the incurſions of the Scots, who had invaded England.

A. D. 1087.] For ſome years a perfect peace prevailed between the French and Engliſh monarchs; which was at length interrupted by the account received by William of ſome idle railleries with which Philip had indulged himſelf at his expence. William, who was become extremely corpulent, had been confined for ſome weeks to his bed by ſickneſs; which led Philip to expreſs a hope, that his brother of England would be ſoon delivered of his great belly, and enabled to quit his chamber. This ſarcaſm being reported to the king, threw him into a violent paſſion, and made him ſwear—"by the ſplendour and reſurrection of "God," his uſual oath, that the firſt time he ſhould go abroad, he would light up as many torches at Saint Genevieve, to celebrate his recovery, as ſhould give but little ſatisfaction to Philip; alluding to the uſual practice, at that time, of women after child-birth, who, when they were churched, always preſented a certain number of lighted candles. Nor did he fail to put his menace in execution; for, immediately on his recovery, he entered the Iſle of France, at the head of a powerful army, at a time when the harveſt was ripe for gathering, and laid waſte the whole country with fire and ſword. He laid ſiege to Mante; and, having taken it by aſſault, firſt plundered the town, and then reduced it to aſhes, with all the churches and monaſteries it contained. But the deſtructive progreſs of theſe hoſtilities was impeded by an accident, which ſoon after put an end to William's exiſtence. His horſe, ſuddenly ſtarting, threw him on the pommel of the ſaddle, by which he received a dangerous bruiſe; and being extremely heated at the time, and likewiſe in a bad habit of body, he began to be apprehenſive of the conſequences, and ordered himſelf to be conveyed in a litter to the abbey of Saint Gervais, at Rouen, where he expired on the ninth of September, 1087, in the ſixty-third year of his age and the twenty-firſt of his reign.

A. D. 1091.] The death of this prince delivered Philip from a formidable enemy, and the dominions of the deceaſed monarch were conteſted by his three ſons. Of theſe, the ſecond, William Rufus, by the dying breath of his father, was recommended to the throne of England; but for the poſſeſſion of it, he was probably more indebted to the attachment of Eudes, the miniſter of the late king, who delivered into his hands the royal treaſures, than to the favourable opinion of a ſovereign who had never acquired the affections of his ſubjects. Robert, the eldeſt, ſucceeded to Normandy and Maine; and to Henry was only bequeathed a ſum of money. Yet Rufus, not content with the crown which

Robert had a right to expect, invaded ſoon after the duchy of Normandy. The latter was faintly ſupported by Philip of France; and by the ceſſion of Eu, Feſcamp, and Cherbourg, purchaſed a diſadvantageous peace, which permitted him to retain the remainder of his inheritance.

A. D. 1094, 1095.] While theſe tranſactions were paſſing in France, the kingdom of Spain was a prey to every ſpecies of rapine and diſorder. The Saracens were in poſſeſſion of Luſitania, Murcia, Andaluſia, Valentia, Granada, and Torboſa; and their territories extended beyond the mountains of Caſtile and Saragoſſa. The chriſtians had only Auſtria, a part of Old Caſtile, Barcelona, one half of Catalonia, Navarre, and a ſmall portion Arrogon. Too weak to oppoſe, by themſelves, the power of the Muſſelmans, they frequently implored the aid of France, and Philip ſent ſeveral armies to their aſſiſtance. William, duke of Aquitaine, and Hugh, duke of Burgundy, particularly ſignalized their zeal and courage in theſe pious expeditions*, whence they returned laden with wealth and glory. But, of all the French princes who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, only one laid the foundation of a laſting eſtabliſhment. This was Henry, ſon to Robert, duke of Burgundy, great grandſon to Hugh Capet, who diſplayed ſo much valour, and rendered ſuch important ſervices to Alphonſo the Sixth, king of Caſtile that that monarch gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and ceded to him the county of *Porto*, which the Spaniards had juſt conquered from the Moors. From him are deſcended the preſent royal family of Portugal, a name which was ſubſtituted for Luſitania, and which was taken from the towns of *Porto* and *Cale*, both of which were rebuilt by the French conquerer.

The tranquillity which prevailed in France afforded leiſure to Philip to purſue thoſe pleaſures to which he was naturally addicted; unfortunately they were not calculated to amuſe, but to enervate, the mind. The queen had, by this time, loſt her powers of pleaſing; and the king, though he had ſeveral children by her, was reſolved to procure a divorce. A diſtant and doubtful degree of conſanguinity afforded the pretence, and the unhappy princeſs, baniſhed to Montreuil, expired of a broken heart.

The king of France next demanded in marriage Emma, the daughter of count Roger, brother to Robert Guiſchard, duke of Sicily†. The lady, richly adorned with jewels, and liberally portioned, was eſcorted to the French court, but, to the diſgrace of Philip does the hiſtorian record, that Emma was diſmiſſed, and her fortune retained. His paſſions had been inflamed by Bertrade de Montfort, the wife of Fulk, count of Anjou, who, with the aſſiſtance of the king, had ſupplanted his elder brother Geoffry. This woman was endowed with a great portion of ſenſe; but her ambition was inordinate: ſhe was imperious or ſupple, grave or gay, prude or coquette, according to the taſte

* Hiſt. Franc. Frag. apud Duch, tom. iv. p. 88, 99.

† Hiſt. Robert Guiſchard, p. 106.

of her lover. It was with the greateſt regret that ſhe had conſented to ſacrifice her youth to an infirm old man, in temper moroſe, and oppreſſed with diſeaſe. The moment ſhe was appriſed of the king's divorce, ſhe ſent a perſon in whom ſhe could confide, with a propoſal to her ſovereign to carry her off and then marry her. She relied for ſucceſs on the fame of her charms; and the event juſtified her confidence. The biſhop of Bayeux was baſe enough to marry them*, and was richly rewarded for the degrading taſk; but, ſo flagrant a violation of every moral and civil tie, could not eſcape the cenſure of pope Urban the Second. In a council holden at Autun, a ſentence of excommunication was pronounced againſt the king, unleſs he parted from Bertrade; his ready promiſe of ſubmiſſion averted, or rather ſuſpended, the thunders of the vatican. But the death of Bertha induced him to recall Bertrade, who was ſolemnly crowned by two French biſhops. Paſcal the Second, who had ſucceeded Urban in the chair of St. Peter, immediately ſent two cardinals into France with orders to aſſemble a council at Poictiers, for the purpoſe of renewing the cenſures of the church. But the face of affairs was now eſſentially changed†; Philip had recovered his liberty by the death of his wife; the count of Anjou had acknowledged that his own marriage was defective; the prelates exclaimed loudly againſt the arrogance of the ſovereign pontiff, who aſſumed an abſolute authority over the affairs of France; and the nobles began to be aware of the danger that muſt accrue to themſelves, if the court of Rome was permitted to extend her encroachments. William the Eighth, count of Poitiers and duke of Aquitaine, who publicly kept a miſtreſs, was moſt violent in his oppoſition to the proceedings of the legates. He declared, before all the members of the council, that he would never ſuffer his ſovereign to be excommunicated in his preſence; and, finding his endeavours to counteract their deſigns fruitleſs and unavailing, he left the church, followed by a few of the biſhops, ſeveral of the nobles, and a part of the people, who treated the pope's miniſters with great indignity. They even proceeded to acts of violence: a ſtone was thrown at one of the cardinals, which broke the head of a prieſt that ſat at his ſide. All then was clamour and tumult. Moſt of the biſhops fled with precipitation; but ſome remained, and the legates ſtayed to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt the king.

It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed, that, as ſome authors have aſſerted, the throne was declared vacant, the French were abſolved from their oath of fidelity, or that the kingdom was laid under an interdict. This opinion was probably founded on the mode which then prevailed, of dating public deeds—*done in the reign of Jeſus Chriſt, reigning in France;* but it has been demonſtrated by writers of eminence‡, that, long before this divorce, Philip made uſe of this pious form; and that it was often employed as well before as ſince his time. Ser-

* Orderic. Vatal. p. 669. † Concil. Pict. tom. x. Concil. ‡ Beſli, Blondel, Mabillon.

vice was performed, as uſual, with the doors of the church open; the ſacraments were adminiſtred in public; and the king had even obtained *permiſſion* from the biſhops to have maſs ſaid before him. The only effect of this excommunication was, (if a contemporary author* may be credited, who has given a very particular account of it), that the ſervice was read in a low voice, and, when the king was preſent, with the doors ſhut; and, on ſolemn feſtivals, he was no longer crowned by the prelates of his kingdom, except by thoſe of Belgia, who would never conſider him as an excommunicated perſon†. Still, however, it afforded a plauſible pretext for revolt to ſuch of his vaſſals as were ſo diſpoſed; for which reaſon he reſolved to aſſociate his ſon, Lewis, to the throne —a prince of nineteen, poſſeſſed of great courage, and endued with a portion of wiſdom that is ſeldom to be met with at ſo early an age.

A. D. 1103, 1104, 1105.] While Philip paſſed his hours in the alternate enjoyments of love and wine, his kingdom was doomed, by her miſeries, to atone for the vices of her ſovereign. The barons once more aſſumed the tone of independence; the ſcenes of anarchy and confuſion, from which France had been reſcued by the prudence of Hugh Capet, and his ſucceſſors, were again preſented in every province, and the dignity of the crown, which had been degraded by the follies of the father, was reſtored by the virtues of the ſon. From their fortified caſtles the nobles iſſued forth like a band of plunderers, and committed the moſt daring depredations on the public roads, laying all paſſengers, without the ſmalleſt diſcrimination of age, ſex, or ſtation, under a cruel contribution. It was no longer poſſible to travel but in caravans; and even the king himſelf did not dare to paſs from Paris to Etampes, without a ſtrong guard. The capital was in a manner blocked up by ſeven or eight ſmall towns, the lords of which kept regular bodies of troops that ſcoured the ſurrounding country; and theſe tyrants became more formidable from their union, which was cloſely cemented by the ties of blood, and the more powerful bonds of intereſt‡. Lewis deemed it neceſſary to make every exertion for repreſſing diſorders which threatened the kingdom with deſtruction. With a ſmall, but well-diſciplined force, he continually kept the field, and over-awed the nobles who had diſdained the authority of his father. He razed their caſtles, redreſſed the injuries of their dependants, and compelled them to relinquiſh the lands which they had raviſhed from the church. The banks of the Seine and the Loire alternately atteſted his indefatagable zeal; and the preſumption of a haughty nobility was repreſſed and chaſtiſed by a cautious yet enterpriſing prince.

Theſe glorious achievements of Lewis not only eſtabliſhed his reputation, but rendered him highly formidable to the few barons who ſtill reſiſted his power. Guy Trouſſel, one of the moſt determined plunderers in the kingdom, dreading the effects of his reſentment, offered to cede to him the caſtle of Montlhery, on

* Orderic. Vital. An. 1092, p. 699. † Mezerai, t. ii. p. 527. ‡ Suger. Vita Ludov. Groſs.

condition that Philip, the king's ſon by Bertrade, ſhould do him the honour to accept his daughter's hand. As this fortreſs was deemed impregnable, and the king had been long anxious to get poſſeſſion of it, the propoſal of Guy was accepted with joy; and Lewis became maſter of a place which had for years proved the terror of the ſurrounding country, and broken off the communication between Paris and Orleans.

But of all theſe petty wars, the moſt glorious for Lewis was that which he carried on with Guy, count of Rochefort. This nobleman being a great favourite with Philip, had perſuaded the king to marry Lewis to his daughter Lucienne; but, before the marriage was conſummated, it was oppoſed on the plea of conſanguinity, and declared null, by the Roman pontiff, Paſcal the Second, at the council of Troyes*. The father reſented the facility with which Lewis acquieſced in the determination of the pope; and, encouraged by Thibaud, count of Champagne, erected the ſtandard of revolt, plundered the traders who were under the king's protection, and ſecured his ſpoils in the caſtle Gournay upon the Marne. Lewis immediately aſſembled his little army, and advanced with a determination to lay ſiege to the fortreſs. Having forced the paſſage of the river, where he met with conſiderable reſiſtance, he drove the rebels from their entrenchments, and compelled them to take refuge within the walls of the caſtle. The garriſon, after ſome time, beginning to experience a ſcarcity of proviſions, treated with contempt the remonſtrances of Guy, and had reſolved on capitulating, when the count of Champagne haſtened to their relief with a numerous army. But Lewis immediately attacked him, and having gained a glorious and deciſive victory, returned to the caſtle, which ſurrendered; and was transferred by the victor to the lords of Garlande.

Lewis, either from curioſity, or to avoid the dangerous enmity of his mother-in-law, obtained permiſſion to viſit England. He was received by Henry (who, on the death of his brother William Rufus, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty of that iſland, to the excluſion of Robert of Normandy, who was abſent in Paleſtine) with every mark of reſpect. Even here, if we can credit the teſtimony of concurring hiſtorians, the implacable hatred of Bertrade purſued him; and, by a letter ſubſcribed with the name of Philip, and ſealed with the royal ſignet, the king of England was requeſted to retain his gueſt in confinement, or extinguiſh the dread of his return by death. But Henry, however addicted to cruelty and injuſtice where his intereſt or ambition was concerned, refuſed to violate the ſacred rights of hoſpitality, and delivered the letter which contained the fatal ſecret to Lewis himſelf. The prince immediately haſtened to his father, and throwing himſelf at his feet, told him he had brought him the criminal whom he had conſigned to deſtruction. Philip was entirely ignorant of what had paſſed, and expreſſed his deteſtation of the horrid attempt. But his love for

* Suger. Vita Ludov. Groſs.

Bertrade made him reject his ſon's demand of juſtice on her head; and Lewis, by this open diſplay of his reſentment, only increaſed the inveterate enmity of an abandoned woman, who determined, at all events, to procure the gratification of her revenge.

For this purpoſe, ſhe applied to a faithful ſervant, who found means to adminiſter poiſon to Lewis*, the ſtrength of whoſe conſtitution for a long time ſeemed overpowered with the violence of the noxious draught. At length, however, he was relieved from his ſufferings by the ſkill of an obſcure phyſician, who was treated as an ignorant quack by the faculty of Paris, but the effect of whoſe medicines beſpoke the extent of his knowledge. Lewis, juſtly enraged at this new and deſperate attack upon his life, would have immediately inflicted on Bertrade, with his own hand, that puniſhment which her crimes ſo juſtly merited, had he not been prevented by his father, who again ſucceeded in his attempts to promote a reconciliation between them. In order to appeaſe his rage, the king ceded to his ſon the town of Pontoiſe, with all the Vexin Francoiſe, an advantage ſo conſiderable, as engaged him to ſmother his reſentment.

The pope, in the mean time, had come to France; and Philip had ſent to inform him, that he was willing to ſubmit to any penance he might think proper to impoſe; but on condition that he would grant him the neceſſary diſpenſation for rendering his marriage lawful and valid. A council was convened, for this purpoſe, at Baugenci, where the king and Bertrade promiſed to hold no farther commerce with each other, till the church had come to a deciſion on the ſubject of their union†. But the members of the council were afraid to deliver their ſentiments; and, after diſputing for a conſiderable time, they ſeparated, without coming to any determination on the buſineſs for which they had met.

The king complained bitterly of the inſult he had ſuſtained; and many of the French prelates wrote to the pope‡, who diſpatched two legates with orders to aſſemble a new council at Paris, at which Philip was, at length, abſolved from all cenſures, and his marriage confirmed‖. Such was the concluſion of an affair that threatened to interrupt the national tranquillity, but which only ſerved to diſplay the wiſdom of ſome of the French prelates, and to ſhew the good qualities of Lewis.

We now come to an event which occurred during the tranſactions we have been relating, and which claims our particular notice, as well from its influence on all the nations of Europe, as from the eſſential part taken in it by the French.

The cruſades, or expeditions formed for the purpoſe of reſcuing the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels, ſeemed to be the firſt event that rouzed Europe from the lethargy in which it had been long ſunk, and that tended to introduce any change in government or in manners§.

* Suger. Vita Ludov. Groſs. † T. x. Concil. ‡ Paſcal. Epiſt. 55. ‖ Chron. Malleac. § Dr. Robertſon.

The human mind is naturally inclined to dwell, with a degree of enthuſiaſtic delight that borders on veneration, on thoſe places which are entitled to diſtinction, either as the reſidence of ſome illuſtrious character, or as the ſcene of ſome glorious tranſaction. Hence proceeded that ſuperſtitious devotion with which the chriſtians, from the earlieſt ages of the church, were accuſtomed to viſit that country which the Deity had ſelected as the inheritance of his favourite people, and in which the Son of God had accompliſhed the redemption of mankind.

The great expence, fatigue, and danger, which neceſſarily attended a pilgrimage to ſo diſtant a country, conſiderably added to the merit of the undertaking, and ſoon made it be conſidered as a ſufficient atonement for the moſt flagrant offences. An opinion which was diffuſed over Europe with an aſtoniſhing rapidity, about the cloſe of the tenth and commencement of the eleventh century; and which obtained univerſal belief, cauſed a wonderful augmentation of the number of credulous pilgrims, and increaſed the ardour with which they undertook this uſeleſs voyage. The thouſand years mentioned by Saint John, in the twentieth chapter of the Revelations, were now ſuppoſed to be accompliſhed, and the end of the world to be, conſequently, approaching.

We learn from many of the ancient hiſtorians, preſerved by Martin Bouquet, a Benedictine monk, in his collection of the hiſtorians of France, that, about this period, mankind were ſeized with a general conſternation, that induced great numbers to relinquiſh their poſſeſſions, and abandon their friends and families, to haſten, with the utmoſt precipitation, to the Holy Land, where they imagined that Chriſt would very ſoon appear to ſit in judgment upon the ſins of the world.

While the Arabians continued in poſſeſſion of Paleſtine, their caliphs encouraged the reſort of pilgrims to Jeruſalem; juſtly deeming that ſpecies of commerce as highly beneficial to the country, which brought conſiderable importations of gold and ſilver, and exported nothing but uſeleſs relics and conſecrated baubles. But the Turcomans, or Turks, a tribe of Tartars who had embraced the tenets of Mahomet, having, about the middle of the eleventh century, taken Syria from the Saracens, and made themſelves maſters of Jeruſalem, pilgrims were expoſed to every kind of inſult and outrage from theſe barbarians*.

This revolution occurring at the very time when pilgrimages, from the cauſe abovementioned, had become more frequent, filled Europe with indignation and alarm. The religious travellers, on their return from Paleſtine, did not fail to relate the dangers they had experienced in viſiting the holy city; and to deſcribe the cruelty and vexations of the Turks, in terms of exaggeration proportioned to the magnitude of their fears.

When the minds of men were thus prepared, the miſguided zeal of a fanatical monk, who conceived the idea of leading all the forces of chriſtendom againſt

* Jo. Dan. Schoepflini de ſacris Gallorum in Orientum expeditionibus, p. 4. Argent. 1726. Quarto.

the infidels, and of effecting their expulsion from the Holy Land, was sufficient to enforce the adoption of that wild enterprise. Gregory the Seventh, had, indeed, formed the design of leading all the western christians against the Mahometans; but the overbearing disposition of that imperious prelate had created him such numerous enemies, and rendered every scheme he proposed so suspicious, that he was able to make but little progress in the promotion of his plan, which was left to be completed by an inferior personage, whose station of life prevented him from becoming an object of jealousy or mistrust.

Peter the Hermit (or *Cucupietre*, as he is called in the Memoirs of the princess Anna, daughter of the emperor Alexis Comnena), a native of Amiens, the capital of Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and witnessed the dangers and inconveniencies to which the pilgrims were exposed. This inspired him with the idea of putting the christians in possession of Palestine; and, to urge them to the undertaking, he ran from province to province, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting both princes and people to this holy war; and, wherever he came, he enkindled the same enthusiastic ardour for the expedition as glowed within his own bosom*. The council of Placentia, summoned, at the instigation of Peter, by pope Martin the Second, where four thousand ecclesiastics and thirty thousand seculars were assembled, pronounced the scheme to have been suggested by the immediate inspiration of heaven. In a subsequent council, holden at Clermont, in Auvergne†, which was still more numerous, and attended by the most powerful princes, nobles, and prelates, of Europe, the question was no sooner proposed, than the whole assembly exclaimed with one voice: "It is the "will of God—It is the will of God!"

The contagion was speedily diffused over persons of all ranks: not only the martial barons of that age, with their warlike vassals, whom the boldness of a romantic enterprise might have been apt to allure, but men in the more humble and pacific stations of life, ecclesiastics of every order, even women and children, engaged in an undertaking, which was deemed sacred and meritorious. If we may credit the concurring testimony of contemporary historians‡, six millions of persons assumed the cross, which was the badge of union affixed to the right shoulder by all those who devoted themselves to this holy warfare.

This frenzy, which superstitious enthusiasm had engendered and spread, was rendered durable by those extensive immunities and privileges which were accorded to the crusaders. They were exempted from all prosecutions for debt, during the time of their engagement in this sacred service‖; they were exempted from paying interest for the money which they had borrowed§; they were exempted, either entirely, or at least during a certain time, from the payment of all national impostsꝑ; they might alienate their lands without the consent of the

* Gul. Tyrius, lib. 1. c. ii. M. Paris, p. 17. † Concil. tom. x. Concil. Clarom. Mat. Paris, p. 16. M. West, p. 233. ‡ Fulcherius Carnotensis, ap. Bongarsii Gesta Dei per Francos, vol. i. 387. Edit. Han. 1611. ‖ Du Cange, voc. Crucis Privilegium, v. xii. p. 1194. § Ibid. 3. ꝑ Ibid.---Ordonnances des Rois de France, tom. i. p. 33.

ſuperior lord of whom they held* ; their perſons and effects were taken under the protection of Saint Peter ; and the anathemas of the church were denounced againſt all who ſhould moleſt them, or carry on any quarrel or hoſtility againſt them, during their abſence on account of the holy war† ; they enjoyed all the privileges of eccleſiaſtics, and were not bound to plead in any civil court, but were declared ſubject to the ſpiritual juriſdiction alone‡ ; they obtained a plenary remiſſion of all their ſins ; and the gates of heaven were ſet open to them, without requiring any farther proof of their penitence, than their engagement in this ſacred expedition, which tended to gratify their favourite paſſion, the love of war‖.

When both the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers were thus ambitious to outvie each other, and to exhauſt their fertile invention, for the purpoſe of deviſing expedients to encourage, propagate, and confirm the ſpirit of ſuperſtition, it is not ſurpriſing that it ſhould become ſo univerſal as to inflict the ſtigma of cowardice, and the mark of infamy, on every one who was poſſeſſed of ſufficient prudence or philoſophy to eſcape the general frenzy, and to decline engaging in the holy war§.

The multitude of the adventurers ſoon became ſo great, that their more ſagacious leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to Philip ; Raymond, count of Toulouſe ; Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant ; and Stephen, count of Blois¶, became apprehenſive leſt the greatneſs itſelf of the armament ſhould diſappoint its purpoſe ; and they permitted an undiſciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thouſand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, and Gautier the Moneyleſs. Theſe men took the road towards Conſtantinople, through Hungaria and Bulgaria ; and, truſting that heaven, by ſupernatural aſſiſtance, would ſupply all their neceſſities, they made no proviſion for ſubſiſtance on their march ; they ſoon found themſelves obliged to obtain, by plunder, what they had vainly expected from miracles ; and the enraged inhabitants of the countries through which they paſſed, gathering together in arms, attacked the diſorderly multitude, and put them to ſlaughter without reſiſtance. The more diſciplined armies following after, and paſſing the Streights at Conſtantinople, were muſtered in the plains of Aſia, and amounted, in the whole, to the number of ſeven hundred thouſand combatants**.

Amidſt this univerſal phrenzy, which ſpread itſelf by contagion throughout Europe, eſpecially in France and Germany, men were not entirely forgetful of their preſent intereſts, and both thoſe who went on this expedition, and thoſe who ſtayed behind, entertained ſchemes of gratifying, by its means, their avarice or their ambition. The nobles who enliſted themſelves were moved, from the romantic ſpirit of the times, to hope for opulent eſtabliſhments in the eaſt, the chief ſeats of arts and commerce during thoſe ages ; and in pur-

* Ordonnances des Rois de France, tom. i. p. 33. † Du Cange, ib. Guibertus Abbas, ap. Bongarſii, 3. p. 480—482. ‡ Du Cange ib. Ordon. des Rois, tom. i. p. 34, 174. ‖ Guibert. Abbas, p. 480. § Will. Tyrienſis, ap. Bongars, vol. ii. p. 641. ¶ Sim. Dunelm. p. 222. ** Mat. Paris, p. 20, 21.

ſuit of theſe chimerical projects, they ſold, at a very inadequate price, their ancient caſtles and inheritances, which had now loſt all value in their eyes. The greater princes, who remained at home, beſides eſtabliſhing peace in their dominions, by giving occupation abroad to the inquietude and martial diſpoſition of their ſubjects, took the opportunity of annexing to their crown many conſiderable fiefs, either by purchaſe or by the extinction of heirs. The pope frequently turned the zeal of the cruſades from the infidels againſt his own enemies, whom he repreſented as equally criminal with the enemies of Chriſt. The convents, and other religious ſocieties, bought the poſſeſſions of the adventurers; and, as the contributions of the faithful were commonly entruſted to their management, they often diverted to this purpoſe what was intended to be employed againſt the infidels*.

Among the leaders of the cruſades was Robert, duke of Normandy, whoſe intrepid ſpirit prompted him to embrace an expedition endeared by the proſpect of danger. For the trifling ſum of ten thouſand marks, he mortgaged Normandy, during his abſence, to his brother, who had already defrauded him of the crown of England; and the inconſiderable pittance which he had raiſed at the expence of the ſcanty remnant of his father's ample territory, was freely dedicated to the ſervice in which he embarked.

The holy wars gave riſe (among various other innovations of greater importance both in commerce and manners) to the eſtabliſhment of the three religious and military orders of knights *Hoſpitallers*, *Templars*, and *Teutonic knights*. The firſt of theſe, which ſerved as a model to the others, had acquired a high degree of celebrity, even before the capture of Jeruſalem by the cruſaders; but a part of them being employed in receiving the faithful who went to viſit the holy ſepulchre, and the reſt attending on the ſick, they were ſolely occupied in works of charity, under the conduct of Gerard, the founder of the order†. Ramond Dupuy, a gentleman of Dauphine, was the firſt who, to their primitive ſtatutes of hoſpitality, added the obligation to take up arms againſt the enemies of the chriſtian religion. He divided his order into three claſſes‡. The firſt was that of *knights*, who, on account of their birth, and the rank they had formerly enjoyed in the army, were deſtined to make war againſt the infidels. The ſecond claſs conſiſted of thoſe, who, neither being deſcended from a noble family, nor attached to the church, were appointed to ſerve the poor in the hoſpitals, and the knights in their military expeditions, theſe were called *ſerving-brothers*. They were afterwards diſtinguiſhed by a different dreſs from that of the knights. The third claſs was formed of prieſts and chaplains, who, beſides diſcharging their functions at church, and with the ſick, were obliged to follow the army. All of them took vows of chaſtity and obe-

* Padre Paolo Hiſt. delle Benef. Eccleſiaſt. p. 128. † Hiſt. Hieroſ. Jacob. Vitriaci, c. 74.
‡ Ex Boſio, l. ii. p. 68.

dience. The new members, in order to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt, aſſumed the apellation of the *Knights of Saint John*, from the name of an hoſpital which they had in the city of Jeruſalem; and they wore a black dreſs with a white croſs. This was that celebrated order, which, under the name of the knights of Rhodes and of Malta, filled the univerſe with the fame of its exploits, and of its victories over the infidels;—an order, ſays the abbe Velly, not leſs eſteemed for the peaceful virtues of religion, than for the ſplendour of its military achievements.

But all the *Hoſpitallers* did not embrace the new inſtitution. The moſt ancient, ſo well known by the appellation of the knights of Saint Lazarus, refuſed to take the vow of chaſtity, and ſeparated from the reſt, who formerly belonged to the ſame order, and were ſubject to the ſame grand-maſter. They pledged themſelves, however, in imitation of the others, to devote their lives to the defence of the holy city; beſides their vows of charity and obedience*, they ſwore an eternal promptitude to fight the enemies of chriſtianity; diſtinguiſhed themſelves from their former brethren by a green croſs; and, like them, rendered ſignal ſervices to their kings, to the people, and to religion. Lewis the Young, on his return from Paleſtine, brought ſome of them with him into France, to exerciſe their charitable functions; for which purpoſe he gave them the ſuperintendance and adminiſtration of all the *lazarettos* in his kingdom, and ceded to them the caſtle of Boigni, near Orleans†, which, from that time, became their chief place of reſidence. The ſplendor of the order being greatly diminiſhed by the misfortunes of the times, Pope Innocent the Eighth undertook to ſuppreſs it, and to unite it, together with its poſſeſſions, to the order of St. John of Jeruſalem. But all his bulls for that purpoſe‡, declared abuſive by a decree of the parliament, were revoked by the popes Pius the Fourth and Pius the Fifth. It was not, however, till the reigns of Henry the Fourth and Lewis the Fourteenth, that, by the protection of thoſe monarchs, the knights of Saint Lazarus were reſtored to their primitive ſplendour. Pope Pius the Fifth united them to the order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel‖, which had been recently inſtituted at the inſtance of the French king. They then aſſumed, with their double title, a double croſs of gold with eight points, and four *Fleurs-de-Lys*, with the image of the bleſſed virgin in the middle.

The example of the knights hoſpitallers was followed by many others. Hugh de Payens, Geoffrey de Saint Aldemar, and ſeven other French gentlemen, moved by the dangers to which the pilgrims were expoſed on their return to Jeruſalem§, formed a little ſociety among themſelves for the purpoſe of eſcorting them¶. They accompanied them on their road to Paleſtine, beyond the defiles of the mountains and the moſt dangerous paſſes; aud they met them at the ſame

* Bul. Alex. 4. Bul. Greg. 9.
† Belloy, c. 9.
‡ Chopin. de ſacr. polit. l. ii. tit. 6.
‖ Bul. Paul. v. 1607.
§ Gul. Tyr. l. xii. c. 4.
¶ Jac. de Vitr. c. 65.

place on their return. This was at firſt a ſimple aſſociation, but, by the ſanction of the council of Troyes, it became a religious and military order. Saint Bernard preſcribed rules for it, and gave it the white habit with a red croſs. The moſt illuſtrious princes and nobles fought under its banners; they were called *Templars*, or knights of the temple, becauſe king Baldwin had aſſigned them apartments in his palace that were ſituated near the temple. In a ſhort time, theſe knights became ſo powerful that their wealth exceeded that of the moſt opulent monarchs. But theſe riches, the glorious reward of merit, proved the cauſe of their ruin.

The eſtabliſhment of the Teutonic knights took place ſoon after that of the Templars. This new order derived its true origin from the ſiege of Saint John of Acra. The German ſoldiers, when either ſick or wounded, could not procure relief on account of their inability to ſpeak a language that was underſtood*. Some gentlemen from Bremen and Lubec, touched with pity at the misfortunes of their countrymen†, made a large tent with the ſails of their ſhips, whither they conveyed ſuch of their acquaintance as ſtood in need of relief, and attended them with great care and kindneſs. Being ſpeedily joined by forty noblemen of the ſame nation, they formed themſelves into a religious and military order, which was ſanctioned and confirmed by Pope Celeſtine the Third. They were called *Teutonic knights of Saint Mary*, from the name of an hoſpital which a rich German had formerly built at Jeruſalem for the reception of the ſick poor of his own country. Their habit was white with a black croſs. They followed the rules of St. Auguſtine; took the ſame vows as the Hoſpitallers and Templars; and obſerved the ſame military diſcipline as the latter. Before they aſſumed the habit, they were obliged to ſwear that they were deſcended from German parents, and born noble.

A. D. 1108.] During theſe tranſactions in the eaſt, Philip was buſily employed in extending his dominions. Profiting by the ſuperſtitious rage of the times, he united ſeveral large fiefs to the crown, and, among others, the county or lordſhip of Bourges, which Herpin ſold to him for the purpoſe of procuring money to defray his expences to the Holy Land. The kingdom enjoyed an uninterrupted ſtate of tranquillity for ſome years previous to the death of Philip, who expired at Melun, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign. He was buried, by his own deſire, at the abbey of Saint Benedict upon the Loire.

Though Philip was generally deſpiſed by his ſubjects, and not without reaſon; yet he poſſeſſed many good qualities and excellent endowments. He was intrepid in the field, and, when he applied to buſineſs, not unſkilful in the cabinet; his generoſity was extenſive; his compaſſion ſtrong; and the courteous affability of his demeanour coinciding with the extraordinary graces of his per-

* Jac. de Vitr. c. 66. † Belloy, c. 15.

ſon, all thoſe who had immediate acceſs to him were apt to forget, in the manners of the man, the vices of the monarch.

Philip was twice married: by his firſt wife Bertha, whom he baſely repudiated, daughter to Florent, count of Holland, he had Lewis the Sixth, ſurnamed, from his corpulence, the Groſs; Henry, who died young; and a daughter, named Conſtantia, who was firſt married to Hugh, count of Troyes, and afterwards to Bohemond the Firſt, prince of Antioch. His children, by the celebrated Bertrade, of the illuſtrious houſe of Montfort, were Philip, count of Mante and lord of Melun; Fleuri; Cecilia, who was twice married, firſt to Tancred, nephew to Bohemond, and next to Pons de Touloufe, count of Tripoli; and Euſtatia, wife to John, count of Etampes.

Several monaſtic orders were inſtituted during this reign. That of the *Chartreux* (Carthuſians) was founded in 1086, by Bruno, a native of Cologne, who was firſt a canon of the church of Saint Cunibert, and afterwards of Notre-Dame, at Rheims, the moſt learned theologian of the age. A deſire of perfecting himſelf in the ſtudy of divinity induced him to retire to a ſolitary retreat in Dauphene, called *Chartreuſe*, whence the order took its name. He was followed thither by ſix of his companions, who joined him in his ſtudies and acts of devotion*; they led a life of the greateſt auſterity; wore ſackcloth next their ſkin; ſeldom ſpoke to each other; took nothing but bread and water on Wedneſday and Friday in every week; wine and vegetables on Tueſday and Saturday; cheeſe on Thurſday; and a ſmall portion of fiſh on Sunday, and on feſtivals†. They were all *bled* five times a year, and ſhaved only ſix. No noviciates were admitted under twenty. As they were precluded from ſpeaking, they were furniſhed with parchment, pens, and ink, in order to tranſcribe paſſages from books of divinity. The founder of the order having been invited to aſſiſt the pope, refuſed the biſhopric of Reggio, and died in Calabria, at his monaſtery of Squillace, which had been founded by Roger, count of Sicily.

The abbey of Moleme, in the dioceſe of Langres, had been founded five-and-twenty years by abbot Robert, when an evident relaxation of diſcipline induced the pious founder, with twenty of his monks, to retire into the deſerts of Citeaux, five leagues from Dijon‡. The viſcount of Beaune having given them a part of the foreſt, they cleared away the trees, and erected a number of wooden cells, in which they paſſed ten or twelve years in the exerciſe of thoſe auſterities which had been originally practiſed by Saint Benedict‖. As they had received no novices during this time, they began to dread the extinction of their order, when they were joined, in 1090, by Bernard, a gentleman of Burgundy, of the illuſtrious houſe of Chatillon—a man of ſtrong ſenſe and ſuperior eloquence. After this acceſſion the ſociety flouriſhed extremely; and the ſanctity

* Mabil. Præf. N. 86. April. tom. ii. p. 663.
† Guibert de vitâ ſuâ c. 21.
‡ Vita S. Rober. Apud. Boll. 29
‖ Exor. Magn. Ciſterc. c. 1, 2, 10, 13.

of its members afforded ſome degree of excuſe for the prodigality of its benefactors. It was ſoon enabled to erect the four celebrated abbeys of *La Ferte*, *Pontigny*, *Clairvaux*, and *Morimond*, for *the Maids of Citeaux*, or *Ciſtertian* nuns. The order took its name from the place where it was eſtabliſhed; but of late it has been generally diſtinguiſhed by the title of *the Bernardines*.

The abbey of Fontevrault, in the dioceſe of Poitiers, was founded about the ſame time by Robert d'Arbriſſel, a man of genius, and a great orator. He was always followed by a multitude of people of both ſexes, who flocked together, in order to profit by his pious inſtructions; but, as this ſingular mode of preaching the goſpel gave riſe to caluminous reports* (it being ſaid that Robert, in order to put his virtue to the proof, conſtantly ſlept between two of his female pupils), he reſolved to lead his followers into ſome retired ſpot, where a ſeparate reſidence might be eſtabliſhed for either ſex. He accordingly fixed on Fontevrault for this purpoſe; where he eſtabliſhed two monaſteries, ſubject to the rules of St. Benedict; one for women, who were entruſted with ſovereign authority; and the other for men, who were entirely dependant on the abbeſs. Robert ſet the example of obedience to his fair ſiſters, and always called himſelf ſteward or agent (homme d'affaires) to the nuns. This order of Fontevrault was the firſt over which a woman preſided.

LEWIS THE SIXTH,

SURNAMED THE GROSS.

A. D. 1108.] THOUGH Lewis had already been crowned, on his aſſociation to the throne, the cuſtom of the realm required him to undergo that ceremony a ſecond time, on his acceſſion to the ſole authority of the kingdom. It was accordingly performed at Orleans, by Daimbert, archbiſhop of Sens, on account of a ſchiſm which prevailed in the church of Rheims, where the princes of the Capetian race (except Robert) had hitherto been crowned. Rodolph had been elected by the clergy of Rheims, and had taken poſſeſſion of the archiepiſcopal dignity, without waiting for the conſent of Philip, who, in order to puniſh him

* In ejus Vita ap. Boll. 25 Feb. tom. v. p. 393.

for his preſumption, had nominated another prelate, named Gervaſe. Lewis refuſed to be anointed by the firſt, becauſe, in conformity to the decrees of the popes, and of the council of Clermont, he refuſed to do homage to the king; nor would he ſuffer the laſt to perform that ceremony, becauſe his authority was not univerſally acknowledged. Rodolph had the preſumption to oppoſe his coronation, under the pretext that it muſt be performed in his metropolitan church; and he thought, by this oppoſition, to engage the king to abandon his rival. But Ives de Chartres undertook to promote his reconciliation with Lewis, and that monarch conſented to ſuffer the archbiſhop to pay his reſpects to him at Orleans, and to attend the aſſembly which he had ordered to be convened in that city. Here the grand queſtion of inveſtiture was diſcuſſed* ! The whole kingdom was unanimous in rejecting the arrogant pretenſions of the ſovereign pontiff, and in ſupporting the opinion of Saint Auguſtin—that the church, holding its temporalities of the king, could not poſſibly poſſeſs them independent of him. Thus all the members of the aſſembly conjured the king not to confirm the election of the archbiſhop, till he had done homage. Rodolph, finding it in vain to reſiſt, at length complied, and ſubmitted to the required mark of ſubjection.

When Lewis had ſettled this important affair, he turned his thoughts towards the correction of thoſe internal abuſes which ſprang from the turbulent diſpoſition of the numerous and powerful vaſſals of the crown. The royal authority, indeed, was chiefly confined to Paris, Compiegne, Melun, Etampes, Orleans, Bourges, and ſome other places of little conſequence; and many of the nobles were able to bring a more formidable army into the field than the king himſelf, to whom they paid a vain and ſterile homage, while they exerciſed a deſpotic ſway within their own territories, and aſſumed almoſt every mark of ſovereignty. But the ſkill and courage of Lewis were ſucceſsfully exerted in repreſſing the inroads and curtailing the power of theſe dangerous ſubjects. He reduced numbers of them to ſubmiſſion, deſtroying their caſtles, and confiſcating their poſſeſſions; and among theſe was his brother Philip, count of Mante.

A. D. 1110.] But the attention of Lewis was ſoon called to oppoſe the increaſing power of a more formidable enemy. This was Henry the Firſt, king of England, who had uſurped the duchy of Normandy, to the prejudice of his brother Robert, and compelled the duke of Brittany to pay him homage. The French perceived, now it was too late, the fault they had committed in not oppoſing the conqueſts of William the Firſt; and they accordingly took up arms to ſuppreſs the dangerous encroachments of a power that threatened to deſtroy their own. From this period to the reign of Charles the Seventh, there was a continual ſucceſſion of war and peace between France and England. During that time more than one hundred and twenty treaties were concluded, which were all broken almoſt as ſoon as they were ſigned.

* Ivon, Carnot. Epiſt. 60. ad Hug. arch. Lugdun.

The ſubject of the firſt diſpute between them was the fortreſs of Giſors, ſituated on the frontiers of France and Normandy. It had been agreed, that it ſhould be put into the poſſeſſion of a nobleman, who ſhould not cede it either to an Engliſhman, a Norman, or a Frenchman; or in caſe it ſhould fall under the power either of France or England, the fortifications ſhould be razed within the ſpace of forty days. The governor, either ſeduced by a bribe, or intimidated by threats, ſurrendered the place to the king of England. Lewis, the moment he was appriſed of this circumſtance, ſent a meſſenger to the Engliſh monarch, deſiring he would comply with the terms of the agreement. In vain, however, did he urge his requeſt; it was rejected by Henry, who, to his propoſal of deciding the diſpute by ſingle combat, replied: "That, if victorious, he could "but keep a place he already poſſeſſed without fighting; and that the king of "France hazarded his life, indeed, to obtain an important acquiſition, while his "own would be ſtaked againſt nothing." A battle was the conſequence of this refuſal, in which the Normans were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Meulan.

Henry, in return, endeavoured to excite an inſurrection in France, that the king's attention might be confined to his own dominions. The moſt formidable of the inſurgents was Thibaud, count of Blois, Chartres, and Champagne. Enraged with Lewis for having refuſed him permiſſion to erect a fort on a fief of the crown, he entered into a league with the count of Poitiers, the duke of Burgundy, and ſeveral other of the king's vaſſals, and made a powerful diverſion in favour of the Engliſh monarch. Lewis, whoſe activity was ever equal to his courage, levied an army with the utmoſt expedition, and, aſſiſted by Robert, count of Flanders, one of the braveſt warriors of the age, marched to attack the rebels. The count of Blois was defeated in three different engagements, the firſt at Meaux, the ſecond near Lagny, and the third at a league from Puiſet. Henry, in the mean time, having remained in the capital of Normandy, a paſſive ſpectator of the ſlaughter of his allies, Lewis ſent a detachment to the very gates of Rouen, whoſe devaſtations forced the Engliſh monarch to take the field. After a few trifling ſkirmiſhes, in which Henry had the advantage, a treaty of peace was concluded between the two monarchs, in which all the rebels were included. The principal condition was, that William, the only ſon of Henry ſhould do homage to Lewis, in the place of his father, for the duchy of Normandy; in conſequence of which the caſtle of Giſors was ceded to him.

A. D. 1112, 1113, 1114.] No ſooner was this war terminated, than Thibaud, count of Blois, again diſplayed the banners of revolt, and compelled the king to make an incurſion into his territories. But in this expedition he did not meet with his uſual ſucceſs; for, being taken by ſurpriſe, he ſuſtained a defeat; and his loſs was conſiderably aggravated by the death of Robert, count of

Flanders, who was thrown from his horſe, and trampled to death*. The king of England was accuſed of being the inſtigator of theſe inſurrections; and Lewis profited by the favourable diſpoſition of Fulk the Fifth, count of Anjou, to retaliate the injury. This nobleman had married Sybilla, the only daughter of Helie, count of Maine, and, by the death of his father-in-law, he had acquired poſſeſſion of that county. Won by the ſolicitations of the court of France, and aſſured of effectual ſupport, he refuſed to do homage to Henry for his new domain; and engaged ſeveral noblemen to eſpouſe his cauſe; particularly Robert de Belleſme, and Hugh de Medavid.

Henry, alarmed at this powerful confederacy, repaired to the continent, and took every method which prudence could ſuggeſt to avert the impending ſtorm. During two years which he paſſed in Normandy, he was continually engaged either in wars or negociations. At length, finding that all his endeavours to ſuppreſs the inſurrection were vain, he ſought to allure the count of Anjou, by a propoſal of marriage between his own ſon, William, who was the heir apparent to all his dominions, and the youngeſt daughter of Fulk. This temptation proved too ſtrong to be reſiſted; the count, who had before contracted his daughter to William, the ſon of Duke Robert, now broke that contract, on pretence of their conſanguinity, and immediately affianced her ſiſter to the ſon of Henry, who ſtood exactly in the ſame degree of relation to her.—The king of England formed a ſecond alliance, which rendered him ſtill more formidable to the French, by marrying one of his daughters to Conan, ſon and heir to the duke of Brittany. Their grandſon, Conan the Fourth, was father to Conſtantia, who had, by Guy, count of Thouars, Alix, wife to Peter of Dreux, great-grandſon to Lewis the Groſs. It was through this alliance that the duchy of Brittany became, at a ſubſequent period, re-united to the crown, from which it has never ſince been ſeparated.

A. D. 1115, 1116.] About this time Lewis married Adelaide, daughter of Humbert, count of Maurienne and Savoy. The amiable qualities of this princeſs endeared her to the nobility, and her good ſenſe and diſcretion contributed to ſmooth the rugged path which Lewis, throughout his reign, was deſtined to tread. The relative ſituation of the French and Engliſh monarchs, and the contrariety of their intereſts, were ſuch, at this period, as to render the preſervation of tranquillity between them a matter of extreme difficulty. The turbulence of their vaſſals afforded frequent opportunities for the open diſplay of that enmity with which they were mutually impreſſed. When a French nobleman had any ſubject for diſcontent he applied for ſupport to Henry; and if a Norman wiſhed to encourage ſedition, in Lewis he was ſure to find a ready protector. In this ſtate of mind, the French monarch liſtened with pleaſure to the ſupplicating voice of a young prince, who, having in vain attempted to rouſe the compaſſion of other monarchs, now ſought ſhelter and ſupport in the

* Olderic, l. ii.

court of France. This prince was William, the ſon of Robert duke of Normandy, and grandſon of William the Firſt; whoſe filial piety implored the humanity of Lewis to procure the liberty of his father, a priſoner to his brother Henry. The king of France did not long heſitate to comply with a requeſt, recommended by the powerful motives of pity and intereſt. He adviſed William to engage the inclinations of the nobles of Normandy, and particularly to attach to his cauſe the counts of Flanders and Anjou. The negociation of the young prince was ſucceſsful, but when the treaty was about to be ſigned by the heads of the confederacy, the count of Anjou refuſed to confirm his engagement, unleſs the king would re-eſtabliſh him in the office of grand ſeneſchal of France, which had been hereditary in his family from the reign of Lothaire.

We have already had occaſion to obſerve, that this office was nearly the ſame as that of grand maitre-d'hotel, with regard to the royal houſhold; as that of conſtable in time of war; and as that of count of the palace, in the adminiſtration of juſtice*. The chief vaſſals of the crown reſided ſo little at court, that it was impoſſible for the counts of Anjou to perform all the duties annexed to the office of ſeneſchal. For this reaſon, they appointed a ſubſtitute who acted in their name; the cuſtom, indeed, of thus converting the great offices of the crown into fiefs, was not unfrequent. The office of ſeneſchal had been long filled by the Garlandes, miniſters and favourites of Lewis the Groſs. Theſe noblemen, proud of the protection of their ſovereign, took advantage of the defection of the counts of Anjou, to refuſe them that homage which it was uſual to pay to the proprietors of an hereditary office, and which gave it the complexion and nature of a fief. The preſent count, at firſt, took no notice of this mark of diſreſpect†; but, beginning to fear that his right would at length be forfeited, he took advantage of the opportunity that now preſented itſelf, to procure a confirmation of it. This Lewis, who wanted his aſſiſtance, could not refuſe, and Willaim de Garlande accordingly did homage to him for the office, and after him Stephen his brother, who, although a deacon, ſucceeded him in a place which gave him the command of armies, and the power of inflicting capital puniſhments—a circumſtance hitherto unexampled.

Every preliminary being now ſettled, the plan of operations was immediately laid. It was agreed to enter Normandy in three different parts. The king and Amaury de Montfort, on the ſide of France; the count of Flanders, by the Pays de Caux; and the count of Anjou on the ſide of Maine. Lewis then ſent to demand of the king of England the liberty of duke Robert; and, on the refuſal of Henry, war was declared. The armies of the confederates immediately began their march, and were joined by a great number of the Norman nobility and gentry, whom William had engaged to eſpouſe his cauſe. The

* Du Cange, voce Scneſcallus. † Hugo de Cleriis Duch. t. iv. p. 329.

chief of theſe were William de Gournay; Stephen, count of Aumale; Henry, count of Eu; Euſtache de Breteuil; Richer de L'Aigle; Renaud de Bailleuel, and Robert de Neuborg; they all took up arms in favour of the young prince, and proclaimed him duke of Normandy.

The king, in the mean time, took Andeley by ſurpriſe; ſeized Gue Nicaiſe, an important fortreſs on the river Epte, and made himſelf maſter of the town of Aigle. The count of Flanders, likewiſe, advanced into Upper Normandy where he laid waſte the country with fire and ſword. Henry ſent him word, that if he did not diſcontinue his devaſtations he would himſelf carry deſolation to the gates of Brugus; the count replied that he would ſave him the trouble of ſo long a journey. He accordingly marched ſtrait to Rouen, where Henry was, and ſent that monarch a formal challenge to meet him in the field; but this being declined, and the town being too ſtrong to be eaſily reduced, he contended himſelf with burning the ſuburbs, and then retired. The count of Anjou, in the mean time, laid ſiege to Alencon, and took it in the preſence of Henry and the count of Champagne, who had haſtened to its relief. Amauri de Montfort engaged the governor of Evreux to ſurrender that town with its caſtle; which were entruſted to the care of Philip and Fleuri, brothers to Lewis.

No augmentation of danger, however, could depreſs the mind of Henry, who exerted his wonted courage to extricate himſelf from his difficulties; which he at length effected, not by puſillanimous conceſſions, but by vigorous reſiſtance. Hitherto he had chiefly acted on the defenſive, as, from the ſuperior force of the confederated princes, he had no hopes of ſucceſs from the adoption of a contrary line of conduct, and he thought it poſſible that ſome favourable change might take place, and that his attempts to ſow diviſion amongſt his enemies might finally ſucceed. Nor was he deceived in his conjectures. Baldwin, count of Flanders, one of his moſt formidable adverſaries, received a wound at the attack of the caſtle of Bures, in the Pays de Caux, of which he ſoon after expired. But the defection of the count of Anjou was a circumſtance of much greater importance to the king of England, and gave a more fatal blow to the intereſts of the French monarch. That nobleman, ſeduced by the bribes of Henry, violated thoſe ſolemn oaths by which he was attached to Lewis, as a vaſſal, as an officer of the crown, and as an ally, and declared for his rival.

The conteſt being now rendered more equal, Henry determined to take the field; and, having received intelligence that Lewis had formed a plan for ſurpriſing the caſtle of Noyon, near Andely, he marched to the relief of that place, and took the king of France, by ſurpriſe, on the plain of Brenneville. A ſharp conflict immediately enſued, in which prince William, the ſon of duke Robert, who led the van-guard of the French, diſplayed the greateſt bravery; he broke through the firſt ranks of the Engliſh, and penetrated to the ſpot where his uncle was poſted, whoſe life was in imminent danger, having received a wound on the head from William Criſpin, a gallant Norman officer, who had followed the

fortunes of the young prince. The French, however, thinking the victory was already gained, broke their ranks in ſearch of plunder; while Henry, profiting by their confuſion, reſtored order to his troops, and attacked the enemy with irreſiſtible fury. The whole army fled with precipitation: William, being unhorſed, made his eſcape with difficulty; and Lewis himſelf had nearly been taken priſoner. It is ſaid that an Engliſhman, ſeizing the bridle of his horſe, exclaimed—"*The king is taken!*"—"*Do not you know,*" replied that prince, ſmiling, "*that at cheſs the king is never taken?*"—at the ſame time aiming a blow at him with his ſabre, which laid him dead at his feet. He then gallopped towards a foreſt, where he wandered about for a conſiderable time, when he met with a woman who conducted him to Andely.

This ſkirmiſh was rendered famous by the dignity of the combatants; two kings, two princes, and many noblemen of the firſt rank, being engaged in it. The ſlaughter was trifling, only three men being ſlain. This was partly owing to the heavy armour which was worn by the cavalry in thoſe times, and partly to the earneſt deſire of making priſoners, in order to enrich themſelves by their ranſom.

A. D. 1117, 1118, 1119.] Lewis, finding himſelf unable to wreſt Normandy from the king by force of arms, had recourſe to the dangerous expedient of making application to the ſpiritual power, and of affording the eccleſiaſtics a ſpecious pretence for interpoſing in the temporal concerns of princes. He prevailed upon pope Calixtus the Second, who was then in France, to convene a general council at Rheims, whither he carried William, the young Norman prince; and, having preſented him to the aſſembly, expatiated largely on the manifeſt uſurpation and flagrant injuſtice of the Engliſh monarch, craved the aſſiſtance of the church, for re-inſtating the true heir in his dominions; and repreſented the enormity of detaining in captivity ſo valiant a prince as Robert, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed champions of the cruſade, who, by his powerful exertions againſt the infidels, was placed under the immediate protection of the apoſtolic ſee.

Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet with addreſs. He had ſent over the Engliſh biſhops to attend this ſynod; but, at the ſame time, had cautioned them, that if the ſovereign pontiff, or the eccleſiaſtics, ſhould be induced to advance any farther pretenſions, he was fully determined ſtrictly to adhere to the laws and cuſtoms of England, and to maintain, undiminiſhed, thoſe legal prerogatives of royalty which had been tranſmitted to him by his predeceſſors. "Go," ſaid he to the prelates at their departure, "ſalute the pope in my name; pay attention to his apoſtolic precepts; "but be careful to bring back none of his new inventions with you into my "dominions." Finding, however, it would be a matter of greater facility to him to elude than to oppoſe the efforts of Calixtus, he gave his ambaſſadors private inſtructions to gain the pontiff and his favourites by liberal preſents and tempting promiſes. By a ſagacious application of theſe convincive arguments,

they found means to prevail on the council to treat with neglect the well-founded complaints of the Norman prince.

Some time after, Calixtus went to Giſors, where he had a long conference with Henry, in which he intimated, that it was the deſire of the council, that Robert ſhould be reſtored to his dominions. Henry replied, that it was not from his brother he had taken Normandy, but from a nefarious band of depredators, who were conſuming the inheritance of his anceſtors, which the imprudence of Robert had delivered into their hands; he likewiſe added, that, in taking poſſeſſion of that duchy, he had not acted in compliance with the dictates of avarice or ambition, but in conſequence of the earneſt and repeated ſolicitations of the nobility, clergy, and people of Normandy, who had beſought him, with the moſt ſtrenuous ſupplications, to prevent the utter deſolation of the church. Theſe ridiculous reaſons he took care to ſtrengthen with the ſame arguments which had been employed by his ambaſſadors at the council of Rheims; and they had ſo powerful an effect upon the pope, and the cardinals who attended him, that they declared, on their return, that, of all the men whom they had converſed with in the whole courſe of their lives, the king of England was the moſt eloquent and perſuaſive.

Calixtus having, by this means, been prevailed on to relinquiſh the intereſts of the Norman prince, exerted himſelf to effect an accommodation between the two monarchs; and, his endeavours being crowned with ſucceſs, a peace was concluded at the commencement of the year 1119. The terms of this treaty were, that all the caſtles and fortified places which had been taken in the courſe of the late war, ſhould be reſtored on both ſides, and that Henry ſhould do homage for Normandy, to the French monarch. But Henry, eſteeming it a degradation of his royal dignity to do this homage in perſon, ſent his ſon, prince William, to do it for him, who then received the inveſtiture of that duchy from the hands of the king of France.

A. D. 1120.] When Henry had reſtored tranquillity to his continental dominions, he embarked at Barfleur, on his return to England, on the evening of the twenty-fifth of November, and arrived on the Engliſh coaſt the next morning.

One of the fineſt veſſels in the fleet, called the White Ship, was allotted to his ſon, prince William, and his numerous retinue; who, being detained by ſome accident, ordered three caſks of wine to be diſtributed to the ſhip's crew, by which means many of them became intoxicated; and the captain himſelf, Thomas Fitz-Stephens, was induced to exceed the bounds of ſobriety. They ſailed about ſun-ſet, and, being in a hurry to overtake the king, crouded all their ſails, as well as plied their oars; when, through the careleſſneſs of the pilot, the veſſel ſtruck on a ſunken rock, called the *Catte-razze*, with ſuch violence that ſhe ſtarted ſeveral planks, and was almoſt overſet. The boat was immediately hoiſted out, and the prince, with ſome of the chief nobility, entered it, and, having got clear of the ſhip, might have reached the ſhore, which was not

far diſtant; but, affected by the ſhrieks of his natural ſiſter, Maude, counteſs of Perche, he commanded the ſailors to row back, and attempt to ſave her. When the boat, however approached the ſhip, where terror and deſpair had deſtroyed all diſtinction, and every one was actuated by a natural impulſe of ſelf-preſervation, ſuch numbers leaped into it, that it inſtantly ſunk, and all on board periſhed,

On this occaſion, beſides the prince and his natural brother Richard, there were loſt eighteen ladies of the higheſt rank, one hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, with all their attendants, and fifty ſailors. A butcher of Rouen, named Bertoud, was the only one who eſcaped from this dreadful diſaſter; being a robuſt man, and warmly clothed, he climbed to the top of the maſt, which remained above water, and there ſtaid till the next morning, when he was taken up by ſome fiſhermen while he was in that perilous ſituation, Fitz-Stephens, the captain, ſwam up to him, and laid hold of the maſt; but, being informed by Bertoud, that prince William had periſhed, he expreſſed his determination not to ſurvive him and inſtantly plunged into the ſea*.

A. D. 1121, 1122, 1123.] This tragical event revived the hopes of the friends of William, the ſon of Robert; and the Normans, juſtly regarding Henry as an uſurper, were anxious to transfer the ducal dignity to a prince whom they now conſidered as the laſt repreſentative of their ancient dukes. A conſpiracy was accordingly formed to put him in poſſeſſion of Normandy, and was joined by many of thoſe noblemen, in whom Henry had repoſed the greateſt confidence, and whoſe fidelity he had attempted to ſecure by a profuſion of honours and rewards; among theſe were Gualeran, count of Meulan, and his brother Robert. The conſpirators, too, received conſiderable encouragement by the acceſſion of Fulk, count of Anjou, who, being releaſed, by the death of his ſon-in-law, from thoſe ties which had attached him to the intereſts of Henry, now embraced the party of William, and again promiſed to beſtow on him in marriage his daughter, Sibylla, who had formerly been contracted to him.

Henry was no ſooner appriſed of the revolt, than he haſtened to ſuppreſs it. He ſailed from Portſmouth in the ſummer of 1123, and, arriving ſafe on the Norman coaſt, marched to attack the inſurgents, before they were prepared to receive him; took ſeveral of their caſtles, and defeated them in different ſkirmiſhes.

A. D. 1124.] In the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, the Engliſh monarch had the good fortune to take the leaders of the conſpiracy by ſurpriſe, and to ſecure their perſons. Diſcouraged by this unlucky accident, all the other barons, who had joined in the revolt, haſtened to return to their allegiance, and to make peace with him, on the beſt terms they could procure. Henry, too,

* Orderic. Vital. p. 868, 869, 870.

ſoon after found means to detach the count of Anjou from the league; that nobleman, ſeeing the confederacy in a great meaſure diſſolved, conſented to be reconciled to him, and to diſſolve the contract of marriage that had been lately formed between prince William and his daughter, who, though twice affianced, had never conſummated the marriage.

Still, however, the king of France continued to make the moſt formidable preparations for war, and troops were collecting on every ſide. Henry, aware of his intentions, was reſolved to anticipate him, and therefore began hoſtilities, by making incurſions on the domains of his rival. He alſo engaged his ſon-in-law, Henry the Fifth, emperor of Germany, to make a powerful diverſion in his favour, on the ſide of Champagne: that prince accordingly raiſed a numerous army for the purpoſe of forming the ſiege of Rheims; while Lewis, appriſed of his plans, ordered all the vaſſals of the crown to meet him under the walls of that city on a particular day.

It is neceſſary to remark, on this occaſion, the difference which ſubſiſted in the times we are now delineating, between the forces of the kingdom, and thoſe of the king. When the ſovereign went to war for the promotion of his own private intereſt, he had no more troops than what he could collect on the immediate domains of the crown; but, when the general welfare of the nation was at ſtake, all domeſtic diſſenſions inſtantly ceaſed; every man flew to arms, and every vaſſal marched with a certain number of troops, proportioned to the extent and dignity of his fief. But the kingdom had not, for a long time, witneſſed ſo numerous an aſſemblage of armed men as now appeared in the field. Noblemen, citizens, prieſts, and monks, all became ſoldiers: the diſtricts of Rheims and Chalons alone ſupplied more than ſixty thouſand men; Laons and Soiſſons furniſhed an equal force; the countries of Orleans, Etampes, and Paris, ſent the ſame number into the field; even the counts of Champagne and Troyes joined the other vaſſals of the crown, preferring the intereſt of their country to any advantage they might reap from an alliance with the king of England—theſe noblemen commanded the fourth diviſion of the army; the fifth, conſiſting of the Burgundians, was placed under the orders of their duke and of the count of Nevers. Rodolph, count of Vermandois, a prince of the blood-royal, divided his troops into two bodies: thoſe of Saint Quentin, and Vermandois, armed *cap a pie*, were placed on the right wing; and thoſe of Ponthieu, Amiens, and Beauvais, took their ſtation on the left. The count of Flanders, too, haſtened to the defence of the kingdom, followed by ten thouſand experienced ſoldiers, who formed in the rear.

Never, ſays Suger, abbot of Saint Denis, who attended the expedition with the dependants of his abbey, had the kings of the third race ſeen themſelves at the head of ſuch a numerous army. The quota furniſhed by the Iſle of France, Champagne, and Picardy, are alone ſaid to have amounted to more than two hundred thouſand men. The emperor, alarmed at the immenſity of theſe pre-

parations, repaſſed the Moſelle and the Rhine, with the utmoſt precipitation. The ſoldiers, enraged at what they conceived to be a ſymptom of cowardice, loudly demanded to be led into the German territories, that they might chaſtiſe an enemy who had dared to interrupt the repoſe of the kingdom. But Lewis, at the ſolicitation of the clergy, checked their impetuoſity, and diſbanded the army. He would moſt willingly have employed it againſt the king of England; but the intereſts of the prince and his vaſſals were eſſentially different, as what tended to aggrandiſe the one, muſt of neceſſity weaken the other. Thoſe very nobles who had taken up arms with ſo much zeal againſt a foreign prince who had threatened to invade the kingdom, would have refuſed to march againſt a vaſſal whom it was their intereſt to ſupport, in order to balance the power of the crown. In that age they made a material diſtinction between the wars of the nation and the wars of the ſovereign. On this memorable occaſion the celebrated *oriflamme*, the banner of Saint Denis, was firſt unfurled.

A.D. 1125, 1126, 1127.] While Lewis was thus engaged in Champagne, the incurſions of the Engliſh monarch, on the ſide of Normandy, were ſucceſſfully oppoſed by Amauri de Montfort, ſupported by the troops of the Vexin; and Henry, having appeaſed the troubles in Normandy, was conſtrained to liſten to terms of accommodation, and a durable peace was at length concluded.

But no ſooner had Lewis arranged the terms of accommodation with the king of England, than he was obliged to march to the aſſiſtance of the church of Clermont, whoſe biſhop having been forcibly expelled from his ſee by the count of Auvergne, claimed protection and redreſs from his ſovereign. He ſpeedily reduced to obedience his rebellious vaſſal, and reſtored the injured prelate to his juſt rights. But though he was ever eager to defend the privileges and poſſeſſions of the church, he could neither ſecure the gratitude nor reſpect of the clergy. They loudly complained that the king interfered in the nomination to vacant benefices, and infringed on their revenues. Their murmurs were carried to ſuch a dangerous height, that Lewis, in order to reduce them to ſubmiſſion, was conſtrained to have recourſe to violence; and to ſeize upon ſome lands belonging to the archbiſhop of Sens, and the biſhop of Paris. The laſt, whoſe name was Stephen, employed the thunder of the church againſt that very ſovereign who had proved himſelf its moſt zealous protector*. But Honorius the Second, who then filled the chair of Saint Peter, declared the ſentence of excommunication pronounced by Stephen to be abuſive, and accordingly annulled it. The French prelates were highly offended at an interference thus hoſtile to the authority they wiſhed to aſſume; and Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, warmly remonſtrated with the ſovereign pontiff on the impropriety of his conduct. "We hoped," ſaid he, "that the ſeverity of the prelate would have effected "the converſion of the prince. Your miſplaced indulgence has deſtroyed thoſe "hopes. All is loſt, the prelacy diſhonoured, and religion expoſed to the inſults

* Art. de verifier les dates, p. 499.

"of libertines*." But as this pompous epiſtle produced no effect on the mind of the ſovereign pontiff, he wrote a ſecond in a more peremptory ſtyle. The zealous abbot there obſerves, that Lewis is "always ready to attack religion, "which he regards as the peſt of his dominions, and the enemy of his crown. "He is a ſecond Herod, who ſeeks to deſtroy Jeſus, no longer an infant in the "manger, but triumphing in his church; he is a perſecutor, in ſhort, whoſe "malignant ſhafts are not ſo much directed againſt the prelates of his kingdom, "as againſt the ſpirit of God, by which they are animated†." This ſpirit of fanaticiſm was, in thoſe days of ignorance, dignified by the appellation of religious zeal; but Lewis, notwithſtanding this dangerous diſplay of prieſtly arrogance, conducted himſelf with temper and moderation, and by that means ſpeedily concluded a peace between the mitre and the crown.

Charles of Denmark, who had ſucceeded his couſin Baldwin in the principality of Flanders, fell a victim to the diſcontents of his ſubjects, and was aſſaſſinated at Bruges. Lewis haſtened to puniſh the aſſaſſins, and inflicted on them the moſt exemplary vengeance. As Charles had left no children, the vacant earldom was diſputed by various claimants. The chief of theſe were, Baldwin, count of Mons, one of whoſe anceſtors had been unjuſtly deprived of this country; Arnold of Denmark, ſon to the ſiſter of Charles; Thierri, count of Alſace, the ſon of Gertrude, ſiſter to Robert the Friſian; Stephen of Blois, brother to the count of Champagne; and William, ſon to Robert duke of Normandy. The king was to decide the matter, becauſe Flanders was a fief of the French crown; he therefore transferred the dukedom to William, probably with the view to render him a more formidable enemy to the king of England.

A. D. 1128.] Henry was fully aware of the deſigns of Lewis; and, in order to ſtrengthen his own influence on the continent, and to diminiſh that of his rival, he determined to ſecure the friendſhip of the potent but fickle count of Anjou. With this view he propoſed an alliance between his daughter Matilda, widow to the emperor of Germany, and Geoffry, ſurnamed *Plantagenet*, the eldeſt ſon of Fulk; which being cheerfully accepted by a nobleman, who was too apt to ſacrafice his honour to his intereſt, the nuptials were celebrated at Rouen with great pomp and magnificence, in the ſummer of 1128. But the Norman barons were highly diſpleaſed that, a ſtep, in which the intereſts of their country were ſo eſſentially concerned, ſhould have been taken without their previous conſent, and Henry had too ſenſibly experienced the turbulence of their diſpoſition, not to dread the effects of their reſentment. It ſeemed probable that the party of his nephew might gain a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength from the encreaſe of the malcontents; and the important addition of power which William had recently acquired rendered his pretenſions ſtill more

* Epiſt. S. Barnardi. 13 and 14. ad. Honor. 2. † Ejuſd. Epis. 49. ad. eumd.

alarming. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, Henry reſolved to ſupport the claims of Thierri of Alſace, to the county of Flanders, which gave riſe to a war in which William was generally victorious; but having received a wound in the hand in a trifling ſkirmiſh, a mortification unfortunately enſued, which put an end to his exiſtance, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, 1128, at the abbey of Saint Bertin.

Ordericus Vitalis ſays*, that, when he found his death approaching, he wrote to Henry, to expreſs his concern for the trouble he had cauſed him; and to requeſt, with an earneſtneſs which evinced the goodneſs of his heart, that he would recieve into his favour Helie de Saint Saen, and a few other friends, whom no reverſe of fortune had ever induced to forſake him. The death of this unfortunate prince, whoſe urbanity of manners and undaunted courage had ſecured him the love and eſteem of all who knew him, releaſed his ambitious uncle from thoſe jealous fears and anxious inquietudes, which, ſince his uſurpation of Normandy, had never ceaſed to diſturb his tranquillity.

A. D. 1129.] The fatigues of war, more than the ravages of time, had viſibly impaired the health of Lewis; who, in order to avoid thoſe diſſenſions which were but too common on the death of a king, followed the example of his predeceſſors, in the aſſociation of his ſon Philip to the throne. That prince was crowned at Rheims by archbiſhop Raymond; but he did not long ſurvive his elevation to the regal dignity. A fall from his horſe proved fatal to the young prince†, and the favourable expectations of a future reign, which had been raiſed by his early virtues, were blaſted by his premature death. The loſs of Philip was followed by the coronation of his brother Lewis, who, at the age of twelve years, received the crown from the hands of pope Innocent the Second.

From 1130 to 1137.] The kingdom now enjoyed a ſtate of perfect tranquillity; the inflexible juſtice of the ſovereign had ſecured his ſubjects from the oppreſſion of thoſe petty tyrants who infeſted his dominions, on his acceſſion to the throne; and the great vaſſals of the crown, convinced, at length, that the views of Lewis were honourable, were induced to repoſe that confidence in him, which they had hitherto withheld from his predeceſſors. But the approach of diſeaſe embittered the happieſt moments of his life, and prevented him from enjoying, in that plenitude of gratification which he ſo richly merited, the glorious reward of his virtuous labours.—He lived, however, to witneſs the aggrandiſement of his ſon, by an honourable alliance, and an important addition of territory.

William the Ninth, duke of Aquitaine, having reſolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Saint James of Compoſtella, declared his eldeſt daughter, Eleanor, ſole heireſs of his dominions, on condition that ſhe ſhould marry the king's el-

* P. 885, 886.—M. Paris, p. 49, col. 1. Gul. Gemiticen, l. vii. c. 16. † Suger, p. 313.

deſt ſon. The marriage was accordingly celebrated at Bourdeaux with great magnificence; and, the duke dying on his pilgrimage, young Lewis obtained immediate poſſeſſion of Poitou, Gaſcony, Biſcaye, and a large tract of country extending to the Pyrenees. The new-married couple then repairing to Poitiers the prince was ſolemnly crowned duke of Guienne, a title which he preſerved after his acceſſion to the throne.

But the king had ſcarce time to embrace his daughter-in-law, before he ſunk beneath the preſſure of his diſeaſe, and expired at Paris (in 1137), in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the ſixtieth of his age.

Of Lewis the Groſs it has been ſaid, "He might have made a better king, he "could not prove a better man." The eulogy is juſt, and comprehends his character in a few words; but ſtill, that Lewis was an excellent monarch will not admit of a doubt: impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice, vigourous in the ſuppreſſion of tyranny, and eager in promoting the welfare and happineſs of his ſubjects—he diſcharged the firſt duties of ſovereignty with propriety, wiſdom, and effect.—That he entertained a juſt ſenſe of the nature and importance of the royal dignity is evident from his laſt admonition, to his ſon and ſucceſſor: "*Remember, my ſon,*" ſaid the expiring monarch, "*that royalty is a public truſt,* "*for the exerciſe of which a rigorous account will be exacted from you, by him* "*who has the ſole diſpoſal of crowns and ſceptres.*"

Lewis the Groſs had eight children by Adelaide of Savoy; Philip, who died before his father; Lewis, ſurnamed the Young, who ſucceeded him in the throne, Henry, who firſt aſſumed the monaſtic habit at Clairvaux, was afterwards made biſhop of Beauvais, and next promoted to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Rheims; Robert, founder of the houſe of Dreux, whoſe grandſon Peter ſurnamed *Mauclerc*, acquired the county of Brittany by his marriage with the heireſs of that principality; Hugh, of whoſe fate no mention is made in hiſtory: Peter, who had by Iſabella, heireſs of Courtenay, a numerous offspring, whoſe deſcendants are ſtill in exiſtence; Philip, archdeacon of Paris; and Conſtance, firſt married to Euſtace, count of Boulogne, and afterwards to Raymond the Fifth, count of Toulouſe, and duke of Narbonne.

We have already had occaſion to remark, that, in the early times of the French monarchy, eccleſiaſtics and military men were the only people in the kingdom who were free. The other inhabitants of cities, towns, and villages, were all ſlaves, though not in an equal degree. They were divided into two claſſes. The firſt, called *ſerfs**, were attached to the *ſoil*, and tranſferred, with the trees that grew upon it, from one proprietor to another; neither being able to marry, nor to change their reſidence or profeſſion, without the permiſſion of their maſter—the whole produce of their labour was his, except he choſe to releaſe them from this obligation, on condition of receiving a ſtipulated ſum, at

* M. Le Gendre, Mœurs des Francois, p. 109.

ſtated periods, as well for the *ſerf* himſelf, as for his wife and children*. The ſecond claſs, denominated *hommes de poete*, were not ſo immediately dependant on their lord, who had no power over their lives or property. All their ſervitude conſiſted in the obligation of paying him certain duties, and of repairing his roads and highways†. But neither of theſe deſcriptions of men had any other judge than the lord of the ſoil, nor any other law than what he choſe to enact. Hence it was that ſo many crimes remained unpuniſhed; ſince the nobles themſelves were, generally ſpeaking, the immediate perpetrators of the numerous aſſaſſinations, and other lawleſs proceedings, ſo frequent throughout the kingdom. In ſuch caſes, where juſtice could not be obtained, in the uſual courſe, ſince the judge, the legiſlator, and the culprit, were centered in the ſame perſon, the injured party had recourſe to the authority of the prince, who iſſued his orders to the lord, in whoſe territory the crime had been committed, to ſee that ſtrict juſtice was adminiſtered. On his refuſal to comply with the royal mandate, he ſummoned the other vaſſals of the crown to join him with their ſtipulated number of men, in order to reduce the rebel to ſubmiſſion. But often the royal authority was not more reſpected than the laws; even the towns within his own domain were frequently inexact in ſupplying their contingency.

Lewis, in order to remedy theſe abuſes, and at the ſame time to create ſome power that might counterbalance thoſe potent vaſſals, who controuled or gave law to the crown, firſt adopted the plan of conferring new privileges on the towns ſituated within his own domain. Theſe privileges were called *Charters of Community*‡, by which he enfranchiſed the inhabitants, aboliſhed all marks of ſervitude, and formed them into corporations, or bodies politic, to be governed by a council and magiſtrates of their own nomination. Theſe magiſtrates had the right of adminiſtering juſtice within their own precincts, of levying taxes, of embodying and training to arms the militia of the town, which took the field when required by the ſovereign, under the command of officers appointed by the community. The great barons, by degrees, began to imitate the example of their monarch, and granted ſimilar immunities to the towns within their territories. They had expended ſuch immenſe ſums in their expeditions to the Holy Land, that they were eager to embrace this new expedient for raiſing money, by the ſale of thoſe charters of liberty. Though the inſtitution of communities was as repugnant to their maxims of policy, as it was adverſe to their power, they diſregarded remote conſequences, in order to obtain preſent relief‖. In leſs than two centuries ſervitude was aboliſhed in moſt of the towns in France, and they became free corporations, inſtead of dependant villages, without juriſdiction or privileges.

* Du Cange, vo. Servus et Poteſtas.
‡ Orderic. Vital. l. ii. p. 836.
† Le Pere Daniel, Hiſt. de France, p. 568. t. ii.
‖ Robertſon.

But, long before this inſtitution of *communities* in France, charters of immunity, or franchiſe, were granted to ſome towns and villages by the lords on whom they depended. Theſe, however, were very different from ſuch as became common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They did not erect theſe towns into corporations; they did not eſtabliſh a municipal government; they did not grant them the privilege of bearing arms. They contained nothing more than a manumiſſion of the inhabitants from the yoke of ſervitude; an exemption from certain ſervices which were oppreſſive and ignominious; and the eſtabliſhment of a fixed tax or rent, which they were to pay to their lord in place of impoſitions which he could formerly lay upon them at pleaſure. Two charters of this kind, to two villages in the county of Rouſſillon, one in the year 974, and the other in 1025, are ſtill extant*. Such conceſſions, it is probable, were not unknown in other parts of Europe, and may be conſidered as a ſtep towards the more extenſive privileges conferred by Lewis the Groſs on the towns within his domains†. The communities in France, never aſpired to the ſame independence with thoſe in Italy, which alſo owed their origin to the fanatical folly of the cruſaders—ſo often, by the wiſe and benevolent diſpenſations of Providence, does good ariſe out of evil!—They acquired new privileges and immunities; but the right of ſovereignty remained entire to the king or baron, within whoſe territories the reſpective cities were ſituated, and from whom they received the charter of their freedom. A great number of theſe charters, granted both by the kings of France, and by their great vaſſals, are publiſhed by M. d'Achery, in his *Spicilegium*, and many are to be found in the collection of the *Ordonnances des Rois de France*. Theſe convey a very ſtriking repreſentation of the wretched condition of cities previous to the inſtitution of communities, when they were ſubject to the judges appointed by the ſuperior lords, of whom they held, and had ſcarcely any other law but their will. Each conceſſion in theſe charters muſt be conſidered as a grant of ſome new privilege, which the people did not formerly enjoy; and each regulation as a method of redreſſing ſome grievance, under which they formerly laboured. The charters of communities contain likewiſe the firſt expedients employed for the introduction of equal laws, and regular government. On both theſe accounts they merit particular attention; and, therefore, we ſhall give our readers a view of ſome of the moſt important articles in theſe charters, under two general heads:—1. Such as reſpect perſonal ſafety.—2. Such as reſpect the ſecurity of property.

During that ſtate of turbulence and diſorder which the corruption of the feudal government introduced into Europe, perſonal ſafety was the chief object of every individual; and, as the great military barons alone were able to give ſufficient protection to their vaſſals, this was one great ſource of their power and authority. But, by the inſtitution of communities, effectual proviſion was

* Petr. de Marca (Marca), ſive Limes Hiſpanicus, App. p. 909—1038. † Robertſon.

made for the ſafety of individuals, independent of the nobles.—For, 1. The fundamental article in every charter was, that all the members of it bound themſelves by oath to aſſiſt, defend, and ſtand by each other againſt all aggreſſors; and that they ſhould not ſuffer any perſon to injure, diſtreſs, or moleſt any of their fellow citizens*.—2. Whoever reſided in any town, that was made free, was obliged, under ſevere penalty, to accede to the community, and to take part in the mutual defence of its members†.—3. The communities had the privilege of carrying arms; of making war on their private enemies; and of executing, by military force, any ſentence which their magiſtrates pronounced‡.—4. The practice of making ſatisfaction, by a pecuniary compenſation, for murdur, aſſault, or other acts of violence, moſt inconſiſtent with the order of ſociety, and the ſafety of individuals, was aboliſhed, and ſuch as committed theſe crimes were puniſhed capitally, or with rigour adequate to their guilt‖.—5. No member of a community was bound to juſtify or defend himſelf by battle or combat; but, if he was charged with any crime, he could be convicted only by the evidence of witneſſes, and the regular courſe of legal proceedings§.—6. If any man ſuſpected himſelf to be in danger, from the malice or enmity of another, upon his making oath to that effect before a magiſtrate, the perſon ſuſpected was bound, under a ſevere penalty, to give ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour¶.—This ſpecies of ſecurity is ſtill known in Scotland under the name of *lawburroughs***; in France it was firſt introduced among the inhabitants of communities; and, having been found to contribute conſiderably towards perſonal ſafety, it was extended to all the other members of the ſociety††.

The proviſions in the charters of communities, concerning the ſecurity of property, are not leſs conſiderable than thoſe reſpecting perſonal ſafety. By the ancient law of France, no perſon could be arreſted, or confined in priſon, on account of any private debt‡‡.—If any perſon was arreſted on any pretext, but his having been guilty of a capital crime, it was lawful to reſcue him out of the hands of the officers who had ſeized him‖‖.—Freedom of arreſt, on account of debt, ſeems likewiſe to have been enjoyed in other countries§§.—In ſociety, while it remained in its rudeſt and moſt ſimple form, debt ſeems to have been conſidered as an obligation merely perſonal: men had made ſome progreſs towards refinement, before creditors acquired a right of ſeizing the property of their debtors in order to recover payment. The expedients for this purpoſe were all introduced originally in communities, and the gradual progreſs of them may be eaſily traced by an accurate obſerver:—1. The ſimpleſt and moſt obvious ſpecies of ſecurity was, that the perſon who ſold any commodity ſhould receive

* D'Acher. Spicil. t. x. p. 642; xi. 341. &c. † Idem. t. xi. p. 344, &c. ‡ Idem. x. 643, 644; xi. 343. ‖ Idem. xi. p. 362—Miræi Opera Diplomatica, tom. i. p. 292. § Miræus ibid.—D'Ach. xi. 375, 349.—Ordon. tom. iii. p. 265. ¶ D'Ach. xi. 346. ** Robertſon. †† Etabliſſemens de St. Louis, liv. i. chap. 28, ap. Du Cange, Vie de St. Louis, p. 15. ‡‡ Ordon. des Rois de France, tom. i. p. 72—80. ‖‖ Ordon. iii. p. 17. §§ Gudenus Sylloge Diplom. 473.

a pledge from him who bought it, which he reſtored upon receiving payment. Of this cuſtom there are veſtiges in ſeveral charters of community*.—2. When no pledge was given, and the debtor became refractory or inſolvent, the creditor was allowed to ſeize his effects by force, and by his own private authority; the citizens of Paris are warranted by the royal mandate, "ut ubicumque, et "quocumque modo poterunt, tantum capiant, unde pecuniam, ſibi debitam integre et plenarie habeant, et inde ſibi invicem adjutores exiſtant†." This rude practice, ſuitable only to the violence of a ſtate of nature, was tolerated longer than one can conceive to be poſſible in any ſociety where laws and order were, in any degree, known. The ordonnance authoriſing it was iſſued in the year 1134; and that which corrects the law, and prohibits creditors from ſeizing the effects of their debtors, unleſs by a warrant from a magiſtrate, and under his inſpection, was not publiſhed until the year 1351‡.—It is probable, however, that men were taught, by obſerving the diſorders which the former mode of proceeding occaſioned, to correct it in practice long before a remedy was provided by a law to that effect.—New cuſtoms are not always to be aſcribed to the laws which authoriſe them‖. Theſe ſtatutes only give a legal ſanction to ſuch things as the experience of mankind has previouſly found to be proper and beneficial.—3. As ſoon as the interpoſition of the magiſtrate became requiſite, regular proviſion was made for attaching or diſtraining the moveable effects of a debtor; and, if his moveables were not ſufficient to diſcharge the debt, his immoveable property, or eſtate in land, was liable to the ſame diſtreſs, and was ſold for the benefit of his creditor§.—As this regulation afforded the moſt complete ſecurity to the creditor, it was conſidered as ſo ſevere, that humanity pointed out ſeveral limitations in the execution of it. Creditors were prohibited from ſeizing the wearing apparel of their debtors, their beds, the door of their houſe, their implements of huſbandry, &c.¶. Upon the ſame principles, when the power of diſtraining effects became more general, the horſe and arms of a gentleman could not be ſeized**.—As hunting was the favonrite amuſement of martial nobles, the emperor Ludovicus Pius prohibited the ſeizing of a hawk, on account of any compoſition or debt††. But if the debtor had no other moveables, even theſe privileged articles might be ſeized.—4. In order to render the ſecurity of property complete within a community, every perſon who was admitted a member of it was obliged to buy or build a houſe, or to purchaſe lands within its precincts; or, at leaſt, to bring into the town a conſiderable portion of his moveables *par quæ juſticiari poſſit, ſi quid forte in eum querelæ evenerit*‡‡.—5. That ſecurity might be as perfect as poſſible, in ſome towns the members of the community ſeem to have been bound for each other‖‖.—6. All queſtions

* D'Ach. ix. p. 185; xi. 377. † Ordon. &c. tom. i. p. 6. ‡ Idem. tom. ii. p. 438.
‖ Robertſon. § D'Ach. tom. ix. p. 184, 185; xi. p. 348—380. ¶ Idem, ix. p. 185; xi. p. 377.
** Id. ix. 185. †† Capitul. lib. iv. 21. ‡‡ D'Ach. ix. p. 326---Ordon. i. 367. ‖‖ Id. x. p. 644.



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with reſpect to property were tried within the community, by magiſtrates and judges, which the citizens elected or appointed. Their deciſions were more equal and fixed than the ſentences which depended on the capricious and arbitrary will of a baron, who thought himſelf ſuperior to all laws*.—7. No member of a community could be burdened by any arbitrary tax; for, the ſuperior lord, who granted the charter of community, accepted of a fixed cenſus, or duty in lieu of all demands†. Nor could the members of a community be diſtreſſed by an unequal impoſition of the ſum to be levied upon the community. Regulations are inſerted in the charters of ſome communities concerning the method of determining the quota of any tax to be levied on each inhabitant‡. Saint Lewis publiſhed an ordonnance concerning this matter, which extended to all the communities||.—Theſe regulations are extremely favourable to liberty, as they veſt the power of proportioning the taxes in a certain number of citizens, choſen out of each pariſh, who were bound, by a ſolemn oath, to decide according to juſtice.—That the more perfect ſecurity of property was one great object of thoſe who inſtituted communities, we learn, not only from the nature of the thing, but from the expreſs words of ſeveral charters, of which we ſhall only mention that granted by Eleanora, queen of England and ducheſs of Guienne, to the community of Poitiers, "ut ſua propria melius defendere poſſint, et magis integre cuſtodire§."—Such are ſome of the capital regulations eſtabliſhed in communities during the twelfth and thirteen centuries! Theſe may be conſidered as the firſt rudiments of law and order; and contributed greatly to introduce regular government among all the members of ſociety. As ſoon as communities were inſtituted, high ſentiments of liberty began to appear. When Humbert, lord of Beaujeu, upon granting a charter of community to the town of Belleville, exacted of the inhabitants an oath of fidelity to himſelf and ſucceſſors, they ſtipulated, on their part, that he ſhould ſwear to maintain their franchiſes and liberties; and, for their greater ſecurity, they obliged him to bring twenty gentlemen to take the ſame oath, and to be bound together with him¶. In the ſame manner the lord of Moirens in Dauphine produced a certain number of perſons, as his ſureties, for the obſervation of the articles contained in the charter of community to that town. Theſe were bound to ſurrender themſelves to the inhabitants of Moirens, if their liege-lord ſhould violate any of their franchiſes; and they promiſed to remain in cuſtody until he ſhould grant them redreſs**. If the mayor, or chief magiſtrate of a town, did any injury to a citizen, he was obliged to give ſecurity for his appearance in judgment, in the ſame manner as a private perſon; and, if caſt, was liable to the ſame penalty††. Theſe are ideas of equality uncommon in the feudal times. Communities were

* D'Ach. x. p. 644, 646; xi. 344, et paſſim; Ord. iii. 204. † Ordon. tom. iii. 204; Libertates de Calma.—Hiſt. de Dauphine, tom. i. p. 19; Libert. St. Georgii de Eſperanchia, ibid. p. 26. ‡ D'Ach. xi. 350, 365. || Ordon. tom. i. 186. § Du Cange, Voc. Communia, tom. ii. p. 863. ¶ D'Ach. ix. p. 183. ** Hiſt. de Dauphine, tom. i. p. 17. †† D'Ach. ix. 183.

ſo favourable to freedom, that they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *libertates**. They were at firſt extremely odious to the nobles, who foreſaw what a check they muſt prove to their power and domination. Guibert, abbot of Nogent, calls them execrable inventions, by which, contrary to law and juſtice, ſlaves withdrew themſelves from that obedience which they owed to their maſters†. The zeal with which ſome of the nobles and powerful eccleſiaſtics oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of communities, and endeavoured to circumſcribe their privileges, was extraordinary. A ſtriking inſtance of this occurs in the conteſts between the archbiſhop of Rheims and the inhabitants of that community. It was the chief buſineſs of every archbiſhop, during a conſiderable time, to abridge the rights and juriſdiction of the community; and the great object of the citizens, eſpecially when the ſee was vacant, to maintain, to recover, and to extend their own juriſdiction‡.

Theſe obſervations concerning the ſtate of cities, and the condition of their inhabitants, are confirmed by innumerable paſſages, in the hiſtorians and laws of the middle ages. It is not improbable, however, that ſome cities of the firſt order were in a better ſtate, and enjoyed a ſuperior degree of liberty. Under the Roman government, the municipal government eſtabliſhed in cities was extremely favourable to liberty: the juriſdiction of the ſenate in each corporation, and the privileges of the citizens, were both extenſive‖. There is reaſon to believe, that ſome of the greater cities, which eſcaped the deſtructive rage of the barbarous nations, ſtill retained their ancient form of government, at leaſt in a great meaſure. They were governed by a council of citizens, and by magiſtrates whom they themſelves elected. Very ſtrong preſumptions in favour of this opinion are produced by M. l'Abbe de Bos§.—It appears from ſome of the charters of community to cities, granted in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that theſe only confirm the privileges poſſeſſed by the inhabitants previous to the eſtabliſhment of the community¶. Other cities claimed their privileges, as having poſſeſſed them without interruption from the times of the Romans**. But the number of cities which enjoyed ſuch immunities was ſo ſmall as by no means to diminiſh the importance of thoſe charters granted by Lewis the Groſs, as meritorious innovations.

The kingdom ſoon felt the advantages ariſing from this beneficial change; the towns increaſed in population; the arts, the ſciences, and commerce began to flouriſh; new villages were built; lands hitherto uncultivated were rendered fertile; and the emancipated hind took farms on his own account, and laboured for himſelf. The cities, at length, became ſo powerful and opulent††, that, in order to engage them to contribute to the neceſſities of the ſtate with leſs repugnance than

* Du Cange, t. ii. p. 863. † Du Cange, ibid. p. 862. ‡ Hiſtorie Civile et Politique de la Ville de Rheims par M. Anquetil, tom. i. p. 287, &c. ‖ Robertſon. § Hiſt. Crit. de la Mon. Franc. tom. ii. p. 18, &c.—tom. ii. p. 524. Edit. 1742. ¶ D'Acher. Spicileg. vol. xi. p. 345. ** Hiſt. Crit. de la Mon. Franc. t. ii. p. 133. †† Le Gendre, Mœurs des Francois, p. 109.

they uſually evinced, it was judged proper to admit their deputies into the general aſſemblies. They appeared there for the firſt time in 1304: but merely for the purpoſe of repreſenting their wants, and explaining their reſources. The communities acquired greater honours, in proportion as they furniſhed a greater number of forces in time of war. Inſenſibly they formed a third body in the kingdom, who enjoyed, in the national diets, an equal or even ſuperior authority to the nobility and clergy. It was denominated, *The Third Eſtate*, (Tiers-Etat) an appellation unknown in preceding times*, when the nobles and eccleſiaſtics alone enjoyed the privilege of voting in the aſſemblies or parliaments. Every thing then experienced a change; as well the name of the aſſemblies, which were henceforth denominated *States-General*, or *Aſſemblies of the Three Eſtates*†, as their power and privileges, which were no longer the ſame as in early times. They never aſſembled but when the king pleaſed; they never deliberated on queſtions of peace and war; they were only permitted to repreſent the people's grievances, to regulate ſubſidies and the mode of levying them, or to appoint a regent, when the deceaſed monarch had neglected to name one himſelf.

There is no point with reſpect to which (as an Engliſh hiſtorian of eminence has juſtly remarked) the French antiquaries are more generally agreed, than in maintaining that the States-General had no ſuffrage in the paſſing of laws, and poſſeſſed no proper legiſlative juriſdiction. The whole tenor of the French hiſtory confirms this opinion. The form of proceeding in the States-General was this. The king addreſſed himſelf to the whole body aſſembled in one place, and laid before them the affairs on account of which he had ſummoned them. The deputies of each of the three orders, of nobles, of clergy, and of the third eſtate, met apart, and prepared their *caheir* or memorial, containing their anſwer to the propoſitions which had been made to them, together with the repreſentations which they had thought proper to lay before the king. Theſe anſwers and repreſentations were conſidered by the king in his council, and generally gave riſe to an ordonnance. Theſe ordonnances were not addreſſed to the three eſtates in common. Sometimes the king addreſſed an ordonnance to each of the eſtates in particular. Sometimes he mentioned the aſſembly of the three eſtates. Sometimes mention is made only of the aſſembly of that eſtate to which the ordonnance is addreſſed. Sometimes no mention at all is made of the aſſembly of eſtates, which ſuggeſted the propriety of enacting the law‡. Thus the States-General had only the privilege of adviſing and remonſtrating; the legiſlative authority reſided in the king alone.

It was at this period that a taſte for ſophiſtry was introduced into the ſchools, where it paſſed from philoſophy to theology, and gave riſe to the diſcuſſion of

* Le Gendre, ib. † The ancient name of parliament was transferred to thoſe companies which were eſtabliſhed in the kingdom for the better adminiſtration of juſtice. Le Gendre, p. 112.

‡ Preface au Tom. iii. des Ordon. p. 20.

a thouſand perplexing queſtions, not leſs dangerous than ſubtle. There was not a ſingle maſter or profeſſor who taught any of the uſeful ſciences, or the belles lettres; all that laid pretence to wit, or that boaſted of their underſtanding, puzzled their brain with abſtract ſpeculations, and loſt themſelves in the labrynths of metaphyſics. The firſt who gave leſſons in this kind of new logic was Roſcelin of Compiegne, a man rendered famous by the numbers and magnitude of his errors. The celebrated Abelard, who was not leſs diſtinguiſhed for the ſplendour of his genius, the elegance of his diction, the ſuavity of his manners, and the graces of his perſon, than for his ardent love and unparallelled misfortunes, was his diſciple and ſucceſſor. The high reputation which Abelard acquired, excited the envy of his contemporaries, and the ſubtility of his argunments procured his condemnation by the council of Soiſſons*. He was accuſed by ſome of teaching that there were Three Gods; and by others of not enforcing a neceſſary diſcrimination between the three perſons of the Trinity. In vain did he requeſt the pope's legate to order a juridical examination of his work; in vain did he offer to correct whatever might be deemed reprehenſible;—it was decided that the book ſhould be condemned without any farther examination, and the unfortunate author was compelled to commit his own work to the flames. In order to juſtify the irregularity of this proceeding, it was ſaid that the doctor's audacity, in reading his treatiſe in public before it had been approved by the pope, was a ſufficient reaſon for condemning it—as if any fault of the author could vitiate the work.

Abelard had alſo ſtudied under Anſelm of Laon, one of the greateſt theologians of the age; and under William de Champeaux, afterwards biſhop of Chalons-upon-Marne, who was called *The Column of the Doctors*. William for a long time taught rhetoric, logic, and theology in the cloiſter of the cathedral at Paris; he then retired to an old chapel dedicated to Saint Victor, where he founded a community of regular canons, which eſtabliſhment was confirmed by letters patent from Lewis the Groſs, in 1113, who was alſo liberal in his benefactions to it†.

There were two other celebrated orders likewiſe inſtituted during this reign; one in the deſert of Voſage, in the environs of Laon; the other in a retired ſpot near Muret, in the dioceſe of Limoges. They firſt aſſumed the title of Premontres, from a part of the deſert, and the white dreſs then worn by clerks; the ſecond took the appellation of Grandmont, with the black habit, worn by recluſes. The Premontres wore nothing but woollen, eat only one meal a day, obſerved a perpetual ſilence, and were very charitable to the poor‡. Their founder was a German gentleman, named Norbert, of illuſtrious birth, and highly favoured at the court of Henry the Fifth, emperor of Germany. The

* Tom. x. Concil. p. 885.

† Dubois, Hiſt. Paris, l. x. c. 7. 9. t. xix. p. 862.

‡ Vita S. Norb. apud Boll.

Grandmontains* were, at firſt, neither prieſts, monks, nor hermits, but a ſimple community of penitents, who were often obliged to interrupt their devotions, in order to beg the common neceſſaries of life. They lived in a ſtate of ſuch extreme mortification, that, when the pope confirmed their inſtitution, he was obliged to moderate its auſterity. Stephen, viſcount of Thiers, in Auvergne, was the founder of this order; and Grandmont, in the Limouſin, the chief place of its reſidence.

LEWIS THE SEVENTH,

SURNAMED THE YOUNG.

A. D. 1137.] LEWIS was in Guienne, when he received the news of his father's death. He immediately repaired to the capital; and, on his way thither, inflicted an exemplary puniſhment on the rebellious citizens of Orleans. When he arrived at Paris, he convened an aſſembly of the prelates and nobles, in which ſuch effectual meaſures were taken for repreſſing that ſpirit of ſedition which was ſo frequent at the commencement of a reign, that the national tranquillity remained wholly undiſturbed.

A. D. 1138.] The kingdom, indeed, had not enjoyed ſo perfect a calm as it now experienced for ſome time. This was principally owing to the fatal diviſions which prevailed in Germany and England. The emperor, Henry the Fifth, having died without heirs, the Germans, to the number of ſixty thouſand, aſſembled to appoint a ſucceſſor. The diet being unable to come to any concluſion, on account of the difference of opinion which obtained, choſe ten electors, who elected Lothaire, duke of Saxony†. It is pretended that this election was influenced by Suger the monk, who is ſaid to have been the firſt French miniſter that gave riſe to civil wars in Germany. He repaired to Mayence with the retinue of a ſovereign prince, and, by a ſucceſsful exertion of his

* Vita S. Stephani, apud. Boll. t. iv. p. 205.

† Hiſt. Ludovic. vii. Duch. tom. iv. p. 412, 413.

talents for intrigue, ſucceeded in his efforts to promote the excluſion of Frederic, duke of Suabia, who was nephew to the late emperor*. That young prince, urged by ambition, as well as reſentment againſt France, proteſted againſt the elevation of ſo formidable a rival. A bloody war enſued, which laſted till the death of Lothaire, and the coronation of Conrad, brother to the duke of Suabia.

England and Normandy were equally convulſed. On the death of Henry the Firſt, the throne of England was uſurped by Stephen, count of Boulogne, nephew to Henry, and brother to Thibaud, count of Champagne, to the prejudice of Matilda and her infant ſon. The clergy, profiting by the precarious ſituation of the uſurper, annexed this condition to their oaths of allegiance, viz. that they were only bound to obſerve it ſo long as the king defended the eccleſiaſtical liberties, and ſupported the diſcipline of the church. The barons, in return for their ſubmiſſion, exacted terms of a ſtill more pernicious tendency, equally deſtructive of public peace and of regal authority. Many of them inſiſted on the right of fortifying their caſtles, and of putting themſelves in a poſture of defence; and the king found himſelf in no condition to withhold his conſent from this exorbitant demand. The fatal effects of his compliance were ſoon viſible; the whole kingdom was immediately filled with thoſe fortreſſes, which the barons either garriſoned with their own vaſſals, or with licentious hirelings, who flocked to them from every quarter. The moſt ſhameful extortions were practiſed upon the people for the maintenance of theſe troops; and domeſtic feuds and private animoſities now raged with unbounded violence, and rendered England a continued ſcene of riot and diſorder. The nobles were conſtantly engaged in wars with each other; the barons even aſſumed the diſtinguiſhing marks of royalty, the right of coining money, and of exerciſing, without appeal, every act of juriſdiction; while the inferior gentry, as well as the common people, finding the laws inadequate to their defence, during this annihilation of ſovereign power, were compelled, for their own immediate ſafety, to court the protection of ſome neighbouring chieftain, by conſenting to ſubmit to his exactions, and to aſſiſt him in his rapine upon others. The erection of one caſtle cauſed the building of another; and even thoſe who had not obtained the king's permiſſion, thought that they were entitled, by the grand principle of ſelf-preſervation, to put themſelves on a footing with their neighbours, who were generally their enemies and rivals. Theſe cruel diſorders, which prevailed in the neighbouring ſtates, were favourable to the tranquillity of France, which was, at this time, agitated only by theological diſputes, that were not carried to a ſufficient heighth to diſturb the national repoſe.

Abelard, though he had been compelled to burn his book upon the Trinity, ſtill perſevered in the ſame ſentiments which he had there promulgated. He

* Annal. de l'Empire, tom. i. p. 195.

conſequently continued to teach the ſame doctrine; and even ventured to propagate in his writings many bold propoſitions, which hitherto he had contented himſelf with explaining to his pupils. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in the county of Champagne, inſtigated by William, abbot of Thierri, accuſed him of following the example of Arius, in making diſtinctions between the three perſons of the Trinity; of imitating Pelagius, in preferring free-will to grace; and of agreeing with Neſtorius, in dividing the perſon of Chriſt. A council was accordingly aſſembled at Sens, for the purpoſe of taking theſe charges into conſideration, at which the king and the count of Champagne were both preſent. The abbot of Clairvaux opened the buſineſs of the day, and diſplayed a fund of eloquence that ſeduced his audience. By the applauſe which he received from the aſſembly Abelard was convined that his condemnation would be pronounced. The embarraſſment occaſioned by this idea almoſt deprived him of the uſe of his faculties; it did not, however, prevent him from thinking of his perſonal ſafety, by making an appeal to the pope. The council, therefore, though they proceeded to condemn his doctrine, were prevented from inflicting any puniſhment on him.

Abelard ſet out for Rome in order to purſue his appeal, and to juſtify himſelf to the ſovereign pontiff; but the abbot of Cluni prevented him from proceeding, and undertook to reconcile him to Bernard. Then the face of affairs totally changed, and the doctrine of Abelard was no longer called in queſtion. He died two years after this reconciliation, overwhelmed with infirmities. He was doubtleſs the brighteſt genius of the age in which he lived; his misfortunes were owing to an exceſs of ſenſibility, and to the ſplendour of his reputation. His wife Heloiſe ſurvived him near twenty years, and, at her death, was interred in the ſame tomb with her huſband, at the abbey of Paraclete, which ſhe had founded.

A. D. 1140.] Such was the ſtate of France, when the king was led into a quarrel with the pope, on the election of a prelate to the ſee of Bourges. On the death of Alberic, the chapter of Bourges had elected, without waiting the approbation of their ſovereign, Pierre de la Chatre, a man of illuſtrious birth, to the vacant archiepiſcopal ſee. The indignant monarch, determined to vindicate his inſulted authority, commanded the chapter to proceed to a new election; but the clergy firmly maintained their choice. The Roman pontiff eſpouſed the cauſe of Pierre de la Chatre, obſerving, that *the king was a young man, who ſtood in need of inſtruction, and ſhould be taught not to accuſtom himſelf to ſimilar attempts*;—an obſervation equally indiſcreet and indecent in a prelate, who was indebted for his elevation to the protection afforded him by France againſt the faction of Anaclete. The new archbiſhop, fortified by the ſuffrage of the court of Rome, haſtened to take poſſeſſion of his dioceſe; but the inhabitants of Bourges, faithful to the orders of their ſovereign, refuſed him admiſſion into their city; he was therefore conſtrained to take refuge with the count

of Champagne, under whoſe protection he launched the thunders of the church againſt that part of the royal domain, which was compriſed within the limits of his archbiſhopric. The torch of diſcord was kindled by this haſty ſpark, and the deſtructive flame was fed by another incident, which equally diſplayed the dangerous and encroaching ſpirit of the court of Rome, nouriſhed the arrogance of the count of Champagne, and provoked the reſentment of the king of France.

A. D. 1141, 1142.] Rodolph, count of Vermandois, who had ſucceſſively preſided over the councils of Lewis and his father, had divorced from his bed, on the common and convenient plea of conſanguinity, his wife, the near relation of the count of Champagne* ; and had eſpouſed Patranilla, the daughter of the late duke of Aquitaine, and the younger ſiſter of Eleonora, queen of France. The mind of Thibaud was deeply wounded by the indignity offered to his family ; the Roman pontiff readily embraced the cauſe of the protector of Pierre de la Chatre ; he declared the marriage of Petronilla void, and denounced the penalty of excommunication againſt Rodolph, unleſs he recalled to his bed the wife whom he had unjuſtly repudiated. But Lewis, doubly intereſted in the fate of his kinſman, was not to be diſmayed by the terror of ſpiritual cenſure; with a formidable army he entered the territories of Thibaud, and compelled that haughty chief to ſue for peace. As the means of obtaining it, he promiſed to intercede with the pope to revoke the excommunication of the count of Vermandois, and the interdict which Pierre de la Chatre had pronounced againſt the royal domain in the archbiſhopric of Bourges. Yet the king had no ſooner retired within his own dominions, than he was again aſſailed by the hoſtile weapons of the apoſtolic chair ; and, enraged at the deceit of Thibaud, the ſincerity of whoſe ſubmiſſion he juſtly ſuſpected, he determined to avenge, on the innocent inhabitants of Champagne, the perfidy of their turbulent prince. He laid waſte the country with indiſcriminate rage, and, having taken the town of Vitry by ſurpriſe, ſet fire to the pariſh church, in which thirteen hundred perſons had taken refuge, all of whom miſerably periſhed in the flames.

But ſhame and repentance ſoon ſucceeded thoſe emotions of youthful rage and impetuous reſentment, which had urged the youthful mind of Lewis to the commiſſion of ſo inhuman a deed. Impreſſed with the deepeſt ſentiments of remorſe, he reconciled himſelf to the count of Champagne, acknowledge Pierre as the archbiſhop of Bourges, and made a vow to undertake an expedition to Paleſtine, which, in thoſe days, was deemed a ſufficient expiation of the moſt enormous crimes.

A. D. 1144, 1145.] The diſtreſs of the chriſtian warriors in Paleſtine called for immediate aſſiſtance from Europe; and the falling fortunes of the Latins could only be propped by the immenſe preparations for the ſecond cruſade. The city of Edeſſa had been recovered from the chriſtians by the valour of

* Spicil. p. 400.

Zenghi, a Turkiſh chief, who ruled, with independent authority, the Aſiatic kingdoms of Aleppo and Moſul; and the conqueſt which had been achieved by the father was protected by the fame and fortune of the ſon. The name of Noureddin (*the Light*) ſtill gleams through the darkneſs of Aſiatic hiſtory; and its meridian glory eclipſed the faint luſtre of the unworthy ſucceſſors of Godfrey. The throne of Jeruſalem was then occupied by the inexperienced youth of Baldwin the Third, whoſe tender years were protected by the counſels of his mother, Mileſenda; while the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli obeyed the authority of the two Raymonds, counts of Poitiers and Toulouſe.

Bernard, who had been employed to preach this ſecond cruſade, and whoſe fervent eloquence had arouſed the fanatical zeal of the Germans and Flemings, was earneſt in his exhortations to Lewis to fulfil, with ſpeed, the ſolemn vow he had made. Suger, abbot of Saint Denis, on the contrary, exerted his utmoſt efforts to diſſuade the king from an enterpriſe, from which there was every thing to fear, and nothing to hope; and which he might effectually aſſiſt, by a contribution of men and money, while his preſence was requiſite at home to ſecure the tranquillity of his hereditary dominions. The king's eſteem was ſo equally divided between theſe two eccleſiaſtics, that he long heſitated between the different counſels which they, with equal eagerneſs, enforced. They are both, indeed, repreſented by hiſtorians as worthy of his confidence by the extent of their merit. The firſt had, rather by a reputation for ſanctity, richly deſerved and fully confirmed, than for any ſolidity of underſtanding or brilliancy of wit, enſured a reſpect and conſideration for his perſon, which have frequently more weight than authority itſelf; the laſt, by a ſuperiority of genius, ſtrengthened by comprehenſive talents and incorruptible probity, had acquired that degree of public confidence which does honour even to virtue. The abbot of Clairvaux, with the air and enthuſiaſm of a prophet, had a prophet's inflexibility; the abbot of Saint Denis, with a greater knowledge of the world, was more modeſt in his addreſs, more inſinuating in his manners, and his firmneſs was never carried to extremes. They were alike directed by important views, though of a different nature; Bernard was earneſt in his endeavours to promote, *excluſively*, the intereſts of religion—at leaſt what he deemed ſuch; whereas Suger, exempt from fanaticiſm, though rationally devout, wiſhed to make the proſperity of the church coincide with the welfare of the ſtate: but the enthuſiaſm of the prophet overcame the wiſdom of the politician; and Lewis, ſtricken with remorſe for his cruelty at Vitry, determined to aſſume the croſs, and repair to Paleſtine.

A. D. 1146.] A parliament* was accordingly aſſembled at Vezelai in Burgundy, and it was ſo numerouſly attended, that no building was found ſufficiently

* This is the firſt time that the term parliament is applied, by French hiſtorians, to an aſſembly of the nobles and prelates.

ſpacious to contain the members, who therefore met in an open field. The eloquence of Bernard was here ſucceſsfully employed, who depicted, in glowing colours, the meritorious piety, and the internal rewards, which attended the holy warfare. The king received, from his hands, a croſs, which the pope had ſent him from Rome; and his example was followed by the queen and a numerous train of nobles, prelates, and gentlemen of inferior quality.

The holy infection ſoon paſſed from theſe to the people; and "*The croſs! the croſs!*" reſounded on every ſide. Such was the enthuſiaſtic ardour to engage in this pious enterpriſe, that the towns and villages were ſo far ſtripped of their inhabitants, that, in many of them, none but women and children were left behind. It ſeemed as if the French, diſguſted with the rich country which their anceſtors had conquered, were deſirous of ſeeking a new eſtabliſhment in a different quarter of the globe*. A ſpindle and diſtaff were ſent to all who had the ability to join the cruſaders, but who wanted the will. Even the women were ambitious to aſſume the croſs; and the generality of wives followed their huſbands in this long and dangerous pilgrimage.

A. D. 1147.] The forces which aſſembled under the *oriflamme* of Saint Denis have been computed at more than two hundred thouſand men. The reins of government were, during the abſence of the king, entruſted to Rodolph, count of Vermandois, and to Suger, abbot of Saint Denis, whoſe councils he had rejected, but whoſe prudence and judgment he eſteemed. At the head of this unwieldy hoſt, Lewis traverſed ſucceſsfully the plains of Hungary, and encamped under the walls of Conſtantinople, where he was received with all poſſible honours by the emperor Manuel Comnenus. That prince was in the flower of his youth, poſſeſſed of every perſonal accompliſhment, endued with prudence ſuperior to his years, with ſeducing eloquence, and inflexible courage. But theſe endowments were greatly counterbalanced by his numerous vices. Indeed it has been juſtly obſerved, by a modern hiſtorian, that the court of the more early Greek emperors ſeems to have reſembled thoſe of eaſtern monarchs, both in magnificence, and in corruption of manners. Manuel Comnenus rioted in every kind of luxury, and wantoned in every ſpecies of debauchery. He openly ſhared his bed with his mother, the princeſs Theodora; he ſupported his vices with ſuch ſucceſs of prodigality, that his ſubjects were overwhelmed with the moſt oppreſſive impoſts; and the well-earned fruits of their induſtry and labour were applied to gratify the inſatiate avidity of his eunuchs, and of the baſe miniſters of his guilty pleaſures. Perfidious in the extreme, while he loaded the cruſaders with careſſes, he left no artifice unemployed to promote their deſtruction. Had this portrait of the emperor been drawn by a French or by a German writer, we might have been tempted to call its juſtice in queſtion, and to have ſuſpected that the features had been diſguiſed by

* Abregé de l'Hiſt. Univerſ. part ii. p. 7.

prejudice and partiality; but as it comes from the pencil of Nicetas Choniatas, a Greek writer, contemporary with Manuel*, we can have no reason to doubt its truth; particularly as, far from being partial to the crusaders, he inveighs against them with extreme violence; speaking of the Franks, he describes them as barbarians, fierce, illiterate, impetuous, and savage; and he gives an account of the ferocity and devastations of the crusaders in general, in terms not unlike those which preceding historians had employed in describing the incursions of the Goths and Vandals†.

From the same author we learn, that Manuel assigned guides to the crusaders who were privately instructed, by the emperor himself, to lead them into defiles, where they were attacked by troops stationed for that purpose; that he caused the gates of all the towns in his dominions to be shut against them, and they could obtain no provisions, till they had previously deposited their money in baskets let down from the walls to receive it, by which means they were exposed to incessant impositions, as the Greeks frequently disappeared with the cash, and brought them nothing in return; that lime was mixed in the flour distributed to the troops, which proved the destruction of thousands; that the natives had fabricated a base coin, with which they always paid the crusaders, whenever they purchased any thing from them, and refused to take it in payment for their own articles; "that there was no wicked artifice, in short, which the em-
"peror did not employ, or cause to be employed, against them, to serve as an
"example to their descendants, that might deter them from entering on the
"Greek territories‡."

A. D. 1148.] But during the stay of Lewis at the court of Constantinople he experienced from the artful emperor every mark of respect, friendship, and esteem. The French monarch, ever mindful of his own dignity, refused to grant precedency to the Greek; but preserved, on all occasions, a perfect equality. Of this becoming jealousy a striking instance is mentioned by Odo de Deuil, a monk of St. Denis, who was secretary and chaplain to the king: he had already passed the Bosphorus, with his army, when he received a message from Manuel, desiring a conference at Constantinople; but Lewis sent him word, that, if he had any thing to communicate, he must either come to him, or, at least, meet him half way on the sea, that they might treat on *equal* terms; a proposal with which the emperor found himself obliged to comply.

At Nice, Lewis met Conrad, emperor of Germany, his rival in the pious warfare, returning wounded from a glorious, but unfortunate combat, in the defiles of mount Taurus, into which he had been betrayed by the perfidy of Manuel; and seeking for some vessels to carry him to Palestine by sea. The king of France, however, unwarned by his misfortunes, pressed forward to the banks

* Nicet. Chon. in Manuel. l. i. 397. † Idem, ap. Byz. Script. vol. iii. p. 302, &c.
‡ Idem, in Manuel. l. i. p. 41.

of the Mænder, which he paſſed in ſight of the Turks, whom he afterwards attacked in their camp, and defeated, with great ſlaughter*. But, in a few days, he experienced a reverſe of fortune, and, by the negligence of his officers, was expoſed to an attack that had nearly proved fatal to his cauſe.

It was an eſtabliſhed rule in the French army, that two of the principal nobles ſhould command, alternately, the van and rear-guards, and and fix on the ground where the troops ſhould encamp. Geoffrey de Rancon, a powerful baron of Poitou, led the van that day, carrying the royal ſtandard, and preceded by the *oriſlamme* of Saint Denis. It had been ſettled, that he ſhould fix his camp on the ſummit of a mountain, in order to command the defiles; but, finding neither forage nor water at the deſtined ſpot, he deſcended into a pleaſant vale at the foot of the hill. The Turks, taking advantage of this imprudent ſtep, attacked the rear-guard with ſuch impetuous fury, that the firſt rank was broken in an inſtant. The ſecond diſplayed greater firmneſs, but, oppreſſed with numbers, and overcome with ſurpriſe, the whole army muſt inevitably have been deſtroyed but for the friendly intervention of night.

The king was retiring with precipitation, after having ſignaliſed his valour in the field, when his golden ſpurs attracted the notice of a band of Saracens, who reſolved to ſeize the glittering prize. They accordingly purſued Lewis, who, unable to effect his eſcape, placed his back againſt a large tree, where he defended himſelf with ſuch vigour againſt his numerous aſſailants, that he ſoon had an opportunity of climbing to the top. The Saracens plied him with their arrows, but were unable to penetrate his armour; they next attempted to aſcend the tree, but the king uſed his ſabre with ſuch ſkill and ſucceſs, that, ignorant of his quality, and intimidated by the oppoſition they experienced, they at length left him in ſearch of plunder that could be acquired with greater facility. He then left his poſt; and, mounting a ſtray horſe, was lucky enough to find the defiles of the mountain, and to attain the camp of his van-guard, who, having recovered their ſovereign, whom they imagined to be killed or taken, conſoled themſelves for the loſs of one half of the army.

After this diſaſter, Lewis proceeded to the ſmall ſeaport of Attalia, on the coaſt of Pamphilia, where he procured veſſels to convey himſelf and a part of his troops to Antioch. There he was received with kindneſs and diſtinction by his uncle, Raymond of Poictiers. But to public calamity ſucceeded the pangs of domeſtic miſery; the charms of his wife had made a deep impreſſion on the prince of Antioch; and Eleanora, frail as ſhe was fair, returned the affection of her kinſman, and baſely diſhonoured her lord and ſovereign†. Indeed ſhe was prodigal of her favours: a youthful Turk named Saladin, loaded her with preſents, and received her careſſes in return‡; the warmth of her paſſions over-

* Geſt. Ludov. vii. chap. xi. p. 398. Duch. tom. iv. † Gul. Tyr. l. xvi. c. 7.
‡ Frag. de Rebus Ludov. vii. Duch. t. iv. p. 140.

came the dictates of honour; and she suffered her beauteous person to be polluted by the promiscuous embraces of her numerous admirers*.

From Antioch, Lewis, accompanied by his reluctant queen, set sail for Jerusalem, where he was joined by the emperor Conrad. Reinforced by the troops of Baldwin the Third, king of Jerusalem, they determined to form the siege of Damascus; that city was strong both by art and nature, but the vigorous attacks of the christians overcame every obstacle, and their efforts must have been finally crowned with success, had not the jealousies that prevailed among themselves proved more fatal than the arms of their enemies. The report that Damascus, when reduced, was to be given to the count of Flanders, disgusted the christians who were established in Syria; and, induced by envy to betray the cause in which they had embarked, they maintained a secret correspondence with the Turks; in consequence of which the convoys were surprised, the works were insulted, and Conrad and Lewis were at length compelled to relinquish the hopeless enterprise; and, having given sufficient proofs of their piety and courage, they embarked at a port in Syria, and returned to their respective dominions.

The French, in the mean time, bewailed, with bitter lamentations, the misguided zeal of their monarch, and the fatal effects of an expedition that had drained the kingdom of its wealth, and greatly diminished the number of its inhabitants. But the abbot of Clairvaux was the chief object of their indignation; they accused him of being a false prophet, and censured him loudly for interfering in matters that did not concern him, instead of confining himself to the duties of his station. The widow and the orphan reproached him with their losses, with the splendour of his promises, and the magnitude of their disappointment. In vain did he attempt to justify himself by the example of Moses, who, like him, had promised the children of Israel, on the part of the Lord, to conduct them into a land of blessing, and who saw the first generation perish in the deserts. Like them, he observed, the crusaders had, by their own abominations, forged the thunder that destroyed them; but the grief of the people was too poignant to bear with remonstrance where they had expected excuse, and the eloquence of Bernard having once so fatally deceived them, had now lost its wonted effect. But, while the ears of Bernard were thus assailed by the curses of his countrymen, all France was unanimous in bestowing its benedictions on the abbot of Saint Denis, who had governed the state, during the absence of his sovereign, with a degree of wisdom and prudence that merited the highest commendations.

A. D. 1150, 1151, 1152.] Lewis, on his return from Palestine, found the flames of civil war raging in England and Normandy, where the pretenders to the sovereignty asserted their separate claims with equal vigour, though not

* Mat. Paris, Ann. 1150, p. 112.

with equal ſucceſs.—Geoffrey, count of Anjou, and his ſon Henry Plantagenet, repaired to his court, and claimed his protection againſt an uſurper who had deprived them of their lawful inheritance. Policy coinciding with juſtice, the king liſtened to their ſuit, and, having reſolved to eſpouſe their cauſe, raiſed a powerful army, with which he invaded Normandy; and, having reduced that duchy, reſigned it to prince Henry, who paid him homage for it, and, as a reward for a ſervice ſo important, ceded to him that diſtrict of country which lies between the rivers Epte and Andelle, and is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Vexin Normand.

The count of Anjou died ſoon after, leaving three ſons; Henry, who ſucceeded to his dominions; Geoffrey, to whom he bequeathed Chinon, Loudun and Mirebeau; and William, who was inveſted with the county of Mortain. Nor was it long before the king experienced a ſeverer loſs, in the death of his two virtuous miniſters, Rodolph, count of Vermandois, and Suger, abbot of Saint Denis. And theſe were ſoon followed by the pious enthuſiaſt, Saint Bernard; who, during his life, had founded no leſs than ſeventy-ſeven convents of his own order; thirty-five in France; eleven in Spain; ſix in the Low Countries; five in England; five in Ireland; five in Savoy; four in Italy; two in Germany; two in Sweden; one in Hungary, and one in Denmark; and theſe abbies had given riſe to as many more in the different countries in which they were ſituated.

The coolneſs that had ſubſiſted between the king and queen, ever ſince the diſcovery of Eleonora's infidelity at Antioch, daily increaſed; and the contrariety of their diſpoſitions at length produced ſo dreadful an antipathy between them, that they were unable to ſupport each other's company. Lewis lamented in ſecret the licentious conduct of a wife, who neither reſpected his rank nor perſon; while the queen affected to bewail the cruelty of her own fate, in having married a prince who was better adapted to a cloiſter than a throne. When they were thus mutually prepared for a ſeparation, a divorce was reſolved on; but the king, though deeply offended, was willing to ſpare the reputation of his wife, and inſtead of founding his pretenſions on her adulterous behaviour, cauſed her relations to prefer the more honourable and convenient plea of conſanguinity*. This being examined by a council aſſembled at Beaujenci, was declared to be valid, and the ſentence of divorce was accordingly pronounced. With Eleanora, Lewis reſtored her ample inheritance, the fertile and important counties of Guienne and Poitou; though his conduct, in thus eaſily parting with theſe wealthy provinces, has been loudly cenſured by hiſtorians, as impolitic and unwiſe, it was certainly dictated by honour, and ſanctioned by juſtice.

Eleonora was do ſooner at liberty than ſhe was addreſſed by a variety of ſuitors, whom the charms of her perſon, and the extent of her poſſeſſions, in-

* Geſta Ludov. vii. c. 29, p. 411. Hiſtor. ejuſd. p. 415.

duced to overlook the defects of her mind, and the frailty of her conduct. Thoſe who, from their birth and pretenſions, had the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs, were Thibaud, count of Chartres and Blois; Geoffrey, count of Chinon; and his brother Henry Plantagenet, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou. The two firſt, deſpairing of ſucceſs, formed ſeparate plans for taking off the princeſs by force on her road to Guienne; but ſhe had the good fortune to eſcape the ſnares that were laid for her, and to reach her own dominions in perfect ſafety. The moment ſhe arrived there, ſhe diſpatched a faithful meſſenger to the duke of Normandy, with the offer of her hand and fortune. The alliance was equally ſuitable to both parties; it gave to Henry the fineſt duchy in France, while it ſecured to Eleonora—to uſe the words of the reverend father Daniel—"a prince in the bloom of youth, full of fire, gallant, brave, and vigorous; equally "capable of defending her dominions, and ſatisfying her deſires*." Henry accordingly accepted with joy the proffered prize, and heedleſs of thoſe imperfections in his bride which, it is probable, either his vanity or his ambition taught him to overlook, haſtened to the completion of that ceremony which put him in full poſſeſſion of the perſon and domains of Eleonora, within ſix weeks after her divorce from Lewis†.

A. D. 1153.] This marriage was highly diſpleaſing to the French, who could not ſee, without alarm, the extenſive and important countries of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Guienne and Poitou, united under the domination of a prince whoſe perſonal merit increaſed the conſequence he derived from the extent of his territories. The king, in particular, was greatly incenſed, and not without reaſon, for, by her marriage contract with Henry, Eleonara had diſinherited the two daughters which ſhe had by Lewis. He begau to repent his facility in having inveſted Henry with the duchy of Normandy, and, in order to humble the pride of that prince, he entered into a league with the king of England; his ſon Euſtace; the count of Blois; and Geoffrey, brother to Henry‡, who all ſwore, that they would not lay down their arms till they had ſtripped the duke of Normandy of a power, that at once excited their envy and alarmed their fears.

But this confederacy was attended with no bad conſequences to Henry, who, by his timely ſubmiſſion, regained the friendſhip of Lewis; and the death of the count of Boulogne about the ſame time called the attention of Stephen to another quarter. Henry had recently made a deſcent upon England, where his progreſs was rapid, and his party powerful. After taking ſeveral important fortreſſes, he threw ſuccours into Wallingford, which the king had advanced to beſiege with a ſuperior force. At this place the two armies lay oppoſite to each other three days, in continual expectation of a deciſive action, when the nobility of either party, alarmed at the proſpect of farther bloodſhed, and the confuſion

* P. Daniel, t. ii. p. 605. † Le Gendre, t. ii. p. 356. ‡ Chron. Norm.

that muſt inevitably reſult from a general engagement, for whichever ſide victory might chance to declare, interpoſed their good offices, and offered terms of accommodation to the rival princes. A negociation was accordingly commenced, the concluſion of which was greatly facilitated by the death of Euſtace. The terms of this treaty were, that Stephen ſhould enjoy the crown during his life; that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in his name, even in thoſe provinces which had acknowledged the ſovereignty of Henry; that Henry ſhould, on the demiſe of Stephen, ſucceed to the kingdom; and that William, Stephen's ſon, ſhould inherit Boulogne and his patrimonial eſtate. Lewis, dreading the conſequences of this accommodation, renewed his incurſions into Normandy, and, laying ſiege to Vernon, reduced that town to the neceſſity of capitulating.

A. D. 1154, 1155.] Such was the ſtate of affairs in the rival kingdoms of France and England, when king Stephen died at Dover, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. Henry ſucceeded to the throne without oppoſition; and the Engliſh nobles were happy to be governed by a monarch, whoſe perſonal merits they had witneſſed, and the extent of whoſe foreign poſſeſſions would, they conceived, afford additional ſecurity to the crown. Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Saintonge, Poitou, and Guienne, acknowledged the authority of Henry, who, with the addition of power he had recently acquired, might have continued the war with Lewis with the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs; but, impreſſed with the ſpirit of moderation, he forbore to profit by the flattering advantage, and propoſed terms of accommodation to Lewis. Theſe the French monarch accepted, and a peace was accordingly concluded between them, on condition that Henry ſhould pay two thouſand marks of ſilver, in order to defray the expences incurred by Lewis during the war, and renew his homage for all the territories he poſſeſſed on the continent. The treaty was religiouſly obſerved on both ſides for five or ſix years, during which time Henry paid frequent viſits to Lewis, and the moſt friendly intercourſe ſubſiſted between the two monarchs.

About this time Lewis married Conſtance, daughter of Alphonſo the Eighth, king of Leon and Caſtile, who was accordingly crowned at Orleans by the archbiſhop of Sens. Soon after the celebration of his nuptials, the king undertook a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James, at Compoſtella, the capital of Gallicia*; and, during this devout expedition, he had an interview with his father-in-law, and with Sancho the Fifth, who filled with reputation and ability the throne of Navarre. On his return, Lewis aſſembled a ſplendid council at Soiſſons, diſtinguiſhed by the preſence of the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Flanders, Troyes, Nevers, and Soiſſons, and a long train of noble and powerful vaſſals†; but ſtill more memorable by the influence of the ſovereign, who engaged the haughty barons to ſwear to a ten year's peace, and to ſubmit their differ-

* Marian. l. xi. c. 2. † Epiſt. Ludov. vii. 57. apud Duch. t. 4. p. 583.

ences, during that ſpace, to the deciſion of juſtice, inſtead of appealing to the ſword.

A. D. 1156, to 1160.] The king of England was engaged in a war with his brother Geoffrey, who had advanced pretenſions to the territories of Maine and Anjou, and had actually made incurſions into thoſe provinces, and obtained poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of them; but, on the approach of Henry, he was compelled to forego his claims on condition of retaining a part of his lands, and of receiving an annuity of a thouſand pounds in lieu of thoſe which his brother obliged him to relinquiſh. After this accommodation, Geoffrey retired to Nantes in Brittany, the inhabitants of which, having revolted from their lawful ſovereign, invited him to aſſume the government of their diſtrict. On the death of this prince, which ſoon occurred, Henry, as his heir, laid claim to the territory, and repaired to the continent, to ſupport his pretenſions by force of arms*. Conan, duke of Brittany, who claimed Nantes as belonging to his dukedom, from which it had been lately ſeparated by rebellion, had, immediately after the deceaſe of Geoffrey, taken poſſeſſion of it. Henry's firſt care, on his arrival in Normandy, was to ſecure the friendſhip of Lewis, whoſe interpoſition in the controverſy he had reaſon to apprehend; he therefore paid him a viſit, in which it was ſettled that prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon, and heir to his crown, ſhould be affianced to the princeſs Margaret, daughter of Lewis, by Conſtance of Caſtile; though the former was only five years of age, and the latter ſtill in her cradle. This alliance procured Henry an invitation to Paris, where he was entertained with the utmoſt magnificence for ſeveral days; and he ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of Lewis, that he granted him a commiſſion, as count of Anjou and ſeneſchal of France, to decide the important controverſy which had ſubſiſted for ſome time between Eudes, count of Ponlievre, and Conan, duke of Brittany, about the right to that dukedom.

Conan was no ſooner informed of the power with which Henry was entruſted, than he waited upon him, and made a voluntary reſignation of Nantes, in order to purchaſe a favourable ſentence, which he accordingly obtained†. Nor was this the only advantage which the king of England derived from this unexpected incident. The duke of Brittany, harraſſed with the turbulent diſpoſition of his fellow-ſubjects, and deſirous of ſecuring to himſelf the protection of ſo powerful a monarch, betrothed his daughter, and only child, who was yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third ſon, who was in his infancy likewiſe. Conan died about ſeven years after this tranſaction, and Henry, being meſne-lord, and alſo natural guardian to his ſon and daughter-in-law, took poſſeſſion of that principality, and annexed it, for the preſent, to his other extenſive dominions.

Henry's ſucceſs in all his undertakings, and the additional power which he daily acquired, could not fail to excite the apprehenſions, and to rouſe the jealouſy of Lewis, who ſuffered no opportunity to eſcape that could tend to

* Robert de Monte. † Gervas Chron. Ann. 1158.—Chron. Norman. p. 994.

ſtrengthen his authority, or to extend his influence. His wife Conſtance dying in child-bed, he complied with the entreaties of his nobles, ſeconded by his own concern for the tranquillity of his kingdom, and his deſire to perpetuate the ſceptre in the hands of his poſterity—to contract a third marriage. Adelaide, the daughter of Thibaud, count of Champagne, was the object of his choice; and his alliance with that princeſs firmly attached to his intereſt the different branches of that powerful family. In order to ſtrengthen the more this prudent connection, he married his two daughters by Eleanora to two ſons of the count of Champagne:—Mary, to Henry the Firſt, count of Troyes; and Alix, to Thibaud, count of Blois.

The king of England, in the mean time, not yet ſatisfied with the acceſſion of power which he had recently obtained by the acquiſition of Nantes, now determined to revive the pretenſions of his queen, Eleanora, to the county of Toulouſe. Theſe were founded on the right of her grandmother, Philippa, ducheſs of Guienne, who was the only iſſue of William the Fourth, count of Toulouſe; and who muſt have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, from an anxiety to preſerve the ſucceſſion in the male line, conveyed the principality to his brother, Raymond de Saint Gilles, whoſe grandſon of the ſame name was now count of Toulouſe. But when Lewis the Seventh married Eleanora, he maintained that the conveyance was a mere colluſion between the two brothers to defraud the lawful heir; and that the conſent of William the Ninth, count of Poitiers, the huſband of Philippa, which had been obtained by a ſum of money, was inſufficent to render it valid: he therefore alledged, that the whole tranſaction was illegal, and conſequently null; and that his conſort, Eleanora, was entitled to the inheritance of her grandmother, Philippa, on reimburſing the ſum which had been paid to the count of Poitiers for the confirmation of the fictitious conveyance*.

Raymond, who was then in poſſeſſion of the county, in vain pleaded preſcription; Lewis was ſufficiently powerful to enforce his pretenſions, and he threatened to invade the count's territories: but a negociation was entered into, which, terminating in the marriage of Raymond with Conſtance, the ſiſter of Lewis, and widow of Euſtace, the ſon of Stephen, induced the king to deſiſt from his claims. Theſe pretenſions, however, Henry, by his marriage with Eleanora, thought himſelf authoriſed to renew; and, finding that Raymond was determined to oppoſe them, and had engaged Lewis to ſupport him, he impoſed a tax on his ſubjects, whereby he was enabled to raiſe an army of foreign mercenaries, with which he reſolved to invade the county of Toulouſe. He accordingly repaired to the continent, and, being aſſiſted by Berenger, count of Barcelona, and Trincaval, count of Niſmes, whom he had gained over to his party, made an incurſion into Quercy, and took the town of Cahors. He then

* Neubr. p. 387; Chron. W. Heming, p. 494.

directed his march toward Toulouſe; and, having taken Verdun, Caſtlenau, and many other places of importance, prepared to inveſt the capital; but Lewis, advancing before the arrival of the main body, threw himſelf into the town with a ſmall re-inforcement of troops. Henry was adviſed by his miniſters, and particularly by the celebrated Thomas a Becket, who was then chancellor of England, to proſecute the ſiege with redoubled vigour; that, by making Lewis priſoner before the approach of his army, he might be enabled to impoſe his own terms of accommodation. But the ſtrict attention which intereſt prompted him to afford to the principles of the feudal government, to which he was indebted for the ſecurity of his own extenſive poſſeſſions, compelled him to reject advice replete with political prudence, and to declare, in the moſt poſitive terms, that no conſideration ſhould induce him to attack a place that was defended by his ſuperior lord in perſon. Purſuant to this declaration, he deſiſted from beſieging the capital, and marched into Normandy; to protect that province from the incurſions of Robert, count of Dreux, whom his brother, Lewis, had ſent to invade it, in order to divert the attention of Henry from his deſigns upon the city of Toulouſe*.

Henry now proſecuted the war with equal vigour and ſucceſs. Having entered the Beauvoiſin, he took and demoliſhed the ſtrong fortreſs of Gerberoy, and reduced ſeveral towns and villages to aſhes. He obtained poſſeſſion of all the caſtles of Simon de Montfort, count of Evreux, and ſupplied them with numerous garriſons, which extended their ravages to the vicinity of the metropolis; and, by laying waſte the intermediate country, cut off the communication of Paris with Orleans and Etampes; ſo that Lewis was obliged to propoſe a ceſſation of arms, that was ſoon followed by a peace, which ſecured to Henry the poſſeſſion of all the places he had ſubdued in the county of Toulouſe; while his eldeſt ſon did homage to the king of France for the duchy of Normandy†.

A. D. 1161, 1162, 1163.] A circumſtance ſoon occurred to interrupt the tranquillity which this accommodation was intended to eſtabliſh. It had been ſtipulated, in the marriage-contract between prince Henry and Margaret of France, that the towns of Giſors, Neauffle, and Neufchatel, which were conſigned to the cuſtody of two knights-templars, Toſte de Saint Omer, and Robert de Pirou, as the dowry of that princeſs, ſhould be delivered into the hands of the king of England, immediately after the celebration of the nuptials; Henry, fearing that the French monarch might change his mind, and being eager to obtain poſſeſſion of the dowry of his daughter-in-law, prevailed on the pope's legate to celebrate the marriage, though the prince was only ſix years of age, and the princeſs ſtill younger. As ſoon as the ceremony was performed

* Fitz-Stephen, Vita S. Thom. Cantuar. p. 22; Joann. in Quadrilogo, c. 9 et 10; W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 10. † Chron. Norman. p. 997.

the knights-templars, in compliance with the ſtipulations of the treaty, delivered up the three towns to Henry; which ſo incenſed Lewis, that he baniſhed them his dominions, and commenced hoſtilities againſt the king of England*.

No event of any importance occurred during the operations of this war, which was ſpeedily terminated; for, after the two monarchs had been ſome time in ſight of each other, without diſcovering the ſmalleſt inclination to decide their quarrel by a general engagement, the reſtoration of tranquillity was effected by the interpoſition of mutual friends, who perſuaded them to renew the terms of the late treaty, which were accordingly confirmed†.

The eſtabliſhment of peace afforded the kings of France and England an opportunity of attending to the affairs of the church; and particularly to the violent conteſt for the papacy, that had taken place after the death of Adrian the Fourth, which happened on the firſt of September, in the year 1159. The cardinals being divided in their choice, had nominated two different perſons to the papal dignity; Octavian, who aſſumed the appellation of Victor the Fourth, was choſen by one party; while the others gave their voices in favour of Roland, who took the name of Alexander the Third.

Lewis and Henry, after much deliberation, agreed to acknowledge the latter‡, who had lately eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Clermont, in Auvergne. This pontiff had an interview with the two kings in the autumn of the year 1162, at the caſtle of Torcy on the Loire; and they treated him with ſuch marks of condeſcenſion and reſpect, that both diſmounted to receive him; and, each of them holding a rein of his bridle, walked by his ſide, and, in that ſubmiſſive manner, conducted him into the fortreſs‖.—"A ſight," exclaims Baronius in an ecſtacy, "worthy the attention of gods, angels and men! and ſuch an one "as the world had never before experienced!"

The jealouſy that continued to ſubſiſt between Lewis and Henry, notwithſtanding the friendſhip and eſteem they profeſſed for each other, proved an effectual bar to the continuation of peace. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that in this diſpoſition of their minds every caſual offence was magnified into an intentional inſult; and that, more anxious to irritate than to ſoothe, juſtification was frequently attempted where redreſs ſhould have been offered. The firſt circumſtance that led to an open rupture was the protection offered by Lewis to the celebrated Thomas a Becket.

A. D. 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165.] This extraordinary man was ſon of a citizen of London, at which place he was born in the year 1119. Being of an active diſpoſition, and poſſeſſed of ſome talents, he attracted the notice of Theobald, primate of England, who obtained for him ſome office and preferments, the profits of which enabled him, after the completion of his ſtudies at Oxford,

* W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 24.—R. Hoveden, p. 282.—M. Paris, p. 68.—Ypodigma Neuſtriæ. anno 1160.
† Chron. Norman. p. 998. ‡ W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 9. ‖ Chron. Norm. p. 998.

to travel for improvement in France and Italy. He reſided ſome time at the univerſity of Paris, from whence he repaired to Bologna*, where he applied himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the civil and canon law; and, on his return to his native country, the proficiency he had made in thoſe branches of learning, induced his patron to promote him to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of great truſt and emolument. Being peculiarly qualified for the tranſaction of buſineſs at the court of Rome, he was employed in ſeveral negociations of great intricacy, which he conducted with ſuch ſkill and addreſs as endeared him ſtill more to Theobald; who, on the acceſſion of Henry the Second, recommended him to that monarch as a perſon worthy of farther preferment. In conſequence of this recommendation, and of the king's knowledge of his ſpirit and ability, he was appointed chanſellor of England, in 1158†.

This was an office not leſs important from the power it conferred, than the wealth it enſured; and, to increaſe both his influence and fortune, Becket received, in addition the place of provoſt of Beverley, and the deanery of Haſtings; he was alſo created conſtable of the tower, and put in poſſeſſion of the honours of Eye and Berkham, extenſive baronies, comprehending together three hundred knights' fees which had eſcheated to the crown. To complete the grandeur of this aſpiring ſubject, the education of prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon, and heir to the throne, was entruſted to his care‡. But his expences increaſed in proportion to the honours that were thus laviſhed on him; and his revenue, though immenſe, was inadequate to ſupport his prodigality. His magnificence, as deſcribed by Fitz-Stephens, his hiſtorian and ſecretary, was almoſt incredibly great; his dreſs, his furniture, and his retinue beſpoke the pomp of ſovereignty; he retained a prodigious number of knights in his ſervice; noblemen of the firſt rank ſent their ſons to be educated as pages in his family; and he employed two and fifty clerks to keep the accounts of vacant prelacies, and of his own eccleſiaſtical preferments. His leiſure hours were devoted to the ſports of the field, and the martial amuſements of the age; expert in military exerciſes, while he ſerved in Normandy, he unhorſed a French chevalier of approved proweſs, and led off his courſer in triumph. When he croſſed the channel, he was conſtantly attended by five veſſels; and when Henry undertook the expedition to Touloufe, Becket attended him with ſeven hundred knights, whom he maintained at his own charge. In the ſubſequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy, he ſupported, during forty days, twelve hundred knights, and four thouſand of their train‖; and when he was ſent on an embaſſy to Paris, to negociate the marriage of the princeſs Margaret, he aſtoniſhed the French court by the number and magnificence of his retinue, which conſiſted of more than a thouſand perſons.

* J. Brompt. apud. x. Script. Col. 1052.—Gervas, ib. Col. 1668. † J. Brompt. Col. 1057, 1058.
‡ Fitz-Stephens, p. 15.—Quadrilog, p. 9, 14. ‖ Fitz-Steph, p. 19, 20, 22, 23.

Such was the man whom Henry, on the death of Theobald, promoted to the primacy, in oppoſition to the ſtrenuous ſolicitations of his mother, the empreſs Matilda, and the earneſt remonſtrances of many of its miniſters, ſeconded and confirmed by the clergy and prelates of England*. No ſooner was Becket in poſſeſſion of this dignified ſtation, than his whole deportment and mode of life underwent a change the moſt rapid and complete. He immediately quitted the luxurious gaiety of a courtier for the auſtere ſolemnity of a monk, determined to acquire that character of ſanctity to which his paſt life could afford him ſuch ſlender pretenſions. He ſent the ſeals to the king, who had not yet returned from the continent, under the ſpecious pretext of appropriating his whole time to the diſcharge of his ſpiritual duties; but, in reality, with the view to eſtabliſh his independence, by breaking off all immediate connexions with his ſovereign. That pomp and magnificence which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed him were now laid aſide as foreign from his purpoſe, or were only to be ſeen in his retinue, which he retained in their ancient ſplendour, as being well adapted to ſtrike the minds of the vulgar with awe. With the ſame view he practiſed all the ſeverities of church-diſciple, and ſubjected himſelf to the moſt rigid mortification. He wore ſackcloth next his ſkin; and, by a ſtudied affectation to conceal it, was careful to render it an object of remark to all the world. He changed his garment ſo ſeldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His uſual diet was bread, and his drink water, which he made unpalatable by the infuſion of unſavoury herbs. His back was torn with ſtripes, which he inflicted on himſelf. He daily waſhed, on his knees, in imitation of our Saviour, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards diſmiſſed with preſents†. By his munificence to the convents and hoſpitals, he ſought to gain the affections of the monks; and that his humility and devotion might become the ſubject of public commendation, he received all ſuch as made the ſmalleſt profeſſions of ſanctity, endeavouring, by his converſation, to impreſs their minds with a deep ſenſe of his own merits. His time ſeemed to be ſolely devoted to purpoſes of religion, to the recital of prayers and pious exhortations, or the peruſal of religious diſcourſes. His aſpect wore the appearance of deep reflection and ſecret devotion. In ſhort, the whole tenor of his conduct convinced every man of penetration that he was meditating ſome deep deſign; and that his ambition, diverted from its primitive courſe, had taken a more dangerous direction.

Nor was it long before his deſigns became manifeſt; though, previous to his elevation to the primacy, he was as well acquainted with the king's intentions‡ of retrenching, or rather confining within the ancient bounds all eccleſiaſtical privileges, and had always ſhewn a ready diſpoſition to comply with them‖, he now ſtood forth the determined champion of clerical immunities, and encourag-

* Epiſt. Divi Thomæ, l. i.—Epiſt, cxxvi. p. 190. † Fitz-Steph. p. 25. Quadril. p. 19. ‡ Fitz-Steph. p. 17. ‖ Ibid. p. 23.—Epiſt. St. Thom. p. 232.

ed a dangerous ſtruggle between the crown and the mitre. In enforcing an exemption of the clergy from all civil juriſdiction, he was particularly ſtrenuous; and, by thus renouncing all immediate ſubordination to the civil magiſtrate, he ſtrove to eſtabliſh an independence that muſt have proved wholly deſtructive of every principle of good government. The conſequence of this doctrine was a dreadful augmentation of crimes; on enquiry, it had been found that, in the firſt nine years of Henry's reign, no leſs than a hundred murders had been perpetrated by eccleſiaſtical ruffians, who, ſcreened from the penalties of the law, were ſuffered to paſs unpuniſhed*. A clerk, having debauched the daughter of a gentleman in Worceſterſhire, proceeded to murder the father. A crime of ſuch magnitude, exciting univerſal indignation, the king was induced to attempt the remedy of an abuſe that had now become intolerable, and accordingly inſiſted that the criminal ſhould be delivered to the civil magiſtrate, that he might receive the puniſhment annexed by law to his offence†: but Becket refuſed to yield him up, and even ſent him to the biſhop's priſon, to ſcreen him from the purſuit of the king's officers; maintaining, at the ſame time, that no greater puniſhment than degradation could be inflicted on him‡. Another prieſt, who had committed ſacrilege, by ſtealing a ſilver chalice from a church in London, was alſo demanded by the king, and refuſed in a ſimilar manner by the primate.

Enormities like theſe arouſed the nation to a ſenſe of its danger; and, in the ſtruggle which enſued between Henry and Becket, that turbulent prelate betrayed a degree of arrogance and preſumption that rendered him an object of dread and deteſtation. After repeated evaſions and denials, he at length ſwore to obey the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, as expreſſed and defined in *The Conſtitutions of Clarendon*‖. But he ſoon repented of his condeſcenſion, and being abſolved from the obligation he had formed by the *omnipotence* of the ſovereign pontiff§, he loudly retracted his oath, and, again declaring war againſt his king, retired for protection to the court of Flanders, where his rebellious principles were ſtrengthened by the exhortations of the pope, and where he was honoured by a viſit from Lewis, who, affording him a ſafe retreat to the monaſtery of Saint Columbe, at Sens, after he had been driven, by the menaces of Henry, from the convent of Pontigny, whither he had retired.

Lewis, at this time was in high ſpirits at the birth of a ſon, who was chriſtened by the name of Philip, to which the appellation of *Dieu-donne* (given by God) was annexed. This was the prince who afterwards acquired the title of *Auguſtus*; "a title," ſays Rigord, a contemporary writer, "which was conferred on "ſuch of the Roman emperors as had encreaſed the imperial power; from the

* Neubr. p. 394. † Fitz. Steph. p. 33. Quadril. p. 32. ‡ Fitz-Steph. p. 29—Quadr. p. 33, 45. —Hoveden, p. 492.—M. Paris, p. 72.—Diceto, p. 536, 537. Brompton. p. 1058.—Gervaſe, p. 1384. Epiſt. St. Thom. p. 208, 209. ‖ Vita St. Thomæ, l. i. c. xxi. p. 39. § M. Paris, p. 71, 72.

" word *Augeo;* who then can have better claims to this title than Philip, from " the augmentation which he made in his finances, from his extenſion of the li- " mits of his kingdom, and laſtly from his birth, which occurred in the month " of *Auguſt*, when plenty reigns in every quarter?"

A. D. 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169.] A war now broke out between Lewis and Henry, whoſe minds had been mutually irritated by the affair of Becket, to whom the former extended his protection and encouragement. In conſequence of ſome controverſy in which Henry was engaged with the count of Auvergne, a vaſſal of the duchy of Guienne, he had invaded the territories of that nobleman, who had recourſe to Lewis, as his ſuperior lord, for protection, and thereby engaged the two monarchs in hoſtilities. But this war was, as uſual, no leſs feeble in its operations, than frivolous in its cauſe and object: armies were, indeed, raiſed on both ſides, and ſome towns and fortreſſes taken and demoliſhed. Theſe mutual depredations were, however, ſuſpended by a truce which was ſigned in the month of Auguſt, 1167, and was to continue till the following Eaſter; but, before the truce was expired Lewis excited the factious barons of Poitou and Guienne to revolt, and, in order to ſecure their fidelity, he exacted from them a number of hoſtages. They ſoon, however, had reaſon to repent of their temerity; for Henry marched againſt them at the head of a powerful army, took their caſtles, deſtroyed their towns, and, in ſhort, reduced them to the neceſſity of declaring their willingneſs to ſubmit to his authority, provided he could reſcue their hoſtages from the hands of Lewis. In order to remove this obſtacle, Henry, having placed ſtrong garriſons in the fortreſſes which he had taken, held a conference with the king of France between Mante and Pacey; but his attempts to recover the hoſtages were ineffectual, Lewis peremptorily refuſing to reſtore them; and all Henry could obtain was a prolongation of the truce till Midſummer. In the mean time the barons of Poitou had again revolted; and Henry was marching to reduce them, when his attention was called to Brittany, where the nobles, in imitation of thoſe of Poitou, ſtimulated by the king of France, to whom they alſo had delivered hoſtages, had proceeded to open rebellion. But this revolt was as unſucceſsful as the former, as feebly ſuſtained, and as eaſily quelled. The conſequence of its ſuppreſſion was, a ſecond interview between Lewis and Henry; in which the former again refuſing to deliver up the hoſtages, the truce was ſuffered to expire without any attempt to prolong it; and the war being in conſequence renewed, was continued for ſeveral months; during which time no action occurred worthy hiſtorical notice. The two monarchs being, at length, equally tired of a conteſt from which neither honour nor advantage could be derived, a peace was concluded between them at Montmirail, on the ſixth of January, in the year 1169. On this occaſion prince Henry, eldeſt ſon to the king of England, did homage to the king of France for the territories of Anjou and Maine, which his father had ceded to him, as he had formerly done for Normandy; and Richard, his ſecond ſon, did homage for the

duchy of Aquitaine. At the ſame time his third ſon, Geoffrey, did homage to his elder brother Henry, for Brittany, as a fief of the duchy of Normandy. Prince Henry was alſo reſtored to the office of grand ſeneſchal, which had been hereditary in the counts of Anjou.

At this laſt interview, the imperious primate of England was induced to attend, by the perſuaſions of two abbots, and a monk named Bernard de Corillo, to whoſe interpoſition and influence the peace there ſigned is in a great meaſure to be attributed. To promote the reconciliation they were ſo anxious to effect between Becket and his ſovereign, they took infinite pains to perſuade the primate to conduct himſelf with that humility and reſpect which appeared to them abſolutely neceſſary to be obſerved to a monarch he had ſo groſsly offended; and theſe worthy prieſts, being now ſeconded by Lewis, and by all the princes and prelates who were preſent, in their efforts to facilitate an accommodation, at length prevailed upon the primate to liſten to their remonſtrances. Accordingly, when he was introduced to Henry, he fell upon his knees and offered to make his ſubmiſſions, but with a ſalvo to the honour of God and the liberties of the church*, expreſſed in ſuch ambiguous terms as would admit of any interpretation which, in future, he might find it moſt convenient to adopt. This could not eſcape the penetration of the Engliſh monarch, whom experience had rendered cautious; he therefore expreſſed his diſpleaſure at the form of ſubmiſſion, and inſiſted that the primate ſhould, without equivocation or ſubterfuge, promiſe obedience to thoſe laws and cuſtoms which former archbiſhops of Canterbury had obeyed in the reigns of his predeceſſors, and which Becket himſelf had alſo ſworn to obey when he was raiſed to that dignity. With this condition he at firſt refuſed to comply; but, the king refuſing to diſpenſe with it, and being ſtrongly urged by many of the nobles and prelates, he at length conſented to include in his ſubmiſſion, the promiſe required of him, though ſtill clogged with his favourite ſalvo to the honour of God, and the rights of his order. Henry, provoked at his obſtinacy, addreſſed Lewis in words of the following import:—"I am convinced, by the ſalvo on which this prelate inſiſts with ſo "much pertinacity, that it is his intention to render the honours of God ſubſer-"vient to his own caprice, and to conſtrue every attempt to reſtrain him with-"in the bounds of decency and moderation into a violation of the rights of his "order. But, to demonſtrate the duplicity of his conduct, and the ſincerity of "my own, I think it neceſſary to make this public declaration—there have been "many kings of England, before me, ſome of greater, ſome of leſs, authority "than myſelf; there have alſo been many archbiſhops of Canterbury, diſtin-"guiſhed for their piety and goodneſs, and entitled to univerſal reſpect and "eſteem: let Becket but obſerve to me the ſame obedience which the greateſt "of his predeceſſors has paid to the moſt inſignificant of mine, and I ſhall be "ſatisfied†."

* Epiſt. St. Thomæ, l. iv. Ep. 8. † Ibid. l. ii. c. 25.

Lewis and the whole aſſembly were ſo ſtricken with the candour of this propoſal, that they could not refrain from declaring that the conceſſions of the king were as great as could poſſibly be expected; and they earneſtly exhorted the primate to accept the terms now offered to him; but Becket, with a determined obſtinacy, that neither the threats of his enemies, nor the remonſtrances of his friends, could induce him to depart from, adhered to his ſalvo, and thereby rendered the conference itſelf ineffectual. This conduct inſpired many of the French nobility with ſuch unfavourable ideas of Becket, that they did not ſcruple publicly to condemn his pride as intolerable; and to declare, that, ſince he choſe to reject ſuch reaſonable terms, he was undeſerving of protection, and ought to be expelled from the dominions both of France and England. Even Lewis himſelf withdrew his confidence and friendſhip from him for a time, though his jealouſy of the Engliſh monarch ſoon induced him to renew their former friendly intercourſe.

A. D. 1170.] At length, however, a reconciliation was effected between Henry and Becket, by the united efforts of the king of France, and pope Alexander the Third, when the primate returned to England, and once more, occupied the ſee of Canterbury. But, his arrogance being unſubdued by adverſity, he launched forth the thunders of the church againſt his former opponents; ſuſpended the archbiſhop of York, and excommunicated the biſhops of London and Saliſbury. Reginald de Warrenne, and Gervaſe de Cornhill, two of the king's miniſters, who were employed on their duty in Kent, aſked him, on hearing of this audacious attempt, whether he meant to bring fire and ſword into the kingdom. But the primate, heedleſs of the reproof, proceeded to exert that tyranny which was congenial to his ſoul; and the ſhameful manner in which he broke the terms of his reconciliation, (by his numerous acts of violence and ſedition) openly violated the laws, and bade defiance to the royal authority, fully juſtified the ſpirit of reſentment that evinced itſelf in every part of the kingdom. Aware of the indignation he had excited, he at length retired to Canterbury, where he paſſed about a week in great ſolitude; and, if the accounts of his biographers may be credited, he received daily intelligence of freſh inſults offered to his friends, and depredations committed on his eſtates, which induced him to remark, to one of his chief confidants, that he was convinced the conteſt would not end without effuſion of blood; and that he was determined to die for the liberties of the church*; a declaration which plainly demonſtrated, that he preferred the gratification of his favourite paſſions, even to the preſervation of his life; and that his vanity extended its views beyond the limits of his exiſtence. On Chriſtmas-day, he mounted the pulpit of the cathedral, and delivered a ſermon evidently compoſed for the rebellious purpoſe of inflaming the minds of his congregation, and exciting them to revenge

* Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 78.

againſt all ſuch as had oppoſed his meaſures: thus rendering, by a ſhameful degradation of his ſacred character, the duties of religion ſubſervient to his own infamous views, and baſely proſtituting, to the promotion of diſcord and gratification of pride, that place whence the benevolent precepts of peace and humility ſhould alone be delivered. At the end of his ſermon he is ſaid to have predicted the near approach of his diſſolution: but his conduct was ſtrangely inconſiſtent with ſuch a belief; for, inſtead of having recourſe to thoſe preparatory acts of piety which a mind impreſſed with a juſt ſenſe of futurity muſt deem eſſentially requiſite at that awful period, he proceeded to thunder out his anathemas againſt the principal adherents of Henry, and to pronounce a formal ſentence of excommunication againſt Ranulph de Broc, his chief enemy, and his brother, Robert de Broc, who had been guilty of no other offence, than that of having, the preceding day, cut off the tail of one of his ſumpter-horſes; and theſe cenſures were pronounced with the moſt violent expreſſions of anger, both in his voice and countenance*.

We cannot but aſcribe theſe pernicious meaſures of the primate (as we have elſwhere had occaſion to remark) to his imperious and vindictive diſpoſition, notwithſtanding the adverſe opinion of a celebrated hiſtorian, who is willing to impute them to his ſagacity, which enabled him to foreſee the intentions of Henry to enforce the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and to attempt to prevent their execution by theſe violent proceedings†.—To trace the ſecret operations of the human mind, even when their effects are immediately before our eyes, is a taſk of extreme difficulty; but, when we are deprived, by a conſiderable lapſe of time, of thoſe collateral circumſtances, which are ſo materially neceſſary to aid our obſervation, how much muſt the uncertainty of our inveſtigation be enhanced! Fortunately, however, the preſent inſtance is not one of thoſe which demand any uncommon exertion to develope, as we concieve the opinion of the author we allude to, to have originated ſolely in his marked partiality to ſpeculative wiſdom, and in that ſtrange deſire, ſo frequently to be obſerved in philoſophical writers, to aſcribe the actions of a diſtinguiſhed perſonage, to ſome extraordinary cauſe, as if ſuch perſonages were exempted, by their ſituation, from the frailties of human nature, and, by their rank, from the failings of their inferiors. Had Becket, in this inſtance, deviated from the general tenor of his conduct, we might, indeed, have been led to impute it to ſome particular motive, and, perhaps, have been induced to admit that he was rather guided by his knowledge, than influenced by his paſſions; but his conduct, from the firſt commencement of hoſtilities between him and his ſovereign, had been invariably the ſame: he had conſtantly betrayed an averſion from pacific meaſures; impeded every attempt that had been made to promote a reconciliation; ſyſtematically ſacrificed duty, moderation, nay, even intereſt itſelf, to the

* Vita S. Thomæ, l. iii. c. 10, p. 118. † Hume's Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 414.

gratification of pride, vanity, and revenge; and when, at laſt, he was compelled to accept the conceſſions of Henry, which, though leſs than his ambition had urged him to hope for, was greater than his penetration could ſuffer him to expect, inſtead of evincing an anxiety to cement the peace by the adoption of mild and conciliatory meaſures, his thoughts were ſolely employed on the moſt effectual means of ſatiating his vengeance. On his arrival in England, he embraced the earlieſt opportunity of putting his baleful projects in execution; nay, even previous to his embarkation, he had found means to convey the ſentences of excommunication to the prelates; and thoſe cenſures, which he now iſſued, proceeded from the ſame polluted ſource: they were links of one continued chain, unbroken, uninterrupted. It is evident, therefore, that Becket in this, as in almoſt every circumſtance in the whole courſe of his conteſt with Henry, had ſuffered his paſſions to overcome his reaſon; nor can we indeed concieve any poſſible diſplay of ſagacity in an attempt to deter his ſovereign from the purſuit of a favourite object by a frequent repetition of inſults. Firmneſs and reſolution may ſometimes intimidate; but inſults and injuries can only excite a deſire of revenge.

Advice of Becket's violent proceedings being ſent to the king, who then reſided at Bayeux in Normandy (where the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of London and Saliſbury had previouſly arrived), and, probably, aggravated by the repreſentations of his courtiers—if meaſures of ſo pernicious a tendency could admit of aggravation—he burſt forth into one of thoſe paſſionate exclamations to which he was peculiarly addicted. The preciſe words of this effuſion of anger have been variouſly related by different hiſtorians and biographers; they all, however, appear to agree in the more eſſential point of their import, viz.—that they were ſtrongly expreſſive of his indignation at the ingratitude of the primate, whom he had raiſed from a ſtate of obſcurity to the moſt elevated ſtation; and demonſtrative of the lukewarm zeal of his courtiers and ſervants, who had ſo long ſuffered him to be inſulted with impunity by a factious and turbulent prieſt*.

Henry, having thus given vent to the firſt impulſe of his rage, thought no more of what he had ſaid; but, unfortunately, the words of a ſovereign are never ſuffered to fall diſregarded: every trivial expreſſion is eagerly watched by thoſe courtly panders, whoſe officious zeal, ſcorning the tamer principles of *paſſive* obedience, is ever on the wing to ſupply food for the caprice of the monarch, to *anticipate* his wiſhes, and to ſacrafice his honour to his frailty. Though this conſideration muſt inevitably lead to the moſt melancholy reflections on the unhappy ſtate of royalty, it cannot be too firmly impreſſed on the minds of princes, as it affords the moſt powerful motives to prudent circumſpection; inculcates the neceſſity of continual reſtraint; teaches, that, to the

* Gervaſe, p. 1414; Parker, p. 207; Vita S. Thomæ, p. 119.

enjoyment of a ſuperior ſtation, the diſcharge of ſuperior duty is invariably attached; and, finally, enforces the ſtrong diſcrimination that muſt ever ſubſiſt between the monarch and the man.

The king's paſſionate exclamation being miſinterpreted by four of the barons who attended on his perſon, they immediately formed the reſolution, either to awe Becket into ſubmiſſion by threats; or, if thoſe ſhould prove ineffectual, which they were unwilling to believe, to free their ſovereign from inquietude by putting him to death*. Having thus laid their plan, without imparting their intentions to any one, they withdrew from court at different times, and took different roads, in order to avoid ſuſpicion. On their arrival in England, they haſtened to Canterbury, where they waited on Becket *unarmed*, and endeavoured to perſuade him to recall the ſentences of excommunication he had unjuſtly iſſued, and to make proper ſubmiſſion for the violence and illegality of his conduct. The primate, however, remained inflexible; alike deaf to entreaties and callous to threats, he rather ſought, by taunts and abuſe, to irritate, than by argument and reaſon to ſoothe, theſe hoſtile barons, whoſe fatal deſigns he more than ſuſpected; in ſhort, it appears probable, from his behaviour in this inſtance, when compared to his previous conduct, that his mind was inflated by the vain hope of procuring a place on the honourable liſt of martyrs.—Provoked by his reproofs, and enraged at his obſtinacy, the barons at length completed their dreadful purpoſe; the alter of the cathedral was ſtained with the blood of the primate, and his aſſaſſins, conducted by a blind and impious rage, clove his ſkull with repeated blows, and beſmeared the hallowed pavement with his brains†.

Such was the tragical end of Thomas a Becket. Of his murder there could be but one opinion; but his conduct and character have been as variouſly repreſented as any hiſtorical event of the moſt doubtful complexion. That he was a man of extenſive abilities we are not permitted to doubt, as the concurring accounts of all the hiſtorians of thoſe times evidently tend to confirm the fact; but the actions of his life moſt certainly afford not the ſmalleſt proof of ſuperior wiſdom. If we believe that, during his enjoyment of the high office of chancellor, his oſtentatious diſplay of extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his avowed fondneſs for ſcenes of diſſipation, were wholly affected, and that he had adopted a regular ſyſtem of hypocriſy, in order to attain to that elevated ſtation to which he was afterwards promoted, we muſt, indeed, allow him to have been poſſeſſed of acute penetration and conſummate art: but, if from thence we are induced to admit the ſincerity of his conduct as primate; to believe that he was truly of opinion the cauſe of religion could be promoted by the encouragement of clerical uſurpations, the protection of eccleſiaſtical culprits, a con-

* M. Paris, p. 86; Brompton, p. 1065; Benedict Abbas, p. 10. † Vita S. Thomæ, l. iii. c. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87.

tempt for the laws of the realm, a violation of ſolemn oaths, and an attempt to excite a rebellion; if we are led to ſuppoſe that Becket could really entertain ſuch ſentiments, notwithſtanding the prevalent ſpirit of ſuperſtition, we muſt ſtrenuouſly maintain that he betrayed a weakneſs of mind incompatible with thoſe endowments which his eulogiſts have, with indiſcriminate profuſion, conferred on him. On the other hand, if we transfer his hypocriſy from the chancellor to the primate—for the ſuſpicion to which every ſudden and violent tranſition is juſtly expoſed, renders it impoſſible to exempt him wholly from the charge of diſſimulation—we are equally at a loſs to diſcover any veſtige of his wiſdom. In either caſe, we find that Thomas a Becket was deſtitute of the grand requiſite in every miniſter, but more eſpecially in the chief miniſter of religion; that is, virtue. He was, however, poſſeſſed of thoſe inferior qualities which, too frequently, cauſe the want of it to be overlooked. His perſonal accompliſhments were great: he was deeply ſkilled, like moſt of the dignified clergy of that age, in the theological chicanery of the ſchools, in all the inſidious arts of ſophiſtry, which, being decorated with the ſpecious embelliſhments of erudition, wore the appearance, and had too often the effect, of ſolid argument. He was endued with a conſiderable portion of native cunning; his ſpirit was lofty and imperious; his courage no dangers could daunt: his deſigns, though ſeldom adopted with prudence, were, from his inflexible perſeverance in their proſecution, ſometimes crowned with that ſucceſs which ſhould be ſolely confined to the exertions of wiſdom and integrity. His favourite ſchemes were of a moſt pernicious tendency, being calculated to emancipate the miniſters of religion from the neceſſary reſtraints of law, and to ſubject his king and country to the domination of a foreign power. His vanity was exceſſive; he was obſtinate and implacable—equally unmoved by the entreaties of his friends, and the threats of his enemies. His conduct was invariably marked by a ſpirit of violence, revenge, and ambition, ſtrangely derogatory to his ſacred character, as it evinced a more anxious ſolicitude in the purſuit of terreſtrial objects, than in the attainment of religious conſolation. Among the numerous vices of this extraordinary man, his ſignal ingratitude to his royal benefactor holds a conſpicuous place, and has fixed an indelible ſtain upon that character which, ſtripped of the vain garb in which the weak ſons of ſuperſtition and prejudice had arrayed it, now ſtands expoſed to poſterity in its native colours, and diſcovers the ſinner in the ſaint*.

* The abbé Velly obſerves, (t. iii. p. 197.) that "when the church canonized the virtues of the ſaint, "it did not pretend to conſecrate the defects and vices of the man." This remark appears to be tinctured with that ſubtilty of diſtinction which prevailed in the ſchools, and which marked the diſputations and writings of the divines, of the middle ages. We can eaſily diſcriminate between the monarch and the man; ſince we know that there are various actions for which man, in his individual capacity, is entitled to commendation, and which, nevertheleſs, incur cenſure when committed by a monarch. But what commendable action can a man commit that would diſgrace a ſaint? On the contrary, do not the virtues of the man conſtitute the ſaint? In other words—is not the juſtice of a man's pretenſions to ſanctity, as diſplayed in the tenor of his life, the only motive (independent of miracles) which is ſuppoſed to influence

A. D. 1172, 1173.] The aſſaſſins of Becket eſcaped the puniſhment due to their crimes; and Henry, having averted the formidable thunders of the vatican, by a timely ſubmiſſion to the pope, more politic than honourable, directed his attention to the conqueſt of Ireland. Lewis, in the mean time, ſpaired no pains to interrupt his repoſe, and to diſturb his government. Henry had cauſed his eldeſt ſon to be crowned in England, while Margaret, wife to the prince, and daughter to Lewis, was in France; and the French monarch, to avenge the affront, turned his arms againſt the duchy of Normandy. But the prudence of the king of England extinguiſhed this ſpark of hoſtility almoſt as ſoon as it was kindled, he promiſed that the ceremony of the coronation ſhould be repeated; and Margaret was ſolemnly crowned at Wincheſter with her huſband, by the archbiſhop of Rouen, aſſiſted by the biſhops of Evreux and Wincheſter. On the return of the young couple to Normandy, they were permitted to viſit the court of France, where Lewis firſt poiſoned the mind of his ſon-in-law with that ardent degree of independence, the origin of equal affliction to his father and himſelf. He perſuaded him that, by the ceremony of his coronation, he had acquired a title to ſovereignty; and that his father could not, without flagrant injuſtice, refuſe to cede to him the whole, or at leaſt a part of his dominions.

Lewis was aſſiſted in his attempt to inculcate theſe extravagant ideas into the mind of young Henry by queen Eleonora, the mother of that prince, (who was enraged at her huſband on account of his gallantries), by her uncle Ralfe de Faye, and, in ſhort, by almoſt every one who attended on the perſon, or partook of the favour of the prince. A conſpiracy was formed by theſe inſidious agents of rebellion, to dethrone the king of England, and inveſt his ſon with regal authority. The plot was conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and ſeveral foreign princes were engaged, by promiſes of extravagant grants from young Henry, to promote its execution. When the plan was finally arranged, he left the court of Lewis, and, on his return, deſired his father to reſign to him the immediate poſſeſſion, either of the crown of England, or of the duchy of Nor-

his canonization? And are not defects and vices incompatible with ſanctity? But Becket did not become a ſaint till after his death—what then, in the name of common ſenſe, can the good abbé mean, by ſaying that the virtues of the ſaint were the object of canonization with the church? Does he by virtues mean miracles? But we know that the miracles ſaid to be performed by Becket were never ſubmitted to a formal examination; and that, without the uſual proceſs, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules, he was canonized two years after his death, on the ſame principle, probably, that the execution of certain criminals is accelerated. Admitting, too, for a moment, that for virtues we are to read miracles—let us aſk how the miracles of the ſaint could be canonized, when he could be no ſaint till the ceremony of canonization was performed? But virtues are, in this caſe, evidently oppoſed to vices, and therefore muſt either mean the virtues of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or nothing at all. The abbé appears to have been conſcious that the church ſtood in need of excuſe for canonizing ſuch a man as Becket, and was, therefore, willing for once to ſacrifice the candour of the hiſtorian to the zeal of the divine. Many authors have eſcaped cenſure by rendering themſelves unintelligible; it is poſſible the abbé might, in this inſtance, be tempted to make a ſimilar effort.

mandy, together with the territories of Anjou and Maine. On the king's refuſal to comply with this inſolent demand, he openly expreſſed his diſcontent, ſpoke of him in the moſt undutiful terms, and took the earlieſt opportunity of effecting his eſcape into France, where he hoiſted the ſtandard of rebellion. He was ſpeedily joined by his brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, and by a conſiderable number of the factious barons of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine*.

Though ſenſibly affected by the ingratitude of his children, and the revolt of many of his ſubjects who were indebted to his liberality for the affluence they enjoyed; though preſſed on all ſides by a multitude of foes, and almoſt deſtitute of friends, Henry did not ſuffer his courage to be diminiſhed by the depreſſion of his ſpirits, but ſought to oppoſe the dangers that threatened him, by an adequate exertion of wiſdom, activity, and valour. He diſpatched ambaſſadors to the French court to remonſtrate with Lewis on the impropriety of his conduct, in encouraging and ſupporting the unnatural rebellion of his ſons. He wrote accounts of his ſituation to all the princes in Europe; and even ſolicited the pope to iſſue the cenſures of the church againſt his undutiful children and their infamous accomplices; he ſent orders to all the governors of his towns and fortreſſes to be upon their guard, and to prepare for an attack; and enjoined all his barons, in whom he could repoſe any degree of confidence, to be ready to attend him with their followers. He likewiſe engaged in his ſervice an army of twenty thouſand Brabanconſt, a kind of mercenary banditti, who infeſted all the European ſtates, ſubſiſted upon plunder, and, like the modern Swiſs, were ready to engage in the ſervice of any prince who would pay them with punctuality. The event ſoon evinced the ſagacity of theſe precautions; for, early in the ſpring of 1173, hoſtilities commenced, and attacks were made on many different places at the ſame time. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne began their operations on the frontiers of Normandy, by laying ſiege to Aumale, which was ſurrendered into their hands by the treachery of its governor, the count of Aumale. They next beſieged and took Neufchatel and Driencourt; but the count of Boulogne, having received a mortal wound in the knee at the laſt of theſe places, his brother, the count of Flanders, was ſo much affected with his loſs, which he was inclined to regard as a puniſhment for having engaged in an unjuſt enterpriſe, that he immediately withdrew all his troops from Normandy‡.

During this time the factious barons of Anjou, Maine, Aquitaine, and Brittany, had openly revolted, and laid waſte the royal demeſnes in their reſpective provinces. Lewis had entered Normandy, with young Henry, at the head of a powerful army, and laid ſiege to Vetneuil, then a ſtrong town in the Perche. Nor was England undiſturbed during this general commotion: the king

* W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 27.

† R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 306, 307; P. Bleſins, Epiſt. 153; W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 27.

‡ R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 306; W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 28.

of Scotland invaded Cumberland, beſieged the city of Carliſle, and deſolated the adjacent country; while the vaſſals of the earl of Leiceſter, and other rebellious noblemen, appeared in arms in the centre of the kingdom*.

Henry, having checked the progreſs of the Flemings, now marched to the relief of Verneuil, which had been vigorouſly defended by Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp, the governors: but, after a month's ſiege, the garriſon had been compelled to capitulate through want of proviſions; and had engaged, if not relieved within three days, to ſurrender the town, and retire to the citadel. On the laſt day the king of England appeared with his army on the height above Verneuil; which induced Lewis, who had beleived him to be at a conſiderable diſtance, to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with ſuch precipitation, that his camp was left a prey to the Engliſh. The vaſſals of the crown being diſguſted with the ill ſucceſs they had experienced, and their time of ſervice being now expired, diſbanded, and retired into their ſeveral provinces†.

After the retreat of Lewis, Henry diſpatched a body of Brabancons to ſuppreſs the inſurrections in Brittany, where the revolt had been more general, and attended with greater miſchief, than in the other provinces: theſe overtook the rebel army near Dol, when an action enſued, in which the inſurgents were completely defeated; fifteen hundred of them being killed on the ſpot, and their leaders, the earl of Cheſter and the count de Fougeres, compelled to take ſhelter in the town of Dol.

On the reception of this pleaſing intelligence the Engliſh monarch left Rouen, and, marching all night, arrived at Dol the next morning, and preſſed the ſiege of that place with ſo much ardour, that he obliged the governor and garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion‡. By the adoption of theſe vigorous meaſures the inſurrections in Brittany were entirely quelled, and Henry, in the courſe of a few months, found the inſidious projects of his numerous enemies totally diſconcerted.

Theſe conſiderations induced Lewis to propoſe a conference, to which Henry, hoping that the advantages he had obtained would, at leaſt, enſure him reaſonable terms, willingly conſented: and the two monarchs accordingly met between Trie and Giſors, where the king of England had the mortification to ſee his three ſons in the retinue of his rival and his foe. As Lewis had no other pretence for war than that of ſupporting the claims of the young princes, Henry made them ſuch offers as children ought to be aſhamed to inſiſt on, and as nothing but exceſs of parental affection could poſſibly have extorted from him. He inſiſted only on maintaining the ſovereign authority in all his dominions; and offered to young Henry half the revenues of England, with ſome places of ſtrength in that kingdom, or, if he rather choſe to reſide in Normandy, half the revenues of that duchy, with all thoſe of Anjou. To Richard he propoſed to

* Benedict. Abbas, p. 54. † R. Hoveden; W. Neubrig. ubi ante citat. ‡ Idem. ibid. l. ii. c. 29.

cede half the revenues of Guienne, with four important fortreſſes; and to Geoffrey he promiſed to reſign Brittany; and, if theſe conceſſions were not deemed ſufficient, he offered to make ſuch additions as the pope's legates, who were then preſent, ſhould think requiſite*.

The earl of Leiceſter, who attended the conference, either from the impetuoſity of his temper, or—which is more probable—from the fear that propoſals ſo generous would not be rejected, and that his own perſonal ſafety or intereſt might be affected by a reconciliation between the Engliſh monarch and his ſons, broke forth into the moſt violent reproaches againſt Henry, and even put his hand to his ſword, as if he intended to make an attempt on the life of his ſovereign; which threw the aſſembly into ſuch confuſion, that it immediately broke up, and put an end to the negociation†.

A. D. 1174.] Henry, by this means, being once more expoſed to the dangerous combination of his foes, thought it neceſſary to remove every ſhadow of doubt from the minds of his clergy, and from thoſe of his ſubjects in general, as to the ſincerity of that violent grief which he had evinced on the murder of Becket. For this purpoſe he repaired to Canterbury, and, when he came in ſight of the cathedral, at a diſtance of three miles, diſmounted, and walked barefoot towards it, in a road that was ſo full of ſharp pointed ſtones, that his feet were ſoon ſtained with blood. On his arrival, he proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of the reputed ſaint, ſubmitted his bare ſhoulders to the ſcourge of the monks, and paſſed a day and a night in abſtinence and prayer, near the tomb of Becket. It is difficult to ſay whether the conduct of Henry, in this particular, was influenced by motives merely political, or by a ſpirit of unaffected though miſtaken piety. Strong reaſons might certainly be adduced, in ſupport of either conjecture. As he was indiſputably a prince of conſummate wiſdom, he could not be inſenſible to the deſpotic influence of ſuperſtition over the weak minds of the multitude; and, as he found a ſpirit of rebellion prevail throughout his dominions, he might be juſtly apprehenſive that his enemies had availed themſelves of the only circumſtance of his reign that had excited a ſingle murmur of diſcontent, to promote a general diſaffection; and that the minds of his people being poiſoned by their artful inſinuations, they had been induced to miſtruſt the ſincerity of his ſorrow on the death of the primate, and to entertain ſtrong doubts of his innocence. At this critical conjuncture it was eſſentially requiſite to remove ſuſpicions ſo pregnant with danger; and the mode he adopted for that purpoſe would afford the moſt complete demonſtration of his political wiſdom. If, however, we believe him to be ſolely influenced by motives of policy, we muſt certainly think him obnoxious to cenſure; as an affectation of piety, for whatever purpoſe it be aſſumed, is an inſult to the Deity.

* Hoveden, p. 539.—Brompton, p. 1088. † Hoveden, p. 536.

But, in the prevailance of ſuperſtition, in the times we are now delineating, which not only infected the minds of the vulgar, but ſhed its dreary influence over all ranks of men, we might find great reaſon to believe, that the conduct of Henry originated in a ſpirit of unaffected devotion. Thus influenced, though innocent of the murder of Becket, he might deem it neceſſary to impoſe ſome exemplary penance on himſelf, as a puniſhment for yielding to that impulſe of paſſion which occaſioned his death. In this caſe, though the luſtre of his wiſdom might be ſomewhat tarniſhed, he would be exempt from the more ſerious cenſure of religious profanation. Whatever might be the effect of the interceſſion of Saint Thomas, Henry ſoon triumphed over his numerous enemies; in England he defeated and took the king of Scots; and the rebellious earls of Leiceſter and Cheſter experienced a ſimilar fate; nor were his efforts on the continent leſs ſucceſsful.

Lewis, at the head of a numerous army, had made an irruption into Normandy, and formed the ſiege of Rouen*, where he was joined by prince Henry and the count of Flanders, with a powerful body of Flemings, that had been collected for the purpoſe of invading England. The place was defended with great vigour by the inhabitants†, and by ſeveral of the Norman barons, who, having preſerved their fidelity to the king of England, had thrown themſelves into the city, with their vaſſals; and Lewis, deſpairing to take it by open force, had recourſe to a ſtratagem that was juſtly deemed diſhonourable:—on the eve of St. Laurence, he proclaimed a ceſſation of arms in his own camp for the next day, under pretence of celebrating that feſtival; and the citizens of Rouen, glad to procure a ſhort reſpite from the incredible fatigues they had experienced during the ſiege, obſerved it in perfect ſecurity, in full confidence of the ſincerity of the French monarch. While they were enjoying this temporary relaxation, by diverting themſelves with tilts and tournaments, on the ſouth ſide of the river, in ſight of the enemy, ſome prieſts had aſcended the tower where the alarm-bell hung, in order to indulge their curioſity with a view of the enemy's camp. The ſtillneſs that prevailed over all their quarters firſt excited their ſurpriſe; but, ſoon perceiving detachments moving from different places to one particular ſpot, they began to ſuſpect ſome act of treachery; and their ſuſpicions were ſpeedily confirmed by diſcovering a number of ladders, and other neceſſary implements for an aſſault. They immediately rang the alarm-bell, and gave warning to the inhabitants, who ran to their ſeveral ſtations. The French, who, on hearing the alarm, haſtened their attack, had already applied their ladders, and mounted the walls in different places; but, being repulſed by the enraged citizens, were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs‡.

This ſcheme was probably concerted in order to anticipate the diligence of Henry, who, having quelled the inſurrections in England, haſtened to the relief

* Brompton, p. 1026. † Diceto, p. 578. ‡ Brompt. p. 1396; W. Neub. p. 417; Heming, p. 503.

of his continental dominions. He landed at Barfleur in the month of Auguſt, with his Brabancons, and a thouſand Welſh troops, and entered the city of Rouen in triumph, to the great joy of the inhabitants. The morning after his arrival he ſent out a ſcouring party, which intercepted a conſiderable convoy of proviſions deſtined for the French camp. Lewis, now deſpairing to reduce the city, and finding himſelf in an enemy's country, deſtitute of ſupply, began to be anxious for his own ſafety; and, in order to extricate himſelf from the danger that menaced him, had recourſe to a ſecond artifice, ſtill leſs juſtifiable than the firſt:—he ſent ambaſſadors to propoſe a conference at Malauny, and a truce of two days, as preparatory to the adjuſtment of a general peace, which he knew Henry was anxious to obtain. The propoſals being accepted, Lewis, under the protection of the truce, marched his army through the Green Foreſt; but, inſtead of haulting at Malauny to attend the conference, purſued his march, with great precipitation, into his own territories*.

Though Lewis had eſcaped from a perilous ſituation by this diſhonourable ſtratagem, he began to be apprehenſive of the effects of Henry's reſentment; who, being now victorious in every quarter, and abſolute maſter of his extenſive dominions, might exact a ſevere vengeance for the dangers and diſquietudes to which the arms and intrigues of France had expoſed him. Henry, on his ſide, was anxious to terminate an unnatural conteſt, in which he had been ſo long engaged with his own children. Thus the neceſſity of an accommodation being felt by both parties, a conference was propoſed by Lewis and accepted by Henry: a ceſſation of arms was the immediate conſequence; and the two monarchs repaired to the appointed place, between Tours and Amboiſe, on the twenty-ninth of September; where a peace was concluded, by which the formidable conſpiracy againſt the king of England was diſſolved, and all thoſe who had been engaged in it releaſed from their oaths. The terms which that monarch granted to his ſons, though leſs advantageous than thoſe he had formerly offered, were ſtill more favourable than their conduct had given them reaſon to expect. He aſſigned them ſtipulated penſions for their ſupport, and ſome caſtles for their reſidence; and granted them an indemnity for all their adherents, who were reſtored to their eſtates and honours, except the king of Scots, and the earls of Leiceſter and Cheſter, who were detained till the concluſion of a ſeparate peace. A mutual oblivion of injuries was agreed on; and prince Henry conſented to confirm all the grants which had been made by his father during the war†.

Thus finiſhed a war the commencement of which had threatened deſtruction to the power of Henry, but in the conduct whereof he had diſplayed the pru-

* R. de Diceto, p. 579.—Brompton, p. 1098. † Rymer Fœdera, l. i. p. 39, 40.—Bened. Abb. p. 88.—Hoveden, p. 540.—R. de Diceto, p. 583.—Brompton, p. 1098.—Heming, p. 505.—Chron. Dunſt. p. 36.

dence of a ſage, and the courage of a hero. The peace now concluded produced a ſincere reconciliation between the two monarchs; the one was averſe from war as well by inclination, as by the dread with which the diſobedient conduct of his children had inſpired him; the other, whoſe health was daily declining, earneſtly wiſhed to leave his dominions in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, as the tender age of his ſon was ill adapted to the tumult of arms. What trifling diſputes afterwards occurred between them were amicably ſettled by arbitration. One, indeed, of a more ſerious complexion, took place; which muſt inevitably have produced a rupture, had not the dictates of reſentment been ſilenced by the ſuggeſtions of policy.

A. D. 1177.] Alice, the youngeſt daughter of Lewis, was betrothed to Richard, the ſecond ſon of the king of England. One of the conditions of the marriage-treaty was, that the princeſs ſhould be brought up at the court of her father-in-law till ſuch times as ſhe arrived at years of maturity. Having now attained that period, Lewis inſiſted that the conſummation of their marriage ſhould no longer be protracted. Henry, however, who had already experienced the evil effects of an alliance with France, in the conduct of his eldeſt ſon, evinced a reluctance to comply with the requeſt of Lewis, which no motives of prudence nor policy could induce him to forego. The king, finding all his remonſtrances ineffectual, made application to the pope, who interpoſed his authority, by threatening to lay all the dominions of Henry under an interdict, if he did not allow the marriage to be immediately conſummated. To avert the impending danger, he thought it neceſſary to repair to the continent; and, embarking at Portſmouth in the month of Auguſt, arrived ſafe in France. A conference took place between the two monarchs, in the following month, at which a legate from the pope was preſent; and Henry found means to prevent the interdict, and likewiſe to elude the immediate conſummation of his ſon's marriage, on condition that he ſhould aſſume the croſs, and accompany Lewis in an expedition to the Holy Land. The reluctance evinced by the king of England to fulfil this article of the treaty has been aſcribed, by ſeveral hiſtorians, to an affection which he is ſaid to have himſelf conceived for the deſtined conſort of his ſon; and moſt of them intimate that the young princeſs was ſeduced to comply with the king's criminal deſires. But he had ſo many motives, founded in juſtice and policy, to influence his conduct in this particular, that it is needleſs to ſeek for an extraordinary cauſe; beſides, his advanced age, and conſummate prudence, render it highly improbable that he ſhould have been guilty of an action that muſt have expoſed him to univerſal deteſtation.

A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between Lewis and Henry at this interview, the preamble of which is remarkable—"We wiſh all the world "to know, that ſuch is, and ſuch in future ever will be, our friendſhip, that "each of us will defend the life, the limbs, the dignity, and the poſſeſſions of "the other. I, Henry, will aſſiſt Lewis, king of France (my lord) with all my

" forces :—I, Lewis, will aſſiſt Henry, king of England, (my man and my vaſ-
" ſal) with all my power; ſaving, nevertheleſs, the faith which we reciprocal-
" ly owe to our vaſſals, ſo long as they ſhall remain faithful*." The two monarchs afterward adopted ſuch meaſures as they thought neceſſary, not only to enſure ſucceſs to their expedition againſt the infidels of Paleſtine, but to protect from inſult their reſpective dominions during their abſence. Neither of them, however, embarked in the perilous undertaking; the ardour of Lewis was cooled by his former misfortunes, and the nobility of France ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt the hazardous and unprofitable enterpriſe; while the embarraſſed ſituation of his affairs rendered the preſence of Henry neceſſary in his own kingdom.

A. D. 1179.] An anxious regard for the ſucceſſion of his crown, and the tranquillity of his kingdom, had induced Lewis to beſtow his hand on his preſent conſort; and the birth of his ſon Philip had crowned his hopes and wiſhes. But his fears were ſoon alarmed for the ſafety of the young prince, whoſe horſe ran away with him, as he was purſuing the chaſe, in the foreſt of Compiegne†. Sequeſtered from the ſearch of his attendants, the heir of France was condemned to paſs a tedious night, oppreſſed by ſolitude and deſpair. His feeble mind was incapable of ſuſtaining the horror of his ſituation; and, when found in the morning, a dangerous fit of illneſs was the effect of his fright.

The king, in the midſt of his grief, recollected his good friend Thomas a Becket, at whoſe tomb he was aſſured numbers of miracles were daily performing. He therefore determined to ſolicit the interpoſition of a ſaint who had experienced his earthly protection; and accordingly repaired to England, accompanied by Philip, count of Flanders; Baldwin, count of Guines; Henry, duke of Louvain; William, count of Mandeville; and by ſeveral other noblemen. He was received at Canterbury by Henry with royal hoſpitality and magnificence; and he there ſought to conciliate the favour of Becket, not only by humiliation and prayer, but by ſplendid gifts and princely offerings.—He left at his ſhrine a cup of gold of admirable workmanſhip, and granted to the cathedral an annual tribute of a *hundred hogſheads of wine*, to be ſent from the royal manſion of Poiſſy, at his own expence. He alſo granted an exemption to the monks belonging to the church from all duties on whatever articles they might purchaſe in France; which was confirmed by a charter, to which he made his chancellor, Hugh de Puteaux, affix the great ſeal.

On the return of Lewis to France, finding his health materially affected by the agitation he had experienced, he reſolved to haſten the coronation of his ſon, who had perfectly recovered from his late illneſs. He was diſabled, however, from attending the ceremony, by a ſudden ſtroke of apoplexy; which was followed by a paralytic affection in his right ſide, that announced his ſpeedy

* Hoveden, apud Ducheſne, t. iv. p. 433. † Rigord, apud Duch. t. v. p. 5.

diſſolution. Philip, nevertheleſs, was crowned in the preſence of Henry, ſon to the Engliſh monarch, who, as duke of Normandy, bore the royal diadem; of the count of Flanders, who carried the ſword of ſtate; and by the other great vaſſals and officers of the crown. It is ſaid, that Lewis, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing better order and greater regularity at the ceremony, choſe twelve peers of the realm to attend it, who afterwards formed that body, ſo celebrated in hiſtory under the appellation of the Twelve Peers of France, and who compoſed the chief council of the nation; and had, in the ſequel, the excluſive right of ſitting in the parliament, or chief court of juſtice, of attending the *beds of juſtice*, and all other public ceremonies. At the ſame time the archbiſhop of Rheims had ſufficient influence to ſecure, for his church, the excluſive right of anointing the kings of France; a prerogative which was confirmed by a bull of pope Alexander the Third.

The coronation of Philip was ſucceeded by the celebration of his marriage with Iſabella, the daughter of Baldwin, count of Hainault. That princeſs was deſcended, in a direct line, from Hermengarde, the eldeſt daughter of the unfortunate Charles, duke of Lorraine, brother to Lothaire the Second, and uncle to Lewis the Fifth. The French ſtill revered the memory of the Calovingian princes, whom they generally diſtinguiſhed by the honourable appellation of *The Great Kings*. This re-union of the royal families, this alliance of the blood of Charlemagne with the blood of Hugh Capet, gave them inexpreſſible pleaſure. Philip of Alſace, count of Flanders, uncle to the new queen, ceded to her huſband the county of Artois, together with all his pretenſions to that of Hainault.

A. D. 1180.] The tranquillity of Lewis was eſtabliſhed too late, and the progreſs of diſeaſe could not be checked by the proſpect of happineſs. He died at Paris, in the ſixtieth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign; and was interred, in his royal robes, at the church belonging to the abbey of Barbeau, two leagues from Melun, which he had founded and richly endowed.

The character of this prince has been variouſly repreſented by different hiſtorians: by ſome he is ſaid to have been juſt and upright in his conduct, but, in genius, below mediocrity; bold in conception, but irreſolute in execution; in danger timid, even to cowardice; and in manners ſimple, even to meanneſs*—Others repreſent him as a king devoid of malice, a ſuſpicious huſband, a turbulent neighbour, and a too credulous man†.—But the more ancient writers give him a very different character; one, in particular‡, aſſigns him all the valuable qualities of an honeſt man, united to the prudence and moderation of a ſage; little ſkilled in literature, but generous, beneficent and juſt; the protector of the laws, and the father of his people.—The reſtoration of Eleanora's dower,

* Pere Daniel, tom. i. p. 654, 655. † Le Gendre, tom. ii. p. 263. ‡ Chron. Anon. apud Duch. tom. iv. p. 444.

though mentioned by ſome as a mark of imbecility, was certainly a ſtrong proof of his juſtice. But his conduct, with regard to Henry, whoſe tranquillity he diſturbed, by exciting his ſons to rebel, appears to be a well-founded ſubject of cenſure and reproach; though it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the fact is not mentioned by any of the French hiſtorians. Upon the whole, his virtues greatly overbalanced his defects; nor can that character be regarded as doubtful, in which humanity and piety form the leading features.

Lewis had three wives: Eleanora of Guienne, whom he repudiated; Conſtance of Caſtille, who died in child-bed; and Adela, or Alice, of Champagne, who ſurvived him. By the firſt he had two daughters: Mary, wife to Henry the Firſt, count of Champagne; and Alice, married to Thibaud, count of Blois, and brother to Henry. The ſecond gave birth to two princeſſes: Alice, who died in her infancy; and Margaret, who firſt married Henry, ſon to the king of England, and afterward Bela, king of Hungary. By his third wife, he had Philip, who ſucceeded to the throne; and two princeſſes, Adela, or Alice, betrothed to Richard, ſon to the Engliſh monarch, but married to William, count of Ponthieu; and Agnes, who was firſt affianced to Alexis Comnenus, emperor of the Eaſt, afterwards married to Andronicus, who murdered that prince, and uſurped his throne; and laſtly wife to a private gentleman, named Theodore Branas, with whom ſhe firſt lived, during a conſiderable time, as his miſtreſs.

PHILIP THE SECOND,

SURNAMED AUGUSTUS.

A. D. 1181.] WHEN Philip aſſumed the reigns of government he was but in his fifteenth year. The count of Flanders, the uncle of his queen was ſuffered to enjoy the name and honours of regent; but, although his councils might influence, his authority was never permitted to controul the inclination of the youthful monarch, who ſoon diſplayed the moſt evident ſymptoms of an unbounded thirſt for dominion, and a zealous deſire to extend the royal prerogative. From his birth, which eſtabliſhed the peaceable ſucceſſion to the crown

of France, Philip attained the expreſſive ſurname of *The gift of God.* As he advanced in life, his vanity was gratified by the appellation conferred on him by his courtiers, of *Conqueror*, and the *Magnanimous*; and, after his death, the ſurname of *Auguſtus* was added to his other titles. The firſt and laſt of theſe names might be due to the auſpicious moment in which he entered the world, and the manner in which he conducted himſelf through it; but his rage for *conqueſt* was opportunely checked by the perſonal valour of Richard of England; and his *magnanimity* is but ill atteſted by the envious perfidy, with which he deſerted that prince on the hoſtile ſhores of Paleſtine.

Lewis imagined he had taken every neceſſary precaution for the prevention of diſorders in the kingdom on the acceſſion of his ſon; but the jealouſy and ambition of the nobles rendered thoſe precautions fruitleſs. The princes of Champagne, uncles to the young monarch, were envious of the influence and authority of the count of Flanders; the queen-mother joined in their complaints, and loudly inſiſted that her claims to the regency were infinitely preferable to thoſe of a foreigner, whoſe intereſt in the welfare of her ſon ſhe repreſented as feeble and doubtful. The count of Sancerre was the firſt to hoiſt the ſtandard of rebellion; but the youthful ardor of Philip gave a timely check to his progreſs, by reducing his caſtles, ravaging his eſtates, and laying waſte his poſſeſſions with fire and ſword.

The queen-dowager next diſplayed her reſentment, and, by her retreat to Normandy, involved the whole kingdom in confuſion. She experienced a favourable reception from the Engliſh monarch, who willingly conſented to grant the aſſiſtance ſhe required, and, repairing to Normandy, advanced with a numerous army to ſecond her demands. But Philip was already prepared to encounter a prince, whom he regarded as his hereditary foe; and the king of England, either doubtful of the event, or influenced by thoſe ſentiments of equity and moderation, by which his conduct was generally actuated, conſented to liſten to terms of accommodation. Even in the arts of negociation, Philip diſplayed a degree of caution, vigour and wiſdom, far beyond his years: averſe from either extreme, he rejected the preſumptuous claims of the rebels, and the advice of the count of Flanders, to decide the diſpute by the ſword. Though, to his mother, he profeſſed a proper degree of duty, as a ſon; he aſſerted, nevertheleſs, the independent authority of a ſovereign; he offered a free pardon to the nobles who had engaged in the revolt; and Henry urging them to ſubmit, an accommodation took place, in which the former peace between the crowns of France and England was confirmed.

The return of the queen-dowager to Paris proved fatal to the authority of the regent; that princeſs, ſeconded by two of the king's favourites, the lords of Couci and Clermont, inceſſantly remonſtrated with her ſon, on the impropriety of entruſting the reins of government to a nobleman, whoſe power was already ſo extenſive, by the poſſeſſion of ſo many rich and fertile provinces; they repre-

ſented him as a prince of a violent diſpoſition, incapable of reſtraint in the gratification of his paſſions, either by the duties of religion, or the dictates of honour. In ſhort, ſuch was the impreſſion which their caluminous aſſertions made on the mind of the young monarch, that the count ſoon perceived a very ſenſible change in his conduct; but, far from ſeeking to ſtem the torrent, he prudently withdrew from the ſcene of contention, and retired to his own dominions, without uttering a ſingle expreſſion of reſentment.

The management of affairs was then entruſted to Robert Clément, of Mentz, to whom the education of Philip had been confided by the late king. He is ſpoken of, by hiſtorians, as a man of ſtrict integrity, and poſſeſſed of every quality that could fit him for a ſituation ſo arduous and delicate; great hopes were conſequently formed of his adminiſtration; but theſe were ſpeedily deſtroyed by his ſudden death. He was ſucceeded in his office and dignities by his brother, Gilles Clement; but he too died in a few months after his elevation, and made way for the cardinal of Champagne, brother to the queen-dowager, who was appointed to the preſidency of the council, and the poſt of prime miniſter. The commencement of this prelate's adminiſtration was marked by an act of rigour, which has been alternately commended as prudent and politic, and cenſured as cruel and unjuſt—this was the baniſhment of the Jews.

That people, in whoſe diſpoſition induſtry and avarice were inſeparably blended, had, by oppreſſive uſury, acquired, if ancient authors may be credited, one third of the landed property throughout the dominions of Philip. The improbability of this circumſtance is conſiderably diminiſhed, when we conſider that the nobles themſelves were not aſhamed to encourage their practices, and to partake their profits*. The protection they had thus acquired, emboldened them in the purſuit of their infamous traffic, and increaſed their inſolence to ſuch a degree, that when a debtor was unable to pay their exorbitant demands, they compelled him to renounce his liberty, and become their ſlave. Philip, willing to relieve his ſubjects from ſuch oppreſſion, had recourſe to a hermit named Bernard, who reſided in the wood of Vincennes; by whoſe advice he reſolved to expel all the Jews from his territories. He accordingly iſſued an edict, by which they were ordered to quit the kingdom in three months; all their real property was confiſcated, and the debts that were due to them declared null, on condition that the debtors ſhould pay a fifth part of the ſum they owed *to the king*. Their moveable effects and ready money they were permitted to take with them; but even this indulgence was in a great meaſure rendered futile, by the ſhort time allowed them to profit by it. After the expiration of the term preſcribed by the edict, every ſpecies of violence was exerciſed againſt them. Their ſynagogues were all converted into churches.

Though the conduct of the Jews indiſputably required correction, both ſpeedy and effectual, yet ſurely it was not neceſſary to ſubſtitute cruelty and oppreſ-

* Rigord, apud Duch. t. v. p. 2.

ſion for rigid and impartial juſtice. The ſeverity of the decree admits not of excuſe; it was evidently dictated by fanaticiſm, and the circumſtances attending its execution afford the moſt inconteſtible evidence that the ſeverity of Philip was influenced by motives of intereſt. To exonerate debtors who had long groaned beneath the oppreſſive exactions of avarice might be proper; but to appropriate to his own uſe a fifth part of the debts that were due to others, was to ſanction that injuſtice which he pretended to condemn. In a political point of view too his conduct was highly cenſurable, ſince he deprived himſelf of a number of ſubjects, whoſe labours, when directed in a proper channel, and ſubmitted to the ſalutary reſtraints of law, might have proved highly beneficial to the ſtate. Confined muſt be the comprehenſion, ſhallow the judgment, and feeble the talents of that politician, who knows not how to convert the channel of abuſe into a ſource of utility, and who prefers deſtruction to reformation.

A. D. 1182, 1183.] The other regulations which Philip adopted at this period, are more worthy of commendation. He enlarged his capital, by enclo ing within its walls the neighbouring villages, ſtrengthened its fortifications, increaſed its buildings, and eſtabliſhed rules, not leſs wholeſome than neceſſary, for the preſervation of order and cleanlineſs. He diminiſhed the number of thoſe unfortunate women who infeſted the ſtreets, and made places the moſt ſacred the ſcene of their proſtitutions. A worthy prieſt, named Peter de Roiſſi, undertook to convert them, and by the piety of his precepts, and the ardour of his exhortations, he ſo far ſucceeded as to render many of them uſeful members of ſociety—numbers were afterwards married, and diſcharged the duties of wives and mothers with a ſtrictneſs and propriety that beſpoke the ſincerity of their converſion; while not a few of them took the veil in the convent of Saint Anthony at Paris, which was founded about this time, for the purpoſe of affording them a ſafe and comfortable retreat. Nor was Philip leſs attentive to the welfare and proſperity of the provinces: the mercenary ſoldiers, who had ſerved in the wars of his father, had ſpread themſelves over the defenceleſs country, and indulged in every ſpecies of wanton outrage; the king ſent a numerous army to repel theſe marauders, and his orders were executed ſo effectually, that not one of them eſcaped the fury of the troops.

A. D. 1184.] Such was the ſituation of affairs, when a ſerious diſpute aroſe between the king and the count of Flanders. That prince had married Elizabeth, grand-daughter to Hugh the Great, in whoſe right he enjoyed the counties of Vermandois, Valois and Amiens. The princeſs dying without children, Philip ſummoned the count to reſtore thoſe rich domains: "offering to prove "by the teſtimony of the archbiſhops, biſhops, counts, viſcounts, and other "princes, that theſe three counties belonged to him by right of ſucceſſion*." The count, on the contrary, maintained that the late king had given him a ſimple

* Rigord, p. 12.

and unconditional grant of them, which grant had been confirmed by Philip himſelf. But the king replied, that no monarch of France could alienate the poſſeſſions of the crown; and that as the count only enjoyed the territories in queſtion, in virtue of his marriage with Elizabeth of Vermandois, his right of courſe ceaſed on the death of that princeſs. It was not likely that a matter of ſuch importance could be decided by argument or reaſon; recourſe was accordingly had to the *lex ultima regum:* and the count of Flanders in vain endeavoured to allure the barons to his ſtandard, by repreſenting the injury as general, and the cauſe as common. Almoſt alone and unſupported, his efforts were impotent and unſucceſsful; and after a ſhort ſtruggle, diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable occurrence, and in which he neither gained honour nor advantage, he liſtened to the voice of prudence; ſubmitted to the king, and reſtored the counties of Vermandois and Amiens, together with that of Sancerre, which were accordingly re-annexed to the crown.

The queen, during this conteſt, influenced by motives of gratitude, in oppoſition to conjugal duty, had imprudently expreſſed a wiſh, that her uncle, the count of Flanders, might ſucceed in his attempts. The king, enraged at her conduct, peremptorily commanded her to quit his court; and gave orders to aſſemble a ſynod, that his marriage might be diſſolved, on the uſual pretext of conſanguinity. Every thing ſeemed favourable to his wiſhes; both prelates and courtiers, with a ſervile adulation, repeated the reaſons urged by their ſovereign, and were loud in their cenſure of the unfortunate Iſabella. The biſhop of Sens was the only perſon who had ſufficient virtue and reſolution to ſtem the torrent of invective, and to oppoſe the raſh reſolution of the monarch; a witneſs to the virtue of the princeſs, he undertook to eſpouſe her cauſe, and, by his interpoſition, the ſentence of divorce was impeded. The count of Hainault, informed of the misfortune that threatened his daughter, haſtened to Pontoiſe, where ſhe was confined, and, by his paternal remonſtrances perſuaded her to write an affectionate and ſubmiſſive letter to the king. A reconciliation accordingly took place; Iſabella was reſtored to favour; and her charms and her virtues ſpeedily effaced the remembrance of her paſt miſconduct, and recovered the affections of her offended huſband.

A. D. 1185, 1186, 1187.] During theſe tranſactions in France, the king of England had ſtrictly obſerved the late treaty, and forbore to interfere in the domeſtic diſputes of a rival, whoſe tranquillity he might have diſturbed, and whoſe authority he might have ſhaken. The turbulence of his children was a continual ſource of trouble and affliction to the aged monarch; prince Henry had renewed his pretenſions to the duchy of Normandy; but, on receiving an augmentation of his income, withdrew his claims, and ſubmitted to his father. After this accommodation, Geoffrey, by the king's deſire, did homage to his elder brother, for the duchy of Brittany; Richard was requeſted to do the ſame for Aquitaine, but he rejected the propoſal with ſuch evident marks of diſdain,

and reſentment, as occaſioned an immediate and moſt violent animoſity betweèn him and young Henry. Equally impetuous, they had recourſe to arms to decide their diſpute; and the conteſt was purſued with ſuch malevolent fury, that no quarter was ſhown on either ſide. Their father, at length, with great difficulty, compoſed this difference, and prevailed on the contending parties to ſign a treaty of peace, near Limoges; but he ſoon found that his eldeſt ſon was engaged in a conſpiracy, and preparing to take arms againſt himſelf.

While young Henry was planning theſe criminal projects, he was ſeized with a fever at Martel, a caſtle in the vicinity of Turenne; and, when his phyſicians informed him that they entertained not the ſmalleſt hope of his recovery, he was ſtricken with that deep remorſe for his ungrateful conduct to the beſt of fathers, which repeated acts of generoſity and indulgence had never proved ſufficient to excite. He immediately ſent a meſſage to the king of England, expreſſive of his repentance, and earneſtly entreating a viſit. Henry, greatly affected with his ſon's ſituation, was about to comply with his requeſt; but his friends repreſenting the danger of truſting his perſon to thoſe flagitious conſpirators, who attended on the ſick prince, he took from his finger a ring, well known to his ſon, and ſent it to him by the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, as a token of his forgiveneſs. The prince received it with great emotion, and, preſſing it to his lips, ſoon after expired. His widow, the daughter of the late king of France, by his ſecond wife, Conſtance, having no children by him, Philip now claimed Giſors, and ſome other dependencies in Normandy, which had been allotted as the dowry of Margaret; but Henry, unwilling to part with them, offered to conclude the marriage between Richard, now become heir to the crown, and Alice, the ſiſter of Philip, provided he was ſuffered to retain the diſputed territory: the propoſal was aſquieſced in, and the two monarchs parted with mutual profeſſions of eſteem and friendſhip.

This interval of tranquillity was employed by Philip in the internal regulation of his dominions, and in repreſſing the formidable enterpriſes of the duke of Burgundy. But the calm produced by the late peace was of ſhort duration, and the ſubjects of Philip and Henry were again expoſed to the horrors of war. The marriage of Alice with Richard was ſtill ſtudiouſly delayed; Geoffrey, the ſecond ſon of Henry, and duke of Brittany, had revolted from his father, and acknowledged himſelf the vaſſal of France; but his undutiful deſigns were interrupted by death, and he expired of a fall from his horſe at a tournament. Philip, however, retained from Henry, his widow, Conſtance; his infant daughter, Eleanor; and a poſthumous ſon, named Arthur; and aſſerted his claim to protect and watch over the offspring of his vaſſal. Richard had alſo refuſed to yield homage to the king of France, for the counties of Guienne and Poitou.

Philip, enraged at this proof of diſobedience in the prince, and diſpleaſed with Henry for delaying the promiſed union, declared war againſt father and ſon, and, entering Berry, took Iſſoudun, Creſſac, and ſeveral other ſtrong places;

after which he laid ſiege to Chateauroux, on the banks of the Indre. The ſpirits of the garriſon were animated by the preſence of Richard and John, the ſons of the Engliſh monarch; and Henry himſelf alarmed for the ſafety of the princes, haſtily collected his forces, and advanced to their relief. The hoſtile armies awaited, in anxious ſuſpenſe, the ſignal of battle; but the conflict was averted by the legates of pope Urban the Third, who threatened with the penalty of excommunication whoever ſhould begin the engagement. This menace had the deſired effect; the monarchs laid down their arms, and a truce for two years was concluded between them.

The joy which the kingdom experienced at this unexpected accommodation was conſiderably heightened by the birth of a prince, on the fifth of September, 1187. The hopes of ſeeing the blood of Charlemagne once more eſtabliſhed on the throne of France inſpired the people with the moſt enthuſiaſtic pleaſure. The biſhop of Tournay performed the ceremony of baptiſm, and gave to the royal infant the name of Lewis; while Philip found, in the birth of an heir, a new cauſe for eſteeming a princeſs, who had the beſt title to his affections.—— But the rejoicings occaſioned by this happy event were ſuddenly interrupted by the reception of ſome diſmal intelligence from the chriſtians in Paleſtine.

After the departure of Lewis the Seventh from the Holy Land, the cruſaders experienced a ſucceſſion of calamities that reduced them to the laſt extremity. But the frequent repetition of diſaſters, which had nearly depopulated the weſtern world, and exhauſted its treaſures, were yet inſufficient to check the folly of theſe ſpiritual knights-errant; and a new occurrence, rekindling the torch of fanaticiſm, inſpired the adventurers, both eccleſiaſtical and military, among the Latin Chriſtians, with additional fury.

Saladin, a prince equally diſtinguiſhed for perſonal courage and greatneſs of ſoul, having, on the death of the caliph Alad, eſtabliſhed himſelf on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conqueſt over the eaſt. After the reduction of Syria, Arabia, Perſia, and Meſopotamia, finding the ſettlement of the chriſtians in Paleſtine an invincible impediment to the progreſs of his arms, he exerted all his valour and political ſkill to ſubdue that territory, which, though barren, and of little extent, was, to him, of the utmoſt importance. Profiting by the defection which prevailed among the champions of the croſs, and having corrupted the fidelity of the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded the frontiers with an army of fifty thouſand men. A deſperate action enſued at Tiberiade, which was diſputed with great obſtinacy for two whole days, when Saladin obtained a complete victory, that totally annihilated the force of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, whoſe monarch, Guy de Laſignan, was taken priſoner. After this celebrated battle, in which the chriſtians had to lament the loſs of the real croſs on which our Saviour was crucified, that fell into the hands of the infidels, the city of Jeruſalem ſurrendered to the victorious Saladin. The kingdom of Antioch was almoſt entirely reduced; and, except a few ma-

ritime towns, but little remained of thoſe boaſted acquiſitions which, near a century before, it had required the efforts of all Europe to obtain*.

This dreadful reverſe of fortune threw all the weſtern chriſtians into the utmoſt conſternation and alarm. Pope Urban the Third was ſo much affected with the news, that he is ſaid to have died of grief; and his ſucceſſor, Gregory the Eighth, employed the whole time of his ſhort pontificate in urging all the chriſtians, who acknowledged his authority, to take up arms, and haſten to repair the diſgrace they had ſuſtained. The general cry was, that thoſe were unworthy of enjoying any inheritance in heaven who did not reſcue from the domination of the infidels the inheritance of God upon earth, and deliver from ſervitude that country which the preſence of their Redeemer had rendered ſacred.

A. D. 1188.] William, archbiſhop of Tyre, ambaſſador from the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, having procured a conference between Philip and Henry near Giſors, on the twenty-firſt of January, enforced theſe various topics; gave a pathetic deſcription of the ſtate of the eaſtern Chriſtians; and employed every argument that could rouze the ruling paſſions of the age, ſuperſtitious zeal, and the ſpirit of chivalry. The two kings immediately took the croſs from the hands of the archbiſhop; the counts of Flanders and Champagne, with many other powerful noblemen, followed the example; and, as the emperor, Frederick the Firſt, joined the confederacy, ſome well-grounded hopes of ſucceſs were entertained; and men flattered themſelves that an enterpriſe which had failed through the diſcord of independent leaders, or the temerity of imprudent princes, might, at laſt, by the joint efforts of monarchs ſo potent, be brought to a happy termination.

Philip, without loſs of time, convened an aſſembly at Paris, at which ſeveral ordinances were enacted, as well for the purpoſe of providing for the expences of the war, as for preventing thoſe diſorders which had occaſioned the failure of the laſt cruſade. It was decreed that all thoſe who ſhould not aſſume the croſs, whether eccleſiaſtics or laics†, ſhould contribute the tenth part of their revenues and moveable effects towards the relief of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine. The only exceptions were in favour of the Ciſtertian Carthuſian monks, the monks of Fontevraud, and the hoſpital for the reception of Lepers‡. This tax was called Saladin's tythe, from its being exacted for equipping an armament againſt that ſultan. Some regulations alſo with regard to diſcipline were here adopted; the ſoldiers were forbidden to blaſpheme, or to play at dice; the knights to wear gaudy habiliments; men of opulence to have more than two bought diſhes on their table at a meal; and women to follow the army, except a few waſher-women, advanced in years, and pure in reputation. No intereſt was to be paid, during this expedition, for money borrowed; and all the cruſaders, even the eccleſiaſtics, were authoriſed to receive three years of their

* M. Paris, p. 100. † Rigord. ‡ Tom. x. Concile, p. 1763.

revenue in advance, that every perſon might be enabled to ſupport the expence of the voyage.

A. D. 1189.] Every thing was ready for the expedition to Paleſtina, when the flames of war again burſt forth in Europe, and induced the rival monarchs of France and England to turn thoſe arms againſt each other which had been deſtined to oppoſe their mutual enemy. Philip, jealous of Henry's power, entered into a private conference with young Richard; and, working on his ambitious and impatient temper, perſuaded him, inſtead of ſupporting and aggrandizing that monarchy which he was one day to inherit, to ſeek preſent power and independence, by diſturbing and diſmembering it. In order to afford a pretext for hoſtilities between the two kings, Richard invaded the territories of Raymond, count of Toulouſe, who immediately complained of this violence to the king of France, as his ſuperior lord. Philip remonſtrated with Henry, but received for anſwer, that Richard had confeſſed to the archbiſhop of Dublin, that his enterpriſe againſt Raymond had been undertaken by the approbation of Philip himſelf, and was conducted by his authority. Philip, who might have been covered withſhame and confuſion by this detection of his perfidy, ſtill proſecuted his deſign, and invaded the provinces of Berry and Auvergne, under colour of revenging the quarrel of the count of Toulouſe*. Henry retaliated by making inroads upon the frontiers of France, and burning Dreux. As this war, which deſtroyed all hopes of ſucceſs in the projected cruſade, gave great ſcandal, the two king's held a conference between Trie and Giſors, in order to find means of accommodating their differences. But this interview only ſerved to increaſe their enmity; and Philip, to ſhew his diſguſt, ordered a great elm, under which the conferences had been uſually holden, to be cut down†; as if he had renounced all deſire of accommodation, and was determined to carry the war to extremities againſt the king of England. But his own vaſſals refuſed to ſerve under him in ſo inſidious a cauſe‡; and he was obliged to have a ſecond conference with Henry, and to offer terms of peace. Theſe terms were ſuch as entirely opened the eyes of the king of England, and fully convinced him of the perfidy of his ſon, and of his ſecret alliance with Philip, of which he had before only entertained ſome ſuſpicion. The king of France required that Richard ſhould be crowned king of England in the lifetime of his father, ſhould be inveſted in all his continental dominions, and ſhould immediately eſpouſe Alice, Philip's ſiſter||. Henry had experienced ſuch fatal effects, both from the crowning of his eldeſt ſon, and from that prince's alliance with the royal family of France, that he rejected theſe terms; and Richard, in conſequence of his ſecret agreement with Philip, immediately revolted from him§, did homage to the king of France for all the dominions which Hen-

* Bened. Abb. p. 508. † Ibid. p. 517, 532. ‡ Ibid. p. 519. || Idem. p. 521.—Hoveden, p. 652. § Brompton. p. 1149.—Neubrig. p. 437.



PHILIP IV.

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ry held of that crown, and received the inveſtitures, as if he had already been the lawful poſſeſſor. This unexpected occurrence being naturally productive of infinite confuſion, the conference broke up.

Cardinal Albeno, who had been ſent by the pope to effect a peace between the two monarchs, excommunicated Richard, as the chief obſtacle to the treaty; and this prelate dying, the ſovereign pontiff, who was anxious to accelerate the expedition to Paleſtine, inveſted the cardinal Anagni with the legatine power, and gave him inſtructions to promote a reconciliation; but the unprincipled obſtinacy of Richard rendered all conciliatory endeavours ineffectual. The chief barons of Poitou, Guienne, Normandy and Anjou, being attached to the young prince, and finding that he had now received the inveſtiture from their ſuperior lord, declared for him, and made inroads into the territories of ſuch as ſtill adhered to Henry, who, diſquieted by the daily revolts of his mutinous ſubjects, and dreading ſtill worſe effects from their turbulent diſpoſition, had again recourſe to papal authority; and engaged the cardinal Anagni to threaten Philip with laying all his dominions under an interdict. But Philip deſpiſed the menace, and told the legate, that it belonged not to the pope to interpoſe in the temporal diſputes of princes, much leſs in thoſe which ſubſiſted between him and his rebellious vaſſal. He even proceeded ſo far as to reproach him with partiality, and with receiving bribes from the king of England*; while Richard, ſtill more outrageous, offered to draw his ſword againſt the legate, and was only prevented by the interpoſition of the company, from committing violence upon him†.

The war was now renewed with additional vigour; Ferte-Bernard was firſt reduced by the victorious arms of the French; Mons was next taken by aſſault, and the king of England, who had thrown himſelf into that place, eſcaped with ſome difficulty‡. Amboiſe, Chaumont, and Chateau-de-Loire, opened their gates on the appearance of Philip and Richard; Tours was menaced; and Henry, who had retired to Saumur, and had daily inſtances of the cowardice or treachery of his governors, expected the moſt unfavourable iſſue to all his enterpriſes. While he was in this ſtate of deſpondency, the count of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbiſhop of Rheims interpoſed with their good offices; and the intelligence which he received of the taking of Tours, made him fully ſenſible of the deſperate ſituation of his affairs, and ſo ſubdued his ſpirit, that he ſubmitted to all the rigorous terms which were impoſed upon him. He agreed that Richard ſhould marry the princeſs Alice; that he ſhould receive the homage and oath of fealty of all his ſubjects both in England and his tranſmarine dominions; that he himſelf ſhould pay twenty thouſand marks to Philip towards defraying the expences of the war; that his own barons ſhould

* M. Paris, p. 104. Bened. Abb. p. 542. Hoveden. p. 652. † M. Paris. p. 104. ‡ Idem, p. 105. Bened, Abb. p. 543. Hoveden, p. 653.

engage to make him obſerve this treaty by force; and, in caſe of his violating any of the articles it contained, ſhould promiſe to join Philip and Richard againſt him; and that ſuch of his own vaſſals as had ſupported the cauſe of Richard, ſhould be indemnified for the offence*.

But the mortification which the king of England, who had been accuſtomed to give the law in moſt treaties, experienced from being obliged to ſubmit to ſuch humiliating conditions, was the leaſt he felt on this occaſion. When he demanded a liſt of thoſe barons whom he had conſented to pardon for their treaſonable connections with Richard, he was aſtoniſhed to find, at the head of them, the name of his ſecond ſon, John, who had always been his favourite; whoſe intereſts he had ever been anxious to promote; and who had even, on account of his aſcendant over him, often excited the jealouſy of Richard. The more his heart inclined to friendſhip and affection, the more he reſented the ungrateful and barbarous return which his four ſons had ſucceſſively made to his paternal care; and this laſt event, by depriving him of every comfort of life, quite broke his ſpirit, and threw him into a lingering fever.

The day after he had ſigned the treaty, the unhappy monarch was removed in a litter from Saumur to the caſtle of Chinon, where he immediately took to his bed, and ſoon after expired. The next day Richard came to ſee the dead body of his father—which had been conveyed by Geoffrey, natural ſon to Henry, to the nunnery of Fontevraud—and was ſeized with horror and remorſe at the ſight. Theſe, indeed, were conſiderably augmented by an accident which the ſuperſtition of the times conſtrued into a preternatural omen. At his approach,

* M. Paris, p. 106; Bened. Abb. p. 545, Hoveden, p. 653.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the French hiſtorians give a very different account of the motives which gave riſe to this war; they deny all colluſion between Richard and Philip, and repreſent the hoſtilities between the former and the count of Toulouſe as the conſequence of a real diſpute, in order to juſtify Philip from the imputation of perfidy which he deſervedly incurred. But the author, on whoſe ſole authority they found their aſſertions, is by no means worthy to be oppoſed to thoſe writers whom we have had occaſion to quote. The writings of RIGORD are ſo ſtrongly tinctured with the marvellous, that they bear a greater ſemblance of romance than of hiſtory. We are aware, indeed, that the monkiſh writers of the dark and middle ages were generally infected with a love of the marvellous, which, though it diſgraced their works, did not impeach their integrity—of this the venerable Bede affords a ſtriking example. But there is a diſcrimination to be made between the marvellous writers of thoſe times, who may be divided into two claſſes—the firſt were influenced by an exceſs of credulity; the ſecond, by a deſire to excite wonder at the expence of truth; one muſt raiſe pity, the other miſtruſt. In the former claſs we muſt place BEDE, in the latter RIGORD. As a proof that our opinion of this author is well founded, we need only quote two of his aſſertions—After the taking of the croſs by the infidels, at the battle of Tiberiade he gravely tells us, all the children who were born throughout chriſtendom had only twenty, or two-and-twenty teeth, inſtead of thirty or two-and-thirty, which was their former complement. With equal aſſurance, he ſolemnly affirms, that about this period, during his reſidence at the monaſtery of Argenteuil, one moon-light morning, a little before the break of day, the moon, which was then in the full, quitted its ſtation in the firmament; deſcended upon the earth, and, after reſting there ſome time, as if to recover its ſtrength, turned very leiſurely to the place aſſigned it by the Creator!—p. 17. Theſe are not marks of credulity, but impudent deviations from truth, which render any aſſertions of the ſame author—uncorroborated by any kind of proof—juſtly liable to ſuſpicion.

the blood iſſued from the mouth and noſtrils of the corpſe*, which induced him to exclaim that he was the murderer of his father: and to expreſs at the ſame time a juſt, though tardy, repentance for that conduct which had brought ſo indulgent a parent to an untimely grave†. He aſſiſted at the funeral with marks of the deepeſt contrition; and, after the obſequies were performed, received from Geoffrey the great ſeal of the kingdom, which had been carefully depoſited under the ſeals of all the barons who were preſent at his father's deceaſe.

The death of the Engliſh monarch had been preceded by that of Iſabella, queen of France, who died in child-bed, after giving birth to two princes. Her loſs was deeply deplored by Philip, who had learned to entertain a juſt ſenſe of her value; and the whole kingdom ſympathiſed in his ſorrow. The royal infants ſurvived their mother but three days.

Richard's firſt care, after his acceſſion to the throne, was to releaſe his mother from the confinement in which ſhe had been long detained; he then beſtowed on his brother John the moſt unbounded marks of his affection and munificence, by conferring on him the county of Mortaigne, in Normandy, by granting him a penſion of four thouſand marks a year; marrying him to Aviſta, the daughter of the earl of Glouceſter, by whom he inherited all the poſſeſſions of that opulent family; and by other extenſive grants and conceſſions. He then renewed the former treaties of friendſhip and alliance with Philip, to whom he ceded Creſſac, Iſſoudun, and all the fiefs he held in Auvergne, in return for the reſtoration of the two provinces which that monarch had conquered in the late war. The two kings being equally intent on repairing to Paleſtine, Richard aſſembled at Rouen the ſtates of Normandy, who granted him a conſiderable ſuccour both in men and money. It was here that Fulk, curate of Neuilli, a zealous preacher of the cruſade, who thought fanaticiſm an excuſe for inſolence, inveighed againſt his vices, and adviſed him to part with his pride, avarice, and ſenſuality, which he termed the king's three favourite daughters: "You counſel well," replied Richard, "I have already provided huſbands for "them all.—I give my pride to the Templars; my avarice to the monks; and "my ſenſuality to the clergy."

A. D. 1190, 1191.] Philip and Richard had an interview at Nonancourt, in which the final arrangements for their voyage to Paleſtine were adopted‡. They ſwore an eternal friendſhip to each other, promiſed mutual aſſiſtance, and agreed that if one of them ſhould die on the voyage, the other ſhould become maſter of his troops and treaſures, to be employed for the relief of the Holy Land. After theſe precautions, they fixed the general rendezvous in the plains of Vezelay, in Burgundy, where they arrived towards the end of June.

* Bened. Abb. 547; Brompt, p. 1151. † M. Paris, p. 107.
‡ Rymer's Fœdera, tom i. p. 20.

Here Philip declared that he left the government of his kingdom, and the care of his ſon, to the queen-mother and the cardinal of Champagne. From Vezelay, the combined army, which amounted to a hundred thouſand men*, decamped on the firſt of July, and marched in one body to Lyons; but, finding it extremely inconvenient to proceed in the ſame order, the two kings parted at that city: Philip went to Genoa, the place deſtined for his embarkation; and Richard to Marſeilles, whither he had appointed his fleet to meet him. They put to ſea, and nearly about the ſame time arrived at Meſſina, where they wintered: Philip, with his army, remained in the city; and the king of England eſtabliſhed his quarters in the ſuburbs.

The laſt king of Sicily and Naples was William the Second, who had married Jane, ſiſter to Richard; and who, dying without iſſue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal aunt Conſtantia, the only ſurviving deſcendant of Roger, the firſt ſovereign of thoſe ſtates who had been dignified with the title of king. Henry the Sixth, the reigning emperor, had eſpouſed this princeſs in expectation of her ſucceeding to this rich inheritance; but Tancred, her natural brother, having acquired the affection and obtained the ſupport of the barons, had, in the abſence of Henry, taken poſſeſſion of the throne, and reſiſted all the efforts of the Germans to depoſe him. The approach of the cruſaders, however, naturally inſpired him with apprehenſions for his unſtable government; and he knew not whether he had moſt reaſon to dread the preſence of the French or of the Engliſh monarch. Philip was engaged in a ſtrict alliance with the emperor, his competitor; and Richard was diſguſted with his ſeverity to the queen-dowager, whom the Sicilian prince had confined in Palermo, becauſe ſhe had oppoſed, with all her intereſt, his ſucceſſion to the crown. Tancred therefore determined, if poſſible, to avert the animoſity of theſe powerful monarchs; nor were his endeavours unſucceſsful. He found means to perſuade Philip, that it was highly improper for him to interrupt his enterpriſe againſt the infidels, by turning his arms againſt a chriſtian ſtate. He likewiſe appeaſed the reſentment of Richard by releaſing the queen-dowager; paying twenty thouſand ounces of gold, in lieu of a valuable legacy, bequeathed by the late king of Sicily to his father-in-law, Henry the Second; by contracting one of his daughters in marriage to Arthur, duke of Brittany, whom Richard declared his heir, in caſe he ſhould die without iſſue; and by depoſiting twenty thouſand ounces of gold, as her marriage-portion, to be reſtored provided the marriage ſhould not take effect.

But, previous to the arrangement of theſe amicable terms, Richard, equally jealous of Tancred, and of the inhabitants of Meſſina, had, as we have before obſerved, taken up his quarters in the ſuburbs; and he had alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſmall fort which commanded the harbour. The citizens took umbrage at

* Gaufred. Viniſauf. Iter Hieroſol. l. ii. c. 9.

theſe proceedings, which wore an appearance of hoſtility; this produced ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between them, that only tended to augment their mutual animoſity. Philip, anxious to promote an accommodation, held a conference with Richard in the open fields: but, while they were converſing on the ſubject, the Meſſineſe made a ſudden ſally from the town, and attacked the quarters of Hugh le Brun, one of Richard's barons, with great impetuoſity. The king of England, enraged at this inſult, returned the attack, drove them into the city, and, entering the gates with them, erected the ſtandard of England on the walls, in token of his victory; though he reſtrained his troops from exerciſing any violence on the defenceleſs inhabitants.

Philip, who regarded the whole city as his quarters, exclaimed againſt the inſult which he pretended was offered to him, and ordered ſome of his troops to pull down the ſtandard; but Richard informed him, by a meſſenger, that though he himſelf would willingly remove it, ſince it was deemed a ground of offence, he would not ſuffer it to be done by any other perſon; but would oppoſe any attempt to inſult him ſo groſsly with his whole force. Philip, therefore, thought it prudent to countermand his orders; and the diſpute was apparently adjuſted, though the ſeeds of diſcord were thereby implanted in the breaſts of the two ſovereigns.

In order, however, to prevent the multiplication of jealouſies and complaints, they at length propoſed to obviate all future differences by a ſolemn treaty. But this expedient gave riſe to a new ſubject of controverſy, which was more difficult to adjuſt, as the honour of Philip's family was more deeply affected by it. When Richard, in every treaty with his father, had ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on being permitted to conſummate his marriage with the princeſs Alice, he had only ſought a pretence for quarrelling; it having never been his intention to take to his bed a perſon ſuſpected of a criminal connection with his own father. This was evident from his never having mentioned the ſubject after Henry's death: he even took meaſures for eſpouſing Berengaria, daughter to Sanchez, king of Navarre, for whom he had conceived a paſſion during his abode in Guienne*; and, when he had ſet out on the preſent expedition, he had prevailed on his mother to accompany that princeſs to Naples, whither they had accordingly arrived in the month of February, 1191, under the eſcort of the count of Flanders, and from that time had taken up their reſidence at Brindiſi, and were now daily expected at Meſſina†. When Philip, therefore, renewed his applications to the Engliſh monarch for celebrating his nuptials with his ſiſter Alice, Richard was obliged to give him an abſolute refuſal.

Hoveden, and ſome other hiſtorians‡, pretended that he was able to produce ſuch poſitive proof of the incontinence of Alice, and even of her having borne a child to Henry, that Philip deſiſted from his application; and choſe to conceal

* Viniſauf. p. 316. † M. Paris, p. 112. Trivet, p. 102. W. Heming, p. 519. ‡ Hoveden, p. 688.

the diſhonour of his family, by conſigning the whole tranſaction to oblivion. Whatever were his motives, it is certain from the treaty itſelf, which may be ſeen in Rhymer's Fœdera*, that he conſented to the marriage of Richard with Berengaria, and, having ſettled all farther ſubjects of diſpute with that prince, Philip ſet ſail for the Holy Land, on the thirtieth of March. The day after his departure, the mother of Richard, with the princeſs of Navarre, arrived at Meſſina, at which place the former only remained four days, and then embarked for England; but the latter was committed to the care of the queen-dowager of Sicily, who had reſolved to accompany her brother in his expedition to Paleſtine†.

The city of Ptolemais, indiſcriminately called Acre, and Saint John of Acre, had been inveſted two years by the united forces of all the chriſtians in the Eaſt, and had been defended by the utmoſt efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. The remains of a German army, conducted by the emperor Frederic—(who had been killed ſoon after his arrival, by imprudently bathing in the cold ſtream of the Cydnus, during the raging heat of the dog-days)—and the ſeparate body of adventurers, who continually poured in from the Weſt, had enabled the king of Jeruſalem to form this important enterpriſe‡: but Saladin, having thrown a ſtrong garriſon into the place, under the command of Caracos, his own maſter in the art of war, and moleſting the beſiegers with continual attacks and ſallies, had protracted the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, and waſted the force of his enemies. The arrival of Philip and Richard inſpired new life into the chriſtians; and theſe princes, acting in concert, and partaking the glory and danger of every action, gave ſtrong hopes of obtaining a final victory over the infidels. The plan of operations which they agreed on was this: that one day the king of France ſhould attack the town, and the Engliſh guard the trenches; and the next, the Engliſh monarch ſhould conduct the aſſault, and the French undertake to defend the aſſailants. This ſpirit of emulation between thoſe rival kings, and rival nations, produced extraordinary acts of valour: Richard, in particular, animated with a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic ſpirit of that age, drew to himſelf the general attention, and acquired a great and ſplendid reputation‖. But this harmony was of ſhort duration, and occaſions of diſcord ſoon aroſe between theſe jealous and haughty princes.

The family of Bouillon, which had been firſt placed on the throne of Jeruſalem, ending in a female, Fulk, count of Anjou, grandfather to Henry the Second of England, married the heireſs of that kingdom, and tranſmitted his title to the younger branches of his family. The Anjevin race ending alſo in a female, Guy de Luſignan, who had married Sibylla, the heireſs, had ſucceeded to

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 69. Chron. Dunſt. p. 44. † Bened. Abb. p. 644.
‡ Viniſauf, p. 269, 271, 279. ‖ Hume's Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 14.

the title; and though he loſt his kingdom by the invaſion of Saladin, he was ſtill acknowledged by all the chriſtians for king of Jeruſalem*. But as Sibylla died without iſſue, during the ſiege of Acre, Iſabella, her younger ſiſter, put in her claim to that titular kingdom, and required Luſignan to reſign his pretenſions to her huſband, Conrad marquis of Monſerrat. Luſignan, maintaining that the royal title was unalienable, and indefeaſible, had recourſe to the protection of the king of England, whom he engaged to embrace his cauſe†. This was a ſufficient inducement to Philip to eſpouſe the party of Conrad; and the oppoſite views of theſe potent monarchs brought faction and diſſenſion into the chriſtian army, and retarded all its operations: the Templars, the Genoeſe, and the Germans, declared for Philip and Conrad; the Flemings, the Piſans, and the Knights of the Hoſpital of Saint John, adhered to Richard and Luſignan. But, notwithſtanding theſe diſputes, as the length of the ſiege had reduced the Saracen garriſon to the laſt extremity, they ſurrendered the city on the twelfth of July, on the following conditions:—that the garriſon ſhould be allowed to march out only in their ſhirts, leaving all their arms and baggage behind them; that Saladin ſhould reſtore the true croſs, with two thouſand five hundred chriſtian priſoners of the greateſt note; that he ſhould cauſe to be paid to the two victorious monarchs two hundred thouſand pieces of gold, called *Byſantines*, for the ranſom of the garriſon, the whole of which were to be detained as hoſtages till theſe conditions were performed‡.

Thus ended this celebrated ſiege, which had engaged the attention of all Europe and Aſia for two years, and had coſt the lives of three hundred thouſand men; beſides thoſe of ſix archbiſhops, twelve biſhops, forty earls, and five hundred barons‖. Among the nobles who fell on this memorable occaſion, on the part of the French, was Ralph de Coucy: being mortally wounded, he retired to his tent, wrote a farewel letter to a married lady of the name of Du Fayel, of whom he was deſperately enamoured, though no criminal intercourſe had ever ſubſiſted between them; and, after ordering his faithful eſquire to carry his heart to the object of his love, expired in a few minutes. The gentleman, faithful to the commands of his deceaſed lord, repaired to the caſtle where the lady reſided; at the gates he met the huſband, whoſe jealouſy led him to ſearch the meſſenger, when he found the fatal preſent. Enraged with his wife, he gave the heart of her lover to his cook, and had it placed on the table before her; when ſhe had feaſted on it for ſome time, the ſavage diſcloſed to her the deadly ſecret. Seized with horror inexpreſſible, the lady ſwore that after a meal thus precious, no other nouriſhment ſhould ever enter her lips;—ſhe kept her word, and in a few days expired§.

After the reduction of this important place, Philip, inſtead of purſuing the hopes of farther conqueſt, and of redeeming the Holy City from ſlavery, which

* Viniſauf, p. 281. † Trivet, p. 134. Viniſauf, p. 342. W. Heming, p. 524. ‡ Bened. Abb. p. 653, 663. Viniſauf, l. iii. c. 17. ‖ Ibid. l. iv. c. 6. § P. Anſel. Hiſt. Gen. de France, tom. i. p. 206.

was the chief object of the expedition, began to intimate his design of returning to Europe. Though he ascribed his desire to quit the scene of glory to the ill state of his health, the real motives of his departure were founded on projects of ambition and revenge. The superior splendour of Richard's achievements, which had totally eclipsed his own inferior fame, inspired him with sentiments of hatred against that monarch; and he expected, by repairing to Europe, to find an opportunity of affording them the most ample gratification. He likewise flattered himself with the idea of being able to obtain the succession of the count of Flanders, who had died during the siege of Acre, and had left no issue. Urged by these powerful inducements, all efforts to retain him in Palestine proved ineffectual: Richard, therefore, consented to his departure, on his taking a public oath that he would not only abstain from all hostilities against his territories, during his stay in the Holy Land, but that he would even protect them against the attempts of all invaders. It is said, however, that Philip on his return paid a visit to pope Celestine the Third, and requested that pontiff to absolve him from the obligation he had thus contracted, but that his holiness rejected the request with disdain*. Be that as it may, having left ten thousand of his troops to co-operate with Richard, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, he embarked at the port of Acre for Naples, then repaired to Rome, and from thence to France, where he arrived about Christmas 1191†.

Each transaction betrayed the animosity which Philip bore to his royal rival. The marquis of Montferrat had been publicly stabbed in the streets of Tyre, by two men, who, for that purpose, had enlisted themselves in his service. They were subjects of a petty Saracen prince, whose territories lay in the mountains of Phœnicia, and who was commonly distinguished by the appellation of *The old Man of the Mountain*‡. He was a man of consummate art, and knew how to render the superstition of Mahometanism subservient to his own private advantage. Being unable to defend himself from the encroachments of his powerful neighbours by open force, he adopted a more effectual expedient for revenging, if not averting, their attacks. He had acquired such an ascendency over the minds of his fanatical subjects, that they paid the most implicit obedience to his orders, though fraught with the most imminent danger, from a full persuasion, that, should the execution of them prove fatal to their lives, the joys of paradise would be the infallible reward of their devotion‖. These he occasionally dispatched to murder such princes as had incurred his resentment; and, being influenced by such powerful motives, their invincible perseverance in the pursuit of their object, rendered the accomplishment of it certain; so that almost all the potentates of that part of Asia stood in awe of this prince of the *Assassins*; for that was the name of his people—whence the word has passed into most of the European languages.

* G. Vinisauf, l. v. c. 1, 2. † Bened. Abb. p. 667, 670; W. Neubr. l. iv. c. 22; Heming. l. ii. c. 27. ‡ Vinisauf, l. v. c. 26. ‖ W. Heming. p. 532; Brompton, p. 1243.

The inhabitants of Tyre, who were governed by Conrad, had put to death one of this ſect, whom ſtreſs of weather had compelled to take refuge in the harbour. The prince demanded ſatisfaction of Conrad, who treated his meſſengers with diſdain. In revenge, therefore, for this outrage, which was attended with ſome aggravating circumſtances, the aſſaſſins were diſpatched; and they executed their orders with deliberation and effect. When they were apprehended and applied to the torture, they triumphed in the midſt of agony, and expreſſed their joy at being deſtined to ſuffer in ſo juſt and glorious a cauſe.

Every one in Paleſtine knew from what hand the blow came. Richard was entirely free from ſuſpicion; though that monarch had formerly maintained the cauſe of Luſignan againſt Conrad, he had become ſenſible of the bad effects attending thoſe diſſentions, and had voluntarily conferred on the former the kingdom of Cyprus, on condition that he ſhould reſign to his rival, all pretenſions to the crown of Jeruſalem*. Conrad himſelf, with his dying breath, had recommended his widow to the protection of Richard†. The prince of the aſſaſſins avowed the action in a formal narrative which he ſent to Europe‡; yet, on this foundation, Philip thought fit to build the moſt egregious calumnies, and to impute to Richard the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, whoſe elevation he had once openly oppoſed. He filled all Europe with exclamations againſt the crime; appointed a guard for his own perſon, in order to defend himſelf againſt a ſimilar attempt‖; and endeavoured, by theſe ſhallow artifices, to cover the infamy of attacking the dominions of a prince, whom he himſelf had deſerted, and who was engaged, with ſo much glory, in a war, univerſally acknowledged to be the common cauſe of chriſtendom.

The king of England, after obtaining as much honour as could poſſibly be derived from the diſplay of extraordinary courage, united with great military ſkill, was prevented from purſuing his victorious progreſs, by the treacherous conduct of the duke of Burgundy, who, in order to ingratiate himſelf with Philip, took all opportunities of mortifying and oppoſing him§. Richard, therefore, concluded a truce with Saladin, and ſtipulated that Acre, Joppa, and other ſea-port towns of Paleſtine, ſhould remain in the hands of the chriſtians; and that every one of that religion ſhould have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jeruſalem unmoleſted. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, which had probably been deviſed by the Europeans, and which was ſuggeſted by a ſuperſtition well ſuited to the object of the war¶.

The liberty in which Saladin indulged the chriſtians to perform their pilgrimages to Jeruſalem, was an eaſy ſacrifice on his part; and the wars which he

* Viniſauf. p. 391. † Brompton, p. 1243. ‡ Rymer, vol. i. p. 71; Trivet, p. 124; W. Heming, p. 544; Diceto, p. 680. ‖ W. Heming, p. 532; Brompton, p. 1245. § Viniſauf, p. 389. ¶ Hume's Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 21,

waged in defence of the barren territory of Judea, were not with him, as with the European adventurers, the reſult of ſuperſtition, but of policy. The advantage, indeed, of ſcience, moderation, and humanity, was, at that time, entirely on the ſide of the Saracens; and this gallant emperor, in particular, diſplayed, during the courſe of the war, a ſpirit and generoſity, which even his bigotted enemies were obliged to acknowledge and admire. The Engliſh monarch, equally martial and brave, was more mercileſs and ferocious, and, by his babarity, tarniſhed the luſtre of his victories. When Saladin refuſed to ratify the capitulation of Acre, the king of England ordered all his priſoners, to the amount of five thouſand, to be butchered; and the Saracens found themſelves obliged to retaliate upon the chriſtians by a ſimilar cruelty*. Saladin died at Damaſcus ſoon after concluding this truce with the princes of the cruſade. It is memorable, that, before he expired, he ordered his winding-ſheet, to be carried, as a ſtandard, through every ſtreet of the city; while a cryer went before him, and proclaimed, with a loud voice, *This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the Eaſt.* By his laſt will he ordered charities to be diſtributed to the poor, without diſtinction of Jew, Chriſtian, or Mahometan.

After the truce was concluded, the king of England, having nothing to detain him in Paleſtine, haſtened to Europe, where his preſence was required. As he dared not to paſs through France, having too much reaſon to dread the perfidy of Philip, he ſailed to the Adriatic; and, being ſhipwrecked near Aquileia, attempted to traverſe Germany in the diſguiſe of a pilgrim. Purſued by the governor of Iſtria, he was compelled to leave the direct road to England, and paſs by Vienna, when he was diſcovered by Leopold, duke of Auſtria, who, glad of ſo favourable an opportunity to revenge an affront he had ſuſtained from Richard during the ſiege of Acre, and being equally deaf to the dictates of honour, and regardleſs of the ties of humanity, ordered him to be arreſted and thrown into priſon. He afterwards ſold his royal captive to the emperor, Henry the Sixth, for the ſum of fifty thouſand marks†. Thus a monarch, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himſelf, during the moſt critical ſtate of his affairs, confined in a dungeon, and loaded with irons, in the heart of Germany‡, and entirely at the mercy of his enemy, the baſeſt and moſt ſordid of mankind.

The expedition of Philip had terminated more ſucceſsfully: on his return to France, he found the regents of the kingdom had diſcharged their truſt with honour and diligence; the whole nation was tranquil and flouriſhing; and he had nothing to interrupt his repoſe, but his own ambition and thirſt for conqueſt. The firſt thing that excited his attention was a crime imputed to ſome

* Hoveden, p. 697; Bened. Abb. p. 673; M. Paris, p. 115; Viniſauf, p. 346; W. Heming, p. 581.
† Le Gendre. Hiſt. de Franc. t. ii. p. 377. ‡ Chron. T. Wykes, p. 35.

Jews, who, it was pretended, had, with the permiſſion of the counteſs of Champagne, ſeized a chriſtian, placed a crown of thorns upon his head, and, having ſeverely ſcourged him, nailed him to a croſs, and there ſuffered him to expire*. Philip, on being appriſed of this circumſtance, haſtened to the caſtle of Bray-upon-Seine, where the crime was ſaid to be committed, and ordered eighty Jews to be burnt alive. The guilt of theſe unfortunate victims appears to be a matter of doubt, ſince no mention is made of any puniſhment inflicted on the counteſs of Champagne, who was certainly an accomplice in the crime, if there was really any crime committed. Philip's next care was to extend his dominions—an object that was ever uppermoſt in his thoughts; for which purpoſe he took the neceſſary meaſures for uniting to the crown not only the county of Artois, his late queen's dower, but the county of Flanders, which he pretended the death of Philip of Alſace, who left no male iſſue, had rendered vacant. In vain did Baldwin the Fifth, who, as nephew and heir to the count, had taken poſſeſſion of the territory in queſtion, prove to him, by a thouſand recent examples, that this province was not ſubject to the ſalique law; his ambition was deaf to the claims of juſtice, and he reſolved to ſubſtitute force for right. Both parties were preparing for war, when the interpoſition of ſome mutual friends effected an accommodation which had appeared impracticable†. A treaty was ſigned at Peronne, by which Baldwin was acknowledged for count of Flanders, and did homage for his principality to the French monarch. Philip had Artois, and, as that county was his wife's dower, he made his ſon Lewis aſſume the title of count of Artois. But his ambition led him to inſiſt on the ceſſion of the ſovereignty of Boulogne, Guines, Saint Pol, and L'Iſle, which gave riſe to that inveterate animoſity, and thoſe cruel wars, which afterwards prevailed between the French and Flemings.

A. D. 1193.] Philip had no ſooner regulated all neceſſary matters relating to his new acquiſitions, than he received the news of Richard's detention‡; when, forgetful of his oaths, he determined to ſacrifice his honour to his intereſt, and to convert the misfortune of his rival into a ſource of advantage to himſelf. He made the emperor the moſt flattering offers to induce him to deliver his royal priſoner into his hands, or, at leaſt, to detain him in perpetual captivity‖. He even formed an alliance with the king of Denmark, by eſpouſing his ſiſter, Ingelburga; deſired that the obſolete claim of the Danes to the crown of England ſhould be transferred to him; and ſolicited a ſupply of ſhipping to enforce it. But the moſt ſucceſsful of his negociations was with prince John, who, on the firſt invitation, ſuddenly left England, had a conference with Philip, and concluded a treaty, the object of which was, the ruin of a brother, to whom he was bound by every tie of honour, allegiance, and grati-

* Guil. Amor. p. 76. † Monach. Aquicin. ‡ Rymer, vol. i. p. 70. ‖ W. Neubrigen, l. iv. c. 34; Hoveden, p. 412.

tude: he agreed to cede to the king all the Vexin Normand, a great part of the duchy of Normandy, of Tours, Mont-Trichard, Amboiſe, Loches, Montbaſon, and Chatillon upon the Indre*. When this treaty, which fixed an indelible infamy on the contracting parties, was concluded, the king invaded Normandy, took Giſors, Neufle, Neuchatel, Ivry, Evreux, and Aumale, and proceeded to form the ſiege of Rouen: here, however, he was repulſed with a conſiderable loſs; and the check he experienced induced him to liſten to the propoſals of the Norman barons; and, on condition of being paid a large ſum of money, to ſign a truce for ſix months.

Philip having diſcovered, ſays Velly, ſome ſecret defect in his bride Ingelburga, the firſt night of their marriage, reſolved to obtain a divorce; and an obſequious council, aſſembled at Compiegne, favouring his views, pronounced the marriage null, on the uſual grounds of conſanguinity. The unfortunate queen appealed to the pope, who, moved by her complaints, and the ſerious remonſtrances of her brother, ſent two legates into France, to examine the validity of the divorce; but, to uſe the language of Rigord, "They were two dumb "dogs who feared for their ſkin, and therefore did not dare to bark."

The king, thinking himſelf authoriſed, by the forbearance of the legates, to annul the ſentence of the council of Compiegne, to contract a new marriage, aſked and obtained the hand of Agnes, daughter to the duke of Dalmatia, a princeſs of great beauty and illuſtrious birth. But the fate of Ingelburga excited the pity of the nation, and, on the acceſſion of Innocent the Third to the papal dignity, the thunders of the church were employed to avenge her cauſe.

The cardinal of Capua, by the pope's orders, convened a council at Dijon, where, notwithſtanding an appeal to Rome, the commiſſaries of the court laid all the dominions of Philip under an interdict. The biſhops who were preſent ſubmitted to the ſentence, although ſome of them had attended the council of Compiegne, and had, conſequently, ſanctioned, with their approbation, that divorce which was now declared null. Philip, enraged at their conduct, ſeized on their temporalities, confiſcated the poſſeſſions of all the canons and other eccleſiaſtics in their dioceſes, ſent ſoldiers into the parſonage-houſes, and confined queen Ingelburga in the caſtle of Etampes. The murmurs of the laity at the diſcontinuation of divine ſervice were puniſhed by the moſt oppreſſive exactions; the citizens and peaſants were obliged to ſubmit to the moſt enormous impoſts; and a tax of one third of their revenues was impoſed on the nobility. This unprecedented ſeverity only ſerved to increaſe the murmurs of diſcontent; and the kingdom was now in that ſtate of violence which is never of long continuance. No external forms of religion appeared, no ſacrament was adminiſtered, no public devotion performed; the churches were every where ſhut, and the dead remained without burial.

* Rymer, p. 85.

The king, fearful of the conſequences, was at length compelled to ſubmit, on condition that other legates and other judges ſhould be appointed to determine the matter. Innocent accordingly ſent two cardinals, who aſſembled a council at Soiſſons*, where the queſtion of the divorce was again examined with the moſt ſcrupulous attention. Philip employed ſeveral advocates to ſpeak for him, but not a ſoul dared plead the cauſe of Ingelburga, till a poor curate, whom nobody knew, aroſe, and ſpoke ſo ably and ſo learnedly in her defence, that he excited the admiration of all who were preſent. The council found the pretext of conſanguinity frivolous, and were on the point of annulling the ſentence of divorce, when the king, who was appriſed of their ſentiments, put a ſtop to their proceedings, by declaring his conviction of the validity of his former marriage, and his determination to acknowledge Ingelburga for his wife. He accordingly repaired to the place of her confinement, placed her behind him on his horſe, and haſtened with her to Paris. The mind of Agnes was too ſenſible of diſgrace to ſurvive this degradation, and, though her rival enjoyed but the mere title of queen, *without the rights of a wife*†, and was even ſoon ſent back to her former place of confinement, ſhe ſunk beneath the weight of her grief; but the court of Rome legitimated the two children ſhe had by the king, viz. Philip, count of Clermont in Beauvaiſis, who married the counteſs Mahaut, heireſs of Boulogne and Dammartin; and Mary, firſt married to Philip of Hainault, count of Namur, and afterward to Henry the Firſt, duke of Brabant. It is remarkable, however, that this princeſs was only diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Madame*, inſtead of the title of *Queen*, which had always been enjoyed by the daughters of France, even when married to noblemen of inferior rank. The equivocal birth of the princeſs Mary, it is ſaid, operated a change in the eſtabliſhed etiquette‡; and, ſince the reign of Philip Auguſtus, the daughters of the French monarchs, and of their eldeſt ſons, have always been called ſimply, *Meſdames*.

Richard, in the mean time, though expoſed to every inſult and indignity in his German priſon, did not ſuffer his courage to be depreſſed by the rigour of his confinement. Though thrown into a dungeon, whence no man had ever eſcaped with his life, loaded with irons, and continually ſurrounded with armed ruffians, he preſerved the ſerenity of his countenance, and the cheerfulneſs of his mind‖. The emperor, in order to do away ſome part of that odium which his injuſtice to Richard had naturally incurred, produced him before the princes and prelates of the empire, in a diet holden at Worms, on the thirteenth day of July; and attempted a juſtification of his conduct, by accuſing that prince of various crimes and miſdemeanours; of having afforded protection to Tancred, the uſurper of the crown of Sicily; of having made war on the emperor of

* Tome x. Concil. p. 22. † Guil. Armor. p. 80. ‡ Hiſt. de Phil. Auguſt. t. i. p. 513; du Tillet.
‖ M. Paris, p. 121.

Cyprus, a chriſtian prince, when his preſence was requiſite in Paleſtine; of having obſtructed the progreſs of the chriſtian army, by compelling the king of France, by a repetition of injuries, to retire from the Holy Land; of having affronted the duke of Auſtria before the walls of Acre; of aſſaſſinating Conrad, marquis of Montferrat; and of having concluded a truce with Saladin on diſadvantageous terms, and leaving Jeruſalem in the hands of the Saracens*. Richard, far from ſinking beneath the weight of his misfortunes, proceeded with firmneſs and preciſion to anſwer theſe caluminous and ill-grounded accuſations, after premiſing that he was exempted, by his dignity, from ſubmitting to any juriſdiction, except that of heaven. The eloquence and ſpirit of his defence made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the German princes, that they loudly cenſured the conduct of the emperor. The pope, too, threatened him with excommunication; and Henry, who had been induced to liſten to the baſe propoſals of Philip, and prince John, now found that it would be impoſſible to favour the accompliſhment of their treacherous deſigns by a longer detention of the king of England; he, therefore, agreed to accept one hundred and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver for his ranſom; one hundred thouſand marks of which were to be paid before he received his liberty, and ſixty-ſeven hoſtages delivered for the remainder†. The emperor, too, to gloſs over the infamy of this tranſaction, preſented to Richard, at the ſame time, the kingdom of Arles, comprehending, among other provinces, Provence, Dauphiny, and Narbonne, over which the empire had ſome antiquated claims; but this preſent the king of England very wiſely neglected.

A. D. 1194.] When the requiſite ſum was collected, queen Eleanora and the archbiſhop of Rouen ſet out with it for Germany a few days before Chriſtmas; paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Auſtria, at Mentz; delivered them hoſtages for the remainder, and freed Richard from captivity, on the fourth of February. His eſcape was very critical. Henry had been detected in the aſſaſſination of the biſhop of Liege, and in an attempt of a ſimilar nature on the duke of Louvain; and theſe flagitious practices having rendered him obnoxious to the princes of the empire, he had determined to ſecure himſelf from the effects of their hatred, by entering into an alliance with the king of France; to detain Richard, the enemy of Philip, in perpetual confinement; and to gratify his own avarice by keeping the money which he had already received for his ranſom, and by the extortions of freſh ſums from Philip and prince John, who had made him an offer of one hundred and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver, on condition that he would keep his royal captive only one year longer‡. For this purpoſe he iſſued orders to purſue and arreſt Richard; but that prince, ſuſpecting his intentions, had travelled with the utmoſt expedition; ſo that when the emperor's meſſengers arrived at Antwerp, he had already embarked at the mouth of the Scheld, and was out of ſight of land.

* M. Paris, p. 121; W. Heming. p. 536. † Rymer Fœd, t. i. p. 72—78. ‡ Hoveden. p. 418.

As ſoon as Philip heard of Richard's deliverance from captivity, he wrote to his confederate John, and expreſſed himſelf thus—"Take care of yourſelf, for "the devil is unchained*." The conduct of the king of England ſhewed the neceſſity of this caution; for, after he had regulated his domeſtic affairs, reſumed all the exorbitant grants which he had been neceſſitated to make before his departure for the Holy Land, and taken poſſeſſion of all prince John's eſtates in England, which had been confiſcated in a great council of the barons, he prepared to exact a ſevere vengeance for the perfidy of Philip. That monarch, appriſed of his deſigns, immediately commenced hoſtilities, and had already inveſted Verneuil, when he was alarmed with the intelligence that John had reconciled himſelf to his brother, maſſacred the French garriſon in Evreux, and delivered it into the hands of the king of England; and that Richard himſelf, with a formidable force, had landed at Barfleur, and was rapidly advancing to the relief of Verneuil. Philip, with a band of choſen troops, repaired ſecretly, by a forced march, to Evreux, which he retook by ſurpriſe; maſſacred not only the Engliſh garriſon, but the native inhabitants, whoſe habitations and whoſe churches he reduced to aſhes. But this exaction of indiſcriminate vengeance was productive of little advantage: on his return he found that the troops he had left at Verneuil had, on the news of Richard's approach, diſbanded in confuſion; and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped the purſuit of his rival.

The ſpirit of animoſity and revenge which equally prevailed, though from different cauſes, in the breaſts of the hoſtile monarchs, urged them to increaſe the horrors of war, by needleſs devaſtations, and unprofitable cruelty. After reducing the caſtle of Lochis, the king of England advanced to give battle to Philip. The two armies met in the vicinity of Freteval, between Chateaudun and Vendome; but Philip was ſtill deſirous of avoiding a deciſive battle, and concealed his intentions of a retreat by ſending a defiance to Richard, importing, "That the next morning he might expect his attack." But his rival was not ſo eaſily deceived; he returned a ſpeedy and reſolute anſwer, which was no ſooner delivered than the French were ſurpriſed by the approach of the Engliſh army. The charge was ſudden and impetuous. The troops of France were ſpeedily diſperſed by the active and intrepid valour of the lion-hearted Richard; and Philip was diſgraced by an ignominious flight. His baggage and his military cheſt were taken, together with his cartulary and records†, which commonly at that time attended his perſon: theſe laſt, which Richard would never conſent to reſtore, were but imperfectly ſupplied by the memory of his miniſters, and the induſtry of Gauthier, whom he employed to replace them.

A. D. 1195.] Philip ſought to repair his late misfortune by a ſudden invaſion of Normandy; but Richard, ever active and vigilant, was prepared to meet him in all quarters. Near Vaudreuil the hoſtile armies came in ſight of each

* Hoveden, p. 739. † Idem. p. 421; W. Neub. l. v. c. 2; Guil. Armor. p. 27.

other, when Philip propoſed a negociation, which he artfully prolonged, to give his troops an opportunity of undermining the walls of that fortreſs. The king of England did not diſcover his treachery till he was ſurpriſed, during a conference with his rival, by a dreadful noiſe, occaſioned by the fall of a conſiderable part of the caſtle. Inflamed with reſentment, he haſtened to collect his troops, that he might inflict a juſt chaſtiſement on his perfidious foe; but the French army, having made previous preparations for their retreat, fled with ſuch precipitation, that his utmoſt efforts to overtake them proved fruitleſs*. The war was carried on, for ſome months after this tranſaction, with various ſucceſs, but without producing any general action or important event; and was at length terminated by a treaty of peace, concluded between the two kings, in a perſonal interview, on the fifth of December†.

A. D. 1196, 1197.] But the voice of humanity was again ſilenced by the clamours of reſentment; and, in leſs than ſix months, the peace was broken, and the deſtructive flames of war again raged with unabated violence. Richard ſtrengthened himſelf by an alliance with the counts of Flanders, Toulouſe, Boulogne, Champagne, and other conſiderable vaſſals of the crown of France. But he ſoon experienced the inſincerity of thoſe princes, and the inability of his efforts to made an impreſſion on a kingdom governed by a monarch ſo vigourous and active as Philip. This war, like the laſt, was diſtinguiſhed only by the capture of a few inſignificant towns and fortreſſes, by the devaſtation of the open country, and by acts of unheard-of cruelty. The biſhop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, of the family of Dreux, and couſin-german to the king, being taken in battle, Richard, who hated him for having been the means of increaſing the rigour of his confinement in Germany, threw him into priſon, and loaded him with irons; and when the pope demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his ſon, the Engliſh monarch ſent to his holineſs the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all beſmeared in blood; accompanied by the words which the ſons of Jacob employed to their father—"This have we found; know whether it be thy ſon's coat or not."

A. D. 1198.] The interpoſition of a legate from the pope, at length induced the rival monarchs to conſent to a truce for five years; after the concluſion of which, the pope again exerted his mediatory powers in order to effect a laſting peace, that the two kings might be enabled to undertake a ſecond expedition to Paleſtine; but, before this ſalutary purpoſe could be accompliſhed, an event occurred that put an end to the negociation. A conſiderable treaſure, conſiſting of ancient coins and medals, had been found in the lands of Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, a vaſſal of the king of England, who claimed it as a *treaſure-trove*, which, when found *in* the earth, became the property of the ſuperior lord. His claim being rejected, he prepared to enforce it by an attack

* W. Neub. l. v. c. 15; Chron. J. Brom. col. 1267. † W. Neub. l. v. c. 17; Rymer Fœd. t. i. p. 91.

on the caſtle of Chalus, near Limoges, where the treaſure was ſuppoſed to be concealed; but, during the ſiege of that fortreſs, he received a wound from an arrow, which, being unſkilfully treated, put an end to his exiſtence.

A. D. 1199, 1200.] On the death of Richard, his brother John ſucceeded to the throne of England, though Arthur, duke of Brittany, was thereby defeated of his claim, as, by right of repreſentation, he ſtood in the place of his father Geoffrey, John's eldeſt brother. But the doctrine of repreſentation appears, at this time, to have made a greater progreſs on the continent than in England. All the prelates and barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, ſupported the pretenſions of Arthur, who was now only in his thirteenth year; acknowledged him as their liege-lord; and, by an act of their aſſembly, eſtabliſhed him in the poſſeſſion of the government. The young prince was placed by his mother Conſtance, under the protection of Philip, to whom he did homage for all the continental dominions of his deceaſed uncle; and Philip, whoſe enmity to the Engliſh was uniformly inveterate, by whatever monarch they were governed, willingly embraced his cauſe, in the hope of embarraſſing John, and diſmembering his dominions*. That monarch made an irruption into Normandy, reduced the territory of Evreux, and advanced as far as Mons, where he met the ducheſs of Brittany and her ſon Arthur. From hence he haſtened to Tours; but his progreſs was ſtopped by the approach of John, who inveſted the capital of Maine, and after taking it, razed the fortifications, and demoliſhed the walls of the city.

This war, however, proved of ſhort duration; the two monarchs met between Vernon and Andely, and the terms propoſed by the Engliſh prince appeared ſo advantageous to Philip, that he accepted them without heſitation. To Lewis, the eldeſt ſon of Philip, John offered his neice, Blanche of Caſtile, and with her the baronies of Iſſoudun and Gracai, and other fiefs in Berri; and to Philip himſelf he ceded the Vexin-Normand. Nine barons of the king of France, and as many of the king of England, were guarantees of this treaty; and all of them ſwore, that, if their ſovereign violated any article of it, they would declare themſelves againſt him, and embrace the cauſe of the injured monarch†. One principal inducement with Philip to the concluſion of a peace with John was the conduct of Conſtance, mother to Arthur, who, jealous of his power and deſigns, had carried her ſon ſecretly off from Paris, put him into the hands of his uncle, reſtored the provinces which had adhered to the young prince, and made him do homage for the duchy of Brittany, which was a rere-fief of Normandy.

The marriage of prince Lewis with Blanche of Caſtile was celebrated in Normandy, becauſe the interdict impoſed on the kingdom of France, on ac-

* M. Paris, p. 133.

† Norm. Duch. p. 1055; Rymer, vol. i. p. 117, et Sequ.; Hoveden, p. 814; Chron. Dunſt. vol. i. p. 47.

count of the king's ſeparation from Ingelburga was ſtill in force. The reconciliation between the rival monarchs bore every mark of ſincerity on both ſides; John paid a viſit to Philip at Paris, and, during his reſidence at the French court, he was treated with all the honours due to his rank, and at his departure was loaded with preſents. But this pleaſing proſpect ſpeedily diſappeared, and the incontinence of John, the ambition of Philip, and the diſcontent of young Arthur, occaſioned a new rupture. The king of England, during a progreſs he made into Guienne, for the purpoſe of receiving the homage of the barons of that province, became enamoured of Iſabella, the beautiful heireſs of Aymar Tailleffer, count of Angouleme. His queen, with whom he had received the earldom of Glouceſter, and many other extenſive poſſeſſions, was ſtill alive; and Iſabella was married to Hugh le Brun, count de la Marche, and already conſigned to his care; though, by reaſon of her tender years, the marriage had not been conſummated. Theſe obſtacles, however, to a prince of John's diſpoſition, appeared trivial: he found means to perſuade the count of Angouleme to decoy his daughter from her huſband; and, having, on ſome frivolous pretence or other, procured a divorce from his own conſort, he was married to Iſabella by the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux*. This marriage, not leſs imprudent than criminal, created him many enemies, and excited the reſentment of the injured huſband, who ſoon found an opportunity to puniſh his powerful and inſolent rival.

The count de la Marche, and his brother the count D'Eu, excited commotions in Poitou and Normandy; when John marched againſt them, and took from the latter the fortreſs of Driencourt, now called Dancourt. The two counts then applied to Philip for protection, and demanded juſtice on his vaſſal; an application which was favourably received by the court of France which was eager to embrace any opportunity for humbling its rival.

A. D. 1201, 1202.] At a conferrence between the two monarchs, Philip, conſcious of his ſuperiority, reprimanded John, in a tone of ſeverity, that, by intimidating, induced him to promiſe whatever was required of him. He even engaged to go to Paris, in order to do homage for Poitou, Anjou, and Aquitaine, and to appear before the peers of France to anſwer to the various charges that were exhibited againſt him by the barons; he likewiſe promiſed to ſurrender to Philip the fortreſſes of Tillieres and Boutavant, as a ſecurity for performance; but all theſe engagements he violated. The king then determined to commence hoſtilities; and the war which was now begun, continued with little interruption, for the long ſpace of fifty-ſix years. The two fortreſſes, which ought to have been ſurrendered, were ſucceſsfully attacked, and, with Lyons, Arqueil, Mortemer, and Gournay, ſubmitted to the victorious arms of France.

* Hoveden, p. 457. M. Paris, p. 140.

In the mean time Conſtance, ducheſs of Brittany, having died at Nantes, her ſon Arthur repaired to Rennes, took poſſeſſion of the duchy, and received the homage of the nobility. This young prince, who was now riſing to man's eſtate, being animated with a juſt reſentment againſt his uncle, who had not only deprived him of his lawful ſucceſſion, but—if ſome contemporary writers may be credited—had already formed deſigns againſt his life; ſupported the complaints of the barons of Guienne, and demanded juſtice of Philip, with regard to his own pretenſions to that fief, as well as to thoſe of Normandy and Anjou. The king of France, incenſed at the little regard that had been hitherto paid to his remonſtrances, reſolved to puſh John to extremities. He inveſted Arthur with the territories of Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and gave him troops to enable him to reduce them. But that young prince, without waiting for the reinforcements which were haſtening to join him from Brittany, Berry, and Burgundy, inveſted the caſtle of Mirebeau, in Poitou, where his grandmother Eleanora, who had warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of John, reſided, under the protection of a weak garriſon. The ſiege was preſſed with ſo much vigour, that the queen was compelled to retire into one of the towers, and to ſurrender the reſt of the fortreſs to the victor. John, having received advice of his mother's ſituation, flew to her relief with an army of Engliſh and Brabancons; he attacked Arthur's camp by ſurpriſe, and, by ſuperiority of numbers, obtained a deciſive victory—every man in the army of that prince being either killed or taken priſoner. Among the captives were Arthur himſelf, the count de la Marche, Geoffrey de Luſignan, and the moſt conſiderable of the revolted barons, who were all loaded with irons, and confined in different priſons in Normandy and England*. The unfortunate duke of Brittany was ſent to Falaiſe, and from thence to Rouen, where he ſuddenly diſappeared. Though hiſtorians have differed in their accounts of the manner in which his death was effected, they all agree in aſcribing it to the machinations, if not to the hand, of John†, whoſe throne was, by the infamous deed, ſhaken to its very foundation.

The Britons, enraged at the murder of their prince, determined to revenge his death; and, when John, in conſequence of it, had the inſolence to demand the adminiſtration of Brittany, as guardian of Eleanora, Arthur's ſiſter, whom he had ſeized and carried to England, they received his propoſal with horror. The ſtates of the duchy immediately aſſembled to fix the ſucceſſion of their government, and choſe for their ſovereign, Alice, a younger daughter of Conſtance, by her ſecond huſband, Guy de Thouars; and they appointed that nobleman to be her guardian, and to govern the duchy during her minority.

* M. Paris, p. 144, 145; Annal. Waverlien, p. 167; Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 458. † Ann. Margan. p. 13; Chron. T. Wikes, p. 36; Chron. W. Heming, l. ii. c. 94; M. Paris, p. 145; Hen. Knighton, p. 2414.

Finding all their ſolicitations for the releaſe of Eleanora treated with neglect, they proceeded to draw up articles of impeachment againſt John, which they preſented to Philip, as lord paramount of all that monarch's continental territories. The king received this application with pleaſure, and accordingly ſummoned John to appear and anſwer to the charges; and, on his non-appearance, paſſed a ſentence, with the unanimous concurrence of the peers, couched in the following terms:—"Whereas John, Duke of Normandy, forgetting his "oath to king Philip, his lord, has murdered the ſon of his elder brother, who "was an homager of the crown of France, and the king's kinſman; and perpe-"trated the crime within the ſeigniory of France; he is found guilty of felony "and treaſon, and adjudged to forfeit all the territories which he holds by "homage*."

A. D. 1203.] Philip now prepared to execute his ſentence by force of arms; and, having no longer the ſound policy of Henry, nor the martial and active diſpoſition of Richard to contend with, adopted the reſolution of expelling the Engliſh from all thoſe valuable fiefs which had been ſo long diſmembered from his crown. For this purpoſe he aſſembled a powerful army, and, directing his march towards Anjou, was joined by almoſt all the barons of that province, as well as by thoſe of Poitou. All the great vaſſals of the crown, whoſe jealouſy might have urged them to obſtruct his progreſs, were either inclined to aſſiſt him from diſguſt to John, or were not in a ſituation to oppoſe him. The counts of Flanders and Blois were engaged in the cruſades; the count of Champagne was an infant, and under the guardianſhip of Philip. The ſtates of Brittany ſeconded all his meaſures with vigour; and the general defection of John's vaſſals rendered every enterpriſe that was undertaken againſt him eaſy and ſucceſsful. In leſs than ſix months, either by force or ſtratagem, Philip obtained poſſeſſion of moſt of the towns in Upper Normandy; the rapidity of his victorious progreſs was unexampled in the martial achievements of an age in which the art of war was but little underſtood; Nonancourt and Conches opened their gates at his approach; Andely was compelled to capitulate; Radepont was taken by aſſault; and Vaudreuil, Pont-a-l'Arche, and Montfort ſurrendered after a trifling reſiſtance. Chateau-Gaillard, a caſtle erected by Richard, on the brink of a precipice on the banks of the Seine, near Andely, and ſuppoſed to be impregnable, was alſo reduced, after an obſtinate defence of ſix months.

John, during theſe tranſactions, remained at Caen in a ſtate of inactivity that aſtoniſhed his enemies, and diſpirited his friends; when, appriſed of the progreſs of the French arms—"Let them proceed," ſaid he, "I will retake more pla-"ces in a day than they will have reduced in a year†." But, previous to the reduction of Chateau-Gaillard, he made a feeble and ſucceſsleſs effort for its relief, then haſtening to London, left Philip to complete the conqueſt of Norman-

* Ann. de Margan. p. 13; Duch. t. v. p. 764. † M. Paris.

dy at his leiſure. The king did not ſuffer ſo fair an opportunity to eſcape: after a ſiege of ſeven days, Falaiſe ſubmitted to his arms; Domfront, Caen, Coutance, Bayeux, Liſieux, and Avranches opened their gates to the conqueror. Rouen, Arques, and Verneuil were the only places that now remained, of all that rich and extenſive duchy, under the domination of the Engliſh. Theſe towns were, indeed, ſtrongly fortified, and ſupplied with numerous garriſons, but, at the approach of Philip, they all engaged to ſurrender, if not relieved before the expiration of thirty days.

A. D. 1204, 1205.] The term being expired, and no ſupplies arrived, the three towns ſubmitted to the victor. Thus was this important territory, the moſt rich and fertile province in all the French dominions, re-united to the crown of France, about three centuries after the firſt ceſſion of it by Charles the Simple. During that time it had been governed by ſixteen dukes. "Rollo the "Dane," ſays Mezeray, "who, from a barbarian became a chriſtian and a vir-"tuous man, was the firſt; and John, who, from a chriſtian became more "wicked than infidels and barbarians, was the laſt!" After the reduction of Normandy, Philip ſoon completed the conqueſt of Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and a part of Poitou—important acquiſitions, which were, however, attained leſs by the courage and conduct of that monarch, than by the indolence and cowardice of his adverſary, and a fortunate combination of unforeſeen events.

A. D. 1206.] Rouſed at length by the clamours of his ſubjects, the puſillanimous king of England made ſerious preparations for the recovery of his captured provinces. Guy de Thouars, who had been appointed to the government of Brittany, became jealous of the vaſt increaſe of territory acquired by his ally the king of France, who had not only conquered the adjoining provinces, but had alſo formed a ſtrong party among the Bretons. This induced that nobleman to wiſh for the re-eſtabliſhment of John in the dominions he had loſt, that ſome balance might be formed againſt the exorbitant power of Philip. He had conferred on this ſubject with his brother Aimery, viſcount of Thouars, whom Philip had created ſeneſchal of the province; and, finding his opinion coincide with his own, they entered into an aſſociation with ſome barons, who favoured their views, and invited John to aſſiſt them in the execution of a plan, in which he was ſo materially intereſted. A treaty was accordingly concluded, and the king of England, having raiſed a numerous army, landed at Rochelle on the ninth of July*. But, inſtead of attempting to attain the object of his expedition by a regular plan of judicious operations, he marched to Montauban in Quercy, which belonged to his brother-in-law, the count of Toulouſe, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Philip, and, inveſting the place, took it by aſſault. On this occaſion the Engliſh are ſaid to have ſignaliſed their valour in an extraordinary manner; and they were rewarded by the acquiſition of a conſiderable

* M. Paris, p. 149.

booty, and the capture of a great number of priſoners of rank. This enterpriſe, however, was attended with no beneficial effects; and, after the reduction of ſome other places of little importance, the approach of Philip inſpired him with fear, and induced him to make propoſals of peace, to which the king acceded, and appointed a place for a perſonal interview, that the terms of accommodation might be ſettled. But John, inſtead of keeping his engagement, privately retreated with his army to Rochelle. Notwithſtanding this affront, Philip was induced, by the mediation of the pope, whoſe interpoſition John had ſolicited, to conſent to a truce for two years, which was accordingly concluded at Thouars, on the twenty-ſeventh of October*.

One principal motive for the pope's eagerneſs to promote a peace between the rival monarchs, was the deſire he had to engage them in a new ſpecies of cruſade, for the purpoſe of checking the progreſs of hereſy. Infected by the metaphyſics of Ariſtotle, which had been lately tranſmitted from Conſtantinople, Aimery de Chartres, an enthuſiaſt of ſtrong ſenſe, but ſtronger paſſions, became the founder of a new ſect, whoſe principal tenets conſiſted in the rejection of a heaven and a hell; in maintaining that the only paradiſe man could know reſulted from the effects of doing good, and his only puniſhment from ignorance and crime†. Being ſummoned to appear before the pope, in order to anſwer for his doctrine, Aimery found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of retractation, and died ſoon after through ſhame and regret; but his principles did not die with him; they were ſucceſsfully propagated by his pupils, who, being joined by many other ſects, formed a numerous body, and were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *The Albigenſes*, either from the council of *Albi*, where their errors were anathematiſed, or becauſe the inhabitants of that town and its environs were more particularly infected with thoſe errors. They were reproached with being addicted to that deteſtable ſin which cauſed the deſtruction of Sodom and Gomorrah‡. On the tomb of Alice, counteſs of Bigorre, is an inſcription, by which the reader is informed, that ſhe was the daughter of Guy de Montfort, who died in defending the true faith againſt the B—— and Albigenſes‖.

The idea which contemporary writers give us of the doctrine and manners of this united ſect, has ſomething in it ſo abſurd, and, at the ſame time, ſo horrid, that we are almoſt tempted to ſuſpect them of exaggeration. We are told§, that the Albigenſes believed in two gods; one, a beneficent being, author of the New Teſtament, who had two wives, Collant and Colibant, and was father of ſeveral children, and, among others, of Chriſt and the Devil;—the other god was a malevolent being, a lyar, and a deſtroyer of men, author of the ancient law, who, not content with having perſecuted the patriarchs, during their lives,

* Rymer Fœdera, t. i. p. 141. † Rigord, p. 56. ‡ P. Daniel, t. xi. p. 109. ‖ Id. ib.—The word is expreſſed at full length in the epitaph. § Hiſt. Albig. Duch. t. ix. p. 556, 557.

had conſigned them all to damnation after death. They alſo acknowledged two Chriſts; one wicked, who was born at Bethlehem, and crucified at Jeruſalem, and *who kept, as his concubine, Mary Magdalen, the woman ſo well known for having been caught in the act of adultery:* the other Chriſt, all-virtuous and inviſible, never inhabited the world, but *ſpiritually* in the body of Paul. They repreſented the church of Rome as the ſcarlet whore mentioned in the Revelations; they regarded the ſacraments as frivolous things, conſidered marriage as a ſtate of proſtitution, the Lord's ſupper as a chimera, the reſurrection of the fleſh as a ridiculous fable, and the worſhip of images as deteſtable idolatry*. Had all their tenets been equally rational with the laſt, they would not have been obnoxious to much cenſure. They were divided into two claſſes—the *Perfects* and the *Believers*. They all openly profeſſed great purity of manners, and ſecretly practiſed the moſt infamous voluptuouſneſs, on the principle, *That from the waiſt downwards man is incapable of ſin.*

The mad zeal with which theſe ſectaries endeavoured to propagate their errors, at length awakened the ſpirit of oppoſition in the clergy. Pope Innocent ſent two ſimple monks, of the Bernardine order, to bring the Albigenſes to trial†; to theſe delegates he gave the power not only of excommunicating them, but of conſtraining the barons, under the penalty of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to confiſcate their property, to baniſh them from their territories, and even to puniſh them with death, in caſe they dared to appeal from their deciſions. This was the firſt foundation of the inquiſition. Theſe delegates, or legates, were Peter de Caſtlenau, and Ralph, both monks of Fontfroide, in the dioceſe of Narbonne. Arnaud, abbot of Citeaux, was afterwards aſſociated to them. They all three began by preaching ſermons that were never attended to, and in the courſe of which they were inceſſantly interrupted by a thouſand invectives againſt the luxury of the clergy. In fact, the miſſionaries had laid themſelves open to ſuch an attack, by the ſplendour of their equipages, the variety of their dreſſes, the number of their ſervants and horſes, and their expenſive way of living‡. A Spaniſh prelate, named Diego de Azebez, adviſed them, if they wiſhed to convert heretics, to lay aſide this pomp, to travel on foot, to lead a life of auſterity, and to combat the affected virtues of the Albigenſes by a diſplay of true piety. They followed this advice, and made a few converts, but ſtill the majority continued obſtinate under the protection of Raymond, count of Toulouſe.

This nobleman, endued with the true ſpirit of toleration, permitted to every ſect the free exerciſe of their religion, ſo long as they excited no troubles nor commotions in his territories‖. Such conduct could not fail to diſpleaſe the inquiſitors, and Peter de Caſtlenau, in compliance with the dictates of a blind

* Chron. Mag.—Guil. de Pod. c. ix. p. 672, 673. † Bolland. Mart. t. vi. p. 411. ‡ Hiſt. Albig. p. 558. ‖ Journal de Trev. 1740.

and impetuous zeal, excommunicated the count. The monk being aſſaſſinated ſoon after, Raymond was accuſed of the murderous deed: and the pope, not leſs impetuous than his legate, immediately iſſued a new ſentence of excommunication againſt him, without hearing what he had to urge in his defence; abſolved all his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance*; gave his territories to the firſt perſon that could obtain poſſeſſion of them; and finally invited all chriſtians to take up arms againſt him, promiſing them the ſame indulgences which had been formerly granted to the cruſaders in Paleſtine. The precipitation and temerity of Innocent aſtoniſhed the generality of ſovereigns, but they were ſtill more ſurpriſed at the alacrity with which a great number of barons, and people of all ranks and conditions, enliſted in the ſervice of the pontiff, and placed the croſs on their boſom, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from thoſe who went to the relief of the Holy Land. The firſt army of theſe new cruſaders is ſaid to have amounted to near five hundred thouſand men. The principal leaders were Eudes, duke of Burgundy; Herve, count of Nevers, and Simon, count of Montfort.

A. D. 1209, to 1213.] The count of Toulouſe, aware of the fatal effects of the pope's reſentment, ſought to avert the impending ſtorm, by the moſt abject ſubmiſſion to the will of the arrogant pontiff; and, as a pledge of his ſincerity, he ſurrendered to the holy ſee ſeven ſtrong fortreſſes in Provence. This was but a prelude to the humiliation he was doomed to experience. Being ſummoned to attend the council of Saint Gilles, he appeared in his ſhirt, at the church gate, and throwing himſelf at the feet of Milo, the pope's legate, ſwore, by the holy ſacrament, to obſerve whatever the court of Rome ſhould preſcribe to him, after which he received abſolution†. The legate then threw his ſtole round his neck, led him with one hand, and with the other ſcourged him; and, in this ſtate, he was conducted to the great altar. This firſt mortification was followed by a ſecond ſtill more degrading. He was compelled to aſſume the croſs againſt his own ſubjects, to join the army of the cruſaders, and to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power, in the conqueſt of his dominions!—It is with pain the hiſtorian records this dreadful inſtance of eccleſiaſtical tyranny, and human degradation!

At this time there were five conſiderable fiefs holden under the count of Toulouſe: the barony of Montpelier; the county of Foix; the county of Quercy, including Rodez; the viſcounty of Narbonne; and the viſcounty of Beziers, to which Raymond Roger, the count's nephew, had annexed the counties of Albi and Carcaſſonne. This prince, poſſeſſing more ſpirit than his uncle, had boldly refuſed to comply with the imperious mandates of the Roman pontiff, and openly protected the new doctrines. Beziers, his capital, was accordingly attacked, by an army of five hundred thouſand men, who immediately took it by aſſault,

* Epiſt. Innoc. apud Duch. t. x. p. 563. † Hiſt. Albig. c. 12.

The victors ſlaughtered, with indiſcriminate rage, men, women, and children, whether heretics or not*. Sixty thouſand of the wretched inhabitants periſhed by the ſword; of theſe ſeven thouſand were maſſacred in the Magdalen church, whither they had fled for refuge.—And Peter de Vaux-Sernai, the impious and fanatical hiſtorian of the Albigenſes, repreſents this butchery as a juſt puniſhment for the blaſphemies which the unfortunate victims had vomited forth againſt the bleſſed ſaint to whom that church was dedicated†. Before the attack was made, the cruſaders aſked the abbot of Citeaux how they were to act, as it would be impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the heretics from the catholics; when this worthy miniſter of Chriſt, with true chriſtian charity, replied: "Kill them all; God knows his own‡."

It would be a taſk no leſs painful than ſuperfluous to detail all the tranſactions of a war, in which rapine, cruelty, and murder, had enliſted under the banners of fanaticiſm. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the cruſaders continued their deſtructive progreſs, with varied ſucceſs, for upwards of four years, during which time the pope, who had hoiſted the ſignal of perſecution, conducted himſelf in a manner that equally diſgraced his name and ſtation: one moment liſtening to the dictates of juſtice, and commanding his fanatic band to forbear from oppreſſing the unfortunate count of Toulouſe, and the next launching forth the thunders of the church, and the artillery of eccleſiaſtical invective, againſt that noblemen, who, during the diſgraceful conflict, was, through the prevarication of the pontiff and the infamy of his legates, deſpoiled of his territories, and expoſed to every ſpecies of oppreſſion.

Philip, in the mean time, had received from the count de Montfort, the general of the cruſaders, the offer of one half of the conquered territories of the count of Toulouſe, on condition that he would enſure to the conqueror the quiet poſſeſſion of the remainder. He was certainly inclined to accept this propoſal, as he had ſecretly given permiſſion to his ſon Lewis to join the papal army; but his attention was now called to another quarter, where his arms, he imagined, might be employed to greater advantage. The king of England was engaged in a diſpute with the pope, relative to the promotion of cardinal Langton whom Innocent had the preſumtion, of his own accord, to nominate to the ſee of Canterbury. The uſual weapons of the church were, on this occaſion, employed, and the dominions of John were laid under an interdict, himſelf excommunicated, his ſubjects abſolved from their oath of allegiance, and his throne declared vacant. But, in order to render his ſentence of depoſition effectual, ſomething more than eccleſiaſtical cenſure was requiſite; the ſovereign pontiff, therefore, applied to Philip to put it in execution; and offered him, beſides the remiſſion of all his ſins, and a great variety of other ſpiritual advantages, the property and poſſeſſion of the kingdom of England, as the reward of

* Philippid. l. viii. p. 192. † Hiſt. Albig. c. 16. ‡ Cæſar. Heiſterb. l. v. c. 21.

his labour. Philip had neither the wiſdom nor virtue to reſiſt a temptation that promiſed ſuch ample gratificatiou to his ambitious mind. Seduced by the flattering proſpect of preſent intereſt, he condeſcended to become the tool of a turbulent prieſt, and to acknowledge an authority, which, if ever he ſhould be urged to oppoſe its boundleſs uſurpation, might be employed to operate his own depoſition. This new champion of the church levied a powerful army; ſummoned all his vaſſals to attend him at Rouen; collected a fleet of ſeventeen hundred veſſels, of different ſizes, in the ports of Normandy and Picardy*; and, in ſhort, prepared a force that appeared equal to the accompliſhment of his important ſcheme.

John, who was never backward in making vigorous preparations, though deſtitute both of courage and ſkill to employ them to advantage, being appriſed of Philip's intentions, ſeemed determined to give him a ſuitable reception. He accordingly iſſued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military tenants at Dover, and even of all men capable of bearing arms, to unite in defence of the kingdom at this dangerous conjuncture. A great number obeyed the ſummons; and he ſelected a body of ſixty thouſand men, who, had they been inſpired by a generous ſpirit of patriotiſm, and animated with an affection for the perſon of their ſovereign, might have proved invincible: but John, being anathematized by the pope, was univerſally regarded as an object of horror by the people. The barons, too, equally awed by ſuperſtitious fears, were diſguſted by his tyranny, and were ſuſpected of maintaining a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy; and the incapacity and cowardice of the king himſelf, unable to cope with extraordinary difficulties, ſeemed to afford the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs to the promiſed invaſion.

When the two monarchs had aſſembled their troops on the oppoſite ſhores, and the fate of England was on the point of being decided, Pandulf, the pope's legate, who had received ſecret inſtructions from Innocent for that purpoſe, ſent two knights-templars to John, to deſire a private conference with him at Dover; which was readily granted. There the artful legate repreſented the power of Philip in ſuch ſtrong coulours, and afforded him ſuch convincive proofs of the general diſaffection of his people, and the ſecret combination of his barons†, that, ſtricken with conſternation at the dangers which ſurrounded him, he declared his willingneſs to ſubmit to any terms which the pope might think proper to impoſe. Pandulf, among other conditions equally degrading, exacted a promiſe that he would acknowledge Langton for primate; that he would reſtore all the clergy and laity, who had been baniſhed on account of the conteſt between himſelf and the pontiff; that he would make them full reſtitution of their goods, and compenſation for all damages, and inſtantly conſign eight thouſand pounds in part of payment; and that every one who had been

* M. Paris, p. 162. † M. Paris, p. 163; M. Weſt, p. 271.

outlawed or impriſoned, for his adherence to the pope, ſhould be immediately received into favour. This diſgraceful treaty was ſigned by John, on the thirteenth of May, 1213*.

But the wretched monarch was ſtill deſtined to experience a ſtill greater mortification. As he had ſworn to pay implicit obedience to the pope, Pandulf required that he ſhould reſign his kingdom to the church; which, he perſuaded him, would prove the moſt effectual ſecurity againſt the projected invaſion of the French, as he would then be placed under the immediate protection of the apoſtolic ſee. With this daring requeſt, unparalleled even in the annals of papiſtical inſolence, John was baſe enough to comply: he paſſed a charter, in which he declared that, not conſtrained by fear, but of his own free will, and by the common advice and conſent of his barons, he had, for the remiſſion of his own ſins, and thoſe of his family, reſigned England and Ireland to God, to Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and to pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors in the papal dignity. He conſented to hold theſe dominions as fiefs of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of one thouſand marks—ſeven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. And he farther ſtipulated, that, if either he or his ſucceſſors ſhould ever preſume to revoke or violate any of the articles of this charter, they ſhould inſtantly, except they obtained the pope's pardon by a ſpeedy repentance, forfeit all right to their dominions†. In conſequence of this ignominious agreement John performed the requiſite ceremony at Dover, on the fifteenth of May, where he did homage to Pandulf, as the repreſentative of the pope, with all the forms of ſubmiſſion required of vaſſals by the feudal law: he came unarmed into the legate's preſence, who was ſeated on a throne; he fell on his knees before him; lifted up his joined hands, and placed them between thoſe of Pandulf, ſwore fealty to the pope; and paid part of the promiſed tribute. The legate, elated by this unexpected triumph of eccleſiaſtical arrogance, forgot that moderation which common prudence ſhould have dictated, and evinced the moſt indecent ſymptoms of prieſtly exultation: he trampled on the money which was laid at his feet, as a token of the ſubjection of the kingdom; an inſolence of which, though a marked inſult to every Engliſhman preſent, no one but the archbiſhop of Dublin dared to take any notice‡.

Pandulf, having thus effectually accompliſhed his deſigns upon England, repaired to France, and told Philip, that as the purpoſe he meant to promote by taking up arms had been obtained by negociation, he might now diſmiſs his troops‖. But, as the conduct of Philip had not been influenced by religious motives, all the perſuaſions of the legate were inadequate to deter him from the purſuit of his project. Having convened an aſſembly of the nobles, he openly accuſed the pope of duplicity, and charged him with ſacrificing every earthly duty to

* Rymer. vol. i. p. 170; M. Paris, p. 163. † Rymer, ibid. p. 176; M. Paris, p. 165. ‡ Idem. ibid. Knighton, l. xi. c. 15. p. 2419. ‖ M. Paris, ibid. Chron. Dunſt. vol. i. p. 56.

the accompliſhment of his own ambitious views. His barons, convinced by experience of the truth of his aſſertion, expreſſed a willingneſs to comply with his deſires, by immediately undertaking an invaſion of England. The count of Flanders alone, who had previouſly formed a ſecret treaty with John, expreſſed his diſapprobation of an enterpriſe which he deemed impious and unjuſt; and, finding his oppoſition of little avail, he withdrew his forces, and retired to his own territories. Philip, determined not to leave ſo dangerous an enemy behind him, immediately marched into Flanders, took ſeveral of the ſtrongeſt towns, and threatened to lay waſte the whole country. In this extremity the count made application for aſſiſtance to the king of England, who ordered his fleet, conſiſting of five hundred ſail, under the command of his natural brother, the earl of Saliſbury, to attack that of the French, though greatly ſuperior in number. The two fleets accordingly met off the port of Dam, when the Engliſh obtained a moſt deciſive victory, taking three hundred ſhips, and deſtroying a hundred more; and Philip, finding that the reſt muſt inevitably fall into the hands of the victorious enemy, ordered them to be burnt*, and, by that means, rendered it impoſſible for him to proceed any farther in his projected invaſion of England.

A. D. 1214.] The ambitious ſpirit of Philip, which could neither be gratified by any moderate ſucceſs, nor yet damped by defeat, induced the neighbouring powers to enter into a league, in order to check the dangerous and deſtructive plans of conqueſt which that monarch had formed. The emperor Otho the Fourth, the king of England, and the count of Flanders were the chiefs of this confederacy; and, confident of ſucceſs, they already divided, in imagination, the dominions of France. Prince Lewis was ſent to oppoſe John, who had landed, with a powerful army, at Rochelle, on the fifteenth of February, and reduced ſeveral towns in Poitou and Anjou. Theſe, however, were ſpeedily retaken by Lewis; and the cowardly monarch, after abandoning his conqueſts, ſhut himſelf up in Partenay, in the hope that his allies would prove more ſucceſsful than himſelf. Philip, in the mean time, had marched to meet the confederated army of Flemings and Germans; and, near the village of Bouvines, between Lille and Tournay, the hoſtile forces approached each other. The emperor was accompanied by the earl of Saliſbury; Ferrand, count of Flanders; Renaud, count of Boulogne; Otho, duke of Limburg; William, duke of Brabant; Henry, duke of Lorraine; Philip, count of Namur; and many other princes and barons. The principal officers in the army of France, which amounted to fifty thouſand men, (while that of the enemy was greatly ſuperior,) were Eudes, duke of Burgundy; Robert, count of Dreux, and his brother, Philip; Peter de Courtenay, count of Auxerre and Nevers; Stephen, count of Sancerre; John, count of Ponthieu; Gaucher, count of St. Paul; and the biſhop of Senlis. The battle

* M. Paris, p. 166; Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 622.

began about noon: the conflict was fierce, bloody, and, for a long time, doubtful; the fortune of France and Germany alternately prevailed; Philip himself, wounded in the throat, and dragged from his horse, was in danger of being trampled to death; Otho was surrounded and captured by his enemies, and rescued with difficulty: but the valour of the French triumphed over every obstacle; the sun, which shone on their backs, dazzled the eyes of their adversaries; the confederates, pressed on all sides, were obliged to give way; the flight soon became general, and, at six in the evening, Philip remained master of the field. Thirty thousand of the enemy are said to have been killed*; and the counts of Flanders, Holland, and Boulogne, with the earl of Salisbury, and about one hundred and forty other counts and barons, were taken prisoners†. This decisive victory confirmed the power of Philip, who had now no enemy to contend with.

A. D. 1215, 1216, 1217.] The English monarch, having purchased a truce for five years, by the payment of sixty thousand pounds, was permitted to return to his own dominions, where the barons had erected the standard of opposition. Urged by the tyranny of John to a vindication of their rights, they enforced by arms, what persuasion had failed to effect: and this struggle, between a tyrannical king, and his no less tyrannical nobles, fortunately terminated in favour of civil liberty, by producing that celebrated charter, the bulwark of English freedom, which has since been distinguished by the name of *Magna Charta*. But the king of England made no scruple to violate a deed which he had been *compelled* to subscribe; and, after taking every method he could devise for strengthening his power, in opposition to that of the barons, he dispatched a messenger to Rome to lay the great charter before the pope, and to complain of the violence he had sustained in having been obliged to sign it.

When the charter was read by the sovereign pontiff, he expressed the highest resentment at its contents; and swore by Saint Peter, that he would not suffer a monarch, who bore the sign of the cross (which John had recently assumed), and was a vassal of the holy see, to be treated in that ignominious manner with impunity‡. To put his threats in execution he issued a bull, in which, from the plenitude of his apostolic power, and from the authority which God had committed to him, to build and destroy kingdoms—to plant and overthrow—he annulled and abrogated the whole charter, as unjust in itself, as extorted by force, and as derogatory to the dignity of the apostolic see; and, in a second bull, issued soon after, he prohibited the barons from exacting the observance of it: he even forbade the king himself to pay the smallest regard to it; he absolved him and his subjects from all oaths which they had been constrained to take to that purpose; and he pronounced a general sentence of excommunica-

* Chron. Senod. † Chron. Mailros, p. 187; M. Paris, p. 174, 175.
‡ Idem. p. 184.

tion againſt every one who ſhould perſiſt in maintaining pretenſions ſo pregnant with treaſon and iniquity*.

But theſe ſpiritual cenſures and prohibitions could not induce the barons to deſiſt from defending their liberties; John therefore hired a band of foreign mercenaries to oppoſe them, and, with their aſſiſtance, he ravaged his kingdom from one extremity to the other. One continued ſcene of the moſt deplorable miſery every where preſented itſelf to the ſight: nothing was to be ſeen but the flames of villages and caſtles reduced to aſhes; the conſternation and wretchedneſs of the inhabitants; tortures inflicted by the ſoldiery to enforce the diſcovery of concealed treaſures; and repriſals, equally deſtructive, committed by the barons, and their partiſans, on the royal demeſnes, and on the eſtates of ſuch as ſtill adhered to the crown.

At length the barons, reduced by the triumphant progreſs of John to the verge of deſtruction, menaced with the total deprivation of thoſe rights and liberties they had been ſo anxious to ſecure, their eſtates ravaged, and their lives in the moſt imminent danger; had recourſe to a remedy as deſperate as the evil it was intended to correct: they diſpatched their leader, Robert Fitz-Walter, together with Saker, earl of Winton, to the court of France, with an offer to acknowledge prince Lewis, the ſon of Philip, for their ſovereign, on condition that he would afford them protection from the violence of their enraged monarch. This was a meaſure that could only be juſtified upon the principle of ſelf-preſervation: accordingly we are told, by Matthew Paris, that "it was the "offſpring of diſpair, which was ſo great, that the barons, in the bitterneſs of "their ſouls, curſed both the king and the pope†."

Philip accepted with joy an offer ſo flattering to his ambition; but, being ſenſible of the danger of entruſting his ſon and heir in the hands of men who might, in caſe of neceſſity, make peace with their lawful ſovereign, by ſacrificing a pledge of ſo much value, he exacted from the barons four-and-twenty hoſtages, according to Mezeray's account‡, of the moſt noble birth in the kingdom; and having obtained this ſecurity, he ſent them an immediate reinforcement of ſeven thouſand men‖, to enable them to make head againſt the king, till his ſon could join them with a more conſiderable force, which was ordered to aſſemble in the different parts of France.

The pope, being informed of Philip's intention, ſent Gualo, as his legate, to the French court, to menace him with interdicts and excommunication, if he dared to invade the patrimony of Saint Peter, or attack a prince who was under the immediate protection of the apoſtolic ſee §: but the king, being aſſured of the obedience of his own vaſſals, changed his principles with the times, and now held the papal cenſures in as great contempt, as he had formerly treated

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 203 et ſeq.; M. Paris, p. 184, 185, 187. † M. Paris, p. 193. ‡ Mezeray, vol. iv.
‖ Radulf. Niger. p. 144. § M. Paris, p. 194; M. Weſt, p. 275.

them with reſpect. He accordingly proceeded in the equipment of his armament; and the preparations were conducted with ſo much vigour, that prince Lewis embarked his troops on board a fleet of ſix hundred ſail; and, arriving at the Iſle of Thanet, landed without oppoſition at Sandwich, on the twenty-third of May, 1216. On his approach John retired from Dover to Wincheſter, having left a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle, under the command of Hubert de Burgh, a brave loyaliſt, of approved fidelity. In this retreat the Engliſh monarch met the pope's legate, juſt arrived from France, who publiſhed a ſentence of excommunication againſt Lewis, by name, and againſt all his followers and abettors. Lewis had endeavoured to pacify the legate, and to avert theſe cenſures, by the employment of ſuch arguments as had been ſuggeſted to him by the Engliſh barons, which were in ſubſtance as follow—they affirmed that John was incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, by reaſon of the attainder paſſed upon him during the reign of his brother, though that attainder had been reverſed, and Richard had, even by his laſt will, declared him his ſucceſſor; they pretended that he was already legally depoſed, by the verdict of the French peers, on account of the murder of Arthur, though the effect of that ſentence muſt neceſſarily have been confined to his continental dominions, which alone he held as a fief of the crown of France; they averred, with a degree of plauſibility, that he had effect his own depoſition by doing homage to the pope, changing the nature of his ſovereignty, and reſigning an independent throne for a fee under a foreign power: and, as Blanche of Caſtille, the wife of Lewis, was grand daughter to Henry the Second, they maintained, (though in the order of ſucceſſion many other princes had a preferable claim) that, in chuſing her huſband for their ſovereign, they ſtill adhered to the royal family.

Theſe arguments, however, having proved inſufficient to convince the legate, the cenſures were promulgated; and Lewis reſolved to bid defiance to the pope. He marched immediately againſt the caſtle of Rocheſter, which he took on the thirtieth of May; and then proceeded to London, where he arrived on the ſecond day of the following month, and was received with the loudeſt acclamations, by the citizens, the barons, and their followers, who acknowledged him for their ſovereign, did homage to him, and exacted a promiſe, confirmed by an oath, that he would reſtore them to all their poſſeſſions, and protect them in all their privileges*. Mezeray aſſerts, that Lewis was ſolemnly crowned king of England; but this aſſertion is evidently falſe, though he exerciſed the ſovereign authority, under the title of *Domini Regis Franciæ Primogenitus*, granted charters for lands and honours, and created Langton, the primate, his high-chancellor. The prince ſaw the number of his partiſans daily encreaſe, while that of John diminiſhed in proportion; for, his foreign troops being moſtly levied in Flanders, and other provinces of France, refuſed to ſerve againſt the

* M. Paris, p. 95.

heir of their monarchy*. The Gaſcons and Poictevins alone, who were ſtill John's ſubjects, adhered to his cauſe; but they were not ſufficiently ſtrong to maintain that ſuperiority in the field which they had hitherto ſupported againſt the confederated barons: his caſtles, therefore, daily fell into the hands of the enemy; and Lewis, in a few months, had reduced all the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, except Dover, which he inveſted on the twenty-ſecond of July. But this important fortreſs was defended with ſuch ſkill and bravery by Hubert de Burgh, and a ſpirited garriſon, that he was repulſed in all his attacks with conſiderable loſs; and was ſo continually haraſſed by the well-conducted ſallies of the beſieged, that he ſwore, in a tranſport of rage, he would not quit the place till he ſhould have taken the caſtle, and hanged all the garriſon; an oath as ill kept as raſhly taken!

While Lewis was waſting his time in this fruitleſs enterpriſe, the king of England having recruited his army, committed dreadful devaſtations on the eſtates of the revolted barons, ſome of whom now began to diſcover their error, in claiming the protection of a prince who evinced a diſpoſition to oppreſs them. Lewis had imprudently afforded ſuch unequivocal proofs of his partiality to his own countrymen, and of his averſion to the Engliſh, that the earl of Saliſbury, William Mareſchal, Walter Beauchamp, and many other nobles, who had joined him on his arrival, now deſerted him, and their defection inſpired him with ſuſpicions of the fidelity of thoſe that remained. Thus actuated by jealouſy and reſentment, he is ſaid to have formed a plan for the gratification of his revenge, which was diſcovered to the barons by the viſcount de Melun, one of his chief confidents. That nobleman, being attacked at London by a dangerous diſorder, and his recover diſpaired of, expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing ſome of the Engliſh barons; and told them that he could not die in peace until he ſhould have diſcharged his conſcience, by diſcovering an affair in which they were deeply intereſted. He then gave them to underſtand, that Lewis had reſolved to exterminate all the Engliſh nobles who had fought in ſupport of his cauſe, ſince he conſidered them as traitors to their natural prince, and could not, therefore, rely on their fidelity to himſelf; and it was his intention to beſtow their eſtates and dignities on his native ſubjects, in whom he could repoſe a greater degree of confidence†. This ſtory, whether true or falſe, was currently reported, and obtained univerſal credit; and, as it correſponded to other circumſtances that rendered it credible, it proved greatly detrimental to the intereſts of Lewis, who was now threatened with a ſudden reverſe of fortune.

At this conjuncture the king of England died, and was ſucceeded by his infant ſon Henry; the regency of the kingdom being beſtowed on the earl of Pembroke, a nobleman of approved courage, extenſive talents, and incorruptible probity. This event proved fatal to the hopes of Lewis; the nobles had no ob-

* M. Paris, p. 95. † M. Paris, p. 199; M. Weſt. p. 277.

jectiors to offer their infant prince; their averſion to the French daily increaſed; and the ſentence of excommunication againſt Lewis, which was repeated by the legate every Sunday, and in which they themſelves were included, had no ſmall influence on their minds: for, however the proud barons might have affected to deſpiſe the thunders of the vatican, when their paſſions were raiſed by hope, and inflamed by reſentment, and when their oppoſition was ſupported by the vigorous union and ſpirited meaſures of a ſtrong confederacy; theſe powerful motives had now loſt their principal force, and their conſciences were again open to the pangs of remorſe, and awake to the horrors which, in thoſe ſuperſtitious times, were continually attached to the cenſures of the church.

Lewis had long ſince loſt the affection of the barons, and he now became the object of their contempt. He had frequently attempted to corrupt the integrity of Hubert de Burgh, the brave governor of Dover caſtle; but ſtill found his honour and courage equally invincible. On the death of John he again ſummoned him to ſurrender; and repreſented, in a parley, that as he was now diſengaged from his oath of allegiance, he ought to acknowledge a prince whom his countrymen had received as their ſovereign, and who would be ſtudious to reward his bravery by the moſt ſignal marks of his favour. The governor, however, replied, that the late king had left a ſon and ſucceſſor, whom it was his duty to obey, and whom he would ſerve while he had life; and, as to the offers of Lewis, he obſerved, that the eſteem of a magnanimous prince could never be purchaſed by ſuch infamous treachery. Lewis, finding him incorruptible, changed his battery, and threatened to take away the life of his brother, whom he had in this power; but his reſource proving equally inefficacious, he raiſed the ſiege, and repaired to London; from whence, having taken every neceſſary precaution for ſecuring his intereſt in that capital, he marched to Hereford, and attacked the caſtle, which ſurrendered after a faint reſiſtance. The government of this fortreſs belonged, by hereditary right, to Robert Fitz-Walter, who accordingly laid claim to it; but he had the mortification not only of hearing his claim rejected with ſcorn, but of ſeeing the caſtle beſtowed on a Frenchman, and garriſoned with foreigners. This act, in which deliberate inſult was added to flagrant injuſtice, excited a great clamour among the Engliſh, who plainly perceived that they were to be excluded from every truſt, and that foreigners had monopolized all the confidence and affections of the man whom they had been weak enough to acknowledge for their ſovereign.

Though Lewis, about this time, went over to the continent, and brought back a reinforcement of troops; he found, on his return, that his party was conſiderably weakened by the deſertion of moſt of the Engliſh barons; and that the death of John, from which he had prognoſticated the greateſt ſucceſs to his cauſe, was likely to render all his projects abortive. The earls of Saliſbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, together with William Mareſchal, the eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke, had embraced the party of their lawful ſovereign;

and all thoſe who did not immediately return to their allegiance were evidently watching for an opportunity to do it with ſafety. The regent was ſo much ſtrengthened by theſe acceſſions, that he ventured to detach the earl of Cheſter with a body of troops, to inveſt Mount-Sorel, in the county of Leiceſter, which was in the poſſeſſion of the French: but, on the approach of the count de Perche, with a ſuperior army, that nobleman was compelled to retire; while the French general advanced to Lincoln, and, having obtained admittance into the town, laid ſiege to the caſtle. Pembroke reſolved to ſuccour this important place, though at the riſk of an engagement; he therefore aſſembled his forces with ſuch diligence and ſecrecy, that he had marched as far as Newark before the count de Perche received the ſmalleſt intimation of his approach. The army of the regent was ſo ſuperior in numbers to that of the French, that the latter determined to ſhut themſelves up in the town, and act merely on the defenſive; but the garriſon, having received a ſtrong re-inforcement, made a ſally on the beſiegers; while the Engliſh army, by concert, aſſaulted them, at the inſtant, from without, mounted the walls by ſcalade, and, bearing down all reſiſtance, entered the city, ſword in hand. In this action, which took place on the nineteenth of May, 1217, the French ſuſtained a total defeat; their commander, the count de Perche, was killed; and many Engliſh barons of that party, together with four hundred knights, and a great number of common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners*.

Lewis had re-commenced the ſiege of Dover caſtle, in which he was employed when he received the unwelcome news of this fatal diſaſter. He immediately deſiſted from his enterpriſe, and haſtened to London, to repair, if poſſible, the loſs he had ſuſtained; when the intelligence of a freſh misfortune put an end to all his hopes. A French fleet, with a ſtrong reinforcement on board, collected by the vigilant activity of his conſort, Blanche of Caſtile, had appeared on the Kentiſh coaſt, where they were attacked by the Engliſh, under the command of William d'Albiney, and were diſperſed with conſiderable loſs. D'Albiney is ſaid, upon this occaſion, to have employed a ſtratagem, which greatly contributed to the victory:—Having gained the wind of the enemy, he came down upon them with violence; and, throwing in their faces a quantity of quick lime, which he had provided for the purpoſe, ſo blinded them, that they were unable to make the ſmalleſt reſiſtance†!

Lewis, now deſpairing of ſucceſs, entered into a negociation with the regent, who granted him more favourable terms than he had any right to expect. A peace was accordingly concluded; and he engaged to evacuate the kingdom, on condition that all his adherents ſhould be fully indemnified, and reſtored to their honours and fortunes, together with the free and equal enjoyment of thoſe

* M. Paris, p. 204; Chron. Dunſt. p. 81. † M. Paris, p. 206; Ann. Waverl. p. 183; W. Heming. p. 563; Trivet, p. 169; M. Weſt. p. 277; Knyghton, p. 2428.

liberties which had been ſecured to the reſt of the nation*. After this treaty was ſigned, by which Lewis renounced all pretenſions to the crown of England, that prince embarked, with all his forces, for his native country.

A. D. 1219, to 1222.] The ſentence of excommunication, which had been pronounced by the pope againſt Lewis, on his invaſion of England, was now repealed by his legate; and Philip, after a ſucceſsful attack on Rochelle, conſented to another truce with the Engliſh, for four years. Lewis then haſtened to join the cruſaders in Languedoc, where the flames of war, fanned by the peſtiferous breath of fanaticiſm, ſtill raged with incredible fury.

The council of Lateran, far from reſtoring peace and tranquillity, had eagerly ſought to provoke diſcord and to engender ſtrife; it had exhibited, in a ſtriking point of view, the daring pretenſions of prieſtly deſpotiſm, which aſſumed the right of diſpoſing of principalities and empires. Four hundred and twelve biſhops, and eight hundred abbots and priors, with the pope at their head, aſſiſted by the patriarchs of Conſtantinople and Jeruſalem, with ſeventy-one primates or metropolitans, unanimouſly decided, "That the ſecular power ſhould be bound, "under pain of excommunication, to ſwear to exterminate heretics, to the ut-"moſt of its power; that the biſhops ſhould iſſue a thouſand anathemas againſt "ſuch as ſhould diſobey them; and ſhould alſo inform the ſovereign pontiff "thereof, in order that he might abſolve their vaſſals from their oaths of fide-"lity, and ſubject their territories to the power of the firſt catholic, who ſhould "chuſe to take poſſeſſion of them†." This curious theory was ſoon reduced to practice. The count of Toulouſe, accompanied by his ſon, and the counts of Foix and Comminges, preſented himſelf before the council, and demanded the reſtitution of his domains. Several biſhops interceded for him, and reminded the pope, that he had ever been obedient to his will; that he had given up his fortreſſes when required ſo to do; that he had aſſumed the croſs, and had even fought for the church againſt his own nephew, the viſcount of Beziers. Innocent appeared to be moved by his remonſtrances; but, ſays the fanatic Peter de Vaux-Sernai‡, *The council of Achitophel did not prevail.* It was maintained that the catholic faith could not ſubſiſt in Languedoc, ſo long as Raymond remained maſter of that province; that he, therefore, ought to be baniſhed from thence for ever, and, contenting himſelf with an annual income of eight hundred livres, to go and weep his ſins wherever he could‖.

This ſame decree grants Toulouſe, and all the territories ſubdued by the cruſaders, to Simon de Montfort§, a man deſtitute of truth, honour, and humanity. That nobleman continued the ſame line of conduct which had procured him this honourable diſtinction; ſome new inſtance of his treachery or cruelty daily occurred; but, fortunately, his deſtructive progreſs was ſoon inter-

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 221. † Conc. tom. ii. p. 142 et ſeq. ‡ Hiſt. Albig. c. 83. ‖ Concil. c. ii. p. 234.
§ Threſ. des Chart. Bulles contre les Heretiques, p. 13.

rupted by the hand of death, before the walls of Toulouſe. He was ſucceeded in his title by his ſon, Amauri de Montfort; but the poſſeſſions he had uſurped were ſpeedily recovered by the active valour of the youthful Raymond, whoſe ſpirited efforts prince Lewis in vain attempted to check: after an impotent attack on the city of Toulouſe, from whence he was compelled to retreat with ignominious precipitation, he withdrew his forces, and returned to Paris.

A. D. 1223.] Amauri de Montfort, unable to oppoſe the ſkill and courage of his rival, offered to reſign his right to all the territories beſtowed on his father, by the pope, at the council of Lateran, to the crown of France. This important offer was referred to an aſſembly of the nobles and clergy, at Paris; and as Philip, whoſe health had been rapidly declining for ſome time, was repairing from Normandy to his capital, in order to be preſent himſelf, he was arreſted by death, at the town of Mante, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. He was interred in the royal vault at Saint Denis.

In the delineation of the character of Philip Auguſtus, his biographers and hiſtorians ſeem to have been ſo far dazzled by the ſplendor of his conqueſts, as to be totally blind to his defects.—Exulting in the effects of thoſe conqueſts, which increaſed the revenues and extended the power of their country, the motives on which they were undertaken, and the means by which they were atchieved, have never been attended to in the appreciating the merits of the *conqueror*. In the different wars which Philip waged againſt Henry of England, and his ſon Richard, he unfurled the banners of cruelty, oppoſed ambition to juſtice, and treachery to honour; his baſe deſertion of the latter in Paleſtine, and the ſubſequent perfidy of his conduct to that prince in Europe, merit the ſevereſt reprobation; nor do his endeavours to embitter the laſt moments of Henry, by violating the ſacred ties of nature, and ſowing diſſenſion between parent and child, excite leſs powerful ſentiments of diſguſt. In his treatment of the Jews, he ſuffered the dictates of equity to be ſilenced by the ſuggeſtions of intereſt; and the execution of eighty of that unfortunate people, at one time, affords a ſufficient proof that he was not leſs inhuman than unjuſt. The exaction of impoſts the moſt oppreſſive and onerous, on every claſs of people, while the kingdom laboured under an interdict, ſhows that he ſuffered no opportunity to eſcape for gratifying his rapacity. Yet has the abbe Velly ventured to aſſert, that the actions of Philip prove his *merit* to have been equal to his ſucceſs—that all his ſchemes were concerted with *prudence*—that he was *economical*, in order that his people might not be *over-burdened!*—and, finally, that he was exact in the adminiſtration of *juſtice** !—Thoſe actions, however, we have laid before

* The ſame hiſtorian, ſpeaking of Simon de Montfort, the leader of the cruſaders againſt the Albigenſes, obſerves, "That he would have been an incomparable man, had he been leſs ambitious, leſs cruel, leſs "perfidious, leſs choleric, and leſs vindictive." (vol. iii. p. 520). With the ſame exceptions we might ſafely ſubſcribe to his indiſcriminate eulogy on Philip Auguſtus.

our readers, who are equally competent with ourſelves to decide on the juſtice of this aſſertion.

That Philip was an able general, fertile in expedients, and active in the field, cannot be denied; that an important extenſion of territory was obtained through his exertions, and the imbecility or inſignificance of his adverſaries, is certain; and that many ſalutary regulations were adopted during his reign, is equally true: but we defy the moſt enthuſiaſtic of his admirers to adduce a ſingle tranſaction of his life which can juſtify the epithet *Magnanimous*, conferred on him by the voice of adulation.—Though his mind was capacious and enterpriſing, his defects were many, and his virtues few.

Philip was the firſt monarch of France, who was anxious to amaſs treaſures in order to ſupport an *independent* and *regular* body of forces, which, though they may be neceſſary "for the purpoſe of conqueſt, ſometimes ſerve to op-"preſs the ſubject, and to ſubvert the laws of the realm*." No ſovereign of the Capetian race had hitherto diſtinguiſhed his own intereſts from thoſe of the nation. "Till now (ſays Velly) our kings devoted the royal domains to the "ſupport of the majeſty of the throne." The ſtate was careful to defray the expenſes of war; and the nobles and the people joined the monarch in revenging the injuries ſuſtained by the monarchy. Many inconveniences, however, aroſe from this mode of proceeding; the vaſſals of the crown were led to judge of the propriety of thoſe motives which had induced the ſovereign to take up arms; and, as they were deſtined to bear the chief weight of the war, it may be ſuppoſed they were not always either prompt or juſt in their deciſions. Hence confuſion and delay, ſo peculiarly fatal to all hoſtile operations, were naturally produced: Philip, therefore, to obviate theſe numerous inconveniences, determined to keep an army of his own. But as his revenues, though greatly augmented, were inſufficient to ſupport the enormous expenſe of this new regulation, he not only increaſed the taxes, but accepted of a conſiderable ſum offered him by the Jews, on condition of revoking the ſentence of baniſhment that had been pronounced againſt them†.

The univerſity of Paris, which was founded under the reign of Lewis the Young, received its firſt ſtatutes during that of Philip Auguſtus. It had profeſſors of the civil and canon law, of philoſophy, phyſic, and theology. It was greatly frequented from the numerous privileges it enjoyed; among which were, the right of ſending deputies to the national and other councils, an exemption from all national impoſts; and the liberty of having all the cauſes, in which it was concerned, tried by the provoſt of Paris, who aſſumed the title of *Conſervator of the Royal Privileges of the Univerſity*‡. The rector had the power of licenſing preachers, as well as that of ſuppreſſing them, whenever he had any grounds of complaint: he ſigned all treaties, and other public acts.

* Abreg. de Mezerai, ſuit. du tom. i. p. 603. † Rigord, p. 42; Guill. Armor. p. 79. ‡ Laur. Ord. des Rois, t. i. p. 25.

The ſtyle of compoſition, in the twelfth century, particularly in religious writings, was turgid and uncouth; inflated by a redundancy of myſtic expreſſions, refined metaphors, and ridiculous allegories—of this, the following extracts from the celebrated ſermons of Saint Bernard, afford a curious ſpecimen:

"Flos utique filius virginis. . . . . Flos campi, non horti, campus "enim ſine omni humano floret adminiculo, non ſeminatus ab aliquo, non de- "foſſus ſarculo. . . . Sic omnino, ſic virginis alvus floruit, ſic inviolata, "integra, et caſta Mariæ viſcera, tanquam paſcua æterni viroris florem protulere "cujus gloria in perpetuum non marceſcat."

S. Bern. Serm. ii. in Adv. Dom. Edit. D. Mabill. tom. i. p. 728, 729.

"Pluvia namque voluntaria quam ſegregavit deus hæreditati ſuæ, placide "prius et abſque ſtrepitu operationis humanæ, ſuo ſe quietiſſimo illapſu virgi- "neum demiſit in uterum: poſtmodum vero ubique terrarum diffuſa eſt per "ora prædicatorum." *Id. Ib. hom. ii. ſuper miſſus eſt, p.* 745.

"Ex Deo et homine cataplaſme confectum eſt, quod ſanaret omnes infirmi- "tates tuas. Contuſcæ ſunt autem et commixtæ hæ duæ ſpecies in utero virgi- "nis, tamquam in mortariolo; Sancto Spiritu, tamquam piſtillo, illas ſuavitur "commiſcente." *Id. Ib. Serm. iii. in vigil Nativ. p.* 771.

The Provencal poets were juſtly celebrated at this period in moſt of the countries of Europe; they were called *Troubadours*, or *Finders*, from the fertility of their invention; and were, in fact, the fathers of modern poetry. No bards ever received greater encouragement or protection: they were invited to the courts of the greateſt princes, where they were equally reſpected by the brave and the fair, as they celebrated the achievements of the one, and the charms of the other. So flattering was the applauſe they attracted, that ſeveral crowned heads devoted their leiſure hours to the muſes, became Troubadours, and compoſed poems in the Provencal language, which was then the moſt perfect of all the European languages.

Some idea may be formed of the manners of the age, from the oppoſition experienced by Eudes de Sully, in his attempt to aboliſh a ridiculous and impious ceremony, which had been hitherto tolerated, not only in the church of Paris, but in ſeveral other cathedrals in the kingdom. In the capital it was called, "The Fools' Feſtival"—in other places, "The Feſtival of the Innocents*." The prieſts and clerks aſſembled, elected a pope, an archbiſhop, or biſhop, whom they conducted in great pomp to the church, where they appeared arrayed in different whimſical dreſſes, repreſenting women, animals, or buffoons, and dancing and ſinging obſcene ſongs; they converted the altar into a ſideboard, where, during the celebration of maſs, they eat and drank, played at dice, burnt their old ſandals inſtead of incenſe, and ran and jumped about, exhibiting a variety of indecent poſtures. Eudes, ſhocked at the impious cuſtom,

* Du Cange Gloſſ. verbo Kalendæ.

publiſhed an ordinance, by which he prohibited the ſolemnization of this feſtival, under pain of excommunication. It was accordingly ſuſpended for a time but it was afterwards revived, and continued to be obſerved till the middle of the fifteenth century.

There was another feſtival in vogue at this time, called "'The aſſes' Feſtival:" it was thus celebrated at Beauvais—the inhabitants ſelected the moſt beautiful young girl in the town, whom they placed, with a pretty child in her arms, on an aſs richly capariſoned*. Thus equipped, and followed by the biſhop and the clergy, ſhe went in proceſſion from the cathedral to the pariſh-church of Saint Stephen, where, as ſoon as ſhe had entered the ſanctuary, and placed herſelf near the altar, the maſs began. The *introit*, the *kyrie*, the *gloria*, the *credo*, and all thoſe parts of the ſervice which are ſung, were terminated by the exclamation of *hinham*, *hinham*—words, which, when pronounced in French, reſemble the braying of an aſs. The *proſe*, half Latin and half French, explained the excellent qualities of that animal. Each ſtrophe concluded with this kind invitation—"Sing, good Mr. Aſs; open your beauteous mouth; you "ſhall have plenty of hay, and oats to ſow!" They then, on their knees, exhorted the animal to forget his accuſtomed food, in order to repeat inceſſantly, Amen, Amen! The prieſt inſtead of *Ha miſſa eſt*, repeated three times, *hinham*, *hinham*, *hinham!* which was re-echoed by the people.

There is a ſtatute enacted by the ſame Eudes de Sully, who aboliſhed "The "Fool's Feſtival," ſtill extant, by which eccleſiaſtics are forbidden not only to play at cheſs, but even to have a cheſs-board in their houſes; probably becauſe they were apt to pay too much attention to the game, and to loſe at it the money which they ought to have given to the poor†. In fact it is difficult to conceive any other motive for ſuch a prohibition; ſince, of all games of ſkill, cheſs is the game which requires the greateſt mental exertion, and is, therefore, the moſt worthy the attention of a man inclined to meditate and reflect. Some authors have gone as far back as the ſiege of Troy, to diſcover the origin of this game. The princeſs Anna Comnena, in her Alexiad, aſcribes the invention of it to the Aſſyrians‡. The Perſians and Chineſe acknowledge that they had it from the Indians. The circumſtances which gave riſe to it are worthy of notice.

At the commencement of the fifth century, there lived in India a young prince whoſe power was extenſive, but whoſe pride was inſupportable‖. In vain did his miniſters ſeek to inculcate in his mind the ſalutary doctrine, that all the ſtrength and power of a ſovereign conſiſt in the love of his ſubjects. Theſe ſage remonſtrances were received with diſdain, and thoſe who made them conſigned to deſtruction. A Bramin, who was anxious to enforce the ſame whole-

* Du Cange Gloſſ. verb. Feſtum Aſinorum. † Odo. Ep. Par. in Preceptor. Synod. 120.
‡ Alex. l. xxii. ‖ Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Let. t. v. p. 252.

ſome precepts without expoſing himſelf to ſimilar danger, invented the game of cheſs*, in which the king, although the moſt important of all the pieces, is impotent in attacking, and even in defending himſelf againſt his enemies, without the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects and ſoldiers. The monarch, being endowed by nature with a good underſtanding, made a proper application of this uſeful leſſon, and, by an immediate change of conduct, averted the misfortunes with which he was threatened. Grateful for the ſervice that had been rendered him, he ſuffered the Bramin to chuſe his own reward; he accordingly required as many grains of corn as the ſixty-four ſquares on the cheſs-board would produce, by receiving one for the firſt, and doubling the number at every ſquare up to the ſixty-fourth, incluſive; his demand, being deemed moderate, was immediately granted without any examination: but, when they proceeded to calculate the quantity, they found it ſo immenſe, that all the treaſures of the prince would be inſufficient to purchaſe, and his dominions, though extenſive, to ſupply it†. The Bramin then embraced the opportunity to repreſent to his ſovereign the neceſſity that exiſted for kings to be conſtantly on their guard againſt thoſe by whom they are ſurrounded, and to convince him how much their beſt intentions were liable to be abuſed.—This anecdote was ſoon diffuſed over the country, and extended to the remoteſt regions, whence the game of cheſs was tranſmitted from India to all parts of the globe.

LEWIS THE EIGHTH,

SURNAMED THE LION.

A. D. 1223.] THE acceſſion of Lewis the Eighth, who was now in his thirty-ſeventh year, experienced no kind of oppoſition; though his father had neglected to aſſociate him to the throne, he had left him in poſſeſſion of an army that was better calculated to eſtabliſh his authority, than the celebration of a vain ceremony. The new monarch was crowned at Rheims by William de Joinville, archbiſhop of that dioceſe, and the moſt unequivocal proofs of joy

* Otherwiſe called 'the king's game;' 'Schak,' in Perſian, and 'Schek,' in Arabic, ſignify King or Lord. Hence the term 'Check-mate,' from the Perſian 'Schakmat,'—'the King is taken.'

† On making the calculation it has been found, that, to ſupply the neceſſary quantity of corn, it would require 13,584 towns, each of which ſhould contain 1014 granaries, each granary 174,762 meaſures, and each meaſure 32,768 grains. Mem. de l'Acad. Ibid. 264.

and ſatisfaction were exhibited, on the occaſion, from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. He was no ſooner ſeated on the throne than Henry the Third, of England, demanded, by a ſolemn embaſſy, the reſtoration of Normandy, and of the other provinces which had been wreſted from his father; but Lewis replied, that thoſe territories had been formally confiſcated by a ſentence of the peers, the validity of which he was prepared to defend; and, as the truce of four years was on the point of expiring, he determined on renewing the war by an irruption in Poitou. The pope, appriſed of his intentions, ſought to divert him from his purpoſe; but the king neglected his remonſtrances, and, being ſenſible of his own power, reſolved to exert it.

A. D. 1224, 1225, 1226.] Accordingly, in the enſuing ſpring, having previouſly ſtrengthened himſelf by an alliance with Frederic, emperor of Germany, Hugh de Luſignan, count de la Marche, who had married the queen-dowager of England, and ſeveral other powerful barons, he entered Poitou with a numerous army, took the towns of Niort, and Saint Jean d'Andely, and, advancing as far as Rochelle, formed the ſiege of that city, which he reduced after a vigorous reſiſtance*. Having ſubdued all the places which the Engliſh poſſeſſed in Poitou, and received the homage of their inhabitants, he returned in triumph to Paris.

The king of England, in the mean time, had levied a conſiderable army, which he ſent to France under the conduct of his brother, prince Richard, on whom he had beſtowed the title of count of Poitou. The inhabitants of Poitou, flattered by the preſence of a prince of the blood-royal, crouded to his ſtandard; the ſpirit of oppoſition was revived; the career of Lewis was checked; and that monarch, impatient to engage in a new enterpriſe, conſented to a truce for three years.

Urged by the ſolicitation of the ſovereign pontiff, and ſtill more by the dictates of intereſt and ambition, Lewis reſumed the croſs, and once more marched againſt the Albigenſes. The old count of Toulouſe was dead, and though, previous to his deceaſe, he had made every ſubmiſſion the church could require for his *imaginary* crimes, and had proved himſelf a moſt worthy man and a good chriſtian, yet did the implacable enmity of the ſovereign pontiff extend beyond the grave, and the rights of ſepulture were denied to his body. His ſon and ſucceſſor, endued with every quality that could ſecure affection, or conciliate eſteem, was equally ſubmiſſive, and was treated with equal ſeverity and injuſtice. Neither his piety could recommend him to the pope, nor his virtues to the king; fanaticiſm had deluded the one, and, ambition the other; hence they were both bent on perſecution, and, from the formidable preparations that were made, the deſtruction of Raymond appeared inevitable.

* Geſta Lud. viii. Duch. t. v. p. 186.

Previous to his departure from Paris, Lewis thought fit to accept the offer of Amauri de Montfort; and, in return for the ceſſion of the claims which he derived from the liberality of the Roman pontiff, Montfort received the promiſe of the poſt of conſtable, as ſoon as it ſhould become vacant. The king directed his march along the banks of the Rhone, and inveſted Avignon with fifty thouſand men. The inhabitants ſet his threats at defiance, repelled his attacks with the moſt determined valour, made ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies, in which the French were routed with conſiderable ſlaughter, and at laſt compelled Lewis, after the loſs of the braveſt of his troops, to grant thoſe terms of capitulation which he had at firſt refuſed.

After the reduction of Avignon, the king entered Languedoc, and extended his devaſtations within four leagues of Toulouſe; but, the ſeaſon being too far advanced to form the ſiege of that important place, which Raymond had been careful to provide with every poſſible means of reſiſtance, he reſolved to return to Paris. With this view he repaired to Clermont in Auvergne, and from thence proceeded to Montpenſier, where he was ſeized with a diſorder that put an end to his life, in the fourth year of his reign, and the fortieth of his age. He was interred at Saint Denis.

Lewis the Eighth poſſeſſed the courage, vigilance, and activity, but not the prudence and circumſpection, of his father; like Philip, too, he was turbulent and ambitious, eager to extend his dominions at the expence of his neighbours, and prompt to engage in wars, at the call of intereſt, in defiance of juſtice. He has been called a *great* prince*; but, neither the ſplendour of his military exploits, nor his concern for the welfare and felicity of his ſubjects, gave him the ſmalleſt title to that flattering appellation, which, though many have acquired, but few have deſerved.

Of eleven children which Lewis had by his wife, Blanche of Caſtille, ſix only ſurvived him; Lewis, Robert, John, Alfonſo, Charles and Iſabella. This laſt founded the monaſtery of Longchamp. By his will, the king bequeathed all his dominions to his eldeſt ſon Lewis, except thoſe appanages which he intended for his brothers; to his ſecond ſon he aſſigned the county of Artois; Anjou and Maine to his third; Poitou and Auvergne to his fourth; the fifth was deſtined for the church†.

Such was the licentiouſneſs that prevailed at this period among the troops, that one army, about the end of the twelfth century, was attended by fifteen hundred concubines, who were all dreſſed in a moſt expenſive manner‡. This ſtyle of dreſs frequently cauſed them to be miſtaken for women of faſhion. Queen Blanche, conſort to Lewis, having one day received the kiſs of peace‖, at maſs, returned it to a woman who ſtood near her, whoſe appearance beſpoke

* Velly, vol. iv. p. 60.

† Geſt. Ludov. viii. apud Duch. t. v. p. 324. et ſeq.

‡ Memoires ſur l'Ancienne Chevalerie.

‖ Du Cange, verb. Oſculum Pacis.

her a perſon of rank, but who proved to be a woman of the town. Being afterwards informed of this circumſtance, ſhe was ſo enraged at her miſtake, that ſhe obtained from the king an edict*, prohibiting all courteſans from wearing gowns with trains and capes, and *gilt belts*. But as good regulations were often ill-obſerved, the edict was ſeldom enforced, and things went on in their uſual way. The modeſt women conſoled themſelves for this neglect with the teſtimony of their conſcience, and the goodneſs of their reputation, of which they were continually boaſting, by obſerving, that—"Bonne renommée vaut mieux "que ceinture dorée;"—"A good name is better than a gilt belt." Which ſaying became a proverb that is ſtill in uſe.

The relaxation that obtained in the adminiſtration of juſtice, was well calculated to promote licentiouſneſs. It appears from the archieves of the cathedral at Beauvais, that a canon of the church had carried off the wife of a citizen, who demanded juſtice for the injury he thereby ſuſtained. The crime was notorious; the culprit acknowledged his guilt; and the whole neighbourhood bore teſtimony of the fact:—the judges, after mature deliberation, decreed, "That "the raviſher ſhould reſtore the woman in a fortnight;" which was accordingly done:—thus the canon went unpuniſhed, and the citizen unredreſſed.

It was at the commencement of this reign, that pope Honorius the Third confirmed the celebrated order of the *Minors*, the firſt mendicants: they were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Cordeliers*, from the *cord* which they wore round their waiſt†. Theſe monks reſigned all earthly property, and devoted their lives to preaching penitence, and to continual mortification and prayer. The inſtitutor of the order was John Bernardon, originally of Aſſize in Umbria, who was ſurnamed *Francis*, becauſe he had learned the *French* language in a very ſhort time‡. He is repreſented as a man of great ſimplicity, almoſt uneducated, but leading a life of uncommon auſterity, and following, in all things, the pureſt dictates of humanity. To him may be applied, ſays Hainault‖, what has been ſaid of Zeno, the founder of the ſect of ſtoics:—*he taught how to bear with hunger and thirſt; and he met with diſciples*. In fact, he had ſoon a numerous train of all ranks and conditions, and of either ſex. He divided them into three claſſes: the firſt, doomed to celibacy, aſſumed the appellation of *freres mineurs*; the ſecond, conſiſting of married people, were called *freres de la penitence*; and the third, who were widows, were diſtinguiſhed, in Italian, by the name of *povere donne* (poor women), and, in French, by that of *Clariſtes*, from Saint Claire.

* Paſq. Rech. de la France, t. i. p. 783. † Vita Sancti Franc. per S. Bonav. c. 4. ‡ Choſy, Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, tom. vi. p. 301. ‖ Abregé Chronol. de l'Hiſt. de France, p. 214.

LEWIS THE NINTH,

COMMONLY CALLED SAINT LEWIS.

A. D. 1226.] QUEEN Blanche was deeply affected at the death of her huſband; but, inſtead of waſting her time in deploring his loſs, ſhe immediately proceeded to adopt thoſe vigorous meaſures, which were eſſential to the welfare of the ſtate, and the ſafety of her ſon. Lewis, on his death-bed, had appointed her to the regency, in the preſence of the archbiſhop of Sens, and the biſhops of Beauvais and Chartres*. Though a foreigner, with five ſons ſtill in their infancy, ſhe had the courage to venture on an office at all times troubleſome, but peculiarly difficult to fill in a kingdom where women were regarded as incapable of holding the reins of government. Her firſt care was to ſummon the nobles to attend the coronation of her ſon; but moſt of theſe factious barons, far from obeying the citation, excuſed themſelves on various pretences, all indicative of their diſpoſition to revolt. Some, who were anxious to preſerve appearances, pleaded the exceſs of their grief at the recent loſs they had ſuſtained, which incapacitated them from attending a ceremony that ſhould be marked by general expreſſions of joy; others, more bold, inſiſted that, previous to the coronation, all the vaſſals of the crown ſhould be releaſed from confinement; particularly the count of Flanders, and the old count of Boulogne†; ſome even demanded the reſtitution of certain poſſeſſions, of which they had been *unjuſtly* deprived during the two laſt reigns, ſince, by the laws of the realm, a previous verdict of the peers was indiſpenſably requiſite to eſtabliſh the validity of the forfeiture.

But, notwithſtanding this oppoſition, the young king was crowned at Rheims, the archiepiſcopal ſee of which was then vacant, by the biſhop of Soiſſons; and all the nobles and prelates who were preſent took the accuſtomed oath of allegi-

* Threſ. des Ch. Layette des Regentes. † M. Paris; An. 1226.

ance to Lewis as their ſovereign, and to Blanche, as the regent of the kingdom, during the minority of her ſon. The queen's chief miniſters and adviſers were, the chancellor Guerin, a man reſpectable from his age, abilities, and virtue, but rude in manners, and accuſtomed to offer his advice in the ſtyle and language of reprimand; and the cardinal de Saint Ange, the pope's legate in France, a prelate, who, to the natural advantage of a good perſon, united the moſt engaging addreſs, and manners the moſt inſinuating. The regent herſelf is ſaid to have been a woman of extraordinary accompliſhments, both mental and perſonal; of a ſpirit undaunted; in beauty unrivalled.

It was not long before her ſkill and reſolution were called forth into action. The counts of Champagne, Brittany, and la Marche, had, during the late reign, entered into a ſecret league, *againſt all men living and to come*; the treaty is ſtill extant*. Theſe were the three firſt noblemen in the kingdom—the count of Brittany was a prince of the blood; the count of Champagne was deſcended from a daughter of Lewis the Young; and the count de la Marche was father-in-law to Henry of England. At this critical conjuncture they renewed the late treaty, and bound themſelves by an oath, to obey no orders that ſhould come from the king, directly or indirectly, during his minority. Their influence was ſo great that numbers, who had no ſubject of complaint, were induced to eſpouſe their cauſe. The king of England, anxious to recover Normandy, and the other provinces which had been wreſted from his father, promiſed them a powerful ſuccour; and, had he kept his word, and profited by the confuſion that now prevailed throughout the kingdom, there can be little doubt but he would have accompliſhed his purpoſe; but weak, indolent, and irreſolute, Henry was not deſigned by nature either for conqueſt or command.

Before the confederates openly diſplayed the banners of revolt, they renewed ther demand for the reſtitution of thoſe eſtates, which, they pretended, had been uſurped during the two preceding reigns; a demand which it was impoſſible for the queen to comply with, both becauſe ſuch compliance exceeded the power of a regent, and becauſe a part of the lands in queſtion had been ſince alienated from the crown. Yet her refuſal was deemed a ſufficient motive for the commencement of hoſtilities. The count of Brittany began by fortifying two places, the command of which had been conferred on him by the late king†; viz. Belleſine in the Perche, and Saint James de Beuvron in Normandy; while Richard, brother to the Engliſh monarch, paſſed the Garonne, ravaged the adjoining country, and betrayed a diſpoſition to inſult Rochelle.

Blanche, in the mean time, ſought to ſtrengthen her power by ſecuring the affections of the people; and ſhe diſtributed her favours and rewards in ſo judicious a manner, as to inſure attachment without exciting envy. Philip, count of Boulogne, uncle to the young monarch, was the nobleman whoſe enmity or friend-

* Chant. Act. 169, 170. † Geſta Lud. ix. apud. Duch. t. v. p. 327.

ſhip was of the greateſt conſequence to her; ſhe accordingly ſpared no pains to engage him in her intereſt; with this view ſhe reſtored Mortain and Liſlebonne, which the late king had detached from the appanage of Philip; and alſo ceded to him the ſovereignty of the county of Saint-Pol, as a fief of the county of Boulogne. Ferrand, count of Flanders, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of the Roman pontiff, ſtill remained a captive in the Louvre; as his wife, who had no affection for him, pleaded inability to pay his ranſom. It is ſaid that their hatred aroſe from play, at which they inceſſantly quarrelled; the count being enraged at the idea of being beaten by his wife at cheſs, and the counteſs refuſing to indulge him by ſuffering him to win*. Their animoſity was even carried to ſuch a length, that the counteſs was on the point of procuring a divorce, in order to marry the count of Brittany: to prevent this alliance was an object of importance to the French king, ſince it would have greatly augmented the domains of one of his moſt ſeditious vaſſals, and would have afforded that vaſſal a fair opportunity for gratifying his ambition, and for diſturbing the repoſe of his liege-lord. That conſideration had determined Lewis the Eighth to facilitate the releaſe of Ferrand, which was to have taken place at Chriſtmas, in the preſent year. The regent, in order to attach the count more firmly to her intereſt, prudently reſolved to grant him terms more favourable than thoſe which had been preſcribed by her huſband. By the firſt treaty, he was to have paid fifty thouſand livres, at two different payments, and to have given Douai, Lille, and l'Ecluſe as a ſurety; whereas now but half that ſum was exacted from him, on condition that he ſhould leave the young king in poſſeſſion of the citadel of Douai for ten years. This indulgence was repaid by Ferrand with perſevering fidelity; and, though he had frequent opportunities of repairing the loſſes he had ſuſtained, he regularly perſiſted in ſacrificing intereſt at the ſhrine of gratitude.

A. D. 1227.] After theſe ſucceſsful negociations Blanche collected her troops; and, accompanied by her ſon, by the pope's legate, and the counts of Boulogne and Dreux, advanced as far as the Quarry of Courcet†. There the count of Champagne, who had openly profeſſed himſelf the queen's admirer, aſtoniſhed at her progreſs in the depth of a ſevere winter, threw himſelf at her feet, and implored her mercy. Lewis, at the inſtigation of his mother, received with kindneſs his repentant vaſſal, and this happy commencement inſpired him with the moſt ſanguine hopes of a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful termination to the revolt. Nor was he diſappointed in his expectation, for the counts of Brittany and la Marche, finding themſelves more vigorouſly oppoſed than they had reaſon to expect, gave him the meeting at Vendome, and accepted the terms of accommodation which he had propoſed to them.

* Chron. de Fland. † Geſt. Lud. ix. Duch. t. v. p. 327.

A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which it was ſettled that prince John, brother to Lewis, to whom his father had bequeathed the counties of Anjou and Maine*, ſhould marry the daughter of the count of Brittany; that, during the minority of the prince—who was now only in his eighth or ninth year—the count ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the towns of Angers, Beauge, Beaufort, and Mans; that he ſhould give his daughter, as a dower, Belleſme, Saint-James de Beuvron, Chantoceaux on the Loire, Brie-Comte-Robert, and ſome other places, which, nevertheleſs, he ſhould be ſuffered to retain during his life; that the princeſs ſhould, within a few days, be delivered into the hands of the count of Boulogne, and the conſtable Montmorenci; and, finally, that the count of Brittany ſhould form no alliance with the king of England, or the duke of Guienne. As for the count de la Marche, he not only promiſed to hold no farther correſpondence with the enemies of the crown†, to reſtore all the lands and poſſeſſions he had uſurped, and to repair all the injuries he had committed; but he even ceded to the young king all the grants which he had obtained during the late reign, together with his pretenſions to Guienne, in right of his wife, who was widow to John of England.‡ In return for theſe conceſſions Lewis aſſigned him, during the term of ten years, a penſion of ten thouſand five hundred livres; allowed him to ſelect, from among the friends and allies of France, ſuch guardians as he ſhould chuſe for his children; engaged to conclude neither peace nor truce with England, without his approbation; and conſented to ſtrengthen this alliance between them by a double marriage—that of Alfonſo, the king's brother, with Iſabella de la Marche, and that of Hugh de la Marche, with Iſabella of France; but neither of theſe marriages took place. The two counts did homage, and delivered hoſtages to Lewis, while Matthew de Montmorenci, conſtable of France, ſwore, *by the king's ſoul*‖, to obſerve the treaty.

A. D. 1229.] But the national tranquillity, which thus appeared to be eſtabliſhed on a ſolid foundation, was ſpeedily interrupted by the intrigues of the count of Boulogne, the king's uncle, who aſpired to the regency; and, as he was generally and deſervedly beloved, his party ſoon became formidable. A plan was laid for ſeizing the king's perſon: but Thibaud, count of Champagne, again betrayed the deſigns of the conſpirators to Blanche; and the failure of their project only ſerved to convince them how much their ſovereign was beloved by his ſubjects. In revenge for the treachery of Thibaud, they aſſembled all the troops they could collect, and, entering his territories, laid waſte the country with fire and ſword. The count, unable to impede their progreſs, had recourſe to the king for protection; and Lewis, after ordering the rebels to lay down their arms, put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and marched to his relief. Under the walls of Troyes he was joined by Thibaud, and Matthew

* Threſ. des Ch. Laette de Bretagne. † Ib. regiſt. 22. and 26. ‡ Receuil des Rangs des Grands, Du Till. p. 173. ‖ Velly, vol. iv. p. 90.

the Second, duke of Lorraine; when the regent again ordered the rebels to quit Champagne, promiſing to do them juſtice if they had any reaſonable grounds of complaint*. But the haughty barons returned an inſolent anſwer, importing that they had taken up arms to do themſelves juſtice, and not to aſk it at the hands of a woman, who openly protected the aſſaſſin of her huſband†.

This boldneſs, however, was only aſſumed for the purpoſe of concealing the weakneſs of their cauſe; on the king's approach the confederated nobles retired into the county of Nevers, and ſhewed no diſpoſition to come to a deciſive engagement. The queen ſeized the moment of ſucceſs to negociate with the count of Boulogne; ſhe convinced him that his real intereſt was, to maintain the authority of the king, his nephew; ſhe unfolded the ſecret deſigns of the confederates; and plainly proved, that, while they flattered his ambition with the proſpect of royalty, their inclinations were unanimouſly directed towards Enguerrand de Couci‡, a nobleman conſpicuous above his contemporaries for his virtues and abilities. Induced by theſe conſiderations, Philip conſented to exchange his viſionary hopes of a crown, for the ſolid emoluments of a penſion.

The object which next engaged the attention of the regent, was the ſtate of affairs in Languedoc, where Raymond, count of Toulouſe, profiting by the death of Lewis the Eighth, had made a conſiderable progreſs in the recovery of his paternal dominions. Beaujeu, the king's general, after taking the towns of Becede, Cabaret, Grave, and Montech, maſſacred all the inhabitants in the moſt cruel and inhuman manner‖. But Raymond, having defeated him three times in the courſe of one campaign, retaliated his barbarity, and taught him, by the only means that could affect a mind diſtorted by fanaticiſm, to reſpect the ſacred rights of humanity.

The ſucceſs of the count of Toulouſe revived the zeal of the pope, who earneſtly preſſed§ the young king and his mother to arm in the cauſe of religion, whoſe rights he pretended to enforce by rapine and murder. The biſhops of the province accordingly aſſembled at Narbonne; and, after ordaining that the Jews ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the figure of a wheel, ſix inches in circumference, placed on a conſpicuous part of their dreſs¶, they enacted that every Sunday, and on every feſtival, the ſentence of excommunication againſt Raymond and all his adherents ſhould be publicly read in the churches—a pitiful reſource againſt the attempts of a youthful hero, who maintained his rights with glory and ſucceſs. There were ſome other canons paſſed at this council, worthy of notice. By the fifth it is decreed, that no will ſhall be valid, unleſs an eccleſiaſtic be preſent when it is made, in order to aſcertain the religious faith of the

* Chr. Fl. p. 49.

† They had propagated a report that the count of Champagne, who had withdrawn his forces from the ſiege of Avignon, had poiſoned the late king.

‡ L'Allon. Hiſt. de Couci, l. iii. ‖ M. Paris; An. 1228. § MSS. Colb. p. 2669. ¶ Conc. tom. i. p. 304 et ſeq.



J: Galland Sc.t

Hugh Capet.

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teſtator; by the thirteenth, the eſtabliſhment of new tolls is forbidden; the fourteenth regulates the inſtitution of inquiſitors in every pariſh, and the fifteenth and the ſixteenth, by declaring all perſons convicted or even *ſuſpected* of hereſy incapable of holding any office, make a direct attack both on the rights of the ſovereign, and on thoſe of the ſubject.

By the exhortations of the pope, and the remonſtrances of his legate, the regent was induced to ſend a freſh ſupply of troops into Languedoc. The war was then renewed with additional vigour, and was conducted by Beaujeu in a manner truly worthy of the cauſe in which he had embarked. Every morning (ſays a contemporary writer)*, at dawn of day, the troops attended maſs, and prayed moſt devoutly; they then partook of a ſlight repaſt; and, after poſting guards in different parts of the town to keep the inhabitants in awe, three ſeparate detachments were ſent to ſcour the country,—the firſt were armed with pick-axes, for the purpoſe of demoliſhing the houſes; the ſecond with ſpades, for digging up the vines in the vineyards; and the third with ſcythes, for mowing down the green corn, and every thing elſe that they met with in the fields. This ſyſtem of deſtruction was regularly purſued in the environs of Toulouſe for three months.

The count of Toulouſe, finding his ſubjects in the utmoſt conſternation, and almoſt driven to deſpair, by the loſſes they had ſuſtained through this barbarous mode of waging war, was at length compelled to liſten to the overtures of peace that were made him by the cardinal de Saint Ange. The terms impoſed on him were oppreſſive; but, abandoned by his ſubjects, he was obliged to ſubmit, and to purchaſe an exemption from eccleſiaſtical tyranny and perſecution, by the ceſſion of his hereditary dominions to the king of France, and by the payment of a conſiderable ſum of money to different churches and monaſteries. The motives which ſuperinduced the commencement of this war, and influenced its continuance, were rather founded, ſays Velly†, on a deſire to deſpoil the count of Toulouſe of his dominions, than from any wiſh to put his orthodoxy to the proof. In vain did that unfortunate prince repeatedly ſue for peace to the church, and offer to pay an implicit ſubmiſſion to the orders of the Roman pontiff; ſo long as he perſiſted in his reſolution to maintain his juſt pretenſions to the patrimony of his anceſtors, he was deemed an incorrigible heretic, and an object of excommunication: but, no ſooner did he conſent to reſign a great part of his dominions, than he became a good catholic; his ſentiments were declared to be orthodox; and not the ſmalleſt abjuration of his errors was required! So dreadful was the infatuation, under which men laboured at this diſgraceful period, when the practice of chriſtianity was, by deſigning prieſts, and intereſted monarchs, made to conſiſt in a violation of its precepts!

* Guil. de Pod. c. 38. † Tom. iv. p. 129.

Thus terminated the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, after a cruel and ſanguinary war of twenty years, during which all the malice of perſonal hatred, and the mad rage of ambition and fanaticiſm, were, to the diſgrace of humanity, alternately diſplayed. By this treaty of peace, which was ſigned at Paris, Lewis acquired all that extent of territory which had belonged to the counts of Touloufe, beyond the Rhone* ; comprehending the duchy of Narbonne, the counties of Narbonne, Beziers, Agde, Maguelonne (or Melgueil), Niſmes, Uſez, and Viviers ; a part of the Toulouſain ; one half of the county of Albigeois, comprehending, excluſive of the dioceſe of Caſtres, that part of the archbiſhopric of Albi, which lies to the left of the Tarn ; and, laſtly, the viſcounty of Grezes, with all the pretenſions of Raymond to the ancient counties of Velai, Gevaudan, and Lodeve. The domains thus ceded, are ſuppoſed to have produced an annual revenue of ſix thouſand livres Tournois, which was a very conſiderable ſum in thoſe days. They were all annexed to the crown, and placed under the authority of two royal ſeneſchals, one of whom reſided at Beaucaire, and the other at Carcaſſonne. The firſt had the command of the dioceſes of Maguelonne (now Montpelier), Niſmes, Uſez, Viviers, Mende, and Puy, with that part of thoſe of Arles and Avignon, which is ſituated beyond the Rhone: the juriſdiction of the ſecond extended over the dioceſes of Carcaſſonne, Beziers, Lodeve, Agde, Narbonne, a part of the Albigeois to the left of the Tarn, and a part of the Toulouſain.—Theſe two diſtricts, with the territory of Touloufe, which Raymond retained, formed that province, which was afterwards denominated *Languedoc*.

The count of Touloufe ſurrendered five of his caſtles to the king's troops, as a ſurety for his compliance with the terms of the treaty; and his daughter Jane was, according to agreement, immediately affianced to Alfonſo, the brother of Lewis. Raymond remained ſome time at the court of Paris, where he acquired the eſteem and friendſhip of the king, who ſent him back to his own dominions loaded with honours and preſents.

During theſe negociations a council was holden at Touloufe, by which the formidable tribunal of the inquiſition was eſtabliſhed on a permanent baſis† ; the biſhops were ordered to appoint one eccleſiaſtic and two or three laymen in every pariſh‡, to make a ſtrict ſearch after heretics, and their protectors, not only in their houſes, which they were to ſearch from top to bottom, but in any ſubterraneous paſſages in which they might take refuge ; threatening the inferior magiſtrates with the moſt ſevere puniſhments, in caſe of a refuſal to enforce theſe tyrannical mandates‖ ; and confiſcating the poſſeſſions of ſuch noblemen, as ſhould permit theſe unfortunate objects of perſecution to fix their reſidence within their domains. All heretics, who ſhould become *voluntary* converts,

* De Vaiſſette, Hiſt. de Languedoc, tom. iii. p. 375. † Conc. tom. xi. p. 727 et ſeq. ‡ Can. 1, 2, 3.
‖ Can. 4.

were prohibited from reſiding in ſuſpected places; and ordered to inhabit only *catholic* towns; they were to wear two croſſes, one on either ſide of their boſom, of a colour different from that of their clothes; and they could not hold any public office, without a particular diſpenſation from the pope or his legate. Such heretics as fear alone had induced to profeſs the true faith, were condemned to perpetual impriſonment, to be ſupported by thoſe who ſhould profit by the confiſcation of their effects. Every perſon, who had attained the age of maturity*, was bound to promiſe a ſtrict adherence to the catholic faith, and to ſwear that he would inform againſt heretics; which oath was to be renewed every two years. Every layman was forbidden to keep either the Bible or Teſtament in his houſe†, and was only permitted to have the Pſalter, the Breviary or the Book of Prayers, in Latin, but not in the vulgar tongue:—this is the firſt inſtance of a ſimilar prohibition in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; the abbe Velly aſcribes‡ it to a deſire of preventing heretics from making an improper uſe of the ſcriptures; it would certainly have been more candid to impute it to the true cauſe, a wiſh to keep the laity in a ſtate of ignorance on all religious matters, in order to extend the influence, and to encreaſe the emoluments, of the clergy. By the thirty-eighth canon it was forbidden to conſtruct any new fortreſſes, to rebuild ſuch as had been demoliſhed, and to erect any new tolls; all barons, knights, citizens, and peaſants, were likewiſe prohibited from entering into any league or combination, except againſt the enemies of the church; it was laſtly ordained, that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered gratis, and that the judges ſhould publiſh theſe ſtatutes four times a year.

Lewis, about the ſame time, publiſhed an ordonnance, which tended to ſanction and encourage theſe ſhameful encroachments of the church‖: It enacts, that the churches of the province of Languedoc ſhall enjoy all the privileges, immunities, and liberties of the Gallican church; that ſuch as are convicted of hereſy ſhall be puniſhed without delay, according to their deſerts; that whoever ſhall favour them ſhall be holden unworthy to fill any office, incapable of ſucceeding to any eſtate, and ſhall likewiſe forfeit all his property, real and perſonal: that the barons and officers of juſtice, under pain of confiſcation and corporal puniſhment, ſhall exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to diſcover heretics, that they may be ſurrendered into the hands of the eccleſiaſtical judge, who ſhall chaſtiſe them without reſpect to perſons; that the effects of thoſe who ſhall remain a whole year under a ſentence of excommunication, ſhall be ſeized by the officers of the crown, and the culprits ſhall not recover them, till they have ſatisfied the church, and received an expreſs order from the king for that purpoſe. The king's youth is the only poſſible excuſe that can be offered for this arbitrary edict; though, as he ſuffered it to remain in force during thirty years, without any attempt to modify its tyrannical proviſions, or to

* Can. 12. † Can. 14. ‡ Tom. iv. p. 133. ‖ Receuil des Ordon. Laur. tom. i. p. 50.

repreſs its evil effects, his conduct, in this reſpect, certainly merits reprobation.

A. D. 1230.] While the policy of the regent was highly commended for the extenſion of territory which had been acquired by the treaty with Raymond, the count of Brittany once more erected the ſtandard of revolt, and engaged Henry of England to eſpouſe his cauſe: that monarch accordingly embarked at Portſmouth, with his army, on the laſt day of April, and arrived ſafe at Saint Malo, where he was received by his ally, who ſurrendered ſeveral places of ſtrength into his hands; and a great number of the nobility did homage to him as their ſovereign.

Lewis, appriſed of their intentions, had already taken Angiers, in the vicinity of which his army was poſted, to obſerve the motions of the Engliſh, and to oppoſe their entrance into Poitou; but, ſeeing that Henry remained at Nantes, in a ſtate of inactivity, he advanced towards Amiens, which he inveſted and took, together with ſeveral places in the vicinity of Henry's quarters, without having experienced the ſmalleſt interruption from that prince, who, far from making thoſe exertions which were neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs to his undertaking, devoted his whole time to feſtivity and pleaſure.

Lewis, however, being compelled to draw his troops from Anjou to repreſs an inſurrection of the nobles, who, in the hope of being ſuſtained by Henry, had embraced the opportunity afforded them by the abſence of their monarch, to excite freſh commotions. The king of England, had he poſſeſſed ſkill and ſpirit ſufficient to avail himſelf of the favourable conjuncture, might, probably, have been able to recover the dominions which his predeceſſors had loſt. The French forces were all employed in another quarter; and the Normans were earneſt in their ſolicitations to him, to go and take poſſeſſion of their country: but, inſtead of complying with their requeſt, he marched into Poitou, and reduced the ſmall town of Mirebeau; then repaired to Guienne to receive the homage of the Gaſcon barons; and, laſtly, returned to Brittany, where he relapſed into his former indolence, and ſuffered Lewis to complete, without interruption, the pacification of his kingdom. He ſoon after left the continent, and, by the advice of his miniſters, was induced to ſubſcribe a truce for three years; in which the count of Brittany was included.

The king profited by this interval of tranquillity to fortify his frontiers, and to renew the ancient treaties of alliance with the emperor and his ſon. He alſo publiſhed a ſevere ordonnance againſt the Jews, who were alternately baniſhed and recalled, in order to gratify the rapacity of the ſovereign. It appears by various edicts, that the effects of all Jews who were ſettled in the kingdom*, belonged to the barons within whoſe domains they had fixed their reſidence. They were forbidden by the law to change their abode without the permiſſion

* Laur. Ordon. des Rois de Fr. t. i. p. 16.

of their lord, who was empowered to follow and claim them, as fugitive ſlaves, even in the royal domains. It even appears that this unfortunate people were regarded as an object of traffic*; they were transferred, with the land, from one proprietor to another, and were ſometimes ſold ſeparately, in the ſame manner as negroes are now ſold in the Weſt-India iſlands; their value being eſtimated according to their talents and induſtry. The ſpirit of perſecution was carried ſtill farther; for if a Jew became a convert to chriſtianity, the whole of his property was confiſcated to the king†: thus the abjuration of error was, by a ſtrange and impious inconſiſtency of oppreſſion, made to incur as ſevere a puniſhment as could be inflicted for the commiſſion of a crime!

Even Lewis, whoſe piety procured him the appellation of *Saint*, could ſo far miſtake or pervert the precepts and the ſpirit of chriſtianity as not only to ſanction and confirm, but even to extend theſe oppreſſive laws. He compelled the Jews to wear ſome diſtinguiſhing mark; and if they appeared in public without it, they were fined ten livres, and their garment was forfeited to the informer. The chriſtians were forbidden to have any commerce with them; they could not take a Jew into their ſervice, nor rent a farm of him, nor employ him as a phyſician or ſurgeon, nor take his child to nurſe. When a Jew appeared in evidence againſt a chriſtian‡, he was compelled to ſwear by *the ten names of God*, and his oath was accompanied by a thouſand imprecations on his own head, if he deviated from the truth. The perſon, too, who adminiſtered the oath, thus addreſſed him:—"May the Lord God ſend you a continual fever, or ague, if "you are guilty of perjury; may he deſtroy you in his anger; you, and your "family, and your effects: may your enemies ſeize your poſſeſſions, and raviſh "your wife: may the ſword, and death, fear and inquietude purſue you on all "ſides: may the earth ſwallow you up like Dathan and Abiron: may all the "ſins of your parents, and all the maledictions contained in the law of Moſes, "fall on your head!" To this chriſtian-like invocation theſe miſerable objects of public execration were compelled to anſwer three times—*So be it*. A chriſtian, convicted of a criminal connection with a female Jew, was burned alive: a contemporary author juſtifies the ſeverity of this puniſhment, by aſſerting, that the commiſſion of ſuch an act with a Jew, is a crime equal to that of beſtiality ‖!

A. D. 1231 to 1233.] Lewis was more worthily employed in checking the arrogant preſumption of his prelates, who, on the ſmalleſt ſubject of diſcontent, aſſumed the right of laying their dioceſes under an interdict. In order to remedy the inconveniences ariſing from ſo flagrant an abuſe of authority, the king ſeized their temporalities; which mode of proceeding, in a few years, produced the deſired effect. Having attained his nineteenth year, he was perſuaded by his mother, to beſtow his hand on Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of Raymond

* Laur. Ordon. des Rois de Fr. t. i. p. 48. † Du Cange, Gloſſ. verbo Judæi. ‡ Id. ib. t. v. p. 471. ‖ Velly, t. iii. p. 157.

Berenger, count of Provence, a princeſs of extraordinary beauty and rare accompliſhments, though ſhe had not yet completed her fourteenth year. The nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Sens, where the young queen was crowned a few days after the marriage. The three ſiſters of Margaret were married ſoon after; Eleanor, to Henry the Third of England; Sancia, to prince Richard, brother to that monarch; and Beatrice, to Charles, brother to Lewis, who ſucceeded to the title of count of Provence, in right of his wife, and by his own valour and conduct became king of Sicily.

A. D. 1234, 1235.] The truce with England being nearly expired, Lewis deemed it neceſſary to make the moſt formidable preparations for renewing the war. Determined to chaſtiſe the count of Brittany, who had already commenced hoſtilities, he marched into his territories at the head of a powerful army; and though his vanguard was attacked and defeated by the count, he advanced into the interior parts of the country, and committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations; his turbulent vaſſal, alarmed at the rapidity of his progreſs, demanded a truce till November, when he engaged, if the king of England did not in the interim come in perſon to aſſiſt him, to ſurrender Brittany into the hands of the king. This propoſal, being accompanied by a conſiderable ſum of money, was accepted; and Henry not having appeared within the apppointed time, the count, at the expiration of the truce, fulfilled his engagement. He repaired to Paris, did homage to Lewis, renounced all the advantages which had been accorded him by the treaty of Vendome; ſurrendered to the king, for the term of three years, the caſtles of Saint Aubin, Chantoceaux, and Marceuil*; promiſed, as ſoon as his ſon ſhould come of age, to ſerve five years in Paleſtine, at his own expenſe; and, laſtly, bound himſelf to re-eſtabliſh the nobles of Brittany in all their ancient rights, privileges and immunities.

The ſubmiſſion of the count of Brittanny, and the vigorous conduct which had produced it, kept the other great vaſſals of the crown in awe. In order to reduce their power within proper bounds, Lewis adopted a regulation, which precluded the nobles from marrying their daughters to foreigners, and reſtrained them from increaſing their influence by connections and alliances with the neighbouring powers.

A. D. 1236, 1237.] The king having now attained his one and twentieth year, took the reins of government into his own hands; but though Blanche ceaſed to bear the title of regent, ſhe ſtill maintained her former aſcendancy; and by her acute penetration and prudent counſels, greatly aſſiſted her ſon in ſupporting with dignity and eaſe the burden of royalty. Thibaud, count of Champagne, having ſucceeded to the crown of Navarre, had promiſed not to marry his only daughter, Blanche, without the king's conſent; but faithleſs to his oaths, he ſecretly married her to John de Dreux, ſon to the count of Britta-

* Duch. t. v. p. 692.

ny, giving her the county of Perche as a dower, and ſettling on her the kingdom of Navarre, to the excluſion of any children he might afterwards have*. Lewis was no ſooner appriſed of this alliance, than he ſent to demand the three places which Thibaud had promiſed to ſurrender, in caſe he bröke the engagement he had contracted; but the king of Navarre, inſtead of complying with the ſummons, entered into a league with the counts of Brittany and la Marche, prepared to reſiſt by arms the attempts of Lewis, fortified his towns, aſſembled his troops, and endeavoured to engage the pope in his intereſt. As a new cruſade had been recently publiſhed, and Thibaud had aſſumed the croſs, the ſovereign pontiff, Gregory the Ninth, did not heſitate in eſpouſing his cauſe. With that view he wrote a peremptory letter to the French monarch, commanding him to deſiſt from all hoſtilities againſt a prince who, being about to repair to the Holy Land, was placed under the immediate protection of the apoſtolic ſee. But Lewis, deſpiſing the threats of Gregory, collected his army, and was on the point of making an incurſion into Brie and Champagne, when Thibaud, alarmed at the vigour of his preparations, ſuddenly changed the martial tones of war, for the humble language of ſupplication. Lewis granted him the peace he ſo earneſtly ſolicited, on condition that he ſhould deliver up the towns of Bray-upon-Seine and Montereau-Faut-Yonne, till ſuch time as he ſhould have fulfilled the promiſe he now made to repair to Paleſtine with all convenient expedition, and not to appear again in France till the expiration of ſeven years.

Languedoc was ſtill in a ſtate of confuſion; though the inquiſition had been eſtabliſhed three years in that devoted province, it had not overcome the numerous obſtacles which reaſon and juſtice oppoſed to it. The conſuls of Toulouſe ſtarted many objections to the proceedings of the inquiſitors, and Raymond inſiſted on their obſervance of certain forms†. This was ſufficient to excite the clamours of the devotees, and to draw down the vengeance of the church upon his head. He was accuſed of affording protection to heretics; and the eccleſiaſtical thunders were accordingly launched againſt him. The prince, juſtly incenſed at the inſolence of the prieſts, forbade his ſubjects to appear before the inquiſitors: war was thus declared, and the clergy and monks of Toulouſe were the firſt to feel its effects; they were compelled to leave the city; and the Jacobins in particular, as the heads of the inquiſition, were properly expelled with every mark of ignominy‡. The new tribunal was not better received at Narbonne. The archbiſhop of that dioceſe, having inſtituted a proceſs againſt ſome people who were ſuſpected of hereſy, the inhabitants of the Lower Town flew to arms, broke open the houſe of the *Freres Precheurs*, ſeized the regiſters of the inquiſition, and tore them in pieces: theſe proceedings gave riſe to a civil war; which, however, was ſpeedily ſuppreſſed

* Reg. des Chartres de Champ. † Guil. de Pod. c. 41, apud. Duch. t. viii. p. 694.
‡ Catel. Hiſt. du Comte de Toul. p. 358.

by the authority of the king, who ordered both parties to prefer their complaints, and ſeek for redreſs, by application to his ſeneſchal, at Carcaſſone.

But Raymond did not experience the ſame equity from the court of Rome, whither the news of the commotions at Toulouſe had been carried by the archbiſhop of Vienne, who officiated as legate for the pope*. Gregory wrote a threatening letter to the count, in which he ordered him to make ſuch reparation for his conduct as his legate ſhould preſcribe; to compel the conſuls to ſubmit to the authority of the inquiſition; to aſſume the croſs, and repair in the following ſpring to the Holy Land, there to remain five years. The ſovereign pontiff wrote to the king at the ſame time, deſiring he would arm againſt the heretics, conſtrain the count of Toulouſe to repair to Paleſtine, and give the adminiſtration of Languedoc to prince Alfonſo, who was to marry the count's daughter. Lewis, however, was in no haſte to comply with the intreaties of an inſolent and arrogant prieſt, who ſet both juſtice and humanity at defiance: on the contrary, he ventured to remonſtrate with Gregory on the impropriety of his conduct, and at length induced him to revoke the ſentence of baniſhment, which he had pronounced againſt Raymond, and to leave the deciſion of the matter to his own diſcretion.—About this time the marriage of Alfonſo, brother to Lewis, with Jane, the only daughter of Raymond; and that of Robert, another of the king's brothers, with Matilda, ſiſter to the duke of Brabant, were celebrated at Paris, with great magnificence.

A. D. 1239 to 1242.] The tranquillity of the kingdom ſeemed now to be eſtabliſhed on a permanent baſis; and a lapſe of three years occurred without any tranſaction worthy of hiſtorical notice. The factious nobles, baffled in their ſucceſſive enterpriſes, had aſſumed the croſs, and ſignaliſed their ineffectual valour in the plains of Paleſtine. The pope, engaged in a diſpute with the emperor Frederic, had the audacity to depoſe his enemy, and to offer his throne to Robert, brother to Lewis; but the French monarch was too wiſe to riſk a certain good for a precarious advantage, or to acknowledge the right of the Roman pontiff, to diſpoſe of crowns at his pleaſure. By this prudent conduct he ſecured to his ſubjects the bleſſings of peace; which they continued to enjoy till the count de la Marche hoiſted the ſtandard of revolt.

The county of Poitou had recently been conferred by Lewis on his brother Alfonſo; and, as the count de la Marche held ſome conſiderable fiefs in this province, he was ſummoned to do homage to the prince. With this citation he reluctantly complied; and, immediately after, at the inſtigation of his wife, flew to arms, inſulted Alfonſo, and prepared to wage war againſt his ſovereign. The rebellious vaſſal invoked the aſſiſtance of the king of England, who accepted his invitation, and repaired to France, the ſcene of his former diſgrace. Lewis, in the mean time, diſplayed his accuſtomed vigour: having aſſembled

* Rainald. An. 1236.

his army, he attacked the ſtrong fortreſs of Frontenay, on the confines of Saintonge and Poitou, which, after a ſiege of fifteen days, was taken by aſſault. He next reduced the towns of Villiers, Breic (or Preic), Saint Gelais, and Mantac, with the caſtle of Auterne. Tonnay-Boutonne, Thoron, and Taillebourg, threw open their gates at his approach; at this laſt place he fixed his camp, in a meadow watered by the river Charente, on the oppoſite ſide of which the Engliſh army was poſted. The ſtream was narrow, but deep, and over it was a ſmall bridge of ſtone, which would only admit four men a-breaſt, and which was defended by ſome towers in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. This dangerous paſſage the king determined to force; and, after two unſucceſsful attacks, in which he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs, he at length effected his purpoſe*. A battle then enſued, in which the enemy was worſted, and the Engliſh monarch, quitting the field with precipitation, fled to Saintes; thither he was followed by the conqueror; and, before the walls of that city, a more bloody and more deciſive engagement took place. The conflict was long ſuſtained between the rival monarchs with equal fury, and with equal ſucceſs; the French were anxious to maintain the glory they had acquired on the preceding day, and the Engliſh were equally ſolicitous to efface the diſgrace they had then ſuſtained; great courage and reſolution were diſplayed on both ſides; but, at laſt, victory again declared in favour of Lewis: Henry was the firſt to fly†, and the whole army ſoon followed his example. A few French knights having purſued them with more ardour than prudence, entered the gates of Saintes at the ſame time, and were taken priſoners. That very night, however, the town was evacuated by the Engliſh, and taken poſſeſſion of by the king. The count de la Marche, no longer able to reſiſt the ſtorm which he had raiſed againſt himſelf, had recourſe to the clemency of Lewis, who conſented to an accommodation, on condition that the count ſhould reſign all pretenſions to the places which had been reduced during the war; and that he ſhould do homage for the reſt of his dominions.

When the treaty was drawn up, the count, according to agreement, repaired to the king's camp, accompanied by his wife and children, in order to ſign it. He there threw himſelf at the feet of Lewis, and, burſting into tears, thus addreſſed the monarch: "My lord and ſovereign, you ſee at your knees a wretch, "who owns that he is unworthy of all favour, becauſe he has joined inſolence "to injuſtice; but forget his crime, and let juſtice give way to mercy, from "which alone he can expect his pardon‡." This abject ſubmiſſion excited the king's pity, who immediately raiſed up the count and his wife, and contented himſelf with exacting a promiſe from the former to accompany him in an expedition he was about to undertake againſt the count of Toulouſe.

That nobleman, forgetting the ſupport he had received from Lewis, when threatened with the vengeance of the pope, had not only declared war againſt

* Joinville, p. 21. † Guil. Guiart. p. 138. ‡ Guil. Nang. p. 339.

his protector, but even againſt his own daughter and her huſband.—The deſire of recovering what he had loſt by the treaty of Paris effaced from his mind the recollection of paſt favours. Having received a promiſe of aſſiſtance from the kings of Navarre, Caſtile, and Arragon; from the viſcount Trencavel; from the counts of Foix, Armagnac, Comminges, and Rodes; from the viſcounts of Narbonne, Lautrec, and Lomagne; and from other powerful noblemen, he had concluded a treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the count de la Marche, whoſe daughter, Margaret, he was diſpoſed to marry, and, enraged at having been forced to give his own daughter, Jane, to the count of Poitiers, he reſolved to diſinherit her.

Taking the field with all the troops he could collect, Raymond entered the king's domains, which he laid waſte with fire and ſword; he then defeated a body of troops that were ſent to oppoſe him; took poſſeſſion of the Raſez, the Minervois, the Termenois, and the circumjacent diſtricts; reduced the Carcaſſez; took Albi by aſſault; and ſeizing Narbonne, and its territory, re-aſſumed the title of duke of Narbonne, which he had formally reſigned. Lewis, on the news of this revolution, detached the old count of Brittany, and *the count de la Marche*, with a part of his army, to check the rapid progreſs of Raymond; but the particulars of this expedition are not recorded in hiſtory.

A. D. 1243.] The king, at length, found means to weaken the power of Raymond, by corrupting his allies; and that prince, alarmed at the general defection, was compelled to ſubmit to a confirmation and renewal of the treaty of Paris, reſtoring all the places he had reduced, and ſurrendering to the king, for the term of five years, the caſtles of Puicelſi in Albigeois, of Najac in Rouergue, of Laurac in the Toulouſain, and of Penne in Agenois. While this peace was negociating with the count of Toulouſe, the king of England had fled, firſt to Blaye, and afterwards to Bordeaux. He there iſſued orders for levying troops; but, being pillaged by the Gaſcons, who took his money, and brought him no men in return, and abandoned by thoſe on whoſe invitation he had repaired to France, he ſolicited a truce, and offered to pay five thouſand pounds to defray the expences of the war. This propoſal was accepted by Lewis; and a truce for five years was accordingly ſigned by the two monarchs*; after which Henry returned to England, not crowned with laurels, but covered with diſgrace. The joy experienced by the French, on the happy termination of a war, which had appeared to be pregnant with the moſt ſerious conſequences, was conſiderably heightened, on the return of Lewis to his capital, by the birth of a prince, who was chriſtened by the archbiſhop of Paris, and received the name of his father.

On the death of Gregory, Sinibald, a noble Genoeſe, was elected by the cardinals to ſucceed him in the papal chair; this pontiff, who aſſumed the title

* Rymer, Fœdera, tom. i. p. 146.

of Innocent the Fourth, had been the particular friend of the emperor Frederic; but, elated by his promotion, he renewed the arrogant pretenſions of his predeceſſor, and, by his conduct, extended the deſtructive flames of civil war, which had too long ravaged the fertile plains of Italy. The ſentence of excommunication againſt Frederic was renewed, and every eccleſiaſtic throughout Europe had orders to read it in the pulpit. A clergyman of Paris, whoſe piety, though ſincere, was not tinctured with ſcholaſtic gloom, aſcending the pulpit with the bull of pope Innocent in his hand, thus addreſſed his congrega-
"tion: You all know, my brethren, that I have received orders to fulminate
"an excommunication which has been launched againſt Frederic; *Why* I know
"not—all that I know is, that violent diſputes, and an irreconciliable hatred
"ſubſiſt between that prince and the Roman pontiff; God only knows which
"of the two is in the wrong; wherefore I excommunicate, with all my pow-
"er, that perſon who has injured the other; and I abſolve him, who, to the
"great offence of all the chriſtian world, has ſuſtained the injury*." This pleaſantry became a ſubject of laughter to all Paris; the emperor, who was ſoon informed of it, ſent conſiderable preſents to the facetious preacher; while the pope, who, probably, felt the force of ſuch raillery, puniſhed his indiſcretion by the infliction of a ſevere penance.

Lewis, about this time, finding the extreme inconvenience ariſing from the circumſtance of vaſſals being ſubject to the authority of two ſovereigns, enforced a regulation, which compelled all vaſſals of the crowns of France and England to determine to which ſovereign they would yield homage; and, finally, aboliſhed the dangerous cuſtom of adhering to either, as their caprice or intereſt ſuggeſted. Yet even in this edict, the juſtice of Lewis was conſpicuous, in indemnifying thoſe who adhered to him for the lands which they forfeited by ſeceding from the king of England.

The pope, driven to extremities by the rapid ſucceſs of the imperial arms, eſcaped from Italy in diſguiſe, and repaired to the abbey of Citeaux, where he claimed the protection of Lewis againſt *the ſon of Satan*†. The king accordingly haſtened to meet him, accompanied by his brothers, the counts of Artois and Poitiers, the princeſs Iſabella, the count of Boulogne, the duke and ducheſs of Burgundy, and a ſplendid retinue of nobles and gentlemen. At this interview, Lewis was earneſtly ſolicited to grant a refuge to Innocent within his own dominions; but, by the advice of his barons, he prudently refuſed to comply with the requeſt, and to receive a *firebrand*, that would ſoon have ſet his kingdom in a flame. His example was followed by all the other monarchs, to whom a ſimilar application was made; and the pope, enraged at the neglect with which he was treated, exclaimed: "We muſt either conſent to an accom-
"modation with Frederic, or drive him to deſpair. When we ſhall have

* M. Paris, p. 575. † Joinv. p. 170.

" cruſhed or tamed this mighty dragon, all theſe little ſerpents will no longer " dare to hold up their heads ; and we ſhall trample on them without fear*." Such an exclamation could not fail to offend the ſovereigns of Europe ; but they were too much under the influence of prejudice, to treat this arrogant prieſt as he deſerved.

A. D. 1244, 1245.] While the vicar of Chriſt was *piouſly* employed in forming plans of revenge, Lewis was ſeized with a dangerous diſorder that reduced him to the verge of the grave ; his diſſolution, indeed, was actually ſuppoſed to have taken place, and the attendants were preparing to lay him out, when a deep ſigh proclaimed their error ; and ſoon after he is ſaid to have exclaimed: " The light of the Eaſt, by the grace of God, ſhone upon me from " the heavens, and reſtored me to life†." He immediately ſent for the biſhop of Paris, and, making a vow to repair to the relief of the chriſtians in the Holy Land, received the croſs from the hands of that prelate. The joy which his ſubjects experienced at the unexpected recovery of their ſovereign, was, by this fatal vow, ſpeedily converted into ſorrow, which the birth of a ſecond prince, named Philip, did not altogether remove.

The pope, in the mean time, had holden a general council at Lyons, at which he diſplayed the moſt indecent warmth, and the moſt unchriſtianlike rancour. Though Frederic offered to exert his utmoſt efforts, in proof of his religious zeal, for uniting the Greek and Roman churches ; to attack the infidels, wherever he ſhould find them ; to repair in perſon to Paleſtine, in order to ſupport and protect the chriſtians of the Eaſt ; and, finally, to reſtore to the apoſtolic ſee all the places he had taken, and to repair all the damages he had cauſed during the war ; yet theſe offers were inſufficient to ſatisfy the arrogant pontiff, who accordingly rejected them with diſdain ; and, ſoon after, pronounced the following ſentence againſt the emperor: " I am the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt ; all that I " ſhall bind upon earth will be bound in heaven, according to the promiſe made " by the Son of God to Saint Peter ; wherefore, after having deliberated on " the ſubject with our brethren, and with the council, I declare Frederic to be " attainted and convicted of ſacrilege and hereſy, to be excommunicated and " depoſed ; I abſolve from their oaths, for ever, all ſuch as have ſworn fealty " to him : I forbid all perſons, under pain of excommunication (incurred by the " very act itſelf), to obey him in future ; and, laſtly, I order the electors to " chuſe another emperor, reſerving to myſelf the diſpoſal of the kingdom of " Sicily."

At this famous council, Velly juſtly obſerves‡, the dignity of the prelacy, the rights of nations, and the majeſty of kings, were equally invaded, by the haughty pontiff ; yet ſo blind were the ſovereigns to their own intereſt, that they remained paſſive ſpectators of that conduct, which, founded on a violation of all laws, both human and divine, ſtruck at the very root of ſocial order, and ten-

* Mat. Paris, p. 660. † Hiſt. de Saint Louis, p. 32. ‡ Tom. iv. p. 326.

ded to eſtabliſh the reign of anarchy, violence, and murder. Lewis, indeed, was highly diſpleaſed with Innocent; and, at an interview, which took place at the abbey of Cluni, is ſaid to have expreſſed his diſpleaſure to the pope himſelf, and to have endeavoured to reſtore peace between the empire and the apoſtolic ſee*. But his efforts were fruitleſs, and the pontiff, far from evincing a pacific diſpoſition, ſought to engage the king to declare war againſt the Engliſh, who had offended him by remonſtrating, with equal freedom and juſtice, againſt the oppreſſive exactions of the court of Rome.

On the king's departure from Cluni, he ſent a detachment of troops into Provence, in order to enforce a meaſure which had been ſome time in agitation, though hitherto kept ſecret. The count of Provence had died, and, by his will, declared his youngeſt daughter, Beatrice, ſole heireſs to his dominions, to the excluſion of her three ſiſters, two of whom were queens. The young counteſs had, during her father's life, been promiſed to Raymond, count of Toulouſe, and they had only waited for a diſpenſation from the pope, to celebrate the marriage†. The king of Arragon alſo, being anxious to obtain her for one of his ſons, had put a body of troops in motion, in order to ſupport his pretenſions. It being the intereſt of France to oppoſe both theſe alliances, Lewis threatened the inhabitants of Provence to ſupport the claims of his wife, who was the eldeſt daughter of the deceaſed count, at the head of fifty thouſand men.—This threat had the deſired effect; the Provencals, alarmed leſt their country ſhould be expoſed to the horrors of war, perſuaded the princeſs to retract the engagement ſhe had formed with the count of Toulouſe, and to beſtow herſelf on prince Charles, the youngeſt brother of the French monarch. Lewis, contented with this offer, withdrew his pretenſions, and the nuptials between Beatrice and Charles were accordingly celebrated, by which the latter acquired the title of count of Provence.

A. D. 1246.] Theſe different occupations did not prevent the king from making every neceſſary preparation for his voyage to Paleſtine, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous ſolicitations of the queen-mother, who exerted her utmoſt efforts to diſſuade him from the adoption of a meaſure, which ſhe conceived to be pregnant with danger to the ſtate. She repreſented to him, that a vow, made in the time of ſickneſs, when a man is not in full poſſeſſion of his faculties, could not be binding; that a concern for the welfare of his ſubjects, was alone ſufficient to abſolve him from the obligation, without any diſpenſation whatever‡; that the ſituation of affairs, both external and internal, rendered his preſence at home an object of neceſſity; that he ought to reflect on the infidelity of the Poictevins, who bore the yoke with impatience; on the diſturbances in Languedoc, which, though huſhed for the preſent, were expected to break out with additional violence; on the animoſity of England; the irreconcileable enmity between the

* Goldaſt. t. iii. p. 380. † Guil. de Pod. c. xlvii. p. 699. ‡ M. Paris, p. 743.

pope and the emperor, which ſet all Germany and Italy in flames; the intereſts of his people, which ought not to be leſs dear to him than the chriſtians of the Eaſt; the welfare of his family, who, by his abſence, might be expoſed to a long train of calamities; and, laſtly, on the grief of a mother, who, having but a ſhort time to live, could not expect to ſee him return. Theſe arguments were all enforced by the principal nobles and prelates of the realm, who were fully convinced of their juſtice; but the ſuggeſtions of reaſon proved impotent in oppoſing the dictates of miſtaken zeal; the king's reſolution was not to be ſhaken; and his ſubjects having diſcharged their duty by their attempts to diſſuade him from this raſh undertaking, now diſplayed their obedience in accelerating the preparations.

At a parliament holden at Paris, great numbers of the chief nobles and gentlemen of the realm, in imitation of their ſovereign, aſſumed the croſs; among theſe were the king's three brothers, Robert, Alfonſo, and Charles; Peter, count of Brittany, and his ſon John; Hugh, duke of Burgundy; William de Dampierre, count of Flanders; the valiant count of Saint Paul, and his nephew Gaucher de Chatillon; Hugh de Luſignan, count de la Marche, and his eldeſt ſon, Hugh le Brun; the counts of Dreux, Bar, Soiſſons, Rethel, Montfort, and Vendome; the conſtable, Imbert de Beaujeu; John de Beaumont, chamberlain; Philip de Courtenai; Archambaud de Bourbon; Ralph de Couci; John des Barres; Gaubert D'Apremont, and his brothers; Gilles de Mailli; Robert de Bethune; Hugh de Noailles, and John, lord of Joinville, the hiſtorian. Among the prelates were the archbiſhops of Rheims and Bourges, with the biſhops of Beauvais, Laon, Orleans, Clermont, and Soiſſons. It was decreed by the aſſembly, that all private wars ſhould ceaſe during five years; that no proceſs could be inſtituted againſt the cruſaders, on account of debts, for the term of three years; and that the clergy ſhould pay the king one tenth of their revenues. "This laſt regulation," ſays a modern hiſtorian*, "excited great murmurs "among the clergy, who had hitherto highly applauded the cruſade, but whoſe "zeal was not always proof againſt intereſt." They complained loudly of the burden thus impoſed on them, and were particularly offended at the tax being levied by the pope's commiſſioners, who, at the ſame time, exacted another contribution for the ſupport of the war againſt the emperor†. One of theſe miniſters of extortion, meeting a village-clerk, with ſome pieces of bread, which he had collected in carrying holy water from houſe to houſe, inſiſted on knowing how much his profits, in that occupation, amounted to in a year; and being told that they produced about twenty ſols, he immediately inſiſted on the payment of two ſols for the pope, which the poor man was obliged to comply with‡.

But the exactions of Innocent experienced conſiderable oppoſition from the nobles, who, enraged at the ſhameful extortion of his miniſters, and moved by

* P. Daniel, t. iii. p. 245. † Mat. Paris, p. 709, 710. ‡ Id. p. 795.

the complaints of an oppreſſed people, were ſtrongly diſpoſed to proceed to extremities againſt the author of ſuch calamities*. They even proceeded to diſcuſs this queſtion—Whether a pontiff, whoſe conduct was ſo repugnant to the ſpirit of chriſtianity ought to be conſidered as the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, and the ſucceſſor of Saint Peter?—They proceeded ſtill farther, till at length a regular and determined oppoſition was formed to the juriſdiction aſſumed by the church, which interrupted the adminiſtration of juſtice in the ſecular courts. The nobility aſſembled, entered into a league for defending their rights againſt the clergy, enacted ſtatutes, which they ſwore to obſerve, eſtabliſhed funds for their ſupport, and nominated four of their body as chiefs of the confederacy. The king is ſaid to have authoriſed this aſſociation for repreſſing eccleſiaſtical uſurpations, which was, of courſe, loaded with anathemas by the court of Rome; he, nevertheleſs, granted his protection to the clergy, againſt the inſatiate avidity of the pope. The permiſſion to levy troops for the ſovereign pontiff was alſo revoked, Lewis being reſolved not to impoveriſh the church of France, in order to ſupport a war againſt chriſtians. In vain did Innocent requeſt he might be permitted to *borrow* from the biſhops; the king remained inflexible, and perſevered in his refuſal to ſacrifice the welfare of his ſubjects to the ambition of a turbulent prieſt.

A. D. 1247, 1248.] Previous to his departure to Paleſtine, which was fixed for the ninth of June, 1248, Lewis adopted every poſſible precaution for the tranquillity of his kingdom, during his abſence; he engaged the turbulent counts of la Marche, and Brittany, to accompany him to the Holy Land. In conformity to the general practice, he publiſhed that he was ready to redreſs every injury he had offered; and the king of England demanded by his brother, the earl of Cornwall, the duchy of Normandy, and the reſt of thoſe territories in France, of which he had been unjuſtly deſpoiled. To the biſhops of that duchy he referred the application, and their deſigns coinciding with his intereſt, the demand of Henry was rejected; yet that monarch conſented to renew the truce between the two kingdoms; and Lewis, after inveſting his mother Blanche, with the ſovereign authority, prepared for his embarkation.

On the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, the king embarked at the port of Aigues-Mortes, with the queen and the counteſs of Anjou, who were reſolved to accompany their huſbands in this perilous expedition. The fleet was compoſed of eighteen hundred veſſels, containing nine thouſand horſe, and one hundred and thirty thouſand foot: with favourable winds they reached the coaſt of Cyprus, on whoſe friendly ſhores the troops were diſembarked; and, during the ſeverity of the winter, their ſtrength was recruited, and their health reſtored by the plenty of that iſland.

A. D. 1249 to 1254.] Lewis, on his arrival at Cyprus, had aſſembled a council of war, for the purpoſe of fixing his plan of operations; ſome of the

* Mat. Paris, p. 710, 718, 720.

cruſaders were of opinion that he ſhould direct his courſe to the port of Acre, in Paleſtine, from the perſuaſion that the kingdom of Jeruſalem, the recovery of which was the principal object of the expedition, might be eaſily ſubdued. Others, on the contrary, maintained, that though the conqueſt of that kingdom would not prove an object of difficulty, yet it could not be maintained againſt the power of the ſultan of Egypt; that, before all the towns and fortreſſes could be put in a proper ſtate of defence, the majority of the cruſaders would return to Europe; that it would, therefore, be moſt prudent to ſtrike at the root of the evil, by an attack on Damietta; as the reduction of Egypt would prevent any farther oppoſition to their attempts on the Holy Land. Theſe reaſons appeared plauſible to Lewis, who accordingly determined to repair to Egypt.

Early in the ſpring the fleet caſt anchor at the mouth of the Nile, and, after a vigorous reſiſtance from the Saracens, the whole army made good their landing, with Lewis at their head, clad in complete armour, preceded by the oriflamme, and accompanied by the pope's legate, bearing an elevated croſs. The ſtrong city of Damietta, which had formerly withſtood the aſſaults of the chriſtians for ſixteen months, was now abandoned by the infidels, ere it was attacked; but that town was the firſt and laſt of the king's conqueſts. A ruinous delay fruſtrated that ſucceſs which the expedition muſt have enſured; the Saracens, recovered from their conſternation, prepared for a vigorous defence; and the progreſs of the French, who directed their march towards Cairo, the capital of Egypt, was impeded by an unſeaſonable inundation of the Nile. Under the eye of their intrepid monarch, the barons and knights of France diſplayed their invincible contempt of danger and of diſcipline; the count of Artois with about two thouſand of the flower of the army, paſſed the river, at a ford which a faithleſs and mercenary Arab had pointed out, forced the enemy's camp, defeated the Saracens with great ſlaughter, and ruſhing forward with inconſiderate valour, ſtormed the neighbouring town of Maſſoura. But the momentary conſternation of the inhabitants was diſpelled by the intelligence that the main body of the French was ſtill at a diſtance. The flying infidels were rallied by a ſoldier, named Bondocdar, who deſerved, and who afterwards uſurped the ſceptre; and before the chriſtians could arrive to the ſupport of their vanguard, the count of Artois and his fearleſs companions had effaced, by a glorious death, the fatal error of impetuous courage. The battle was with difficulty reſtored, and, after an obſtinate and bloody conteſt, in which Lewis performed prodigies of valour, the Saracens were, at length, compelled to relinquiſh the field to the daring warriors of France.

But this unprofitable victory ſerved only to augment the diſtreſs of the French, by diminiſhing their numbers, while thoſe of the enemy were daily increaſing; and they ſoon learned, to their coſt, that the utmoſt exertions of military ſkill and valour were of little avail. By theſe efforts, their fate might be procraſtinated, but it could not be averted. From the increaſing numbers

of the infidels, they were obliged to ſhelter themſelves in a ſtrong camp, while the Nile was commanded by the Egyptian gallies, and the open country by the Arabs. All proviſions were intercepted; each day diſplayed the rapid progreſs of diſeaſe and famine; and a ſhower of Greek fire was inceſſantly poured on their heads by the ſurrounding Saracens. The moment the French determined to retreat, they diſcovered that it was impracticable:—the oriential writers confeſs, that Lewis might have eſcaped by ſea, if he would have deſerted his ſubjects; and policy would have juſtified the prudent, though inglorious flight. But his magnanimous mind preferred the thorny path of honour; and, with his brother, the count of Anjou, the greateſt part of his nobles, and the ſhattered remnant of his army, the king of France became the captive of the victorious Saracens.

The conquerors ſullied their triumph by their cruelty; the captive monarch was loaded with chains, and ſuch of his ſubjects as were unable to purchaſe their liberty, and unwilling to profeſs Mahometaniſm, were inhumanly maſſacred, and their heads expoſed on the walls of Cairo. But the ſtrength of Damietta proved the ſecurity of Lewis; the Saracens being unable to reduce that city, which contained his royal conſort and his treaſures, conſented to releaſe him and his troops, on condition that he ſhould deliver it into their hands, and pay eight hundred thouſand pieces of gold, called *byſantines**.

After fulfilling the conditions of the treaty, with ſcrupulous integrity, Lewis, with his queen, Margaret, and about ſix thouſand ſoldiers, the war-worn relics of his former hoſt, embarked on board the gallies of Genoa, for the port of Acre, in Paleſtine. It might have reaſonably been expected, that, after his late misfortune, he would have reſigned all thoughts of conqueſt in the Eaſt, and returned to the government of his native kingdom: but he was unwilling to reviſit his dominions without glory; and he confided in the wiſdom and vigilance of his mother. But grief for the captivity of her ſon, joined to the natural infirmities of age, brought that princeſs to the grave, after a tranquil and proſperous adminiſtration, in the month of December, 1253.

The news of her death was immediately diſpatched to her ſon; and, in the mean time, the reins of government were entruſted to the feeble hands of prince Lewis, who had not yet attained his thirteenth year. The king, ſenſible that his preſence was now neceſſary in France, determined to quit the Holy Land, where he had paſſed four years without having been able to viſit Jeruſalem, or to achieve any conqueſt worthy of hiſtorical notice. He accordingly embarked at the port of Acre, on the tenth of July, 1254, arrived on the coaſt of Provence, where he landed; and, after a ſhort delay, proceeded to Paris, where he was received with the acclamations of his people, whoſe joy, however, experienced

* Epiſt. S. Lud. de Capt. et Liberat. ſua, apud Duch. tom. v. p. 430.

no inconſiderable diminution when they ſaw the croſs ſtill affixed to his dreſs—a ſure ſign that he intended to reviſit the plains of Paleſtine.

Immediately after his return, Lewis aſſembled a parliament, in which he publiſhed an ordonnance, for enforcing a rigid and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the kingdom; he alſo renewed and confirmed the edict againſt the uſury, blaſphemy, and *witchcraft* of the Jews, and ordered their talmud, and other impious books, to be burnt wherever they might be found: an edict was paſſed at the ſame time, for expelling proſtitutes from all towns and villages, for ſeizing their effects, and ſtripping their perſons of their upper garments; whoever ſhould let them a houſe, was condemned to forfeit one year's rent. The game at cheſs, and all games at dice, were forbidden, and even the fabrication of dice was prohibited throughout his dominions.

The predeceſſors of Lewis had been accuſtomed to ſend commiſſioners into the provinces, to receive complaints and adminiſter juſtice; before his voyage to Paleſtine, Lewis had regularly followed their example; but, fearing that this cuſtom might not be ſufficient to enſure the happineſs of his ſubjects, he now reſolved to viſit the provinces in perſon. He accordingly made the tour of Picardy and Flanders, and from thence repaired to Soiſſons, where he had an interview with Joinville, the friend of his heart, and the partner of his dangers. That nobleman was employed to aſk the hand of Iſabella, the king's daughter, for Thibaud the Fifth, count of Champagne, and king of Navarre, a young prince of the moſt promiſing hopes. But Lewis refuſed to liſten to the propoſal, till the young monarch ſhould have done juſtice to his ſiſter, the counteſs of Brittany, who had advanced ſome claims which he had refuſed to grant.

The king of England had, during the abſence of Lewis in Paleſtine, viſited Gaſcony, where his protection had been claimed by the barons, againſt an invaſion which the king of Caſtile had made upon that territory. Having appeaſed the troubles that prevailed there, he was now deſirous to return home; and for that purpoſe aſked the king's permiſſion to paſs through his dominions. This was readily accorded; and Henry was every where received with thoſe marks of diſtinction that were due to his rank. At Chartres he had an interview with Lewis; and from thence the two monarchs repaired to Paris, where the king of England was entertained with the utmoſt magnificence and hoſpitality. Matthew Paris affirms, that, during Henry's ſtay at Paris, Lewis frequently teſtified to him his deſire of reſtoring the duchy of Normandy: "But," ſaid he, "my "twelve peers and my barons would never conſent to it." The treaty that was now concluded between them, gives an air of probability to this anecdote*; by which we learn that the number of peers was, at this time, reduced to twelve, and that the kings of France did not think themſelves authoriſed to diſpoſe of any part of their dominions, without the conſent of the peers and nobles of the realm.

* P. Dan. t. iii. p. 313.

Lewis accompanied the king of England a part of the way on his journey to Calais; and, on his return, he aſſembled a parliament, in order to ſettle the diſpute between the king of Navarre and his ſiſter, the counteſs of Brittany. This arrangement appeared to be a matter of difficulty. The late count of Champagne (who died while the king was in Paleſtine) had, by his firſt wife, Agnes de Beaujeu, one daughter named Blanche; and, when that princeſs married the count of Brittany, he had ſettled on her the kingdom of Navarre, to the excluſion of any male heirs which he might afterwards have. Subſequent to this marriage, he had, by Margaret de Bourbon, two ſons, Thibaud and Henry, who, by the above ſettlement, appeared to be excluded from the throne of their father. The people, however, on the death of the king, acknowledged the eldeſt of theſe princes for their ſovereign, and ſent a ſolemn deputation to inform him of their reſolution. Blanche proteſted againſt this uſurpation; and, beſide the reſtitution of Navarre, ſhe claimed her ſhare in the county of Champagne. Intereſts thus oppoſite ſeemed to ſet reconciliation at defiance; but, as the counteſs was not in a ſituation to enforce her claims, ſhe at length conſented to reſign her pretenſions to the king her brother, on condition of receiving an annual penſion of three thouſand livres for her dower, and the nuptials were celebrated with great ſolemnity at Melun*.

A. D. 1255.] The Romiſh church, taking advantage of favourable incidents, had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the ſame ſtate of feudal vaſſalage which ſhe pretended to extend over England; and which, by reaſon of the diſtance, as well as high ſpirit of the latter kingdom, ſhe was not able to maintain. After the death of the emperor, Frederic the Second, the ſucceſſion of Sicily devolved on Conradine, grandſon of that monarch; and Mainfroy, his natural ſon, under the pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the prince, had formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing his own authority. Pope Innocent tranſferred his animoſity from Frederic to Conradine, againſt whom he ſtill continued hoſtilities; but, being diſappointed in all his ſchemes, by the activity and artifices of Mainfroy, he found that his own force alone was not ſufficient to bring to a happy iſſue ſo great an enterpriſe. He pretended to diſpoſe of the Sicilian crown, both as ſuperior lord of that particular kingdom, and as vicar of Chriſt, to whom all kingdoms of the earth were ſubjected; and he made a tender of it to the count of Anjou; but Charles, either deeming the conjuncture unfavourable, or the conditions of acceptance too hard, rejected the offer. It was then propoſed to Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to the king of England, whoſe immenſe riches, the pontiff flattered himſelf, would be able to ſupport the military operations againſt Mainfroy. As Richard, alſo, had the prudence to refuſe the preſent, he applied to Henry himſelf, whoſe levity and thoughtleſs diſpoſition gave Innocent more hopes of ſucceſs; and he offered him the crown of Sicily for his ſecond ſon Edmond. Henry, allured by ſo magnificent a preſent, without re-

* Inv. des Char. t. ii. Chap. vi. p. 126.

flecting on the conſequences, without conſulting either with his brother or the parliament, accepted the inſidious propoſal, and gave the pope unlimited credit to expend whatever ſums he thought neceſſary for completing the conqueſt of Sicily. Innocent, who was engaged by his own intereſts to wage war with Mainfroy, was glad to carry on his enterpriſes at the expenſe of his ally. Alexander the Fourth, who ſucceeded him in the papal throne, continued the ſame policy; and Henry was ſurpriſed to find himſelf on a ſudden involved in an immenſe debt, which he had never been conſulted in contracting.

A diſpute which occurred about this time between the count of Anjou, and a private gentleman, one of the count's vaſſals, afforded Lewis an opportunity of diſplaying his impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice. The cauſe was tried before the officers of the prince, who, of courſe, decided it in his favour; but the gentleman appealed to the king's court, which ſo enraged Charles, that he immediately threw him into priſon. The king, appriſed of his brother's conduct, ordered him to repair to court without delay. When he came into the royal preſence—"Do you ſuppoſe," ſaid Lewis, with a ſtern countenance, "that there ought to be more than one ſovereign in France, or that, "becauſe you are my brother, you are above the laws*?" At the ſame time he ordered him to releaſe his vaſſal, that the law might have its courſe. The count obeyed; but the gentleman could not find a ſingle attorney, or barriſter, who had ſufficient ſpirit and honeſty to undertake his cauſe. When the king was informed of this circumſtance, he appointed an agent for that purpoſe, from when he exacted an oath of fidelity. The queſtion was accordingly diſcuſſed with the moſt ſcrupulous impartiality: the vaſſal was reſtored to his poſſeſſions, and the king's brother caſt.

The tranquillity which prevailed in his dominions, enabled him to adopt ſuch regulations as were eſſential to its welfare; the felicity of his ſubjects appears, at this period, to have been the firſt object of his care; he appointed officers for the purpoſe of examining into the uſurpations of his predeceſſors, and he made reſtitution to the heirs of the lands which had been unjuſtly taken from their anceſtors;—where no heirs could be found, the property was diſpoſed of, and the produce diſtributed to the poor†.

A violent quarrel broke out between the mendicant friars and the univerſity of Paris, occaſioned by the uſurpations of the former, on the rights and privileges of the latter, with reſpect to keeping ſchools. As the diſputes between them aroſe to a dangerous height, an appeal was made to pope Innocent; and that pontiff endeavoured, by a bull in favour of the univerſity, to repreſs the ambition of the mendicants, who had evinced a diſpoſition to aboliſh the hierarchy‡; but Alexander the Fourth, on his acceſſion to the pontifical throne, annulled the bull of his predeceſſor. The pretext he offered for ſo doing muſt

* Mon. S. Dion. Anon. apud Duch. t. v. p. 403. † Velly, t. v. p. 170. ‡ Guil. S. Am. p. 38, 39, 500.

doubtleſs appear ſingular in the mouth of a pope:—"That bull," ſaid he, "was "the effect of prejudice, and a want of deliberation*."—What then become of the boaſted *infallibility* of the pope? The protection thus afforded by the ſovereign pontiff gave freſh courage to the mendicants, and for ſome time the moſt inveterate animoſity prevailed between the contending parties. The monks were aſſailed by ſatires and epigrams, and the members of the univerſity by bulls and papal cenſures.—It is extraordinary that the king ſhould not have interpoſed his authority to put an end to a conteſt that interrupted the peace of the church, and inflamed the minds of his ſubjects; it was at length terminated in 1263, by mutual conceſſions.

The piety of Lewis was ſtrongly tinctured with enthuſiaſm; and that circumſtance may poſſibly be deemed ſufficient to account for his conduct, in forbearing to interfere in a diſpute in which the ſovereign pontiff had become a party concerned. The king uſed frequently to viſit the Jacobins; and, converſing with them one day on the happineſs of the virgin, in bearing the Son of God in her unpolluted wombt, one of the monks, more forward than his brethren, ſaid to him—"Sire, would not you wiſh to hold in your hands, what "the virgin bore in her womb?" "Doubtleſs," ſaid the king. "You "know," replied the monk, "what is ſaid in the Scriptures—If any one quits "his father, his mother, his children, or his poſſeſſions, for love of me, he "ſhall receive a hundred fold, and inherit eternal life—Dare then, Sire, to "aſpire to that ſummit of perfection. You have heirs capable of well-governing your kingdom; you have hitherto made your happineſs conſiſt in ſuffering for God; twenty times has your life been expoſed for the glory of his "name; nothing remains for you, but to give up every thing in order to aſſume the croſs, that is, our habit. By that means you will, by degrees, attain the dignity of prieſthood, and acquire the honour of receiving Jeſus "Chriſt into your hands." The king, ſtricken with this diſcourſe, remained motionleſs, for ſome time, loſt in meditation; he reflected, we are told, on the dangers of the world, the important duties of royalty, and the ſweets of monaſtic retirement. At length he replied—"If what I hear be true, as in my "heart and mind I believe, I will follow your advice; but I can do nothing "without the queen's conſent. Her virtue, and my engagements with her, "equally forbid me to come to any determination, without her knowledge and "advice."

He then left the convent, and, returning to the palace, went to the queen's apartment, and imparted his reſolution of reſigning his crown to her and her children; obſerving, that when he was a monk and a prieſt, his prayers ſhould be inceſſantly offered up to the Lord for their happineſs, and the welfare of the ſtate; and conjured her, by all that ſhe held ſacred upon earth, not to oppoſe

* Du Boulay, p. 270. † Chron. Senon. l. iv. t. 2.—Spicel. p. 641.

a project which he ſaid was inſpired by heaven. Margaret, aſtoniſhed at this intelligence, made no reply*; but, calling her children, aſked them, in the preſence of the count of Anjou, whether they would prefer being called the children of a prieſt, or the ſons of a king? The princes being at a loſs to conceive the purport of ſuch a queſtion, ſhe proceeded to inform them that the Jacobins had ſo far faſcinated the mind of their father, that he was reſolved to abdicate the throne, and turn prieſt. When the count of Anjou heard this, he flew into a violent rage, abuſed his brother, and ſwore vengeance againſt the monks, againſt whom he immediately cauſed an edict to be iſſued, forbidding them to preach throughout his dominions, and prohibiting his ſubjects from giving them alms. Lewis, the king's eldeſt ſon, was equally violent; he launched out into ſuch virulent abuſe againſt the Jacobins, that Lewis is ſaid to have ſilenced him by a blow. "Sire," exclaimed the young prince, "I ſhall never forget the "reſpect which I owe you: in fact, no one, except my father and my ſove-"reign, could have ſtricken me with impunity; but, ſhould Providence ever "place me on the throne, I ſwear, by my lord Saint Denis, our patron, that "I will expel all thoſe preachers from the kingdom!"—The king, aſtoniſhed to meet with ſuch oppoſition to his plan, began to fear that his inclination for a monaſtic life rather proceeded from his love of tranquillity, than from any heavenly inſpiration: he was well acquainted with the queen's affection for him; he knew the impetuous pride of his ſucceſſor, the violent temper of the count of Anjou, and the attachment of his ſubjects to his perſon: theſe conſiderations at length induced him to believe that God would not require a ſacrifice, that muſt equally affect the honour of his houſe, and the happineſs of his people.

The life of a *Saint*, when written by a *Prieſt*, muſt naturally be expected to contain a variety of incidents, trivial in themſelves, and wholly unintereſting to poſterity. Thus the French hiſtorians have ſpun out the reign of Saint Lewis, to a diſproportionate length; the moſt unimportant occurrences are dwelled upon with enthuſiaſtic energy, and every action is viewed through the teleſcope of admiration. Though we cannot conſent to disfigure our hiſtory by an imitation of their prolixity, we ſhall, with pleaſure, record the virtues of their favourite king, atteſt his piety, and applaud his attention to the firſt duties of a monarch. Now that he was relieved from the burdens of war, he diminiſhed the national impoſts, and ſought, by every means in his power, to promote the welfare and felicity of his ſubjects. To thoſe young women whoſe poverty expoſed their virtue to danger, he gave ample dowers to procure them huſbands; for the poor he eſtabliſhed extenſive and durable charities; and for all converts to chriſtianity he made a liberal proviſion.

A. D. 1258.] The tranquillity which the kingdom had for ſome time enjoyed was on the point of being interrupted by a difference which aroſe between

* Chron. Senon. l. iv. t. 2. Spicel. p. 641.

the kings of France and Arragon. Lewis claimed the ſovereignty of Catalonia and Rouſſillon, which had been acquired by the arms of Pepin and Charlemagne, and which the king of Arragon had uſurped; while James, on his part, demanded the reſtitution of various domains, which were in the poſſeſſion of Lewis: the two princes entertained a mutual eſteem for each other; and, though both of them had diſplayed their ſkill and courage in the field, yet they were equally deſirous to preſerve peace between the two kingdoms. After many propoſals offered and rejected by either party, the following terms were at length agreed on*:—"Lewis cedes to king James, and his ſucceſſors, all his right to the "counties of Barcelona, Urgel, Bezalu, Rouſſillon, Empuries, Cerdagna, Con-"flaut, Girona, and Auſone. King James, on his part, renounces, in favour of "Lewis, and his ſucceſſors, all his pretenſions to Carcaſſonne and the Carcaſſez; "to the town and territory of Raſez; to Laurac and the Lauraguais; to Ter-"mes and the Termenois; to Beziers and the viſcounty of that name; to Mi-"nerve and the Minervois; to Agde and the Agadois; to Albi and the Albie-"gois; to Rodez and the Rouergue; to Cahors and the Querci; to the town "and duchy of Narbonne; to Puilaurens, Queribus, Caſtel-fiſel, and Sault; to "Fenouillet and the Fenouilledes; to Pierre-Pertuſe and the Pierre-Pertuſez; "to the town and county of Milhaud; to Gevaudan and the viſcounty of Gre-"zes; to Niſmes and the Nemauſois; to Toulouſe and all its dependencies; "to the county of Saint Gilles, the Angenois, and the Venaiſſin; and to all the "other domains belonging to the late count Raymond, father-in-law to Alfonſo, "count of Poitiers." This treaty was ratified ſome months after it was firſt ſigned, by the king of Arragon, at Barcelona, in preſence of Raymond-Gaucelin Lunel, whom Lewis had ſent thither as his ambaſſador. That nobleman was alſo charged with another commiſſion of importance. It had been ſettled, by a ſeparate clauſe of the treaty, that Philip, the ſecond ſon of Lewis, ſhould marry Iſabella, daughter to the king of Arragon. The Spaniſh prince cheerfully conſented to confirm this article†, and promiſed to obtain a diſpenſation from the pope for that purpoſe. The marriage was accordingly celebrated four years after, and a fifth part of the territory that her huſband was to have as his appanage was ſettled on Iſabella.

A. D. 1259.] Another negociation, begun about the ſame time, though not brought to a concluſion till the following year, with the king of England, was leſs favourably received by the ſubjects of Lewis. His council exerted their utmoſt efforts to diſſuade him from a meaſure which they deemed impolitic, and the nobility oppoſed it with warmth and firmneſs; but all their oppoſition proved fruitleſs.—This was the only time, ſays Mezeray, that the king acted in oppoſition to the will of his barons.

For more than half a century that the French had been at war with the Engliſh, all attempts to conclude a treaty of peace between the two powers proved

* Thr. des Ch. Montp. fac. ii. n. 27. † Spicil. tom. iii. p. 634.

ineffectual.—Henry, however, did not deſpair to recover, by negociation, what his father had loſt by his infamy and cowardice. With this view he had viſited Paris, where he endeavoured to perſuade Lewis to comply with his demands; but whatever diſpoſition to favour him he might have remarked in that monarch, he muſt have perceived that he ſtood in fear of his barons: but, little diſcouraged by the inutility of his firſt attempt, he endeavoured to get his name inſcribed on the liſt of thoſe to whom the king reſtored the domains which had been uſurped by his anceſtors; in this, however, he failed. Still perſevering in his deſign, he had recently ſent his brother-in-law, the factious and enterpriſing earl of Leiceſter*, with ſeveral other noblemen, again to demand that reſtitution which had been ſo frequently refuſed. The crown of Sicily beſtowed on his ſon Edmond, the election of his brother Richard, as king of the Romans, and the protection of the court of Rome had revived the hopes of Henry. Emboldened by this imaginary increaſe of conſequence, he ventured to repreſent to Lewis, that the truce being nearly expired, the reſtitution of the confiſcated provinces could alone prevent the renewal of a war that muſt prove equally fatal to the welfare and happineſs of either nation; that it was unjuſt to puniſh a ſon for his father's crime; and that the crime itſelf, enormous as it was, had been ſufficiently expiated, by ſo long a privation of ſuch valuable poſſeſſions. The ambaſſadors of Henry were accompanied by others from the king of the Romans, who laid claim to the county of Poitou. Lewis received them with kindneſs; but the princes of the blood, the nobles who attended the court, and even the people themſelves, took every opportunity of ſhowing their reſentment, and of treating them with contempt. Diſpleaſed with the reception they experienced, and diſcontented with the anſwer they received from the king, who refuſed to come to a deciſion till the enſuing Lent, when the parliament was to aſſemble, they returned to England, leaving only the abbot of Weſtminſter to conduct the negociation.

It is not known what arguments were employed by that prelate to ſuperinduce a compliance with the demands of his ſovereign; whatever they were, they appeared convincive to Lewis, who at length ſigned a treaty, by which he ceded to Henry the Limouſin, Querci, and Perigord, enſured to him the peaceable poſſeſſion of Guienne, agreed to pay him a large ſum of money for the ſupport of five hundred knights, which he was to take with him to the Holy Land; while Henry, in return for theſe advantages, only made a final ceſſion of Normandy, and the other provinces, which he could never entertain any hopes of recovering by force of arms. This ceſſion was ratified by Henry, by his two ſons, and two daughters, and by the king of the Romans, and his three ſons†.—Immediately after the concluſion of the treaty, Lewis, the king's eldeſt ſon, was ſeized

* Mat. Paris, p. 955, 958. † Rymer, vol. i. p. 675; M. Paris, 566; Chron. T. Wykes, p. 58; Trivet, p. 208; M. Weſt, p. 371.

with a diſtemper that put an end to his life, in the ſeventeenth year of his age. He was buried at Royaumont.

A. D. 1261.] Lewis having removed every probable ground of diſpute between France and the neighbouring kingdoms, convened an aſſembly of the prelates and nobles, in order to deliberate on the affairs of Paleſtine. That unfortunate country, long haraſſed by the arms of the Saracens, and enfeebled by inteſtine diviſions, now trembled at the approach of the Tartars. Three years before this period, thoſe barbarians, under the conduct of the celebrated Holagou, brother and lieutenant to Mangoukan, their fourth emperor, had reduced the city of Bagdad, that peaceful and charming abode of pleaſure and the ſciences. The town was pillaged by the conquerors; its immenſe treaſures were ſcattered about; all its nobility deſtroyed; eight hundred thouſand inhabitants of all ages, and of either ſex, inhumanly maſſacred; and the Saracen empire annihilated for ever. All the neighbouring kingdoms, even Moſul itſelf, the moſt powerful of them all, ſubmitted without reſiſtance. The ſultan of Aleppo was the only chief who ventured to take up arms in defence of his country; but his ſucceſs was not equal to his ſpirit; his capital was reduced, and its fortifications were demoliſhed. Damaſcus and all Syria experienced a ſimilar fate, except that part which was in poſſeſſion of the chriſtians. The object of theſe ferocious conquerors of the Holy Land* is differently repreſented by hiſtorians. By ſome we are aſſured that they wiſhed to annex it to their own empire; while others pretend that they only ſought to reduce it in order to give it up to the chriſtians; but this laſt ſuppoſition is groſsly improbable, and wholly devoid of foundation. In fact we find, from hiſtory, that, after the capture of Bagdad, the Tartars ſent meſſengers into Paleſtine, as into other parts, to exact tribute and obedience. At the ſame time they committed depredations in Poland and Hungary, both of which were inhabited by chriſtians. They even ſent to France†, to ſummon Lewis to acknowledge their ſuperiority, if he wiſhed to avert their vengeance. The king laughed at the extravagance of the embaſſy, ordered the ambaſſadors to be well-treated, and diſmiſſed them without an anſwer.

When theſe circumſtances had been conſidered by the aſſembly, it was ordained that the wrath of God, which had been excited by the ſins of the world, ſhould be firſt appeaſed. For this purpoſe prayers, proceſſions, and faſts were ordered; blaſphemers—againſt whom ſome very ſevere laws already exiſted—were treated with additional ſeverity; all ſuperfluities in the articles of food and dreſs were retrenched, and tournaments and games of chance were prohibited. No new impoſt, however, was levied on the people; the king contenting himſelf with ſending a ſum of money, from his own treaſury, to the relief of the chriſtians in Paleſtine.

* Rain. Ann. 1259, 1260. † Piſtor. p. 788; Guill. Nan. p. 371.

A. D. 1262.] The affairs of Sicily next engaged the attention of the monarch. Pope Alexander the Fourth, unable to carry on the war againſt Mainfroy, preſſed the king of England to fulfil the engagements which he had contracted, on accepting the crown of Sicily for his ſon Edmond. But Henry, who had already paid dearly for this imaginary dignity, finding the conqueſt of Sicily as remote as ever, at length became ſenſible of the cheat; he began to think of breaking off the agreement, and of reſigning into the pope's hands that crown, which it was not intended by Alexander that he or his family ſhould ever enjoy*. At this conjuncture the ſovereign pontiff died; and was ſucceeded in the papacy by James, patriarch of Jeruſalem; a Frenchman by birth (the ſon of a cobler of Troyes in Champagne) who aſſumed the appellation of Urban the Fourth. The new pope adopted the projects of his predeceſſor, by entering into a negociation with Elizabeth, the mother of Conradine; while Mainfroy endeavoured to ſecure a powerful ally, by marrying his daughter Conſtantia, to Peter, the eldeſt ſon of the king of Arragon. This alliance, which the court of Rome had in vain oppoſed, induced Urban to offer the crown of Sicily to the king of France, for one of his ſons†. The offer was tempting, and Lewis was fully aware of all the advantages that might be derived from the poſſeſſion of that kingdom, either in ſending ſuccours to the chriſtians in Paleſtine, or in affording relief to the French, who had been recently expelled from the city of Conſtantinople. But he was apprehenſive that what the pope qualified with the title of a lawful gift, was, in fact, an uſurpation, either on Conradine, the natural heir, or on Edmond, of England, who had received the inveſtiture of the kingdom from the ſovereign pontiff. If Rome had the right to diſpoſe of the dominions of Frederic—which he was far from being willing to admit—the Engliſh prince was the lawful ſovereign of Sicily; if, on the other hand, Frederic could not be deſpoiled of his domains, without an infraction of all laws, human and divine, they neceſſarily devolved to his grandſon. Look which way he would, he could ſee nothing but iniquity in the tranſaction, and he, therefore, virtuouſly rejected the offer.—The pope then addreſſed himſelf to the count of Anjou, who, having more ambition and leſs probity, than his brother, joyfully accepted the proffered crown; but, being engaged in a war with the inhabitants of Marſeilles, he deferred his attempts to recover his new dominions till a more favourable opportunity.

That reſtleſs people, impatient of the yoke which they had reluctantly borne for five years, ſuddenly flew to arms; and, expelling from the town ſuch of the citizens, as they knew to be attached to the count, ſeized the citadel, and maſſacred the garriſon. They immediately erected a new fortreſs, and began to make every neceſſary preparation for ſupporting their rebellion. But the active vigour of Charles marred all their projects; having haſtily aſſembled a powerful

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 630. † Epiſt. 33, Urban. iv. ad Reg. Franc. Duch. t. v. p. 69.

army, he advanced to attack them, reduced all the places that lay on his road, ravaged the ſurrounding country, and laid ſiege to Marſeilles by ſea and land. The rebels were ſpeedily, by the dread of approaching famine, forced to acknowledge their error, and to ſue for pardon. Charles accepted their proffered ſubmiſſion; and, after he had puniſhed with death the leaders of the revolt, condeſcended to redreſs their grievances. Caſtellane, who had protected them, was purſued from place to place; his lands were confiſcated, and his caſtles demoliſhed. This victory kept the enemies of the count in awe, and increaſed his reputation for valour and military ſkill.

The king, at this time, was at Clermont in Auvergne, with his principal nobility, in order to attend the celebration of his ſon's marriage with Iſabella of Arragon. The father of that princeſs was alſo there, with all the grandees of his kingdom; but the news of his treaty with Mainfroy had nearly prevented the projected alliance, though on the point of completion. Lewis, who had juſt received the intelligence, openly declared that he would never ſuffer his ſon to marry a princeſs, whoſe father was ſo cloſely connected with the moſt inveterate enemy of the pope and the church. The two courts were loſt in aſtoniſhment at this unexpected declaration, which certainly did no credit to the king; ſince, in the very affair of the Sicilian ſucceſſion, he had recently acknowledged the injuſtice of the pope's conduct. To ſtigmatiſe a prince, therefore, as an enemy to the church, for oppoſing the *unjuſt* pretenſions of the Roman pontiff, betrayed a degree of ſuperſtitious weakneſs (to ſay no worſe of it) that cannot admit of juſtification. The Arragonian monarch, however, at length ſuggeſted a means of removing his ridiculous ſcruples. He declared, by an authentic deed*, that, in marrying his ſon to the daughter of Mainfroy, he did not mean to contract any engagement hoſtile to the intereſts of the Romiſh church, nor to derogate, or, in any wiſe, detract from the force of that alliance which he had entered into with France. By this means all objections were done away, and the nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence, amidſt the acclamations of the nobles of either nation. James, faithful to his word, made no attempts in favour of Mainfroy; but his ſucceſſor, inſtigated by his wife, commenced thoſe ſanguinary wars, which proved ſo fatal to the houſe of Anjou.

When the rejoicings to which this happy event gave riſe were terminated, Lewis again applied himſelf, with unremitting diligence, to the final eſtabliſhment of a good police, and to the extenſion and ſecurity of commerce. No crime that was prejudicial to ſociety paſſed unpuniſhed; ſpecific penalties were annexed to uſury, to adulterating the current coin, to ſelling by falſe weights, and to every ſpecies of monopoly†. He divided all tradeſmen and artiſans into ſeparate corps or communities, reviſed their firſt ſtatutes, and enacted thoſe ſalutary laws, which ſerved as a baſis for all ſubſequent regulations with regard to cor-

* Invent. des Chart. t. v. Arragon. l. P. Ann. 1262.

† Trait. de la Police, l. i. tit. viii. p. 114.

porations and other commercial eſtabliſhments. He endeavoured to promote a purity of manners throughout the kingdom, by proſcribing, under the ſevereſt penalties, every thing that tended to licentiouſneſs. Theatrical amuſements were tolerated, but all indecent or indelicate ſallies were carefully excluded. Writings, religious and philoſophical, poems, hiſtories, and romances appeared during this reign; but no publication that breathed ſedition, impiety, fanaticiſm or libertiniſm was ſuffered. Lewis, however, found it neceſſary to revoke the ſentence of baniſhment which he had pronounced againſt women of the town*; but though compelled to tolerate, he ſtill ſought to cover them with infamy, by aſſigning them a particular dreſs, obliging them to retire at a fixed hour, and confining their reſidence to particular ſtreets.

The king did not content himſelf with the mere adoption of wholeſome regulations; with equal vigilance he ſuperintended their execution; by which means the practical part of his government was rendered conformable to its theory. The natural effects of good order in the ſtate became every where viſible; peace and tranquillity produced plenty and happineſs; and, while the kingdom flouriſhed, the revenues of the crown increaſed in proportion.

A. D. 1263, 1264.] The high reputation which Lewis now deſervedly bore for juſtice and integrity, produced an appeal from Henry the Third of England, and his diſcontented barons, who, by mutual conſent, choſe him as a mediator between them. This virtuous prince, the only man who, in like circumſtances, could ſafely have been entruſted with ſuch an authority by a neighbouring nation, had never ceaſed to interpoſe his good offices between the Engliſh factions; and had exerted his utmoſt endeavours in order to accommodate the differences between Henry and the factious earl of Leiceſter; but found, that the fears and animoſities on both ſides, as well as the ambition of Leiceſter, were ſo violent as to render all his efforts ineffectual. But, when this ſolemn appeal, ratified by the oaths and ſubſcriptions of the leaders in both factions, was made to his judgment, he was not diſcouraged from purſuing his honourable purpoſe†. He ſummoned the ſtates of the kingdom at Amiens; and there, in the preſence of this aſſembly, as well as in that of the king of England, and Peter de Montfort, Leiceſter's ſon, he brought this great cauſe to a trial and examination. It appeared to him that the proviſions of Oxford—by which the whole power of the ſtate had been wreſted from the king, and lodged in the hands of twenty-four barons—even had they not been extorted by force, had they not been ſo exorbitant in their nature, and ſubverſive of the ancient conſtitution, were expreſsly eſtabliſhed as a temporary expedient, and could not, without breach of truſt, be rendered perpetual by the barons. He therefore annulled theſe proviſions; reſtored to the king the poſſeſſion of thoſe caſtles which had been taken from him by the rebels, and the power of nomination to the great offices; allowed

* Trait. de la Police, l. iii. tit. v. p. 490. † Hume, vol. ii. p. 200.

him to retain what foreigners he pleaſed in his kingdom, and even to confer on them places of truſt and dignity; and, in a word, re-eſtabliſhed the royal power in the ſame condition in which it ſtood before the meeting of that parliament by which the above proviſions had been enforced. But, while he thus ſuppreſſed dangerous innovations, and preſerved unimpaired the prerogatives of the Engliſh crown; he was not negligent of the rights of the people; and, beſides ordering that a general amneſty ſhould be granted for all paſt offences, he declared, that his award was not any wiſe meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties which the nation enjoyed by any former conceſſions or charters of the crown*.

This equitable ſentence was no ſooner known in England, than Leiceſter and his confederates determined to reject it, and to have recourſe to arms, in order to procure to themſelves more ſafe and advantageous conditions. The kingdom was again expoſed to the flames of civil war, and the moſt deſtructive depredations proclaimed the reign of anarchy and diſcord. After various ſucceſs, a deciſive battle was at length fought at Eveſham, on the fourth of Auguſt, 1265, when the royaliſts proved victorious; Leiceſter himſelf, with his eldeſt ſon, Hugh le Deſpenſer, and about an hundred and ſixty knights, and many other gentlemen of his party, were ſlain in the action.

A total victory of the ſovereign over ſo extenſive a rebellion commonly produces a revolution in government, and ſtrengthens, as well as enlarges, for ſome time, the prerogatives of the crown. Yet no ſacrifices of national liberty were made by the Engliſh on this occaſion; the great charter remained ſtill inviolate; and the king, ſenſible that his own barons, by whoſe aſſiſtance alone he had prevailed, were no leſs jealous of their independence than the other party, ſeems thenceforth to have more carefully abſtained from all thoſe exertions of power, which had afforded ſo plauſible a pretext to the rebels. The clemency of this victory is alſo remarkable: no blood was ſhed on the ſcaffold: no attainders, except of the family of Leiceſter, were carried into execution: and, though a parliament, aſſembled at Wincheſter, in 1266, attainted all thoſe who had borne arms againſt the king, eaſy compoſitions were made with them for their lands†; and the higheſt ſum, levied on the moſt obnoxious offenders, exceeded not five years rent of their eſtate. The mild diſpoſition of Henry, and the prudence of his ſon, prince Edward, tempered the inſolence of victory, and gradually reſtored order to the ſeveral members of the ſtate, disjointed by ſo long a continuance of civil wars and commotions.

During theſe troubles in England, Lewis had concluded a marriage between his fifth ſon, Peter, count of Alencon, and Jane of Chatillon, heireſs to the counties of Blois and Chartres, and to many other towns and territories in Picardy and Flanders. The princeſs had but juſt attained her thirteenth year; the

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 776, 777, &c.; Chron. T. Wykes, p. 58. † M. Paris, p. 675.

county of Chartres, Brie-Comte-Robert, and Bonneval, were given her as a marriage portion, and the king ſettled on her an annual penſion of twelve thouſand livres*.

The attention of all Europe was fixed, at this period, on the ſovereign pontiff, who was negociating a treaty with the count of Anjou, relative to the crown of Sicily. Three material obſtacles preſented themſelves to the concluſion of this famous treaty—the inconteſtible right of Conradine to the Sicilian throne; the donation which had been made of it by Alexander the Fourth, to prince Edmond of England; and, laſtly, the dignity of a Roman-ſenator, which had been recently conferred on the count of Anjou, and which he had ſworn to preſerve during his life:—this dignity, which was extremely prejudicial to the authority of the Roman pontiffs, had been inſtituted almoſt a hundred and twenty years before, in order to check the daring enterpriſes of Innocent the Second, who took every means of oppreſſing the citizens of Rome. The power it conferred was precarious and unfixed, depending on the ſtate of affairs, and on the harmony that ſubſiſted between the people and the pope. It was generally beſtowed on a Roman nobleman, and the term of its duration was two years. But the citizens, diſcontented with the conduct of their countrymen, expelled all the nobles from their city, and looked out for a foreign prince, ſufficiently powerful to preſerve order and juſtice among them. Their choice fell upon the count of Anjou, whoſe laſt victory had greatly enhanced his reputation, and they accordingly elected him for their perpetual ſenator. Charles accepted, without heſitation, a title that conferred on him a kind of ſovereignty in the capital of the chriſtian world; he engaged, by oath, to repair to Rome within a given term, and, in the mean time, ſent them a body of troops, under the command of Gaucelin, a native of Provence, whom he appointed his vicar. Urban was greatly chagrined at this circumſtance, which totally annihilated the little authority he enjoyed, during his abſence from Rome; for, during the troubles which prevailed in Italy, the popes ſeldom reſided in their capital, but took up their abode at Agnani, Viterbo, or ſome other place in the eccleſiaſtical dominions. Thus the count, far from having any reaſon to hope for a crown from the friendſhip of the ſovereign pontiff, might have expected to feel the effects of his reſentment, ſince he had violated one of the firſt conditions propoſed to him; that of not accepting the office of ſenator, if it ſhould be offered him by the citizens of Rome. Yet all theſe difficulties were ſpeedily ſurmounted by the intrepid zeal of the pope, who ſent the cardinal Saint Cecilia as his legate, to complete a negociation which his nuncios had ſucceſsfully begun.

The new miniſter, a man of deep penetration and conſummate art, had orders to conclude nothing without the king's conſent; to clear up the doubts of Lewis on the legality of Conradine's depoſal; to calm his ſcruples as to the

* Duch. Hiſt. de Chât. Not. 69.

rights of prince Edmond; not to betray any kind of eagerneſs in the buſineſs to the count, only to expreſs, in general terms, the pope's affection for him and all the royal family, and even to ſtart difficulties in the way of any accommodation that might be propoſed in order to bring him, by degrees, to conſent to ſuch reſtrictions as were deemed neceſſary for preſerving the authority of the holy ſee; and, laſtly, to enter into no poſitive engagement with regard to the inveſtiture till all the preliminaries had been finally arranged. He had alſo received written inſtructions as to the relaxation he might make in his demands of an annual impoſt, or tribute, of a thouſand ounces of gold, which the pope required from the new ſovereign of Sicily; on the limitation of the ſucceſſion, and on the number of troops which he was to employ on this expedition. The legate was farther charged with levying a tenth, which the ſovereign pontiff had exacted on this occaſion, from the French clergy; to exert himſelf with the queen in order to perſuade her to an immediate accommodation with her brother-in-law, againſt whom ſhe had ſome grounds of complaint; to repreſent to that prince that he could not keep the office of ſenator without expoſing himſelf to *eternal damnation;* in a word, to exhort the king to exact an oath from his brother that he would reſign that dignity within five years at the lateſt; by which he would not purjure himſelf, becauſe the oath he had already taken to the citizens of Rome, would be virtually revoked by that which he ſhould take to the ſovereign pontiff. "Strange morality!" exclaims Velly—"but the popes, in thoſe times, "aſſumed the right of abſolving people from the moſt ſacred promiſes, when-"ever thoſe promiſes tended to invade their own authority, or to attack the in-"tereſts of the holy ſee*."

The commiſſion with which the legate was entruſted was of a delicate nature; but being endued with all the neceſſary qualifications for an able negociator, he diſcharged it with punctuality and addreſs, and overcame difficulties apparently inſurmountable. Though Lewis could not poſſibly aſſent to the juſtice of the pope's conduct, in depoſing the family of the emperor Frederic, yet he tacitly ſubmitted to the authority of the council of Lyons. As to the rights of Edmond of England, they were eaſily over-ruled, by the neglect of that prince to comply with the conditions on which thoſe rights were expreſsly founded; beſides, the king of England had publicly renounced all pretenſions to the throne of Sicily†. Charles, on his part, ſeduced by the ſplendid temptations of a crown, and impelled by the ſolicitations of his wife Beatrice, who aſpired to the ſame dignity to which her three ſiſters had already attained, conſented to every propoſal, and ſubmitted to all the humiliating conditions which the pope choſe to impoſe on him.

Nothing remained but to ſign the treaty, when pope Urban was ſeized with a diſorder that proved fatal: he was ſucceeded in the papacy by Guy Fulcodi, a

* Velly, tom. v. p. 329. † Rymer, vol. i. p. 97.

Frenchman, who aſſumed the appellation of Clement the Fourth. This pontiff, being well acquainted with the diſpoſition of the count of Anjou, renewed the negociation which had been carried on by his predeceſſor. The firſt uſe he made of his authority* was, to pronounce, with the conſent, and by the advice, of the cardinals, the throne of Sicily vacant by the felony of Conradine and Mainfroy, and by the renunciation of prince Edmond; to declare that the church of Rome had an undoubted right to diſpoſe of it at its pleaſure; and that ſhe could beſtow it as a fief on, or entruſt the government of it to, whomſoever ſhe choſe. The principal difficulties being removed, the whole matter was ſpeedily ſettled, and the treaty, conſiſting of thirty-five articles, drawn up, and ſigned. Some of theſe ſecured the liberty of the dominions of Rome from the enterpriſes of future monarchs; others adopted means for preventing the re-union of Sicily to the empire; ſome ſettled the degree of dependence in which that kingdom was to remain on the holy ſee; and others regulated the ſucceſſion after the death of Charles, and the meaſures to be purſued for wreſting the ſceptre from the hands of Mainfroy.—They are all expreſſive of the arrogance of the Roman pontiff, who dared to impoſe the moſt rigorous and humiliating conditions; and of the ſervility of the French prince, who condeſcended to ſubmit to them.—As ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, a tenth was levied on the clergy of France, by the cardinal Saint Cecilia, to ſupport the count of Anjou in the acquiſition of his new dominions.

The pope now ordered a cruſade to be preached throughout France againſt Mainfroy, whom he called, *the execrable branch of a curſed ſtock, which ought to be broken and beaten to pieces like the ſtatue of Nebuchadnezzar.* The banner of the croſs was unfurled againſt the domeſtic enemy of the vatican; and Charles, at the head of the chivalry of France, on the plains of Beneventum, deſpoiled Mainfroy of his crown and life. The death of the uſurper awakened from obſcurity the pretenſions of Conradine; but the juſtice of his claims could neither ſecure him from the unjuſt enmity of the pope, nor the ambitious cruelty of the count of Anjou. The young prince was met by the enemy in the vicinity of Tagliacozzo, near the lake of Celano; a bloody conflict enſued, in which the French were at firſt routed, but, having recourſe to a ſtratagem, they at length put the troops of Conradine to flight, and took him priſoner. The unfortunate youth was conveyed, by his ferocious conqueror, to Naples, where he was baſely maſſacred, in cool blood, upon a ſcaffold; and his death was attended with every circumſtance that could aggravate the guilt of the aſſaſſin, whoſe eſtabliſhment on the throne of the two Sicilies gave riſe to what the French have ſtiled the firſt race of Anjou.

A. D. 1266, 1267.] During theſe iniquitous tranſactions in Italy, Lewis was ſecretly planning a ſecond expedition to the Holy Land. The wiſdom of his

* Spicil, tom. iii. p. 649.

regulations had eſtabliſhed tranquillity in his dominions; his treaſures were recruited, his finances augmented, and his hopes expanded. He now imparted his reſolution to the Roman pontiff, who, at firſt, evinced a diſpoſition to diſſuade him from a ſcheme which he wiſely conſidered as impolitic; but, his opinion ſpeedily changing, he wrote to the king in a very different ſtyle, expreſſed his admiration of his wiſdom, and ſtrenuouſly exhorted him to haſten the execution of an enterpriſe, which, he ſaid, muſt have been inſpired by heaven. The chriſtians in Syria were, at this period, reduced to the moſt diſtreſſed ſituation: not leſs harraſſed by inteſtine diviſions, than by the attacks of a powerful and inveterate foe, their final expulſion from Paleſtine appeared to be at hand. Bondocdar, who, from the obſcure ſtation of a private ſoldier, had attained to the regal dignity, now occupied the united thrones of Egypt, Jeruſalem, Damaſcus, Aleppo, and Arabia: enraged at a breach of faith, on the part of the chriſtians, he aſſembled an army of three hundred thouſand horſe, with which he entered Paleſtine, ravaged the open country, and, having taken Nazareth, reduced it to a heap of ruins. He next attacked Ceſarea, which he carried by aſſault; and, the citadel having ſurrendered by capitulation, all the inhabitants were expelled, and the fortifications, which had been raiſed by Lewis, were totally demoliſhed*. Caiphas experienced a ſimilar fate; the pilgrims' caſtle, indeed, repelled the attacks of the proud conqueror, who immediately wreaked his vengeance on Arſuph, an important place, in defence of which, no leſs than ninety of the knights-templars loſt their lives. At the fortreſs of Montfort, Bondocdar experienced a ſecond diſappointment; but at Sapheto he reduced the inhabitants to the neceſſity of capitulating, and, though he agreed to grant them their lives, he inhumanly maſſacred all ſuch as refuſed to embrace mahometaniſm, and ſent the reſt into Egypt. He then advanced to Saint John of Acre; laid waſte the environs, and threatened to lay ſiege to the town itſelf, as ſoon as he ſhould have received his battering machines from Cairo.

This rapid ſucceſs of the infidels alarmed the chriſtian world, and awakened the zeal of the cruſaders. The pope exhorted all the chriſtian princes either to repair in perſon to the relief of Paleſtine, or to contribute ſuch ſuccours as their circumſtances would admit of. Councils were holden, tenths exacted from the clergy, public prayers ordered, and, in proportion as the evil increaſed, the care to provide a remedy redoubled. In this ſituation of affairs it was natural to ſuppoſe that Lewis would not remain inactive; having taken his final reſolution, he ſummoned all the nobles of the realm to repair to Pariſt, in order to deliberate on a matter of importance. He there repreſented to them the wretched ſtate of the chriſtians in Paleſtine, which called for relief, immediate and effectual; that relief, he ſaid, he was reſolved to grant, and he truſted that his example would be generally followed by the aſſembly. The reaſons urged

* Rain. Sanud. Labb. Hibl. tom. i. p. 378. † Guil. Nang. p. 383; Joinv. p. 125.

by the king were enforced by the pope's legate, who gave the croſs to Lewis, and his three eldeſt ſons, Philip, John, and Peter; to the counts of Flanders and Brittany; to Beaujeu, lord of Montpenſier, the count d'Eu, Guy de Laval and to a great number of barons and gentlemen.

As ſoon as the king's intentions were made known through the kingdom, ſoldiers haſtened to his ſtandard from all quarters. The king of Navarre, and his brother, prince Henry, with a numerous train of knights, aſſumed the croſs; the young count of Artois, nephew to Lewis, and ſon to that count of Artois who was killed at Maſſoura, reſolved to attend his uncle, in order to revenge the death of his father; the duke of Burgundy, too, expreſſed a ſimilar reſolution. In ſhort, almoſt all the nobility of the kingdom appear to have been animated by the ſame ſpirit of enthuſiaſm.—The moſt conſiderable of theſe were the counts of Saint Paul, Vendome, la Marche, and Soiſſons; Gilles and Hardouin de Mailly; Ralph and John de Neſle; the lords of Fiennes, Nemours, Montmorenci, and Melun; the count of Guiſnes; the lord of Harcourt; Matthew de Roye; Florent de Varennes; Ralph d'Etrees; Gilles de la Tournelle; Maurice de Craon; John de Rochefort; the Mareſchal de Mirepoix; Enguerrand de Bailleul; Peter de Saux; and John de Beaumont.

A. D. 1270.] Having ſettled all the affairs of his kingdom, and the future eſtabliſhments of his children, he entruſted the reins of government, during his abſence, to Matthew, abbot of Saint Denis, who was deſcended from the noble houſe of Vendome; and to Simon de Clermont, lord of Neſle—both men of approved probity, and conſummate prudence. The cruſaders aſſembled at Aigues-Mortes, a ſmall ſea-port in Languedoc, near the mouth of the Rhone, where they had embarked on their laſt expedition.

Now, as before, opinions were divided as to the courſe they ſhould ſteer; ſome inſiſted on the neceſſity of proceeding immediately to the relief of Saint John of Acre, which was the only place of ſtrength now poſſeſſed by the chriſtians in Paleſtine; others, undiſmayed by the calamities which the laſt cruſaders had experienced in Egypt, maintained the policy of firſt ſecuring Alexandria; while a third ſet, and that the moſt numerous, gave their voices in favour of an expedition to Tunis, the monarch of which place (whoſe name is, by ſome, ſaid to have been Muley-Mortanga, by others Omar) had profeſſed his inclination to abjure the tenets of Mahomet for thoſe of Chriſt. This laſt advice, ſtrange as it may appear, prevailed; the religious enthuſiaſm of Lewis was highly gratified by the idea of converting a king, and the immenſe treaſures which Tunis was ſaid to contain, flattered the avarice of the more intereſted cruſaders: the fleet accordingly ſailed for the coaſt of Africa, on the firſt of July, and effected a landing in the vicinity of Tunis; but, inſtead of a willing convert, in the king of Tunis, Lewis was deſtined to encounter an active and a formidable foe. The caſtle of Carthage was the firſt object of attack; it was ſoon taken by aſſault, and the town, which had no fortifications, ſubmitted of

courſe. Here Lewis reſolved to wait for the arrival of his brother, the king of Sicily, before he attacked the city of Tunis, which was ſtrongly fortified, and defended by a brave and numerous garriſon. But the exceſſive heat of the climate, the want of water, the badneſs of their proviſions, and the ſhowers of burning ſand raiſed by the machines of the Saracens, and blown by the wind into the faces of the chriſtians, ſoon brought on a peſtilential diſorder, which, in a very ſhort time, deſtroyed one half of the army*. The king himſelf, at length, caught the infection, and, after giving the moſt ſalutary advice to his ſon and ſucceſſor, and exhibiting the ſtrongeſt proofs of chriſtian patience and fortitude, he reſigned his breath on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign.

This monarch, as it has been juſtly obſerved by an Engliſh hiſtorian†, united to the mean and abject ſuperſtition of a monk, all the courage and magnanimity of the greateſt hero; and, what is perhaps more extraordinary, the juſtice and integrity of a diſintereſted patriot, the mildneſs and humanity of an accompliſhed philoſopher.—The few errors into which he fell, aroſe principally from an exceſs of religious zeal; and they were ſo greatly exceeded by his numerous virtues, that it would be invidious to dwell on them.

In reciting the tranſactions of this reign, we have had frequent occaſion to notice the ſtrict attention of Lewis to a prompt and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. He greatly encouraged the practice of appeals, and frequently adminiſtered juſtice in perſon with all the ancient ſimplicity. "I have often ſeen "the ſaint," ſays Joinville, "ſit under the ſhade of an oak, in the wood of "Vincennes, when all who had any complaint freely approached him. At other "times he gave orders to ſpread a carpet in a garden, and, ſeating himſelf upon "it, heard the cauſes that were brought before him.‡"

For facilitating the accompliſhment of an object which he had thus conſtantly in view, he undertook to eſtabliſh an uniformity and certainty in all legal proceedings; for which purpoſe he compiled that code of laws which are known by the appellation of *Eſtabliſſemens de Saint Louis*, and which contain a large collection of cuſtoms, and regulations, divided into two hundred and ten chapters; they were publiſhed in the year 1270, juſt before his departure for Tunis. Theſe eſtabliſhments, though well adapted to ſerve as general laws to the whole kingdom, were not publiſhed as ſuch, but only as a complete code of cuſtomary law to be of authority within the king's domains. But the wiſdom, the equity, and the order, conſpicuous in that code of Saint Lewis, procured it a favourable reception throughout the kingdom. The veneration due to the virtues and good intentions of its author, contributed not a little to reconcile the nation to that legiſlative authority, which the king began to aſſume.

* Nangis, p. 391, 517; Guiart, p. 158. † Hume. ‡ Hiſt. de St. Louis, p. 13.

Lewis did not diſplay his wiſdom more in the adoption of new regulations, than in the abolition of ſuch old cuſtoms as were repugnant to reaſon and humanity. In order to check the exerciſe of private war, which threatened the diſſolution of government, he publiſhed an ordonnance, in 1245, prohibiting any perſon to commence hoſtilities againſt the friends and vaſſals of his adverſary, until forty days after the commiſſion of the crime or offence which gave riſe to the quarrel, declaring, that if any man preſumed to tranſgreſs this ſtatute, he ſhould be conſidered as guilty of a breach of the public peace, and be tried and puniſhed by the judge ordinary as a traitor*. This was called *the royal truce*, and afforded time for the violence of reſentment to ſubſide, as well as leiſure for the good offices of ſuch as were willing to compoſe the difference†.

Lewis alſo aboliſhed the abſurd and barbarous cuſtom of trial by combat, endeavouring to introduce a more perfect juriſprudence, by ſubſtituting the trial by evidence in its place. But his regulations, with reſpect to this, were confined to his own domains; for the great vaſſals of the crown poſſeſſed ſuch independent authority, and were ſo fondly attached to the ancient practice, that he durſt not venture to extend it to the whole kingdom. Some barons voluntarily adopted his regulations. The ſpirit of courts became averſe to the mode of deciſion by combat, and diſcouraged it on every occaſion. The nobles, nevertheleſs, thought it ſo honourable to depend for the ſecurity of their lives and fortunes on their own courage alone, and contended with ſo much vehemence for the preſervation of this favourite privilege of their order, that the ſucceſſors of Saint Lewis, unable to oppoſe, and afraid of offending ſuch powerful ſubjects, were obliged not only to tolerate, but to authoriſe the practice which he had attempted to aboliſh.

It was uſual, at this period, for huſbands not to ſleep with their wives the three firſt nights after the celebration of their marriage‡. The inhabitants of Abbeville, juſtly enraged at this unreaſonable prohibition, refuſed to comply with the cuſtom; the mayor and aldermen of the town accordingly preſented a petition to parliament, and obtained a decree, by which it was finally determined, *that the huſbands might freely ſleep with their wives, the three firſt nights, without the permiſſion of the biſhop and his officers*‖.

Another cuſtom, ſtill more ſtrange, obtained in France, which it is ſurpriſing Lewis did not aboliſh: this was the right of *prelibation*, or *markette*§, claimed by the nobles, which conſiſted in ſleeping with ſuch brides as were their vaſſals the firſt night of their marriage; even biſhops and abbots enjoyed and exerted this privilege, in their capacity of ſuperior barons. The learned Papebroch, ſays Velly, informs us, that even now that right is enforced by noblemen over their peaſants, in ſome provinces of the Low Countries of Friezeland, and of

* Ordon. t. i. p. 56. † Robertſon. ‡ Bibl. Univ. xix. Mar. Ann. 1409. ‖ Thaumas de la Thaum. Obſ. ſur Beaum. p. 392. § Du Cang. Gloſſ. Verb. 'Cullagium' et 'Marcheta.'

Germany*. It is certain, from a variety of exiſting records, that it was exerted with great rigour in France. In a title-deed, in 1507, relating to the revenues of the barony of Saint Martin, we read, that the count d'Eu *has right of prelibation in the ſaid place in caſe of marriage*†. Boethius relates a ſingular fact on this ſubject: "I have been preſent (ſays he), at the Metropolitan "court at Bourges, when a cauſe was tried by appeal, on the part of a curate, "who claimed the right of ſleeping with every young bride, the firſt night, "according to eſtabliſhed cuſtom." The claim, however, was rejected with indignation, the cuſtom unanimouſly proſcribed, and the prieſt condemned to pay a fine.

The exorbitant pretenſions of the court of Rome, at this period, were ſuch as to become an object of cenſure to the clergy, as well as to the laity. If we open the hiſtories of thoſe times, ſays Velly, we ſhall find it repreſented as the ſeat of avarice and ambition; the pope is depicted by contemporary writers as an abſolute deſpot, who ſacrificed the rights of biſhops, whom he conſidered as his ſlaves, to his own caprice; as a preſumptuous judge, who, thinking himſelf above the law, imagined his will alone ſufficient to render lawful what from its very nature was an object of proſcription‡. One while he is repreſented as a tyrant, who cares little for the happineſs of his ſubjects, but ſeeks to enrich his relations, by appointing them legates, with full power, ſays Paſquier, to *rifle* all the eccleſiaſtical benefices in the kingdoms whither they are ſent‖; for, the right of *viſitation*, as it was then called, founded in deſpotiſm and cupidity, was carried to the moſt ſhameful exceſs. Hence the juſt indignation expreſſed by the clergy, under the reign of Robert, when the Roman pontiff ordered a church to be conſecrated in the dioceſe of Tours, not only without the leave, but even againſt the will of the archbiſhop: "It is a deſpicable thing (ſays a contemporary author§), that "a man, ſeated on the apoſtolic chair, ſhould, with ſacrilegious preſumption, "violate the ordonnances and ſtatutes of the apoſtles." Hence, too, the pathetic exclamations of St. Bernard¶, againſt a tribunal at which riches prevailed over merit and capacity; "Where," ſays he, "ſimony, and concubinage, and "inceſt are ſure to find favour, if their ſolicitations be accompanied with pre"ſents." It was this made the monk of Moliens remark**, "That at Rome, "when gold murmurs the law is ſilent; and right bows down at the ſound of "money." Hence, too, the reproaches of the ſame St. Bernard to cardinal Jourdain, the pope's legate, who, he tells us, had traverſed Germany, France, and Normandy, "filling all thoſe regions, not with the goſpel, but with ſacri"legious proceedings, and ſhameful exactions, plundering the churches, and "conferring eccleſiaſtical dignities on young men, who were better verſed in "the ſcience of the world, than in that of religion††."

* In Vit. S. For. Abb. Walciod. † Laur. Gloſſ. de Droit. Franc. au mot. 'Cullage.' ‡ S. Bernard. Epi. 53, ad Paſch. ‖ Recher. de la Fr. l. ii. c. 21, p. 34. § Rad. Glab. l. ii. ¶ S. Bern. Epiſt. ad Eng. ** Rom. MSS. intit. De Charité; Du Cange Obſ. ſur Joinv. p. 100. †† St. Bernard, Ep. 239.

In order to put a ſtop the encroachments of the pope, and the licentious conduct of his miniſters, Lewis iſſued that famous ordonnance, ſo well known by the name of *the Pragmatic Sanction;* he there confirmed the prelates, and all the patrons of livings, in the full enjoyment of their rights; ſecured the liberties of the Gallican church from the invaſions of the court of Rome; baniſhed ſimony from the kingdom, as a peſt highly prejudicial to religion; ordered all promotions, collations, proviſions, and diſpoſals of prelacies, dignities, livings, or eccleſiaſtical offices, to be made according to the rules eſtabliſhed by the common law, by the ſacred councils, and by the ancient fathers; and, finally, forbade the court of Rome to levy, in future, any of thoſe impoſts which had impoveriſhed the kingdom, without his expreſs permiſſion, and the conſent of the Gallican church.—This wiſe edict was paſſed in 1268.

Two orders of monks, both mendicants, the Auguſtins and the Carmes, were ſettled in Paris during this reign. The Auguſtins were a ſociety compoſed of ſeveral hermits, who had reſided in different parts, worn different dreſſes, and were governed by different rules.—They were united under one ſuperior by pope Alexander the Fourth, who ſubjected them to the rules of Saint Auguſtin, and gave them the dreſs of that order.—Lanfranc was their firſt general: they ſoon quitted their deſerts, and eſtabliſhed their reſidence in the great towns. In the year 1259, they came to Paris, and had a houſe in the *Rue Montmartre*, near to that which is ſtill called, after them, by the name of the *Reux des Vieux Auguſtins*.

The order of Carmes originated in Syria, and was compoſed of a great number of weſtern pilgrims, who were diſperſed in different hermitages in Paleſtine, where they led a life of great auſterity. But, as they were inceſſantly expoſed to the attacks of the infidels, Aymeri, the pope's legate, and patriarch of Antioch, collected them all together on *Mount Carmel*, towards the end of the twelfth century. In 1205, a native of Amiens, named Albert, who was deſcended from Peter the Hermit, the firſt preacher of the cruſades, eſtabliſhed rules for them, which were confirmed, in 1227, by pope Honorius the Third. Saint Lewis brought ſome of them with him from the Holy Land, and built a church and convent for them on the banks of the Seine, where the Celeſtins afterwards reſided. It was not till the reign of Philip the Fair, that they removed to the Place Maubert, in order to be nearer the univerſity.

Lewis alſo founded and endowed many other convents and hoſpitals, as well at Paris as in the provinces. Among theſe were the Mathurins at Fontainbleau; the Jacobins and Cordeliers at Paris; the abbies of Royaumont, Longchamp, Lis, and Maubiſſon; Vauvert, a reſidence of the Carthuſians at Paris; and, in different towns, ſeveral convents of women, called *Beguines*, either from the name of their veil, or from that of their founder, Lambert le *Begue* (the Stammerer.) The famous college of the Sorbonne was eſtabliſhed for the ſtudy of theology, in the year 1253, by an eccleſiaſtic, named Robert, ſprung from ob-

ſcure parents, who reſided at Sorbonne, a ſmall village in the Rhetelois. *The poor maſters*, as the firſt doctors of the Sorbonne were called, were indebted, for the houſe in which they reſided, as well as for many other advantages, to the liberality of Lewis.

About the year 1260 a ſingular ſpecies of fanaticiſm appeared in Europe, which was neither ordained by authority nor excited by eloquence: "When "all Italy was ſullied with crimes of every kind," ſays the monk of Saint Juſtina, in Padua, "a certain ſudden ſuperſtition, hitherto unknown to the "world, firſt ſeized the inhabitants of Peruſa, afterwards the Romans, and then "almoſt all the nations of Italy.—To ſuch a degree were they affected with the "fear of God, that noble, as well as ignoble perſons, young and old, even "children of five years of age, would go naked about the ſtreets, with only "their private parts covered, and, without any ſenſe of ſhame, thus walked in "public, two and two, in the manner of a ſolemn proceſſion. Every one of "them held in his hand a ſcourge made of leather thongs, and with tears and "groans they laſhed themſelves on their backs, till the blood ran, all the while "weeping and giving tokens of the ſame bitter affliction as if they had really "been ſpectators of the paſſion of our Saviour, imploring forgiveneſs of God "and his mother, and praying that he who had been appeaſed by the repentance "of ſo many ſinners, would not diſdain theirs.

"And not only in the day time, but likewiſe during the night, hundreds, "thouſands, and ten thouſands of theſe penitents, ran, notwithſtanding the ri-"gour of winter, about the ſtreets, and in churches, with lighted wax-tapers "in their hands, and preceded by prieſts, who carried croſſes and banners along "with them, and with humility proſtrated themſelves before the altars: the "ſame ſcenes were exhibited in ſmall towns and villages; ſo that the mountains "and the fields ſeemed to reſound alike the voices of men who were crying to "God.

"All muſical inſtruments and love-ſongs then ceaſed to be heard. The only "muſic that prevailed, both in town and country, was that of the mournful "voice of the penitent, whoſe ſorrowful accents might have moved hearts of "flint; and even the eyes of the obdurate ſinner could not refrain from tears.

"Nor were women exempt from this general ſpirit of devotion; for, not only "thoſe among the common people, but alſo matrons and young maidens of no-"ble families, would modeſtly perform the ſame mortifications in their own "rooms. Then thoſe who were at enmity became friends. Uſurers and rob-"bers haſtened to reſtore their ill-gotten wealth to the right owners. Others, "who were contaminated with different crimes, confeſſed them with humility, "and renounced their vanities. Gaols were thrown open, priſoners were re-"leaſed, and thoſe who were baniſhed permitted to return to their native habi-"tations. So many, and ſuch great works of ſanctity, in ſhort, were then per-"formed both by men and women, that it ſeemed as if an univerſal apprehen-

" ſion had ſeized mankind, that the Divine Power was preparing either to con-
" ſume them by fire, or deſtroy them by earthquakes, or ſome other of
" thoſe means which Divine Juſtice knows how to employ for avenging crimes.
" Such a ſudden repentance, which had thus diffuſed itſelf all over Italy,
" and had even reached other countries, not only the unlearned, but wiſe per-
" ſons alſo admired. They wondered whence ſuch vehement fervour of piety
" could have proceeded; eſpecially ſince ſuch public penances and ceremonies
" had been unheard of in former times; had not been approved by the ſove-
" reign pontiff, who was then reſiding at Anagni; nor recommended by any
" preacher, nor perſon of eminence, but had taken their origin among ſimple
" perſons, whoſe example both learned and unlearned had alike followed*."

This ſect of *Flagellants* was excluded from Sicily by the prudence of Mainfroy, who feared that ſome deſigning chief might take advantage of their enthuſiaſm, to breed diſturbances in his kingdom. In Germany they were treated with contempt; in Poland they were threatened with impriſonment; and, in France, where the enthuſiaſm of ſuperſtition had taken another direction, there appeared no diſpoſition to receive them: though, at a ſubſequent period, under the reign of Henry the Third, the flagellants were not only tolerated, but openly protected by the king. They adopted the cuſtom of flagellating themſelves in public, from a ſtrained interpretation of the paſſage in the Pſalmiſt—" Ad fla-
" gella paratus ſum†."

PHILIP THE THIRD,

SURNAMED THE HARDY.

A. D. 1270.] THE death of Lewis diffuſed an univerſal conſternation throughout the chriſtian camp; and that monarch had no ſooner reſigned his breath than the ſounds of trumpets announced the arrival of his brother, the king of Sicily. Charles, aſtoniſhed to find his ſalute unanſwered, began to be alarmed; and, leaving his troops to the care of his officers, galloped towards the royal tent, where the firſt object that preſented itſelf to his ſight was the corpſe of his brother, extended on thoſe aſhes which the pious monarch had choſen for his death bed. Shocked at the ſpectacle, he threw himſelf on the ground,

* De Lolme, Hiſt. of the Flagellants, p. 347, et ſeq. † Id. ib. p. 357.

kiſſed the cold feet of Lewis, and gave vent to his ſorrow in a torrent of tears. When the firſt guſt of grief was over, the princes made the neceſſary diſpoſition for purſuing with vigour the war againſt the infidels. Philip, however, previouſly received the homage of his new ſubjects, and diſpatched meſſengers to France, with letters confirming the regents of the kingdom in their authority, and all the miniſters and governors of provinces in their reſpective offices.

The Saracens, who frequently appeared in great numbers in the vicinity of the camp, were worſted in every ſkirmiſh; and, in two general engagements, they ſuſtained a total defeat, attended with conſiderable ſlaughter. But ſtill the numbers they loſt by this means were ſpeedily replaced, while the army of the chriſtians daily diminiſhed; and, to add to the diſtreſs of their ſituation, the peſtilential diſeaſe, which had deſtroyed their king, continued to rage with unabated violence. Induced by theſe conſiderations, Philip judged it prudent to accept the terms proffered by the king of Tunis, and a truce for ten years was accordingly concluded, on the following conditions:—

"That the port of Tunis ſhould in future be open for the reception of merchandiſe, without being liable to thoſe heavy duties which they had hitherto paid; that, in lieu of ſuch duties, only a tenth of all merchandiſe ſhould be exacted; that all the chriſtians who had been impriſoned on the approach of the French army, ſhould be ſet at liberty; that the free exerciſe of their religion ſhould be allowed them, with full permiſſion to build churches, and to make as many converts from Mahometaniſm as they could, without hindrance or moleſtation; that the king of Tunis ſhould bind himſelf, by oath, to pay the accuſtomed tribute to the Sicilian monarch; and that he ſhould defray all the expences incurred on account of the war, as well by the king of France as by his barons, which amounted to two hundred and ten thouſand ounces of gold; one half of which was to be paid immediately, and the other in two years*."

Hoſtilities ceaſed on the firſt of November, and ſoon after the whole army embarked for Trapani, where the kings of France and Sicily, with all the princes and barons, entered into a ſolemn engagement, to meet at any place that ſhould be appointed, at the expiration of four years from the end of July following, in order to repair to Paleſtine.

A. D. 1271.] At Trapani the king loſt his brother-in-law, Thibaud the Fifth, king of Navarre, a prince univerſally eſteemed for his excellent qualities both of heart and head. Dying without children, he was ſucceeded in his dominions by his brother Henry. The queen of Navarre died four months after her huſband. From Trapani Philip proceeded to the court of Sicily, and from thence to Calabria, where he was deſtined to experience a ſtill greater loſs†. The queen, who was pregnant, paſſing the river Savuto, near Martorano fell from her horſe; and the hurt ſhe received, together with the fright ſhe experi-

* Geſt. Philip, liii. p. 523. † Ib. p. 524.

enced, produced a miſcarriage, of which ſhe died at Cozenza, greatly and deſervedly lamented. The king, to relieve the anxiety of his mind, repaired to the court of Rome; and, purſuing his journey through the principal cities of Italy, repoſed a ſhort time at Lyons, and entered his capital amidſt the acclamations of his people. Yet France had reaſon to lament the deſtructive conſequences of the enterpriſe from which he returned: beſides the nameleſs multitude that periſhed on the coaſt of Africa, in the iſland of Sicily, and in his progreſs through Italy, Philip loſt his father Lewis, his brother John, his queen Iſabella, his brother-in-law and ſiſter, the king and queen of Navarre, his uncle and aunt, the count and counteſs of Poictiers, who were all, except the queen of France, victims of the ſame contagious diſorder.

The firſt moments of his return were dedicated to the pious care of his father's funeral; the next to the important ceremony of his own coronation, which was performed at Rheims, in the month of Auguſt, by Milo, biſhop of Soiſſons. As Alfonſo, count of Poictiers, and his wife, had left no poſterity, Philip haſtened to take poſſeſſion of the counties of Poitou and the Toulouſain, which eſcheated to the crown*; the firſt, as having been ceded by Raymond the Seventh, father to the counteſs, who was the laſt of the illuſtrious family of the counts of Toulouſe. This ſucceſſion conſiderably augmented the royal domains. Already had Saint Lewis acquired the counties of Perche, of Clermont in Beauvaiſis, of Macon, of Beaumont upon Oiſe, and of Namur; the viſcounties of Beziers, Carcaſſonne, Avranches, and Peronne; the lordſhips of Beaumont-le-Roger, Brionne, Loches and Chatillon upon the Indre; the caſtles of Beleſme, Mortagne, and Ferte-Alpes in la Beauſſe; and, laſtly, all the rights of Turcavel, to Lombers, and a great number of lordſhips, in the biſhopricks of Narbonne, Agde, Maguelonne, Niſmes, Albi and Toulouſe†. Though theſe acquiſitions were doubtleſs important, they appeared but trivial, when compared to what Philip now acquired by the death of his uncle Alfonſo—viz. Poitou, Auvergne, a part of Saintonge, and the country of Aunis, together with the greater part of the county of Toulouſe, that part of the Albigeois, which lies to the right of the Tarn; Rouergue, Quercy, Agenois, and the Venaiſſin. But theſe provinces were not properly united to the crown, till the year 1361; till that time the kings of France governed them as counts of that particular diſtrict.

The king was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the ſtates which he inherited from the counteſs of Poictiers, than the king of England ſent to demand the reſtitution of the Agenois and Querci, in compliance with the treaty which had been concluded between Henry and Saint Lewis. Philip, however, was in no haſte to fulfil the engagement contracted by his father; Agenois, in conſequence, was not united to the duchy of Aquitaine till the year 1279, when Edward, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Henry, prevailed on him to give it up. As to Querci, the king pro-

* Geſt. Philip, liii. p. 526. † Saint Marthe, ſur la fin du regne de St. Louis; L. P. Daniel, t. iv. p. 571, 572.

miſed to inſtitute an inquiry, in order to learn whether it had been aſſigned as a dower to the princeſs Jane of England, on her marriage with Raymond the Sixth. The affair was not terminated till the year 1286, when Philip the Fair purchaſed the rights of the Engliſh to that province, for an annual penſion of three thouſand livres Tournois. The Venaiſſin had been bequeathed to the king of Sicily; Philip, however, took poſſeſſion of it, though, in 1274, he ceded it to pope Gregory the Tenth; and, from this period, the ſovereign pontiffs have continued to rule that part of the principality of Toulouſe.

A. D. 1272.] At the commencement of this year the king made a tour through his new dominions, and took the neceſſary meaſures for quelling the only revolt that occurred during his reign. Geraud the Fifth, count of Armagnac, laid claim to the ſovereignty of the caſtle of Sompuy, in the dioceſe of Auch*; while Geraud de Caſaubon, lord of that fief, maintained that he held it immediately of the king, as heir to the rights of the counts of Toulouſe. The diſpute grew warm between them; and, after ſeveral challenges, on both ſides, they prepared to decide it by the ſword. The count firſt took up arms, and, repairing to Sompuy, at the head of his troops, dared his enemy to come forth; Caſaubon accordingly ſallied from the caſtle, attacked the count's rear-guard, killed his brother Arnaud Bernard, and put his ſoldiers to flight. The count, enraged at the affront he had ſuſtained, and ſtill more at the loſs of his brother, exhorted all the noblemen of his family to aſſiſt him in the infliction of vengeance. His brother-in-law, Roger Bernard, count de Foix, accordingly raiſed an army, and vowed to effect the deſolation of the caſtle of Sompuy, or periſh in the attempt. Caſaubon, unable to reſiſt the united forces of this powerful family, put himſelf under the king's protection, delivered his caſtle, with all his domains, into the hands of the ſeneſchal of Toulouſe, and ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to Philip, ſubmitting to the judgment of the king's court, and conſenting to the confiſcation of his lordſhip, in caſe he ſhould fail to juſtify himſelf with regard to the death of Arnaud Bernard. The king's officers, in conſequence of this ſurrender, took poſſeſſion of the fortreſs with all its dependencies; they hoiſted the royal ſtandard, and forbade any one to attack a ſubject who had demanded juſtice from his ſovereign. But the count of Armagnac, paying no attention to theſe orders, laid ſiege to the caſtle, which he carried by aſſault, then reduced it to aſhes, maſſacred the inhabitants, and laid waſte the domains of Caſaubon, with fire and ſword.

The king was juſtly incenſed at this daring act of outrage and diſobedience; and, being ſenſible of the importance of acting with ſpirit at the commencement of his reign, he reſolved to inflict ſuch a puniſhment on his rebellious vaſſals, as ſhould ſerve for an example to the reſt of the barons. With this view he collected a powerful army, and cited the two offenders to appear before him, in order to anſwer for their conduct. Geraud d'Armagnac obeyed the citation, ſued for mercy, and obtained it, on condition of paying a fine of fifteen thou-

* Hiſt. de Lang. t. iv. p. 6, 7, note 2.

ſand livres Tournois. But the count de Foix, perſiſting in his revolt, deſpiſed the order of his ſovereign, and prepared for a vigorous defence. He depended on the advantageous ſituation of his little territory, which was ſurrounded by lofty mountains, and defended by a great number of caſtles, ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature. Fully impreſſed with an idea that he was in perfect ſafety, he ventured to attack the ſeneſchal of Toulouſe, who was peaceably paſſing through his country, and, putting his men to flight, took ſeveral priſoners, and plundered his baggage. The king, appriſed of this outrage, ſent a detachment of troops into the county of Foix, who took ſeveral of the principal fortreſſes, and ſcoured the open country; but the count, retiring to the mountains, ſtrengthened his fortifications, and, notwithſtanding the check he had received, flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſtill be able to oppoſe the whole power of France.

All the vaſſals of the crown had received orders to aſſemble at Tours, on the eighth of May, when a ſplendid train of nobles attended, and, with their followers, directed their march towards Toulouſe, where they were joined by the vaſſals of that province, and of the circumjacent country. Philip placed himſelf at the head of his army, and advanced towards Pamiers; at the abbey of Bolbonne he was met by James, king of Arragon, and Gaſton, viſcount of Bearn, father-in-law to the count de Foix, who came to negociate a peace, and to obtain a pardon for the rebel. But, when the king had conſented to the terms propoſed, the count refuſed to ſubmit to them; hoſtilities, therefore, were immediately commenced; and the army marched forward till they came within ſight of the caſtle of Foix, in which the count himſelf had taken refuge. The difficulty of approaching this fortreſs compelled them them to keep at a certain diſtance; but Philip having taken an oath not to quit the place till he had obtained poſſeſſion of it, either by force or capitulation, the workmen were ordered to cut a way through the rocks which ſurrounded the caſtle. Animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, they diſplayed ſo much ardour in proceeding with their taſk, that the count ſaw he muſt ſoon be obliged to yield: he therefore ſought to avert the reſentment of Philip, by a timely ſurrender; and, repairing to the royal tent, threw himſelf at the king's feet, and ſued for pardon. But he had proceeded too far to be ſo ſoon forgiven; the king confined him in a tower, in the city of Carcoſſonne, and ſeized all his territories, except a ſmall part which was claimed by the king of Arragon, but which that monarch afterwards ceded, in order to accelerate the releaſe of the captive count. After placing ſtrong garriſons in the different fortreſſes, the army was diſmiſſed, and the counteſs de Foix, Margaret de Montcade, was taken to the court of France, where ſhe was treated with all the reſpect due to her rank. The count, after a year's impriſonment, was indebted for his liberty to the generoſity of his ſovereign; he then repaired to Paris, and, expreſſing his contrition for his paſt conduct, was received into favour by Philip, who kept him ſome time at his court; and then, diſmiſſing him with preſents, re-eſtabliſhed him in the poſſeſſion of all his domains.

A. D. 1273, 1274.] During theſe tranſactions, Henry the Third of England died, and was ſucceeded in the throne by his ſon, Edward, who went to Paris, and did homage to Philip for all the territories he poſſeſſed in France. About the ſame time it was deemed neceſſary to aſſemble a general council, to adopt means for the relief of the Holy Land, and for the reformation of manners. Gregory the Tenth had convened it, in the city of Lyons, which, according to Father Daniel, was not yet reduced under the domination of the French kings. He acknowledges that Saint Lewis*, before his departure for Africa, held a court of juſtice there, but this he aſcribes to a particular agreement with the chapter, which was only to be in force till the election of a new archbiſhop. Philip, however, refuſed to ſurrender it, till the archbiſhop elect had taken the oath of fidelity to him; and this was afterwards pleaded in the ſubſequent reign, as one of the titles, on which the right of uniting the Lyonios to the crown was founded. The council was attended by five hundred biſhops, ſeventy abbots, and more than a thouſand other eccleſiaſtics; the pope preſided in perſon, accompanied by fifteen cardinals. Some time before the council was opened, Philip went to ſalute the Roman pontiff, with whom he had a long conference; he aſſured him of his zeal for the recovery of the Holy Land, and left a body of troops, as well to guard the perſon of the pope, as to protect the members of the council from inſult.

It was decreed, that a tenth of the revenues of all churches ſhould be levied, during ſix years, for the ſupport of the holy war; an impoſt that was rigorouſly exacted. This was the laſt effort made by France for expeditions ſo prejudicial to the ſtate, as well from the enormous expence with which they were attended, as from the numbers of people who periſhed in them. Already had the French, with more piety than policy, engaged in five cruſades: the firſt, under Philip the Firſt, was the leaſt unfortunate; the ſecond, under Lewis the Young, proved highly diſaſtrous; the third was productive of little glory to Philip Auguſtus; the fourth involved Saint Lewis in captivity; and the fifth deprived him of his life. They are ſaid to have coſt the kingdom more than two millions of its inhabitants, and two hundred millions of livres, ſuppoſing that each cruſader who loſt his life carried with him only a hundred livres†. The expedition to Tunis was fortunately the laſt. The nation at length became ſenſible of its true intereſts; and, diſguſted by a ſucceſſion of unfortunate events, its enthuſiaſm gradually ſubſided. In vain did the Roman pontiffs endeavour to rouſe the torpid zeal of the French; all their efforts for that purpoſe proved ineffectual; and the Holy Land, deprived of all ſuccour from Europe, became a prey to the rage of the infidels. In the year 1291, the ſultan Calib took the city of Acre, the firmeſt rampart of the eaſtern chriſtians, by aſſault; and, after the reduction of that important place, the final expulſion of the cruſaders be-

* Tom. iv. p. 338, 339.

† Eſſai ſur l'Aiſt. Gener. tom. xii. p. 184, 185.

came a matter of facility. Paleſtine was abandoned to the Saracens; and the wretched enthuſiaſts, who had quitted their native homes in queſt of imaginary glory, were now—ſad effects of miſtaken zeal!—compelled to wander, deſtitute and forſaken on the face of the earth, in ſearch of thoſe real comforts which they had vainly ſacrificed to viſionary hopes.

In order to provide a remedy for the inconvenience occaſioned by the interval which generally occurred between the death of a pope and the election of a ſucceſſor, the council determined*, that, in future, immediately after the death of the ſovereign pontiff, the cardinals ſhould aſſemble in the ſame chamber, without any ſeparations by walls or curtains, and, in every reſpect, ſo well ſecured, that no perſon could enter or leave the room without the conſent of all preſent, and, except in caſe of ſickneſs, under pain of being deprived of his vote.—Such is the origin of the term *conclave*, which was invented for the purpoſe of expreſſing a place in which ſeveral perſons were ſhut up, under one and the ſame key. If the cardinals, in three days after their firſt meeting, had not agreed in their choice of a pope, it was determined, that for the five following days they ſhould have but one diſh at each meal; and, at the expiration of that term, ſhould be confined to bread, wine, and water, till a new pontiff was elected. The cardinals inveighed loudly againſt a ſtatute which was calculated to ſuppreſs, in a manner ſo humiliating, their ambition and avarice. It was farther decided, that, during the vacancy, they ſhould not interfere in any other buſineſs, than that of the election; that they ſhould not recieve any thing from the apoſtolic chamber, nor touch any of the revenues of the church of Rome. The utmoſt exertions of ſkill and intrigue were employed to avert this fatal edict; but Gregory had previouſly ſecured the biſhops in his intereſt; they all ſubſcribed the decree, affixed their ſeals to it, and publiſhed it in their reſpective dioceſes; by which means it received the authority of a law.

Before the council ſeparated, a proper example was made of Henry de Gueldreſt, biſhop of Liege, an ignorant, vain, and profligate prelate, who did not even underſtand his breviary; who wore a ſcarlet dreſs with a ſilver girdle; expoſed livings to ſale; had taken for his concubine an abbeſs of the order of Saint Benedict; debauched another abbeſs in his dioceſe; publicly kept a young nun; and boaſted at a feaſt that he had had fourteen children in the ſpace of two-and-twenty months. The pope, before he proceeded juridically againſt the offender, aſked him, whether he choſe to reſign his biſhopric, or to abide by the deciſion of the church: Henry, expecting to obtain favour by ſubmiſſion, gave his paſtoral ring to Gregory, who kept it, and obliged him to abdicate his dignity.

A. D. 1275.] A month after the ſeparation of the ſecond council of Lyons, Philip, who was then in his thirty-firſt year, married Mary, ſiſter to John, duke

* Concil. tom. xi. p. 975, et ſeq. † Ibid. p. 929.

of Brabant, one of the moſt beautiful princeſſes of the age. But, though every circumſtance that could enſure attachment ſubſiſted between the royal couple, their felicity was ſpeedily troubled by the intrigues of Peter de la Broſſe, a native of Touraine, who, from the obſcure ſituation of a provincial ſurgeon, had, through the king's partiality and favour, been promoted to the firſt offices in the ſtate. Such was the aſcendancy which this man had acquired over the mind of his ſovereign, that all applications for places or preferment were made to him; and even the dignity of chamberlain, which had never before been enjoyed by any but perſons of the higheſt rank, was conferred on him. His brother-in-law, Peter de Benais, was made biſhop of Bayeux, and all his children procured ample eſtabliſhments, and ſplendid alliances. The king's affection for his young wife alarmed this artful favourite, who dreaded a diminution of his own credit; he therefore determined, if poſſible, to deſtroy a paſſion that was founded on the beſt of motives.

At the age of twelve years, Lewis, the king's eldeſt ſon, ſuddenly expired; and a report was induſtriouſly propagated, that his death had been occaſioned by poiſon. La Broſſe, eagerly ſeized on this circumſtance to inſtil into the mind of Philip ſuſpicions unfavourable to his virtuous conſort. He artfully inſinuated that the queen had committed this crime; and that ſhe had formed a plan for getting rid of the two ſurviving princes, in order to pave the way for the acceſſion of her own children (in caſe ſhe ſhould have any) to the crown of France. Mezeray affirms*, that he even ſuborned a traitor, who publicly accuſed Mary of having adminiſtered poiſon to the preſumptive heir of the throne. The queen, in conſequence of this accuſation, was actually in danger of being burnt alive; but her brother, the duke of Brabant, ſent a knight to juſtify her innocence by an appeal to the ſword; and the accuſer, not daring to ſupport his charge by a judicial combat, was declared guilty of calumny, and expiated his crime by an ignominious death. The king, however, was greatly embarraſſed: the report that prevailed, though wholly devoid of foundation; the artful inſinuations of his favourite; the intereſt of Mary in the death of his ſons by Iſabella of Aragon; all contributed to favour thoſe ideas which la Broſſe had been ſtudious to excite. In order to clear up his doubts, he reſolved, agreeably to the ſuperſtition of the age, to conſult a nun†, a *Beguine* of Neville, who profeſſed, or believed, herſelf inſpired. The biſhop of Bayeux, brother-in-law to his favourite, and the abbot of Saint Denis, were entruſted with this ſingular commiſſion: the former arrived firſt, and engaged the pretended prophetefs to impart to him *in confeſſion*, whatever God had revealed to her on the ſubject of the prince's death; when the abbot came to interrogate her, ſhe refuſed to anſwer his queſtions, obſerving that ſhe had told all ſhe knew to his colleague. On the return of the commiſſioners, the king deſired the biſhop to let him know

* Abr. tom. ii. p. 739. † Geſta Philippi, l. iii. p. 532.

what information he had been able to collect: "Sire (replied the prelate), the "nun refuſed to converſe with me, except in *confeſſion*, and it is not in my "power to diſcloſe what has been entruſted to me in ſo ſolemn a manner." The artifice was too groſs to impoſe even on the credulous Philip, who told him in a rage, that he had not been ſent to confeſs the nun, but to inveſtigate the truth of a circumſtance in which he was deeply intereſted.—"I have other means "(exclaimed the king) of diſcovering that truth; and woe be unto thoſe who "who have dared to deceive me!" He immediately diſpatched Thibaud, biſhop of Dol, and Arnaud de Viſemale, a knight-templar, to Nivelle; theſe men had no intereſt in eſtabliſhing the guilt of the queen; they were favourably received by the nun, and brought back a clear and unequivocal anſwer:—"Tell the "king (ſaid the propheteſs), that he ought not to give credit to thoſe who "ſpeak ill of his illuſtrious conſort; ſhe is innocent of the crime imputed "to her; he may ſafely rely on her fidelity, as well to himſelf as to his chil-"dren."

This adventure greatly increaſed the queen's credit, and detracted from that of her unprincipled enemy. The king was now confirmed in the ſuſpicions which he had begun to entertain of his favourite; but he was compelled to diſſemble for a while, as he had imprudently entruſted him with the moſt ſecret and important affairs of the ſtate. His treachery, however, in that reſpect, was ſoon rendered manifeſt:—One day, when Philip was at Melun, a monk earneſtly deſired to be admitted to a private audience*; and, when his requeſt was granted, he delivered a ſmall box, which he had received from a traveller, who died at his convent, with expreſs orders to give it into the king's own hands. Philip immediately aſſembled his council, when the box was opened, and found to contain ſeveral letters ſealed with the chamberlain's ſeal. The contents of thoſe letters are not known; but in a ſhort time la Broſſe was apprehended, and hanged at Paris, in the preſence of the count of Artois, and the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant. The nobles, from jealouſy, applauded the juſtice of his puniſhment; but the people murmured, ſays Velly, *parce qu'il eſt peuple*. The ſecrecy obſerved with reſpect to the crime for which the chamberlain was executed made them forget their natural averſion to favourites, and led them to conclude, that he had been unjuſtly ſacrificed to appeaſe the indignation of the queen. The objects of his protection were involved in the diſgrace of their patron: the biſhop of Bayeux fled to Rome, where he remained a long time in exile, under the protection of the ſovereign pontiff†.

Although Philip was deſirous of cultivating peace, he never ſhrunk from the dangers of war. He was now induced to take up arms in favour of a young

* Geſta Philippi, l. iii. p. 536. † Theſe occurrences did not take place till the year 1276; but it was thought neceſſary to bring the queen's misfortunes and the crimes of la Broſſe under one point of view, that the attention of the reader might not be too often drawn from the thread of the hiſtory.



I. Boyce Sc.

LOUIS. IX.

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princeſs, his relation, who was oppreſſed by her ambitious neighbours, and deſpoiled of her kingdom by her rebellious ſubjects. Henry the Firſt, king of Navarre, and count of Champagne, died in the prime of youth, leaving an infant daughter, whom he declared ſole heireſs to his dominions; and appointed his wife, Blanche of Artois, niece to Saint Lewis, and daughter to his brother Robert, who was killed at Maſſoura, to be her guardian; recommending her to marry her child to none but a French prince. This pointed excluſion of the natives gave great offence to the nobles of Navarre, who, in contempt of the laſt will of their ſovereign, choſe Don Pedro Sancho de Montague to be lieutenant-general of the kingdom, till ſuch time as the princeſs ſhould have attained the age of maturity. This bold aſſumption of power could not fail to excite a deadly hatred between the nobles and the court. It alſo occaſioned foreign powers to revive their obſolete pretenſions to a crown which tottered on the head of a child but three years old: the king of Arragon laid claim to it, as the adopted heir of Sancho the Seventh; and the king of Caſtille advanced his pretenſions, derived from Sancho the Third.—Both theſe monarchs preferred their claims before the ſtates of Navarre, aſſembled at Puente-la-Reina. Montague, the leader of the faction, gave his voice in favour of the king of Arragon, whoſe title was frivolous and unfounded; others declared for the king of Caſtille, whoſe anceſtors had formerly ſwayed the ſceptre of Navarre. This difference of ſentiment gave riſe to commotions, which made the queen tremble for the ſafety of her daughter; ſhe therefore ſecretly left the kingdom, with her child, and took refuge at the court of France. Incenſed at her evaſion, the Navarreſe paſſed a formal reſolution not to acknowledge the princeſs Jane for their queen, unleſs ſhe married Alphonſo of Arragon, grandſon to James the Firſt; at the ſame time they requeſted the father of that prince to employ all his forces, in order to prevent a French prince from aſcending the throne of Navarre. Such was their averſion to the French, that they engaged to ſupply him with two hundred thouſand marks of ſilver—a prodigious ſum in thoſe days—to defray the expences of the war.

Philip received the two queens with every poſſible mark of attention and reſpect: aware of the advantage to be derived from their preſence, he reſolved to profit by it, and to marry one of his ſons to the young princeſs. As Blanche ardently wiſhed for this alliance, it was ſpeedily concluded; one obſtacle, however, preſented itſelf—Jane and the French prince were relations within the third degree; it was therefore neceſſary to obtain a diſpenſation, which the pope might poſſibly refuſe. The king ſpared no pains to engage him in his intereſt; he repreſented to him, that Navarre, a Spaniſh province, being united to Champagne and la Brie, which were ſituated in the centre of France, if thoſe territories ſhould paſs into the hands of a foreign prince, already formidable from his own native ſtrength, it would inevitably give riſe to perpetual wars. Gregory was well diſpoſed to favour Philip; but, on the

other hand, he was urgently ſolicited by the two Spaniſh monarchs, who repreſented to him that all Europe would be in danger, if the royal family of France, already ſo powerful from the extent of their hereditary dominions, ſhould ſeek for farther aggrandiſement by the acquiſition of another crown. The Roman pontiff, ſenſible of the juſtice of theſe remonſtrances, purſued a middle courſe. The king had three ſons—Lewis (who was ſtill alive); Philip, ſurnamed the Fair; and Charles, count of Valois. Gregory refuſed to grant a diſpenſation for the firſt, but gave it to the ſecond, who, being confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Navarre, Champagne, and Brie, did not appear likely to cauſe much uneaſineſs.—The treaty of marriage was accordingly ſigned at Orleans.

Queen Blanche now preſented a petition to the king, entreating him to take the princeſs Jane under his immediate protection; and this requeſt being complied with, Philip ſent Euſtache de Beaumarchais, ſeneſchal of Toulouſe, to take poſſeſſion of Navarre in his name. This officer profited by the diſſenſions which prevailed among the Navarreſe, ſecured a great number of places, which he garriſoned, made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Pampeluna, the capital of the country, where he raiſed ſtrong fortifications.—Every thing wore a favourable aſpect, and the French party was on the point of prevailing, when the imprudence of the governor excited a general inſurrection. Euſtache, from a miſtaken zeal, which ſhould never be exerted on a change of government, undertook to aboliſh certain cuſtoms, which appeared to him unjuſt: all the nobility immediately revolted, and the people, following their example, flew to arms. The governor was beſieged in the caſtle of Pampeluna; Montague attempted to quell the revolt—no longer hoping to derive any advantage from the Spaniſh monarchs, he was anxious to be reconciled to the king of France. He had already entered into a negociation with the principal inſurgents, when he was aſſaſſinated by Don Garcias Almoravid: hoſtilities were then renewed with additional fury; and Beaumarchais, preſſed on all ſides, applied for immediate ſuccours. At length a powerful reinforcement of twenty thouſand men arrived, under the command of Robert, count of Artois, and the conſtable Imbert de Beaujeu: their preſence gave a new turn to affairs; and the beſiegers were themſelves beſieged in the town of Pampeluna.

Don Garcias, and the chief promoters of the inſurrection, finding it impoſſible to hold out long, in a town badly fortified, againſt a regular army, and dreading to incur the puniſhment their rebellious conduct deſerved, reſolved to provide for their own ſafety. But, concealing their deſigns, they informed the citizens that a general ſally would be made the next day; and, having thus lulled them into ſecurity, they effected their eſcape during the night. The wretched inhabitants being left to themſelves, ſued for mercy to the count of Artois, and in the mean time took refuge in the great church of Notre-Dame. The conſtable Beaujeu was already drawing up the terms of capitulation, when the count of Foix and the viſcount of Bearn, obſerving that nobody appeared on the walls, iſſued from the camp with their troops, applied their ſcaling ladders, and mount-

ed the walls without oppoſition. A cruel and indiſcriminate ſlaughter enſued; neither ſex nor age was reſpected; women and virgins were openly violated by the ſoldiery; the temples were profaned, and the manſions of the dead ſacrilegiouſly plundered. As ſoon as the count of Artois entered the town, he endeavoured to ſtop this ſhameful violence, and, by kind treatment, to conſole the affrighted citizens. He granted them their liberty, confirmed them in all their privileges, and cauſed their effects to be reſtored. The fate of the caſtle ſuperinduced the ſubmiſſion of the other towns and fortreſſes; the revolt was ſpeedily quelled, and the whole kingdom of Navarre ſubmitted to the conqueror.

A. D. 1280.] During theſe tranſactions, Philip had aſſembled an army for the purpoſe of attacking the dominions of Alfonſo the Tenth, king of Caſtille. That monarch, when he married his ſon, Ferdinand de la Cerda, to the princeſs Blanche, daughter of Saint Lewis, entered into a ſolemn engagement that the children which ſhould ſpring from this marriage, ſhould ſucceed to the throne of Caſtille, even though Ferdinand ſhould die before his father. On this condition alone did Lewis conſent to reſign the pretenſions of his mother to that crown, which are ſaid to have been well founded. Blanche had two ſons, Alfonſo and Ferdinand; but, on the death of their father, Alfonſo, in violation of his promiſe, transferred the ſucceſſion from his grand children, to his ſecond and ſurviving ſon, Sancho.

The injuſtice of this conduct, together with the perſecution experienced by his ſiſter, after the death of her huſband, determined Philip to redreſs the wrongs of his family. But he firſt ſent an ambaſſador to Alfonſo, to try the effect of remonſtrance; all the good, however, he derived from this meaſure, was, permiſſion for Blanche to return to her native country, where ſhe paſſed the remainder of her days. War was now reſolved on, and the neceſſary orders were given for carrying it into execution. The general rendezvous of the troops was fixed at Sauveterre in Bearn, where a more numerous army aſſembled than had been ſeen in France for many years: but, when they were about to march, it was diſcovered that both proviſions and forage were wanting. The winter was approaching; the heavy rains which began to fall rendered the roads impaſſable, and the king was reduced to the neceſſity of poſtponing this expedition till the enſuing ſpring.

The king of Caſtille in the mean time, alarmed at theſe immenſe preparations, had requeſted a conferrence with the count of Artois, who, having previouſly obtained the permiſſion of Philip, repaired to Spain. Alfonſo earneſtly beſought him to mediate a peace between France and Caſtille, profeſſing at the ſame time that he was not actuated by fear in his anxiety for the preſervation of tranquillity, becauſe he had certain intelligence that Philip was already on his return to Paris; in ſhort, he gave him to underſtand that he was no ſtranger to the moſt ſecret tranſactions of the French court. Robert, who was ignorant of the king's retreat, was loſt in aſtoniſhment; and could not reflect without horror on the

danger to which Philip muſt have been expoſed, had he continued his march. His ſuſpicions immediately fell on the chamberlain; he accordingly returned to Navarre, and having exacted a new oath of fidelity from the Navarreſe, and reſtored the command of the army to the ſeneſchal de Beaumarchais, haſtened to Paris, where he imparted what he had heard to the king. It was then that the myſtery of the box of papers delivered to Philip by the monk was explained; and the perfidious favourite la Broſſe paid for his treachery with his life.

A. D. 1281.] The farther proſecution of this war was impeded by an order from the pope, who forbade the two monarchs to decide their diſpute by arms; an order which the dignity of Philip ſhould certainly have induced him to reſiſt, but which his partiality to peace, and the attention he was obliged to pay to the ſtate of affairs in Sicily, urged him to comply with.

The ambition of the Sicilian monarch knew no bounds. As ſenator of Rome, and vicar of the empire, his authority in Italy was almoſt abſolute. He had recently purchaſed, for a penſion of four thouſand livres, the rights of Mary of Antioch to the kingdom of Jeruſalem, which, though in poſſeſſion of the Saracens, ſtill conferred a title that was deemed highly honourable by the chriſtians: and he had laid a plan for ſecuring the imperial crown of Conſtantinople. He would, probably, too, have ſucceeded in the attempt, had his prudence been equal to his courage. But, incapable of reflection, in the management of his enterpriſes he invariably diſplayed more pride than circumſpection. His vaſt projects, of which he publicly talked; the augmentation of his forces by ſea and land; his courage; his reputation; all conſpired to alarm the princes of Europe, many of whom entered into a conſpiracy for repreſſing that ambitious ſpirit, which they deemed equally hoſtile to their private aggrandiſement and to the general welfare. Rome was the firſt to diſplay her enmity: Gregory the Ninth had paid him little reſpect; Innocent the Fifth had been more favourable, but his reign was ſhort; Adrian the Sixth did not live to be conſecrated, and John the Twenty-firſt died ſoon after his elevation to the papal throne. The death of this pontiff was highly detrimental to the Sicilian king, who had received from him the moſt unequivocal marks of affection.

John Gaetano, of the noble family of Urſini, had no ſooner ſucceeded to the pontifical dignity, under the appellation of Nicholas the Third, than he undertook to humble the pride and power of a prince, whom he conſidered as the principal obſtacle to the execution of thoſe ambitious projects which he had formed for the elevation of his own kinſmen; and againſt whom he had alſo ſome private ſubjects of complaint. Charles is ſaid to have cauſed the huſband of a niece of Nicholas to be beheaded, for having, with more loyalty than prudence, declared for Conradine. But what had moſt enraged the ſovereign pontiff, was, the arrogant refuſal he experienced when he aſked the hand of a grand-daughter of the king of Sicily, for one of his own nephews*. Thus ſtimulated, he took

* Villani, l. vii. c. 54; Rayn. Ann. 1278, No. 67.

advantage of the diſpute which ſubſiſted between that prince and the emperor Rodolphus, procured himſelf to be appointed arbiter between them, and ſentenced Charles to reſign the dignity of vicar of the empire. The monarch obeyed, and gave in his reſignation, which encreaſed the pride of the pontiff; who ſoon after ſent him an order to reſign alſo the office of ſenator of Rome, in compliance with the treaty concluded with Clement the Fourth; in this inſtance too, the pope experienced the ſame docility on the part of the king, which made his ambaſſador remark, that Charles poſſeſſed all the fidelity of the French in the execution of treaties, all the fineſſe of Spaniſh policy, and all the prudence of the court of Rome—"We may get the better of others," ſaid he, "but as "for this man, we ſhall never manage him." In fact, the pope only waited for a pretext to deſpoil him of the crown of the two Sicilies; bold as he was, he did not dare openly to deprive him of a throne to which his predeceſſors had raiſed him; he therefore confined himſelf to a ſecret engagement with the king of Arragon to aſſiſt him with men and money.

Don Pedro, king of Arragon, a prince who poſſeſſed more cunning than generoſity, had an *apparent* claim to the throne of Sicily, in right of his wife Conſtance, who was daughter to Mainfroy; but, as Mainfroy himſelf was a baſtard, and an uſurper alſo, to the prejudice of Conradine, the lawful heir, it was maintained, that he could not poſſibly tranſmit to his children a right which he had never poſſeſſed himſelf. Charles was on the point of embarking on ſome important enterpriſe, for which he had made the moſt formidable preparations; according to Nangis the object of this expedition was the recovery of Paleſtine; but moſt of the Spaniſh, Greek, and Italian writers affirm, that it was his intention to depoſe Michael Paleologus, emperor of Conſtantinople. Be that as it may, Don Pedro maintained a ſecret correſpondence with all the towns of Italy, whoſe inhabitants were eager to ſhake off the yoke of the French, whoſe tyranny had become inſupportable. In the exertion of a deſpotic ſway, they neither reſpected the rights of humanity, nor the laws of religion and honour*. The people were oppreſſed by onerous exactions, and expoſed to the inſolence of a licentious ſoldiery. Such as ventured to complain only experienced an accumulation of inſult; and there was ſcarcely a ſingle family exempt from perſecution, for a pretended attachment to the cauſe of Conradine, which ſerved as an eternal excuſe for oppreſſion. Fathers could not diſpoſe of daughters in marriage without the conſent of the government, who compelled them, when rich, to take French huſbands. Neither the privileges of cities, nor the prerogatives of the clergy, were reſpected. The Sicilians were excluded from all eccleſiaſtical benefices, which were invariably beſtowed on the children of their conquerors. But the ſhameful treatment which the women experienced, enraged, even more than theſe inſtances of oppreſſion, (flagrant as they were) a peo-

* M. de Burigny, Hiſt. de Sicil. t, ii. p. 184.

ple naturally diſpoſed to jealouſy. It is ſaid, that the French governors ordered the young brides to be brought to them, and did not ſend them back to their huſbands till they had paſſed the firſt night with them. The ſoldiers, too, under pretence of executing the king's orders, forced an entrance into private houſes, and took the moſt indecent liberties with the wives and daughters of the citizens. In ſhort, ſcarcely a day paſſed without the commiſſion of a rape or an act of adultery*.

All attempts to procure redreſs for theſe intolerable grievances proved ineffectual; Charles, intoxicated with power, rejected the cries and prayers of his ſubjects, and treated with contempt thoſe murmurs and thoſe menaces, which he conceived to be impotent; he ſoon, however, learned, from fatal experience, this important leſſon—That no monarch, however mighty, can long oppreſs with impunity; that the obligation between prince and people are mutually binding; that, ſo long as the former exerts his authority to promote the general happineſs, by maintaining the laws in their full vigour, by a ſtrict and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, his rights are ſacred, and any attempt to invade them is unjuſt and tyrannical; but, when he neglects thoſe duties which are impoſed on him by his ſtation, when he employs the power veſted in his hands for the oppreſſion of his ſubjects, when, in ſhort, he openly violates thoſe *laws* which it is his firſt duty to protect and enforce, then (and *then only*) does he forfeit all claim to allegiance; the *Original Compact*, to which alone all ſubordination in a government can be rationally aſcribed, is then diſſolved, and the people are juſtified in reſiſting what, in vain, they have attempted to remedy by lenient and pacific meaſures.—Among the Sicilian nobles was one, who engaged the univerſal eſteem of his countrymen; a man of talents and reſolution; a good ſoldier, an able captain, a ſkilful negociator; artful, inſinuating, fertile in expedients, in deliberation cautious, in execution prompt, he was fully capable of conducting a political intrigue; in the preſent inſtance his patriotic ardour was inflamed by a thirſt of revenge; the French had diſhonoured his wife, and their prince, on the defeat of Conradine, had confiſcated his property. This man, ſo famous in the annals of Sicily, was John de Procida, ſo called from a ſmall iſland in the vicinity of Naples, of which Charles had deſpoiled him for his ſteady attachment to the houſe of Suabia.

Procida was now at the court of Arragon, where he was courteouſly received by Don Pedro, who, by the advice of his wife, had given him ſome valuable poſſeſſions in the kingdom of Valencia. In return for theſe favours, from reſpect to the blood of Mainfroy, and from averſion to the tyranny of Charles, he reſolved to place the crown of Sicily on the head of Pedro. In the diſguiſe of a Cordelier he viſited Malta, Sicily, Conſtantinople and Rome, and his negociations at thoſe different places were attended with ſucceſs. The Greek em-

* Velly, t. vi. p. 355.

peror promiſed to aſſiſt him with money; the ſovereign pontiff, bribed by a conſiderable ſum*, of which his nephew Orſo largely partook, urged, moreover, by a lively reſentment againſt Charles, not only approved the conſpiracy, but wrote very preſſing letters to the king of Arragon, exhorting him to perſevere in the purſuit of his plan.

But the death of Nicholas, during theſe negociations, had nearly put an end to the conſpiracy. He was ſucceeded in the pontifical throne by the cardinal Saint Cecilia, the ſame prelate who had been employed in ſettling the terms on which Charles accepted the kingdom of Sicily. The friendſhip of Martin the Fourth—that was the title aſſumed by the new pontiff—for the king of Sicily, was as ſtrong as the enmity of his predeceſſors had been violent. He ſoon gave unequivocal proofs of his attachment, by reſtoring to Charles the office of ſenator of Rome, which had been taken from him by the late pope; by excommunicating, at his requeſt, the Greek emperor, who had failed to execute the conditions preſcribed by the council of Lyons; and by prohibiting, under the pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, all perſons whatever from holding any commerce with that prince.

A. D. 1281 to 1284.] The death of Nicholas ſomewhat damped the ardour of the king of Arragon; but it had a very different effect on Michael Paleologus, who diſpatched Procida with thirty thouſand ounces of gold as a preſent to Don Pedro. This perſuaſive argument carried conviction to the mind of that monarch, who immediately gave orders for collecting a powerful armament, under pretence of waging war againſt the Saracens. Philip, whoſe firſt wife was ſiſter to Don Pedro, appriſed of his preparations, ſent to aſk him to what quarter he meant to direct his forces, offering, at the ſame time, to aſſiſt him with men and money; but the only anſwer he received was, that the king of Arrogan had it in contemplation to revenge the inſults which the chriſtian religion had ſuſtained during the reign of Saint Lewis; and that he ſhould be glad, if, to forward his purpoſe, Philip would lend him forty thouſand livres Tournois; a requeſt which was inſtantly complied with. The Sicilian monarch was equally credulous; he ſupplied Don Pedro with twenty thouſand ducats to aid the equipment of a fleet that was deſtined to be employed againſt himſelf. The pope, however, was wiſer; to him the proceedings of the king of Arragon wore a doubtful aſpect; he therefore diſpatched a monk to the court of Arragon to forbid him, on his peril, to make war on any chriſtian prince.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when the inhabitants of Palermo, on Eaſter-Monday, propoſed to attend veſpers at the church of the Holy Ghoſt, ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from the city. Though there was nothing uncommon in theſe parties of devotion, a report prevailed that ſome grand project was in agitation; and that every precaution, therefore, was neceſſary, in order to prevent its ex-

* Velly, t. vi. p. 358.

ecution.—With this view the governor of the place gave orders to have all perſons examined as they went to the church, to ſee that they were unarmed. The ſoldiers took advantage of the circumſtance to inſult the women; one, in particular, ſtopped a young lady of extraordinary beauty, and, under pretence of examining whether ſhe had not a poinard concealed beneath her clothes, proceeded to take the moſt indecent liberties*. Her cries called her father and huſband to her aſſiſtance; theſe were joined by their friends; the tumult became general through the city; the ſoldiers were attacked, overpowered, and maſſacred. Eight thouſand of the French are ſaid to have periſhed in this general ſlaughter, which obtained the name of the *Sicilian Veſpers*.

The ſignal of revolt was now given; the different towns of Scicily haſtened to follow the example of Palermo; and the French were every where expelled with great ſlaughter. The numbers that fell on this occaſion are variouſly related; ſome making them to amount to twenty-eight thouſand; while others reduce them to fourteen. Be that as it may, the inſurrection was general, and the ſucceſs complete.

Charles was at Monte-Fiaſcone, tranſacting ſome buſineſs with the pope, when he received intelligence of theſe fatal events; his paſſion was, for ſome time, too ſtrong for utterance; when he recovered his ſpeech, the violence of his exclamations was equal to the magnitude of his loſs; he talked of nothing but death and retribution; and ſwore that he would tranſmit to poſterity a terrible example that ſhould make all future rebels tremble†. But his prudence was blinded by his paſſion; though he had a powerful fleet and army prepared for his intended expedition to Conſtantinople, he refuſed to follow the advice of the pope, and to employ them in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to enſure ſucceſs. He laid ſiege to Meſſina, indeed; but, intent on vengeance, rejected the proffered ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, and, by urging them to a deſperate reſiſtance, defeated his own purpoſe. The king of Arra-

* Nichol. Special. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. x. chap. 4. p. 925; Maleſp. ibid. tom. viii. p. 1029; Giov. Villani, l. vii. c. 61, p. 205.

† After mentioning this threat, the abbé Velly obſerves: "Il le devoit; les Siciliens etoient des traitres "abominables, qui ne meritoient aucune grace." (He ought to have put his threats in execution; the Sicilians were abominable traitors, who deſerved no favour.) What! when this unfortunate people had ſo long laboured under every ſpecies of oppreſſion; when for years they had oppoſed patience to inſult, meekneſs to outrage, obedience to tyranny; when every attempt at remonſtrate had only produced an augmentation of miſery; and when, at laſt, their reſiſtance, as the abbé himſelf admits, was not the reſult of premeditation, but proceeded from the commiſſion of injuries the moſt groſs and intolerable—injuries, the ſuffering whereof would be a degradation of human nature:—Wives and daughters raviſhed in the preſence of their huſbands and their parents, who were maſſacred for endeavouring to defend them from violation! If ſuch acts of violence were not ſufficient to plead the excuſe of the Sicilians, ſo far as to ſcreen them from the barbarous effects of a tyrant's revenge, oppreſſion muſt be lawful, and cruelty juſt! Humanity ſhudders at the thought! We are ſtrenuous advocates for that rational ſubmiſſion, which, in a ſocial ſtate, every man is bound to pay for the protection he receives; but the diſtance between ſuch ſubmiſſion and paſſive obedience, is, thank heaven! immenſe;—the bond of ſociety is conditional: withhold the conſideration, the obligation ceaſes of courſe.

gon, in the mean time, had arrived at Palermo, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the people, and unanimouſly proclaimed king of Sicily. By the advice of Procida he ſent his fleet to Meſſina, and compelled Charles to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with diſgrace.

Charles, however, ſoon received a powerful reinforcement, which, with proper conduct, might have enabled him to retrieve his affairs; but, inſtead of leading his troops againſt the enemy, he was induced, by an artful challenge from Pedro, to decide their quarrel by a combat between a hundred knights on either ſide, led by their reſpective monarchs, to remain in a ſtate of fatal inactivity. The firſt of June was the appointed day, and a plain near Bourdeaux the place agreed on for this ſingular combat: Charles was punctual; but his adverſary rather choſe to ſubmit to the imputation of cowardice than to riſk a certain good for a precarious advantage.—Charles had now recourſe to that line of conduct which, purſued in time, might have prevented the calamities he had experienced, and the diſgrace he had incurred. He propoſed to his ſubjects to make every reformation they could require in the government; to aboliſh every ſpecies of oppreſſion; and to reſtore the laws that had been eſtabliſhed under their favourite monarch, William the Good. Theſe propoſals had a great effect on the Sicilians, many of whom evinced a diſpoſition to return under the domination of the houſe of Anjou.—The thunders of the vatican were launched a-new againſt the enemies of Charles; and Michael Paleologus, the firmeſt ally of Pedro, had juſt expired: thus his affairs ſeemed once more to wear a favourable aſpect—when one fatal and irreparable action blaſted all his hopes:—His ſon Charles, prince of Salermo, was left at Naples (while he was in Provence preparing a freſh armament) with orders not to riſk an action, but patiently to await the arrival of his father. The youth, however, provoked by the inſults of the fleet of Arragon, hazarded an engagement, in which he was defeated, with the loſs of forty-two veſſels, and taken priſoner by the enemy.

A. D. 1285.] Charles, in the mean time, returned with a powerful fleet and a ſtrong reinforcement of troops: when informed of the defeat and captivity of his ſon, he exclaimed: "Would he were dead, ſince he diſobeyed my orders!" Entering Naples, where the inhabitants had ſhewn a diſpoſition to revolt, he ordered one hundred and fifty of them to be hanged; he then advanced towards Reggio, in order to conſult with the count of Artois on the plan of operations, but the ſeaſon was too far advanced to embark in any enterpriſe of importance. A prey to ſorrow and deſpair, the life of Charles became burdenſome; at Foggia he was attacked by a violent fever, which ſoon brought him to the grave, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, and twentieth of his reign, as king of Sicily.

Pope Martin the Fourth died ſoon after, and was ſucceeded by James Savelli, a noble Roman, who aſſumed the appellation of Honorious the Fourth. The new pontiff followed the maxims of his predeceſſor; and, almoſt immediately after his elevation, granted to Philip the tenth of the revenues of the dio-

ceſes of Liege, Metz, Verdun, and Baſle; exhorting him, at the ſame time to haſten the equipment of an armament, which he hoped might ſtill effect the reſtoration of the houſe of Anjou. The king of France had alſo another motive for complying with the injunctions of the pope; the late pontiff having, when he excommunicated the king of Arragon, beſtowed his ſceptre on Charles of Valois, a younger ſon of Philip; that monarch, therefore, to eſtabliſh the pretenſions of his ſon, levied an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, with which he paſſed the Pyrenees, and, penetrating into Catalonia, laid ſiege to Gironne. The town, ſurrounded by rocks, was ſtrong both by nature and art; the inhabitants defended themſelves with vigour; and the beſiegers were farther haraſſed by Pedro, who had left Sicily on the news of this invaſion, and placed himſelf at the head of his troops. The French fleet lay at the neighbouring port of Roſez, and ſupplied the army with proviſions; a conſiderable convoy was to be forwarded to the camp on the day of the Aſſumption, of which Pedro being appriſed, he placed himſelf in ambuſh, at a convenient ſpot, with five hundred horſe and two thouſand foot: Philip, by means of a ſpy, was informed of his plan; he accordingly diſpatched Ralph de Neſle, with five hundred picked men, who, taking the Spaniards by ſurpriſe, threw them into confuſion, killed the greater part, and wounded the king himſelf, who died ſoon after.

The conſequence of this victory was the ſurrender of Gironne by capitulation; but the exceſſive heat of the weather, in a climate always ſultry, occaſioned an epidemic diſorder that proved very deſtructive to the troops; this circumſtance determined the king to repaſs the Pyrenees, and ſpend the winter in his own dominions: but, before he decamped, he permitted a great part of his fleet to return to France; and theſe ſhips being met by the Spaniſh admiral, with a ſuperior force, a deſperate action enſued, in which the French were totally defeated, with the loſs of thirty veſſels: thoſe which were left behind experienced a ſimilar fate; they were attacked by ſurpriſe in the port of Roſez, when the crew were aſhore, and not a ſingle ſhip eſcaped. The inhabitants of Roſez having favoured the attack, the French ſet fire to the town, and reduced it to aſhes. This misfortune, which deprived the army of its accuſtomed ſupplies, haſtened the king's retreat. When he had advanced as far as Villeneuve, he began to experience a want of proviſions; the heavy rains that fell about this time rendered the roads almoſt impaſſable; and, to add to his diſtreſs, the Arragonians had ſeized the principal paſſes of the Pyrenees, and inceſſantly haraſſed the troops on their march. All the baggage fell into the hands of the enemy; and, ere the king could quit the country, he was ſeized with the ſame fatal diſorder that had made ſuch ravages in his camp. Unable to bear the motion of a horſe, he was placed in a litter; and, having with difficulty forced the paſſage of the Pyrenees, arrived at Perpignan, where he expired, on the fifth of October, in the forty-firſt year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign.

Philip was liberal, munificent, and humane; attentive to the happineſs of his people, he was careful not to burden them with oppreſſive impoſts; aware of the calamities produced by war, he diſplayed a laudable anxiety for the preſervation of peace, except towards the concluſion of his reign, when he ſuffered the dictates of ambition to ſilence the ſuggeſtions of prudence. By accepting from the pope a crown which belonged to another, he tacitly acknowledged the right of the ſovereign pontiff to diſpoſe of thrones at his pleaſure; and engaged his ſucceſſor in a conteſt, from which neither honour nor advantage could be reaſonably expected. Why the appellation of *Hardy* was conferred on him we know not, as no tranſaction of his life could give him a claim to that epithet. Though Philip poſſeſſed no ſplendid endowments, he had many amiable qualities, which rendered his loſs an object of lamentation to his ſubjects.

Philip was twice married: by his firſt wife, Iſabella of Arragon, he had Lewis, ſuppoſed to be poiſoned; Philip, ſurnamed the Fair, who ſucceeded him in the throne; Charles, count of Valois; and Robert, who died in his infancy. By his ſecond wife, Mary of Brabant, he had Lewis, count of Evreux; Margaret, who was afterwards married to Edward the Firſt, king of England; and Blanche, wife to Rodolphus, duke of Auſtria, eldeſt ſon of the emperor Albert the Firſt. The domains of the crown were augmented, during this reign, by the acquiſition of the county of Toulouſe, the port of Barfleur, ſome other eſtates in the Pays de Caux, the barony of Montmorillon in Poitou, and the foreſt of Chavigni*.

PHILIP THE FOURTH,

SURNAMED THE FAIR.

A. D. 1285 to 1291.] PHILIP the Fourth, the beauty of whoſe face, and the graces of whoſe perſon, had acquired him the appellation of *The Fair*, was but in his eighteenth year when his father died; yet, with a ſpirit ſuperior to his ability, he undertook to accompliſh all the ſchemes of his predeceſſor—to ſeat his brother Charles of Valois on the throne of Arragon; to aſſert the claims of the Infants de la Cerda to that of Caſtille; and to conſtrain the rebels of Sicily to renew their ſubmiſſion to the houſe of Anjou. Before he entered on the

* P. Daniel, t. iv. p. 690.

execution of his plans, he repaired to Rheims, where he was crowned with his conſort Jane, who, in her own right, was alſo queen of Navarre: and who, with her hand, had beſtowed on her huſband the important counties of Champagne and Brie.

A very ſhort time ſufficed to convince the young monarch, that the ſchemes he had undertaken were far beyond his power, and to ſhew him the folly of his viſionary projects. After many vain and unſucceſsful attempts on the territories of the king of Arragon, he was compelled to liſten to an accommodation. By abandoning the intereſts of the Infants de la Cerda, he adjuſted the diſputes with Caſtille; and the terms of peace between Alfonſo, who had ſucceeded his father Pedro in the throne of Arragon, and Philip, were ſettled by the mediation of Edward the Firſt of England. At the interceſſion of that monarch, Charles, prince of Salermo, ſurnamed *The Lame*, was releaſed from captivity; part of his ranſom was paid by the generoſity of Edward himſelf; and Charles conſented to renounce his claim to Sicily, and to prevail on Charles of Valois to withdraw his pretenſions to Arragon; to this the brother of the king of France readily aſſented, on receiving the hand of Margaret, eldeſt daughter to Charles the Lame, and the valuable dowry of the important counties of Anjou and Maine.

A. D. 1292 to 1294.] But the tranquillity eſtabliſhed by this accomodation was ſpeedily interrupted by a diſpute with England; a diſpute more ſerious in its nature, and more dangerous in its conſequences:—A Norman and an Engliſh veſſel met off the coaſt near Bayonne, and both of them having occaſion for water, they ſent their boats to land, and the ſeveral crews came at the ſame time to the ſame ſpring; a quarrel enſued, when a Norman, drawing his dagger, attempted to ſtab an Engliſhman; who, grappling with him, threw his adverſary on the ground; and the Norman, as was pretended, falling on his own dagger, was ſlain*. This ſcuffle between two ſeamen about water, ſoon kindled a bloody war between the two nations, and involved a great part of Europe in the quarrel. The mariners of the Norman ſhip carried their complaints to the French king; and Philip, without inquiring into the fact, without demanding redreſs, bade them take revenge, and trouble him no more about the matter†. The Normans, who had been more regular than uſual in applying to the crown, needed but this hint to proceed to immediate violence: they ſeized an Engliſh ſhip in the channel; and hanging, along with ſome dogs, ſeveral of the crew on the yard-arm, in preſence of their companions, diſmiſſed the veſſel‡, and bade the mariners inform their countrymen that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne. This injury, accompanied with ſo general and deliberate an inſult, was reſented by the mariners of the

* Walſing. p. 58; Heming. vol. i. p. 39. † Walſing. p. 58. M. Weſt, p. 419. ‡ Heming. vol. i. p. 493.

Cinque Ports, who, without carrying any complaint to the king, or waiting for redreſs, retaliated, by committing ſimilar barbarities on all French veſſels without diſtinction. The French, provoked by their loſſes, preyed on the ſhips of all Edward's ſubjects, whether Engliſh or Gaſcon: the ſea became a ſcene of piracy between the nations: the ſovereigns, without either ſeconding or repreſſing the violence of their ſubjects, ſeemed to remain indifferent ſpectators: the Engliſh made private aſſociations with the Iriſh and Dutch ſeamen; the French with the Flemiſh and Genoeſe*; and the animoſity of the people on both ſides became every day more violent and barbarous. A fleet of two hundred Norman veſſels ſet ſail to the ſouth for wine and other commodities; and in their paſſage ſeized all the Engliſh ſhips which they met with, hanged the ſeamen, and took poſſeſſion of the goods. The inhabitants of the Engliſh ſea-ports, informed of this incident, fitted out a fleet of ſixty ſail, ſtronger and better manned than the others, and awaited the enemy on their return: after an obſtinate battle, they put them to the route, and ſunk, deſtroyed, or took the greater part of them†. No quarter was given; and it is pretended that the loſs of the French amounted to fifteen thouſand men, which is accounted for by this circumſtance, that the Norman fleet was employed in tranſporting a conſiderable body of ſoldiers from the ſouth.

The affair was now become too important to be any longer overlooked by the ſovereigns. On Philip's ſending an envoy to demand reparation and reſtitution, the king diſpatched the biſhop of London to the French court, in order to accommodate the quarrel. He firſt ſaid, that the Engliſh courts of juſtice were open to all men; and, if any Frenchman was injured, he might ſeek reparation by courſe of law‡. He next offered to adjuſt the matter by private arbiters; by a perſonal interview with the king of France; or by a reference either to the pope or the college of cardinals, or any particular cardinals agreed on by both parties‖. The French, probably the more diſguſted, as they were hitherto loſers in the quarrel, refuſed all theſe expedients: the veſſels and the goods of merchants were confiſcated on both ſides: depredations were continued by the Gaſcons on the weſtern coaſt of France, as well as by the Engliſh in the channel. Philip cited Edward, as duke of Guienne, to appear in his court, at Paris, and anſwer for theſe offences§; and the king of England, apprehenſive of danger to that province, ſent John Saint John, an experienced ſoldier, to Bourdeaux, and gave him directions to put Guienne in a poſture of defence§.

In order, however, to prevent a final rupture between the nations, Edward diſpatched his brother Edmond, earl of Lancaſter, to Paris; and, as this prince had eſpouſed the queen of Navarre, mother to Jane, queen of France, he ſeemed, on account of that alliance, the moſt proper perſon for finding expedients to accom-

* Heming, vol. i. p. 40. † Walſing. p. 60, Trivet, p. 274; Chron. Dunſt. vol. ii. p. 609.
‡ Trivet, p. 275. ‖ Idem, ibid. § Idem. p. 276.

modate the difference. Jane pretended to interpoſe with her good offices; Mary, the queen-dowager, feigned the ſame amiable diſpoſition: and theſe two princeſſes told Edmond, that the circumſtance moſt difficult to adjuſt was the point of honour with Philip, who thought himſelf affronted by the injuries committed againſt him by his ſub-vaſſals in Guienne: but, if Edward would once conſent to give him ſeiſin and poſſeſſion of that province, he would think his honour fully repaired, would engage to reſtore Guienne immediately, and would accept of a very eaſy ſatisfaction for all the other injuries. The king of England was conſulted on the occaſion; and, as he then found himſelf in immediate danger of war with the Scots, which he regarded as the more important concern, this politic prince, blinded by his favourite paſſion for ſubduing that nation, allowed himſelf to be deceived by ſo groſs an artifice*: he ſent his brother orders to ſign and execute the treaty with the two queens. Philip ſolemnly promiſed to execute his part of it; and Edward's citation to appear at the court of France was accordingly recalled. But, no ſooner was Philip put in poſſeſſion of Guienne, than the citation was renewed; Edward was condemned for non-appearance; and Guienne, by a formal ſentence, was declared to be forfeited, and annexed to the crown†.

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 619, 620; Walſing. p. 61; Heming. vol. i. p. 42, 43; Trivet, p. 277.

† Rymer, vol. ii. p. 620, 622; Walſ. p. 61; Trivet, p. 278; Hume.

Such is the account of the rupture between the two monarchs as given by all the Engliſh hiſtorians. The French writers, however, differ from them moſt eſſentially; the abbé Velly, in particular, conſiders the circumſtance of the treaty ſigned by the earl of Lancaſter and the two queens as entirely fabulous; he rejects the teſtimony of Edmond, as that of an intereſted evidence; and regards the neglect to produce the treaty, either at the time, or at any ſubſequent period, as an infallible proof that it never exiſted.—In the ſcuffle between the two ſailors, he makes the Engliſhman the aggreſſor, obſerving, that his inability to cope with his adverſary induced him to draw his knife and ſtab him; he is ſilent as to the application of the Normans to Philip for redreſs; and makes Edward a party in the depredations afterwards committed on the ſubjects of France; he denies the ceſſion of Guienne by the king of England, and affirms, that that duchy was reduced by Philip, in conſequence of Edward's refuſal to appear in the court of his ſuperior lord; nay, farther, he aſſerts that Edward connived at its reduction, "becauſe he had long been forming "projects of iniquity," (tom. vii. p. 77.) Quoting a paſſage from William de Nangis, he adds: "Ed- "ward flattered himſelf that he ſhould recover that province, with the aid of his allies; and that, having "re-conquered it by force of arms, he ſhould no longer hold it as a fief of the French crown, but enjoy it "by the right of war, and in all ſovereignty." In conſequence of this reſolution, he tells us, Edward ſent two friars to Philip to declare that he no longer acknowledged him for his ſovereign, and ſhould not in future pay him homage. With regard to the aſſertion of William de Nangis, it is not only uncorroborated by any contemporary hiſtorian, but is flatly contradicted by the accounts of all other writers, and by the whole tenour of Edward's conduct. Had Edward really had ſuch a project in contemplation, would he have exerted himſelf in the manner he did to ſettle the affairs of Sicily, and to eſtabliſh a peace between France and Arragon? Would he not rather have widened the breach between the two monarchs, in order to profit by their diſſention for the more eaſy and effectual accompliſhment of his own plan? To have ſtrengthened the hands of an adverſary whom he was about to attack, would have diſplayed a degree of imbecility highly repugnant to the known character of Edward: this aſſertion, therefore, muſt, in our opinion, fall to the ground. As to the circumſtance of the ſcuffle between the ſailors, and the conduct of the two kings upon this occaſion, the abbé Velly, with all the other French writers, derives his intelligence ſolely from the author of the Spicilegium, whoſe ſingle teſtimony is certainly inſufficient to overturn that of the

A. D. 1295.] The two monarchs now prepared for war, and each ſought to ſtrengthen himſelf by forming alliances with the neighbouring powers. Edward, ſenſible of the difficulties he ſhould encounter in the recovery of Gaſcony, where he had not retained a ſingle place in his hands, endeavoured to compenſate that loſs, by attaching to his cauſe ſeveral princes who, he projected, ſhould attack France on all quarters, and make a diverſion of her forces. Adolphus de Naſſau, king of the Romans, entered into a treaty with him for that purpoſe* ; as did alſo Amadæus, count of Savoy ; the archbiſhop of Cologne ; the counts of Gueldres and Luxembourg; and the duke of Brabant and the count of Bar, who had married his two daughters, Margaret and Eleanor. Philip, on his ſide, concluded a treaty with John Baliol, king of Scotland† ; and alſo engaged, as allies, Albert duke of Auſtria, ſon to the emperor Rodolphus ; Humber, dauphin of Vienne ; and Hugh de Longwy, and James de Chatillon, lords of Leuſe and of Conde. The count of Flanders had not yet declared himſelf, though his intentions were ſtrongly ſuſpected by Philip, who, having drawn him to Paris, on ſome pretext or other, arreſted him and his wife, and impriſoned them both in the Louvre‡, for having violated their duty as vaſſals. It was in fact, ſays Velly, an eſtabliſhed law of the realm, that the nobles who attended the court, and thoſe who held immediately of the crown,

different hiſtorians we have quoted in the text, and on whoſe authority the Engliſh writers have founded their narrative of the tranſactions.

The abbé Velly's attempt to juſtify Philip from the charge of treachery, with regard to the ceſſion of Guienne, is not more ſucceſsful.—The non-exiſtance of the treaty, ſaid to be ſigned by the two queens, is by no means to be inferred from its not having been produced ; ſince it does not appear that any period occurred, during the reign of Philip, at which its production was requiſite.—His objection to the teſtimony of the earl of Lancaſter, merely becauſe he was the brother of Edward, is neither liberal nor ſolid.—On what grounds is the authority of Walter Hemingford and Nicholas Trivet to be rejected? They were both contemporary writers ; the latter, in particular, was well qualified to write on French affairs, ſince he tells us, in his preface (Nicolai Triveti Annales, edit. Oxon. 1719, p. 2,) that "he ſtudied at Paris, "where he read the hiſtories of France and Normandy with great care; and faithfully extracted out of "them every thing that related to the Engliſh nation." From theſe extracts, from what came to his own knowledge, and from what he learned from the information of men worthy of credit, he tells us, he compoſed his work. He was not, therefore, a man likely to be impoſed upon by popular reports, or to be ſwayed by popular prejudice: indeed his 'Hiſtorical Annals' betray no marks either of partiality, precipitation, or innacuracy. Velly reſts ſolely on the improbability of the circumſtance, and on the non-production of the treaty; he adduces no proof, no authority, in ſupport of his opinion: evidence thus vague and preſumptive (if indeed it can be called evidence) cannot ſurely be oppoſed to the poſitive teſtimony of contemporary writers. Velly frequently accuſes Matthew Paris and Rapin of prejudice and partiality ; how far ſuch accuſations become him, will beſt appear from the following preface to his account of the preſent tranſaction.

"If prudence forbid us to pay implicit belief to the French, who always cheriſhed honour as their dea-"reſt idol, greater credit is certainly not due to the Engliſh writers, who, as we learn from daily expe-"rience, do not ſcruple to advance facts, that owe their exiſtence but to their own prejudice." Such an author muſt be read with caution, on all matters in which the oppoſite intereſts of the rival kingdoms are concerned ; and his authorities muſt be carefully conſulted!

* Heming. vol. i. p. 51. † Rymer, vol. ii. p. 680; Pyrnne's Collect. vol. iii. p. 602; Heming. vol. i. p. 76, 77. ‡ Spicil. t. iii. p. 150.

could not marry, themſelves, nor give their children in marriage, without the king's conſent. The count, by promiſing his daughter to the eldeſt ſon of the king of England, had violated this indiſpenſable duty; and Philip became judge in his own cauſe, and puniſhed him without a trial. To obtain his liberty, Guy was willing to promiſe whatever was required of him; the king, therefore, inſiſted on his daughter being left with him as a hoſtage for the fidelity of her father; and, on that condition, he releaſed his noble captives.

A. D. 1296.] At length hoſtilities commenced; the Engliſh fleet entered the Garonne, landed a large body of troops, under the command of John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, and other officers of reputation*, who made themſelves maſters of the town of Bayonne, as well as of Bourg, Blaye, Reole, Saint Severe, and other places, which ſtraitened Bourdeaux, and cut off its communication both by ſea and land. The favour which the Gaſcon nobility bore to the Engliſh government facilitated theſe conqueſts, and ſeemed to promiſe ſtill greater ſucceſſes; but this advantage was ſoon loſt by the miſconduct of ſome of the Engliſh officers†. The French army, under the conduct of the king's brother, Charles de Valois, having laid ſiege to Pondenſac, a ſmall fortreſs near Reole, obliged Giffard, the governor, to capitulate; and the articles though favourable to the Engliſh, left all the Gaſcon priſoners at diſcretion, of whom about fifty were hanged by Charles as rebels; a policy, by which he both intimidated that people, and produced an irreparable breach between them and the Engliſh‡. That prince immediately attacked Reole, where the earl of Richmond himſelf commanded; and, as the place ſeemed not tenable, the Engliſh general drew his troops to the water-ſide, with an in intention of embarking with the greater part of the army. The enraged Gaſcons fell upon his rear, and, at the ſame time, opened their gates to the French, who, beſides making themſelves maſters of the place, took many priſoners of diſtinction. Saint Severe was more vigorouſly defended by the earl of Oxford; but was, at laſt, obliged to capitulate. Philip, not content with theſe ſucceſſes in Gaſcony, threatened England with an invaſion; and, by a ſudden attempt, his troops took and burnt Dover‖; but, though they were ſufficiently ſtrong, ſays the *ſagacious* William de Nangis, to conquer the whole Engliſh monarchy—they ſoon after retired.

Thus the war was confined to Guienne, whither Edward ſent a freſh army of ſeven thouſand men, under the command of his brother, the earl of Lancaſter. That prince gained, at firſt, ſome advantage over the French at Bourdeaux; but he was ſoon after ſeized with a violent diſtemper, of which he died at Bayonne. The command devolved on the earl of Lincoln, who, unable to cope with the ſuperior forces of the count of Artois, was obliged to remain in a ſtate of inactivity§.

* Trivet, p. 279. † Hume, vol. ii. p. 264. Chron. Dunſt. vol. ii. p. 642. ‡ Heming. vol. i. p. 49. ‖ Trivet, p. 284; § Heming. vol. i. p. 72, 73, 74.

The king of England, however, being reſolved to recover the ancient patrimony of his family, laid a plan for carrying the war into a quarter where Philip was leſs prepared for reſiſtance. With this view, he married his daughter, Elizabeth, to John count of Holland, and, at the ſame time, contracted an alliance with Guy, count of Flanders, ſtipulated to pay him the ſum of ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, and projected an invaſion, with their united forces, upon Philip, their common enemy*. He hoped, that when he himſelf, at the head of the Engliſh, Flemiſh, and Dutch armies, reinforced by his German allies (to whom he had promiſed or remitted conſiderable ſums), ſhould enter the frontiers of France, and threaten the capital itſelf, Philip would, at laſt, be obliged to relinquiſh his acquiſitions, and purchaſe peace by the reſtitution of Guienne†.

The numerous enemies which Philip had to encounter demanded the whole ſtrength of the kingdom: he therefore publiſhed an ordonnance, by which he forbade all private wars, and ſuſpended thoſe which were already begun‡. All noblemen who were engaged in hoſtilities, received orders to conclude truces, or to give ſureties that they would not attack each other, till the king's war was terminated. During that period alſo, tilts, tournaments, and judicial combats, were proſcribed; and ſuch as were injured were compelled to apply for redreſs to the eſtabliſhed courts of juſtice. Creditors were forbidden to ſeize the arms and horſes of knights for debt, by which means many were induced to join the royal ſtandard, who would otherwiſe have been afraid to appear.

About this time Celeſtine the Fifth reſigned the triple crown, and was ſucceeded by Boniface the Eighth, a man of a violent and enterpriſing ſpirit, who, inſtead of promoting the intereſts of religion, ſought to uſurp a temporal ſovereignty over all the monarchs of Europe; arrogating to himſelf the right of diſpoſing of crowns.—Already had he fixed, in an arbitrary manner, the ſucceſſion to the throne of Hungary, and beſtowed Sardinia and Corſica on the king of Arragon; he next caſt his eyes on France and England, and ſent two legates‖, Berard, biſhop of Albany, and Simon, biſhop of Paleſtine, with orders to negociate a peace between the two monarchs; or, ſhould they fail in that, at leaſt to make them, under pain of excommunication, conclude a truce. Philip, juſtly offended at this dictatorial method of proceeding, told them, that a king of France was not accuſtomed to receive orders from any one with reſpect to the government of his dominions; that his diſpute with England was not a matter of religion; that the pope, on ſuch an occaſion, ſhould confine himſelf to exhortations, and not preſume to iſſue commands, which muſt neceſſarily be treated with contempt. This proper exertion of ſpirit enraged Boniface, who determined to embrace the firſt opportunity of being revenged; and a circumſtance ſoon occurred, which he thought favourable for his purpoſe.

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 761; Walſing. p. 68. † Hume. ‡ Ordon. des Rois de France, tom. i. p. 328.
‖ Rayn. An. 1295, n. 46; 1296, n. 18.

The count of Flanders, unable to obtain from Philip the releaſe of his daughter, had ſent to Rome, to deſire that the matter might be examined before the tribunal of the ſovereign pontiff*; the appeal flattered the vanity of Boniface, and, at this period, was peculiarly pleaſing to him: his firſt care was to order the biſhop of Meaux to ſummon the king to do juſtice to the count; or, if he ſhould perſiſt in his refuſal, to cite him to appear at the foot of the pontifical throne, where his ſentence would be pronounced. The prelate did not forget a ſingle circumſtance of his commiſſion; and, perceiving that the king treated his citations with proper contempt, he thought to intimidate him, by declaring, that the pope was reſolved to employ even the thunders of the church, in order to enforce obedience to his mandates. Philip, more enraged at the audacity, than alarmed at the threats of the pontiff, anſwered, like a prince who entertained a juſt ſenſe of his own dignity, "That he thought it ſtrange that Boni-
"face ſhould preſume to talk in ſuch a lofty ſtyle on a matter which was fo-
"reign from his juriſdiction; that he had a court of his own, in which his ſub-
"jects and his vaſſals were tried; that he acknowledged, in temporal concerns,
"no ſuperior but God, to whom alone he was obliged to give an account of
"his conduct; that he adviſed the pope to ſave himſelf ſo much uſeleſs trou-
"ble, ſince all his menaces would prove inſufficient to introduce popiſh maxims
"into the French empire."

Boniface, more angry than diſcouraged at the inutility of his efforts, made one other attempt, which, though it cauſed a great diſturbance, proved equally unſucceſsful. The king, ſurrounded by powerful enemies, againſt whom he was compelled to make immenſe preparations, which, of courſe, were attended with conſiderable expence, found himſelf under the neceſſity of impoſing additional taxes on his ſubjects.—The firſt impoſt to which he had recourſe was oppreſſive, becauſe partial; it conſiſted in the exaction of a hundredth, and afterward a fiftieth, part of all property belonging to people in trade†. The evil effects of ſuch a tax ſoon became manifeſt; when the king, inſtead of dividing it, as equally as the nature of his government would admit, on every claſs of people, transferred the whole of it from the tradeſmen to the clergy. This was certainly an attempt to avoid one act of injuſtice by the commiſſion of another, and betrayed either a ſhameful want of political knowledge, or a culpable inattention to one of the firſt duties of a monarch. The mode, however, by which ſome part of the clergy ſought to obtain redreſs, was equally inexcuſable: they appealed from the edict of their ſovereign to the authority of the pope; the Roman pontiff was happy to embrace any opportunity for humbling the pride, and checking the power, of a refractory monarch; and he thought, that, by undertaking to defend the immunities of the clergy, he ſhould excite an inſurrection that might ſhake the throne of Philip.

* Demeles, p. 24; P. Dan. tom. iii. p. 41. † Spicil. tom. iii. p. 52.

With this view he publiſhed the famous bull, which is ſo well known in hiſtory by the appellation of *Clericis Laicos*—a bull equally terrible to princes who exact ſubſidies from the clergy, and to eccleſiaſtics who ſubmit to ſuch exactions. It begins by a ſtrong and pathetic declamation on the ancient enmity of the laity to the clergy; on the ſhameful conduct of ſovereign princes, who, in times of public neceſſity, aſſumed the power of impoſing taxes on the temporalities of the church; on the weakneſs of prelates, who, timid and groveling, ſhrunk before kings, who had *no power either over their perſons or their property*, authoriſing, by their ſilence, ſuch deteſtable abuſes: it concludes with this curious deciſion—"That no clerk, prelate, or monk, ſhall pay to the tempo-
"ral power, on any account whatever, either a tenth, a twentieth, a hun-
"dredth, or any other tax, under the name of aid, loan, voluntary gift, grant,
"or ſubſidy, *without the expreſs permiſſion of the ſovereign pontiff*. All thoſe
"who ſhall attempt to exact any impoſt—kings, princes, miniſters, officers,
"and clerks—are loaded with the anathemas of the church: all univerſities
"who ſhall preſume to conſent to it are laid under an interdict; and ſuch pre-
"lates as do not oppoſe it to the utmoſt of their power are degraded."

The prohibition was general, and the penalties announced by the bull were equally levelled at all ſovereigns, without any particular mention of France: Philip, nevertheleſs, thought the bull was principally directed againſt himſelf; he knew that ſome of the clergy had complained to the pope of the new impoſt; he imagined that the general terms of the bull were calculated to conceal ſome artifice; he was apprehenſive that Boniface intended, by degrees, to render all the princes of Europe vaſſals of the holy ſee, or, at leaſt, to uſurp the ſame authority over them, as he exerciſed over the petty ſtates of Italy; and he, therefore, determined to make repriſals; and, for that purpoſe, iſſued two edicts, which, without mentioning Rome, affected that court moſt ſenſibly*. The firſt contained an order to all his revenue officers and others, not to ſuffer the exportation of gold, ſilver, jewels, precious ſtones, horſes, proviſions, arms, or ammunition, *without a paſsport ſigned by himſelf*. The ſecond forbade all foreigners to enter the kingdom, or ſettle there, for the purpoſe of carrying on commerce. Both edicts were general; and confiſcation of property was the penalty annexed to a violation of them.

The intention of Philip could not poſſibly eſcape the notice of Boniface, who took the earlieſt opportunity of expreſſing his reſentment; he ordered the biſhop of Viviers to deliver to the king a new bull†, more replete with pride, preſumption, and arrogance, than the former: "If it was the intention of thoſe who
"framed the two edicts," ſays the pontiff, "to extend them to eccleſiaſtics, it
"was not merely an imprudent, but a mad ſcheme: that pretenſion alone, if it
"ever entered your thoughts, ſubjects you to the anathemas pronounced againſt

* Preuv. Diff. p. 13. † Ibid. 15; Rayn. n. 25.

" thoſe who invade the liberty of the holy church, which was made to com-
" mand, and not to be commanded. Learn, O king! that neither you nor any
" ſecular prince, has the leaſt authority over the clergy." Boniface then entered into an explanation of his laſt bull, which, he declared, was neither meant to deprive the king of thoſe ſervices which certain prelates were bound to pay him, as vaſſals; nor even to oppoſe impoſts upon the clergy, when levied with the permiſſion of the holy ſee: he next proceeded to the moſt bitter reproaches, and reminded Philip, that the oppreſſive taxes which he had impoſed on his ſubjects had cauſed a ſenſible diminution of their affections for him; that he had given riſe to the war which ruined his people; that the deciſion of that diſpute belonged to the holy ſee, ſince the point to be decided was, whether he could, without being guilty of a ſin, retain thoſe places which he had taken from Edward in Guienne, as well as the ſovereignty of the county of Burgundy, which he had uſurped from Adolphus; that it was ſhameful in him to reject the authority of a tribunal, which poſſeſſed an univerſal juriſdiction, and by which even the two kings, his enemies, had conſented to be judged; he finiſhed with the accuſtomed threat of reducing him to obedience by means of excommunications, interdicts, and all the eccleſiaſtical artillery of the vatican.

Philip, undiſmayed by the menaces of his ſpiritual adverſary, anſwered his bull by a long manifeſto, in which it was obſerved, that, at all times, even before the clergy formed an integral part of the French empire*, the kings of France poſſeſſed the right of publiſhing ordonnances for the preſervation of the ſtate, which, he ſaid, was the only object he had in view in his late edicts (an aſſertion, by the bye, inconſiſtent with his dignity, as it was evidently falſe); that the church was an undivided whole, comprehending both laity and clergy, both alike entitled to the enjoyment of that liberty which was procured for them by the Holy Founder of their faith; that particular privileges or immunities, granted by the pope to eccleſiaſtics, with the permiſſion of their ſovereigns, ought not to be prejudical to the welfare of the ſtate; that the clergy were members of the ſtate equally with other ſubjects, and conſequently ought to contribute, at leaſt with their money, to its defence—an obligation which became more indiſpenſable, in proportion to the extent of their poſſeſſions; that they were themſelves unable to defend theſe poſſeſſions from pillage; and that, in order to ſecure them from invaſion, the nobles and the ſoldiers daily expoſed their lives; that it was contrary to the law of nature to forbid them, under the ſevereſt penalties, to accede to ſuch contributions, while they were permitted to diſſipate their revenues, with impunity, in equipages, feaſting, rich furniture, plays, and a thouſand worldly vanities, to the great prejudice of the poor; that it was ſhameful in the chief miniſter of religion, to iſſue anathemas for preventing the payment of a tribute to Cæſar, which Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and his apoſtles in

* Preuv. Diff. p. 22.

imitation of their maſter, paid to the princes in whoſe territories they reſided; that the king paid a juſt adoration to the Deity, and honoured the miniſters of the church, but that he was not to be intimidated by the unjuſt threats of men; that he had ſeized Guienne, a fief of his crown, becauſe the king of England, his vaſſal, refuſed to appear in his court, whither he had been ſummoned; and that he had conquered the county of Burgundy, becauſe he had been provoked by the pride and miſconduct of Adolphus.

At the ſame time, Peter Barbet, biſhop of Rheims, wrote to the pope, in concert with the biſhops and abbots of his dioceſe*, to entreat he would put a ſtop to the confuſion occaſioned by his bull, with regard to eccleſiaſtical immunities; he repreſented the dangerous diſcontents to which it had given riſe in France; obſerved that the attempts of his holineſs to extend the rights of the clergy might prove fatal to that body; and that, by ſeeking to obtain for them new prerogatives, it expoſed them to the loſs of thoſe privileges which they already poſſeſſed; that the princes and nobles, moſt of whom had eccleſiaſtics for vaſſals, were as much offended with the proceedings of the court of Rome, as the king himſelf; that it was in agitation to convene an aſſembly of prelates, who were chiefly vaſſals to the king, in order to adopt meaſures for maintaining the liberties of the kingdom, the honour of the ſovereign, and the independence of the crown; that all his brethren earneſtly beſought him to reſpect the engagements they had contracted, and to have recourſe to mild and conciliatory meaſures for enſuring the tranquillity of the Gallican church, which muſt depend on its union with the king, princes, and nobles of the empire. The archbiſhop ſent ſome prelates of his dioceſe with this letter to the ſovereign pontiff, who were likewiſe deſired to point out to his holineſs the urgent neceſſity of immediately revoking the bull in queſtion, or elſe of explaining it in ſuch a manner as would ſatisfy the king and the nation.

Philip, in the mean time, had tried to ſoothe the pope by ſuſpending the execution of his late edicts; but, convinced by experience of the inutility of ſubmiſſion†, he again put them in force, and gave the moſt poſitive orders for the rigorous enforcement of the penalties annexed to a violation of them. Boniface complained bitterly of his conduct, in a brief, in which he repeated the ſtale maxims of the court of Rome: "That the king has neither right nor power over the clergy; that he can neither diſpoſe of their property nor their perſons; and that, if he be raſh enough to attempt it, he incurs the penalties inflicted by the canons." The king, however, perſiſted in his reſolution; and the pope, aſtoniſhed at the vigorous oppoſition he experienced, even from thoſe who, he expected, would have eſpouſed his cauſe, at length conſented to publiſh ſuch an explanation of his bull, as would, in his opinion, remove the principal objections to it. This curious manifeſto is addreſſed to Philip‡: it de-

* Preuv. Diff. p. 26. † Ibid. p. 24, 25. ‡ Rayn. n. 49.

clares, in ſubſtance, "That his holineſs is willing that the clergy of France "ſhould pay ſome contribution to the king, provided it proceed from their own "free will, under the name of a voluntary gift or a loan, not as a duty or im-"poſt levied by the authority of the ſovereign; that he does not comprehend "in the exemptions ſpecified in the bull, either thoſe who hold fiefs of the crown, "or married clerks, or ſuch as aſſume the clerical habit, for the mere purpoſe "of exempting themſelves from public *taxes;* that he *permits* the king, or his "officers in his name, to have recourſe to the holy ſee, on preſſing occaſions, "for obtaining permiſſion to levy ſubſidies on the other prelates, or members "of the clergy, who are, by their ſtation, *exempt*, *privileged*, *independent of the* "*ſecular authority*, *and the royal juriſdiction.*"

Such a declaration as this was not likely to produce the deſired reconciliation; and ſome of the proceedings of the pope, about this time, rendered the breach ſtill wider: he publiſhed a brief, by which the king was enjoined to forward the money which had been collected from the clergy, as a ſubſidy for the Roman pontiff; and all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe its exportation from France, where it was ſo much wanted, were threatened with excommunication*: the truce, too, which the pope had before ordered to be immediately concluded, under pain of anathema, was now publiſhed, by the legates, throughout the kingdom, without the king's permiſſion. Thus inſulted by an ambitious prieſt, Philip reſolved to aſſert his own dignity, and the independence of his crown; he accordingly iſſued a proteſt, by which he declared, that the care and adminiſtration of the temporal power, in the kingdom of France, belonged to him, ſolely and excluſively; that he neither acknowledged nor would ſubmit to any ſuperior; that he was determined to exerciſe, with independence, the authority which heaven had given him over his ſubjects, an authority which he knew how to maintain againſt all the efforts of the court of Rome; that it had never been his intention to ſubmit to the pope in temporal matters, nor to partake with him a juriſdiction for which he was indebted only to God and his ſword; but that, in ſpiritual concerns, he was always ready, in imitation of his predeceſſors, to pay ſuch obedience to the holy ſee, as a true child of the church could and ought†.

A. D. 1297.] After this proteſt had been circulated throughout the kingdom, Philip aſſembled his army, and, marching towards Flanders, repulſed the troops who were deſtined to guard the frontiers, and puſhed forward to Lille, where Robert, ſon to the count of Flanders, commanded in perſon: the king laid ſiege to this important town, which was ſtrongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garriſon; while the count of Artois made an invaſion into the circumjacent country, and at Furnes obtained a ſignal victory over the Flemings. The ſurrender of Furnes, Caſſel, and all the neighbouring forts, was the conſequence of this defeat: another detachment repelled the troops of the

* Rayn. p. 27. † Velly, vol. vii. p. 123.

count of Bar, who had entered Champagne, and, purſuing them into their own territories, laid waſte the country with fire and ſword. Philip, in the mean time, had preſſed the ſiege of Lille with vigour, though with little effect; he was, at length, indebted to the treachery of the inhabitants for the poſſeſſion of the place; and Robert, the governor, was ſuffered to march out with his troops, and retire to Bruges. The victorious progreſs of Philip was next diſtinguiſhed by the capture of Courtray; but the king of England, who arrived in Flanders with an army of fifty thouſand men, was able to ſtop the career of his victories; and the French monarch, finding all the weak reſources of the kingdom already exhauſted, began to dread a reverſe of fortune, and to apprehend an invaſion of France itſelf. Edward, on the other hand, diſappointed of aſſiſtance from Adolphus, king of the Romans, which he had purchaſed at a very high price, and finding many urgent calls for his preſence in England, was deſirous of ending, on any honourable terms, a war, which ſerved only to divert his force from the execution of more important ſubjects*. This diſpoſition in both monarchs ſoon produced a ceſſation of hoſtilities for two years; when Philip was left in poſſeſſion of Lille, Courtray, Furnes, Caſſel, and Bruges, which advantage was chiefly owing to a powerful faction which then prevailed in Flanders†.

The pride of Boniface was, by this time, ſomewhat humbled: the kings laſt proteſt, with the remonſtrances of the clergy of Rheims, and the general murmurs of the whole kingdom, alarmed the aſpiring pontiff. Another bull was now publiſhed, by which the former one received new modifications and explanations, and in which the pope, at length, declared fully and unequivocally—"That the bull, entitled Clericis Laicos, *did not relate to France*, and that the "king and his ſucceſſors, might, for the defence of the ſtate, in times of ne-"ceſſity, receive ſubſidies from the clergy, without aſking the permiſſion or "obtaining the conſent of the ſovereign pontiff; that the neceſſity of the caſe "was to be decided by the monarch and his privy council; and, finally, that "he never *intended* to invade the liberties, franchiſes, or cuſtoms of the king-"dom, nor the rights of the king, his counts and barons."—This declaration, which, bearing a falſhood on the face of it, might more juſtly be termed a *retractation*, was read in a general aſſembly of the prelates of France; but, notwithſtanding the power thus acknowledged to be veſted in the king, of levying taxes on the clergy by his own authority, Velly obſerves, that till the reign of Francis the Firſt, no tenths were impoſed on them without the pope's conſent; but this circumſtance is aſcribed by the French hiſtorians ſolely to the *piety* of their monarchs, diſplayed, doubtleſs, in their reſpect for the head of the church.

Boniface did not ſtop here; aware of Philip's love of money, he granted him a tenth of the revenues of the clergy for three years; he alſo promiſed to ex-

* Hume, vol. ii. p. 296. † Meyer.

ert his influence in order to promote the elevation of his brother, the count of Valois, to the imperial throne; and, farther to flatter him, he canonized his anceſtor, Saint Lewis, after *ſixty-three miracles* had been duly verified: "A "canonization (ſays the pope in one of his panegyrics on that monarch) which "produced more writings than an aſs could carry."

A. D. 1298.] But theſe amicable proceedings, on the part of the pope, proceeded leſs from friendſhip than policy: he was anxious to obtain the produce of the tenth which had been levied on the clergy, and which the edict for prohibiting the exportation of money had hitherto prevented him from receiving. The king now ſuffered this ſum to be ſent him; and, at the ſame time, accepted his mediation for concluding a peace with England; but Philip and Edward, equally jealous of papal claims, took care to inſert in their reference, that Boniface was made judge of the difference, by their conſent, as a private perſon, not by any right of his pontificate; and the pope, without ſeeming to be offended at this mortifying clauſe, proceeded to give a ſentence between them, in which they both acquieſced*. He brought them to agree that their union ſhould be cemented by a double marriage: that of Edward himſelf, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's ſiſter; and that of the prince of Wales with Iſabella, daughter to the king of France†; Philip was likewiſe willing to reſtore Guienne to the Engliſh, which, indeed, he had no good pretence to retain; but he inſiſted that the Scots, and their king, John Baliol, ſhould, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and reſtored to their liberty. The difference, after ſeveral diſputes, was compromiſed by their making mutual ſacrifices to each other: Edward agreed to abandon his ally, the count of Flanders, on condition that Philip ſhould treat, in like manner, the king of Scots. The proſpect of conquering theſe two countries, whoſe ſituation made them ſo commodious an acquiſition to the reſpective kingdoms, prevailed over all other conſiderations; but the final diſappointment, which both of them experienced in their hopes, was a juſt puniſhment for the treacherous deſertion of their allies.

A. D. 1299.] No ſooner was the truce expired than the count of Valois led a French army into Flanders, at whoſe approach Douay and Bethune opened their gates‡. In vain did Robert, the ſon of Guy, attempt to impede their progreſs; he ſuſtained a total defeat; after which Dam was taken, and all the neighbouring country reduced, except Ghent, whither Guy himſelf had retired. The unhappy count, though openly protected by the pope, found himſelf unable to reſiſt the power of Philip; he knew likewiſe that his treacherous ſubjects were ſecretly negociating with the enemy for the ſurrender of his capital; he therefore reſolved to ſue for peace: to his applications for that purpoſe

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 817; Heming. vol. i. p. 149; Trivet, p. 310.
† Rymer, vol. ii. p. 823.
‡ Spicil. t. iii. p. 53.

he received for anſwer, that the only poſſible means of obtaining pardon, was to repair to Paris, with his two ſons, Robert and William, and throw himſelf on the king's mercy*; on condition, that if he could not ſettle the terms of accommodation within a year, he ſhould be at liberty to return to Flanders.—Abandoned by his ally, deſerted by his own ſubjects, Guy was compelled to accede to theſe hard terms; he accordingly went to Paris with his ſons; but the imperious Philip received his ſubmiſſion with ſcorn, and, treacherouſly refuſing to ratify the treaty concluded with his brother, pronounced a ſentence worthy a tyrant.—He firſt made a merit of not putting theſe unfortunate victims to death; he then ordered Guy and his two ſons, with forty Flemiſh noblemen, who had accompanied them, to be confined in different priſons; and declared the count's territories to be forfeited to the crown. Having thus acted as judge in his own cauſe, he proceeded to the execution of his ſentence, by taking poſſeſſion of Flanders, which he declared to be united to the crown. The government of this important province was entruſted to Peter de Chatillon, the queen's uncle, whoſe miſconduct puniſhed Philip for his tyranny.

The king of France having thus become maſter of the dominions and perſon of an enemy who was highly formidable, as well from the ſituation of his country as from the protection he received from the court of Rome, ſought farther to ſtrengthen himſelf by forming alliances that might enable him to oppoſe more ſucceſsfully the attempts of the ſovereign pontiff. With this view he had a conference with Albert, the new king of the Romans, at Vaucouleurs, when the ancient alliance between France and the empire—which had been interrupted by Adolphus—was renewed. They engaged to defend the dominions of each other, and to maintain the rights of their reſpective crowns. It is pretended alſo, that the king of the Romans reſigned all pretenſions to the kingdom of Arles; and that Philip, on the marriage of his ſiſter Blanche with Rodolphus, the eldeſt ſon of Albert, ceded his rights to Alſace and Lorraine. The pope, who, notwithſtanding the promiſe he had given to the count of Valois, had ſtrenuouſly ſeconded the promotion of Albert, in the hope of counterbalancing, by his means, the overgrowing power of France, was extremely enraged when he heard of this alliance. The king of the Romans, appearing the leſs formidable enemy of the two, was the firſt to experience the effects of the pontiff's reſentment. He refuſed to confirm the election of Albert, and threatened to deprive him of the dignity he enjoyed; but that prince, heedleſs of his menaces, and aſſured of the protection of France, continued to purſue ſuch meaſures as he thought moſt conſiſtent with his own dignity, and the welfare of his kingdom.

A. D. 1301.] Philip and the pope, mutually irritated againſt each other, could not long preſerve even the appearance of harmony. Boniface appointed

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 224.

Bernard, biſhop of Pamiers, a prelate who was peculiarly diſagreeable to the king, his legate in France; and he had orders to exhort Philip to enter into a league with the Perſians, for the expulſion of the infidels from Paleſtine, and alſo to urge him to reſtore the count of Flanders to liberty*. The legate, in fulfilling his commiſſion, diſplayed all the pride and arrogance of his maſter; but he ſoon had occaſion to perceive, that the imperious tone he aſſumed only ſerved to excite contempt. He then gave way to the natural impetuoſity of his temper, and, loſing ſight of that reſpect which he owed to his ſovereign, told Philip before his council, "that he held nothing of him; that "although his epiſcopal town was ſituated within the kingdom of France, he "was the ſubject of no man; he acknowledged no other power than that of "of the pope, as well in temporal concerns as in ſpiritual matters." He carried his inſolence ſtill farther, by telling the king, that his conduct to Boniface richly deſerved that puniſhment which had been too long deferred; and that, in a ſhort time, he would ſee his kingdom laid under an interdict, and a ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt himſelf. He then began a long diſcourſe to prove the temporal ſuperiority of the pope over all the princes of chriſtendom; when Philip, whoſe patience was totally exhauſted, very properly drove him from his preſence, and ordered him to repair to Rome, to give an account of his embaſſy to the pope. Boniface, accuſtomed to diſappointment, was by no means diſcouraged; he commanded the prelate to return to his dioceſe without delay, being convinced that his turbulent diſpoſition would ſoon urge him to excite cabals againſt a prince whom he hated: nor was he deceived in the man: Bernard, preſuming on the protection of the ſovereign pontiff, ſpared no pains to render the king odious to his ſubjects.

He conducted himſelf, however, with ſo little caution, that it ſoon became neceſſary to take ſerious notice of his conduct; the king, therefore, appointed ſix commiſſioners to repair to his dioceſe, and ſecretly to inveſtigate the facts of which he was accuſed. Theſe commiſſioners accordingly heard a variety of evidence, which tended to eſtabliſh the guilt of Bernard, who was, in conſequence, cited to appear in the king's court; a citation which he thought it prudent to obey. The charges preferred againſt him were, that he had been heard to ſay, that Saint Lewis had told him, that, under the reign, and through the miſconduct, of his grandſon, the kingdom would be deſtroyed, and irretrievably reduced under the dominion of foreigners; that Philip had no one good quality†; that he was neither ſprung from Charlemagne, nor was he of the true blood of the kings of France; that he was deſcended from baſtards‡; that he was neither man nor beaſt, but a phantom, a beautiful image, fit for nothing

* Baill. p. 79, 80; P. Daniel, t. v. p. 63; Du Puy, Hiſt. du Diff. de Bonif. p. 9.

† Marten. Anec. p. 1330 et ſuiv.; Hiſt. de Lang. t. iv. p. 101, 102; Preuv. du diff. p. 632 et ſuiv. 653 et ſuiv. Baill. p. 81; P. Dan. t. v. p. 64, 65. ‡ The biſhop alluded to the kings of Arragon, who were all baſtards, and from whom Iſabella, the king's mother, was deſcended.

but to look and be looked at; that the only title he deſerved was that of *coiner*; that he did all the evil he could to the inhabitants of Toulouſe, who groaned beneath the tyranny of his extortions; and, finally, that he had no authority in the town of Pamiers, which was wholly independent of France. Various other accuſations were preferred againſt the biſhop, who denied them all, and proteſted againſt the proceedings; affirming, that the witneſſes had been led, by the fear of being applied to the torture, to depoſe againſt him. As the council could come to no deciſion, he was conſigned to the care of his metropolitan, the archbiſhop of Narbonne, who, after much heſitation, conſented to take charge of him, declaring, however, at the ſame time, that he would never ſuffer him to be kept a priſoner, nor to ſubmit to any puniſhment.

The king, perceiving that this affair might be attended with ſerious conſequences, reſolved to ſend an ambaſſador to Rome, in order to explain to the pope the juſtice of his proceedings. The inſtructions drawn up on the occaſion, ſet forth, that, being deſirous of gaining more ample information with reſpect to the charges exhibited againſt Bernard de Saiſſet*, he had ſummoned all the witneſſes to appear in his court, who, on a ſecond examination, had diſcovered circumſtances of a ſtill darker nature than thoſe which they had before imparted; that ſeveral of them, men of weight and credit, affirmed that the prelate had advanced opinions, that were ſcandalous, erroneous, and heretical; for example—"that the ſacrament of penitence was a mere human invention; "that fornication, even in perſons admitted to holy orders, was no ſin; that "the moſt holy father our lord, pope Boniface, was a devil incarnate, who, "againſt God, Truth, and Juſtice, had canonized Saint Lewis, who was in hell;" that, although it had been decided, in the council of the nobles of the realm, that his majeſty ought to puniſh this prelate as a convicted traitor, a crime which ſet aſide all privileges and dignities, and that he had alſo a right to proceed againſt him by depriving him of his temporalities, yet, nevertheleſs, from reſpect for the church, from regard to its miniſters, from deference to the holy ſee, he had thought proper to make his holineſs acquainted with the circumſtances; that all France encouraged the hope that the ſovereign pontiff would the more willingly puniſh the culprit, as he was obliged to revenge any inſult offered to God, as the author of all lawful power; to the king as a ſon of the church; to the kingdom, as forming a conſiderable part of the chriſtian world; that, therefore, his holineſs was earneſtly entreated to deprive him of his epiſcopal dignity, and to declare he had forfeited all his clerical privileges, in order that the king might be enabled to bring him to condign puniſhment, ſince there was no probability of a reformation, having been bad from his youth. It is uncertain whether this embaſſy took place or not; the pope, however, was made acquainted with the foregoing inſtructions, but, inſtead of granting

* Preuv. du Diff. p. 627 et ſuiv.

the king's requeſt, he employed all the thunders of the vatican, to revenge an affront which he conceived was offered to himſelf, in the perſon of the biſhop of Pamiers.

Bull after bull appeared, all dated on the ſame day, but each more violent than the preceding one. The firſt contained a declaration, "that princes had "no power over the perſons of eccleſiaſtics* ;" an order to the king to ſuffer Bernard de Saiſſet to repair to Rome, and to reſtore all his effects; and, laſtly, an intimation, that, unleſs he had good reaſons to offer in juſtification of his conduct, with regard to that prelate, he had incurred the penalty, impoſed by the canons on thoſe who ſhould raſhly lay their hands on a biſhop. So imperfectly were ſovereigns, in theſe days, acquainted with their own rights, or rather ſo much was their reaſon blinded by ſuperſtition, that a bull of this nature involved them in the greateſt perplexity. Philip was for ſome time at a loſs how to act. At length, a ſecond bull, enjoining the archbiſhop of Narbonne to impriſon Bernard, by authority of the holy ſee, to inveſtigate all the circumſtances of the caſe, and to ſend them to Rome, together with the depoſitions, &c. under a ſure guard, induced him to give up the proſecution, and to deliver the culprit into the hands of the legate, with orders, however, to quit the kingdom immediately. The diſpute with regard to the temporal authority of the pope daily growing warmer, the king, wholly employed by that important object, appears to have forgotten the prelate, whoſe poſſeſſions and effects, however, he took care to ſeize. Bernard, thus reduced to poverty, was obliged to remain at Rome till the concluſion of this famous quarrel; he then returned to France, and, by ſubmiſſion, obtained a pardon, together with the reſtitution of his temporalities.

A. D. 1301, 1302, 1303.] The renewal of hoſtilities between Philip and Boniface was announced by a bull from the latter, which ſuſpended all the privileges granted by his holineſs, not only to the king and his ſucceſſors, but even to the eccleſiaſtical and other members of his council; revoked *the favours* obtained from the holy ſee, for defraying the expences of the war in which France was engaged; and, finally, prohibited the clergy to grant either tenths, or ſubſidies, to the crown, without the expreſs permiſſion of the court of Rome†. This ſingular mandate, however, failed of its effect; it was deſpiſed by the nation, and the public tranquillity remained undiſturbed.

The pope next appointed the archdeacon of Narbonne as his nuncio, and ordered him to deliver another bull to Philip, in which he explained himſelf more clearly than he had hitherto ventured to do. The bull is conceived in theſe terms‡, "Boniface, biſhop, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to Philip, king of "the French. Fear the Lord, and keep his commandments. We would have

* Preuv. Diff. p. 661. † Ibid. p. 42. ‡ Glo. in Concil. gener. Conſtit. de Elect. in 6; Pr. du Diff. p. 190, 191; Villan. l. viii, c. 62, 63.

" you to know, that you are ſubject to us as well in temporal matters as in ſpi-
" ritual concerns; that the collation to livings and prebendaries does no wiſe
" concern you; and that if the care of churches, during a vacancy, be com-
" mitted to you, it is only for the purpoſe of enabling you to reſerve the pro-
" duce for thoſe who ſhall be elected. If you have appointed to any livings,
" we declare ſuch appointments null in law, and revoke all tranſactions of a
" ſimilar nature. Such as ſhall maintain a different opinion, ſhall be reputed
" heretics."

The king anſwered in the ſame ſtyle—" Philip, by the grace of God, king
" of the French, to Boniface, the pretended pope, little or no health. Be it
" known to your ſuperlative folly that we are ſubject to no one in temporal mat-
" ters; that the appointments to livings and vacant ſees belong to us by the
" rights of our crown; that the revenues of vacant churches are ours; that
" the appointments we have made and may make, are valid, for the paſt as for
" the future, and that we will ſupport, with all our power, thoſe whom we
" have appointed, and thoſe whom we ſhall appoint. Such as ſhall maintain a
" different opinion, ſhall be reputed fools and madmen*."

The pope ſtill perſiſted, and a fourth bull appeared: It began thus†, " At-
" tend, O my ſon, to the precepts of your father; open your heart to the in-
" ſtructions of a maſter, who holds the place of him who is the ſole Maſter
" and Lord; receive with docility the advice of the holy church, your mo-
" ther; execute her orders with fidelity, and ſubmit with reſpect to her will,
" which is ours." Boniface next proceeded to make a falſe quotation from ſcripture, by ſaying, that God had ſet him over the kings and the kingdoms, to root out, and to deſtroy, to diſperſe, and to build, and to plant‡. Then, exhorting the king not to encourage the idea, that he has no ſuperior upon earth, and that he is not ſubject to the head of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, he declares, that ſuch an opinion would ſubject him to the imputation of folly, madneſs, and infidelity. Adverting to the ſituation of the kingdom, he obſerves, that Philip
" oppreſſed his ſubjects by a multiplicity of onerous impoſts, and by a frequent
" adulteration of the coin; that he tyrannized over the clergy, by forcibly
" compelling them to appear at his tribunal; by exacting from them tenths
" and ſubſidies, although no layman could have any power over the church;
" by forbidding them to employ the ſpiritual ſword againſt ſuch as offended

* This letter is ſtill to be ſeen among the manuſcripts in the library of the vatican, whence a copy of it has been taken by M. de Saint Palaye of the French academy.—VELLY.

† Preuv. du Diff. p. 48, et ſuiv.

‡ The text runs thus: " See I have this day ſet thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root
" out, and pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw down, and to build, and to plant." (Jer. i. 10). Beſides, as M. Fleury has juſtly obſerved, (Hiſt. Eccl. t. xix. l. 80, p. 16) the order given to Jeremiah, " to root out
" and to plant," related only to his miſſion as a prophet, and to his commiſſion to predict the revolutions of kingdoms: it was, therefore, groſsly abſurd in Boniface, to quote this paſſage as a confirmation of his power over temporal as well as ſpiritual matters.

" them, and to exerciſe their juriſdiction over the monaſteries, which he pre-
" tended were ſubject to himſelf; by haraſſing in the moſt deſpotic manner,
" the noble church at Lyons, although it was not within his kingdom; and by
" treating it ſo cruelly that it found itſelf reduced to a ſtate of poverty the
" moſt wretched; that he gave offence to all the nobles of the realm by his
" violent proceedings, by refuſing to grant them juſtice when they aſked it,
" and to acknowledge the competence of any court to decide between them
" and their ſovereign; and that he appointed to vacant livings, in contempt of
" the holy ſee, which alone had the right to diſpoſe of them." Beſides theſe grounds of complaint Boniface enumerates a long liſt of grievances of a ſimilar nature, and concludes by citing Philip to appear, either in perſon, or by a repreſentative, at the court of Rome, " in order to hear *God's judgment and his* " *own.*"

By a fifth bull, which followed cloſe upon the preceding one, the arrogant pontiff ſummoned all the clergy of France to attend a council, which he had convened at Rome, for the purpoſe of adminiſtering a remedy to the dreadful diſorders which, he ſaid, prevailed in the kingdom.

Philip committed to the flames the moſt offenſive of theſe bulls, and expelled the legate from his preſence. But the ſuperſtitious reverence which the people were wont to pay to the ſovereign pontiff rendered it neceſſary to act with a certain degree of caution: he therefore ſought to intereſt his ſubjects in his cauſe, and to ſtrengthen himſelf with their approbation, in oppoſing the unjuſt machinations of the pope.—With this view he convened the nobles and prelates of the kingdom; two deputies from each town, community, chapter, and univerſity, with the ſuperiors, or heads, of religious houſes.—This was the firſt time that the commons were ſummoned to attend theſe national aſſemblies.—The members all met, on the tenth of April, 1302, in the church of Notre-Dame, at Paris; and, after duly inveſtigating the conduct and pretenſions of the pope, were unanimous in their opinion, that Philip ſhould perſevere in the ſame line of conduct he had hitherto purſued, in order to preſerve the rights and franchiſes of the kingdom from all illegal invaſions and foreign encroachments: the clergy, indeed, deſired permiſſion to obey the ſummons they had received from Boniface, to attend the council; but this the king and nobility proteſted they would never allow; many of them, however, notwithſtanding the prohibition, repaired to Rome, where the council was holden, on the thirtieth of October. The pope there expreſſed his determination of enforcing the claims he had already advanced—new diſputes were the conſequence; and all the thunders of the vatican were launched againſt Philip, who, in revenge, formed a project for ſeizing the perſon of the ſovereign pontiff, at Anagni: the plan was conducted with ſecrecy, and executed with ſucceſs; but the pity of the inhabitants operated in his favour, and releaſed him from captivity. The quarrel continued to rage with unabated violence; and the pope haſtened to

Rome, in order to prepare freſh cenſures for his perſevering foe; but ſoon after his arrival, the anxiety occaſioned by the inſults he had ſuſtained threw him into a fever, which put an end to his exiſtence, on the eleventh of October, 1303.

During theſe tranſactions the king and queen had made the tour of Flanders, and endeavoured to reconcile the Flemings to their new maſters; but the oppreſſive conduct of the count of Saint Paul, to whom the government of that province had been entruſted, rendered their efforts ineffectual, and roufed the latent ſparks of freedom which glowed in the boſoms of the natives. This nobleman paid an implicit obedience to the orders of Peter Flotte, chancellor of France, whoſe ingenuity was inceſſantly exerted in the invention of new taxes, without any regard to the ability of the people to bear ſuch additional burdens; not content with renewing all the impoſts which had been taken off by the king, he levied a conſiderable ſum, for the purpoſe of building citadels at Bruges, Courtray, Caſſel, and Lille, to keep the inhabitants in awe. The patience of the Flemings being at length exhauſted, they publicly diſplayed the banners of revolt; and choſe for their leader one Peter le Roi, a weaver, a man advanced in years, and ſmall in ſtature, but endued with a daring ſpirit, a ſtrong underſtanding, and a mind every way capable of taking the lead in any intricate and arduous enterpriſe. Le Roi was aſſiſted by John Breyel, a butcher, who had recently diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſucceſsful attack on a body of French troops, who had been ſent to ſeize his perſon, for having killed, in a ſcuffle, the ſervant of the governor of Male.

The firſt ſymptoms of revolt appeared at Bruges; where the citizens were enraged at the partiality ſhewn in the diſtribution of a tax, which had been levied for the purpoſe of defraying the expences incurred by the king's viſit to that place*. Peter le Roi, as one of thoſe who had betrayed the greateſt diſcontent on the occaſion, was, with five and twenty of his companions, arreſted and thrown into priſon; but they were ſoon releaſed by the people. Chatillon, inſtead of ſoothing the minds of the citizens, thought to ſecure obedience by ſeverity; he approached the town with five hundred horſe; and the ſound of a particular bell was to be the ſignal for the magiſtrates to fly to arms and, after ſecuring the different paſſages, join him in putting all the inſurgents to the ſword. The inhabitants, however, being appriſed of their intentions, made every preparation for giving them a vigorous reception; and, having laid their plan with great ſecrecy, fixed on the ſame ſignal as their enemies; accordingly, when the fatal bell rang, they iſſued from their houſes, attacked the French party, and killed a great number of them. Chatillon, informed of what was paſſing in the town, kept aloof with the cavalry, till he was joined by a ſtrong reinforcement, under the command of his brother: he then inveſted the place; but, through the mediation of the magiſtrates, a capitulation was

* Meyer, Annal. p. 89.

concluded, by which it was agreed, that the principal inſurgents ſhould leave the town, and the remainder throw themſelves on the mercy of the governor.

A proper exertion of lenity might probably have ſtifled the revolt in its infancy; but the ſoul of Chatillon was a ſtranger to all the milder virtues; he proceeded to demoliſh the fortifications of this devoted town, to pull down its gates, to load the citizens with new taxes, and, finally, to deprive them of all their rights and privileges. In vain did their deputies appeal to Philip for redreſs; all their remonſtrances were treated with diſdain, and their only hope of relief was founded on their own reſolution. Driven to deſpair, they at length ſummoned their exiled champion to their aid; and the return of Peter le Roi, who had been negociating at Namur, with two of the ſons of Guy count of Flanders, was ſignaliſed by the expulſion of the French from Bruges; Ghent, Dam, Ardembourg, and Male, next ſhook of the yoke of oppreſſion; but the appearance of Chatillon, with a formidable body of troops, occaſioned a temporary change in the ſituation of affairs; the brave Peter le Roi, deſerted by his faithleſs countrymen, was compelled to return to Namur, while Bruges conſented to capitulate, on condition that the inſurgents might have liberty to retire whither they choſe; and that the governor would only enter the place at the head of three hundred horſe. The terms of capitulation were rigorouſly obſerved on the part of the citizens; but Chatillon, enraged at a ſucceſsful attack on Oſtbourg, where the French garriſon was put to the ſword, marched into Bruges, with ſeventeen hundred horſe, and inſultingly diſplayed two hogſheads of ropes, the inſtruments of the executions he impatiently meditated. The danger to which the people were reduced revived their courage; they invited their exiled comrades to return; and Peter le Roi accordingly arrived, during the night, with ſeven thouſand of his countrymen, and maſſacred all the French. Fifteen hundred horſe, and two thouſand foot are ſaid to have periſhed on this memorable occaſion; but Chatillon had the good fortune to eſcape in the diſguiſe of a prieſt, and, repairing to court, ſheltered his own imprudence beneath the influence and authority of his niece.

This event proved fatal to the authority of Philip; the Flemings, being joined by Guy, one of the ſons of their captive count, bore down all before them; Furnes, Bergue, Vindale, the town of Courtray, Oudenarde, and Ypres ſurrendered to their arms; and, ſuch was the rapidity of their progreſs, that the king deemed it neceſſary to oppoſe them with an army of forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe, under the command of the count of Artois, an able general, but obſtinate, imperious, and violent*. He advanced againſt the enemy; and the hatred he bore them leading him to hold them in two great contempt, he neglected thoſe precautions which prudence ſhould have ſuggeſted. The Flemings, who were now commanded by Peter le Roi, were ſtrongly en-

* Contin. Nang.; Spicil. t. iii. p. 15; Meyer, p. 93, 94.

trenched between Bruges and Courtray, covered by the river Lis to the north, protected on the eaſt and weſt by deep ditches, and defended on the ſouth by a large canal. The conſtable de Neſle, and ſome other officers of note, were of opinion, that they ought not to be attacked in entrenchments that were almoſt inacceſſible; but that an attempt ſhould be made to reduce them by cutting off their proviſions: the count, however, regarding them as a vile rabble, undiſciplined and inexperienced, deemed all ſuch precautions uſeleſs; and, accuſing the conſtable of a wiſh to ſpare the ſeditious mob, becauſe he had married his daughter to a ſon of the count of Flanders, gave orders for the attack: "You "ſhall ſee, (replied the brave warrior) that I am no traitor; you have only to "follow me—I'll lead you ſo far, that you'll never return."—The event verified the prediction.

The French ruſhed forward to the attack with more impetuoſity than order, not doubting but that the enemy they ſo much deſpiſed would fly at their approach*; they were, however, miſtaken in their conjectures; the Flemings, inſpired by the love of freedom, ſtood their ground with firmneſs and reſolution; and, ſuch was the vigorous reception which the French experienced, that they were ſoon obliged to fly with precipitation, leaving, according to ſome hiſtorians, twenty thouſand men dead on the field. Among thoſe who fell were, the count of Artois; Chatillon; the conſtable de Neſle, who refuſed quarter, though repeatedly preſſed to accept it; his brother Guy de Neſle, a mareſchal of France; Peter Flotte, keeper of the ſeals; Godfrey of Brabant, and his ſon; the counts of Eu, Aumale, Dammartin, Dreux, and Soiſſons; John, ſon to the count of Hainault; the count of Tancarville, grand chamberlain; Renaud de Trie; Henry de Ligni; Alberic de Longueval; the count de Vimeu; Simon de Melun, a mareſchal of France; near two hundred knights, and a great number of eſquires. "It is a certain fact," ſays Mezeray†, with greater confidence than truth, "that France never received ſuch an affront as this." Their loſs, indeed, muſt have been very great, ſince four thouſand pairs of gilt ſpurs, the ſpoils of as many gentlemen, were taken by the Flemiſh, who ſuſpended five hundred of them in the church at Courtray. The entire conqueſt of Flanders was the reſult of this victory; the citadel of Courtray, which made a brave reſiſtance, was at length compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion; Ghent followed the example; and the caſtle of Caſſel, with the important cities of Lille and Douay, next ſubmitted to the conquerors. Thus the whole province, except Dendermonde, which held out till the middle of winter, was loſt to the French; and John, count of Namur, ſon to the count of Flanders, by his ſecond wife, was proclaimed lieutenant-general of Flanders, till ſuch time as his father or eldeſt brother ſhould be releaſed from captivity.

* Cont. Nang. p. 55; Meyer, ibid. † Mezeray, tom. ii. p. 132.

Philip, enraged at this ſecond diſaſter, reſolved to raiſe ſuch an army as ſhould amply ſuffice for the recovery of the places he had loſt, and for the chaſtiſement of thoſe who had dared to oppoſe his authority. But, as his treaſury was exhauſted, he was obliged to have recourſe to extraordinary means for raiſing the money he wanted; a tax, therefore, of one fifth of his revenue, was impoſed on each individual, and ſuch as had to the amount of five hundred livres in moveables, were made to contribute five-and-twenty. The value of money was alſo enhanced a third; without making any alteration in the weight, each coin was made to paſs for a third more than it had paſſed for in the preceding reign—an oppreſſive regulation that excited great murmurs both in and out of the kingdom.

By reſources thus ruinous to his people, the king was enabled to collect an army of eighty thouſand men; but, though the Flemings advanced with an inferior force, within a league of the French camp, Philip neither dared to attack them, nor to make any attempt for avenging the diſgrace which his arms had recently ſuſtained. This inactivity is, indeed, aſcribed to the artful policy of the Engliſh monarch, who, beholding with concern the danger of his allies, imparted, as a ſecret to his queen, a feigned correſpondence of the nobles of France with the hoſtile court of Rome. Margaret communicated the intelligence to her brother Philip, and the king, diſtruſtful of the fidelity of his army, diſmiſſed his troops, and returned, without glory, to his capital*.

But, neither the war in Flanders, nor the inclinations of the pope, could ſo far engroſs the attention of Philip, as to make him neglect the internal government of the ſtate. A famous ordinance appeared, on the eighteenth of March, 1303†, by which ſeveral abuſes, that had crept into the adminiſtration, were aboliſhed; regulations, in particular, were adopted, for enforcing a ſtrict and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and for putting a ſtop to the venality of judges. But the moſt remarkable article of this edict is the ſixty-ſecond, which gave riſe to the inſtitution of parliaments in France; it appointed that of Paris to be holden twice a year. It is the ancient court of the king's palace new modelled, rendered ſedentary, and inveſted with an extenſive and aſcertained juriſdiction. This regulation, however, did not take place till the following year, or the year 1305. The officers and members of the parliament were at firſt nominated by the king, were paid by him, and, on ſeveral occaſions, were removed by him at pleaſure. The parliament was originally compoſed of the moſt eminent perſons in the kingdom. The peers of France, eccleſiaſtics of the higheſt order, and noblemen of illuſtrious birth, were members of it, to whom were, afterwards added, ſome clerks and counſellors learned in the law‡.

The Flemings, intent on the total expulſion of the French, laid ſiege to Tournay, which Philip had garriſoned previous to the diſmiſſion of his troops; and

* Meyer, p. 96. † Laur. Ord. tom. i. p. 357, et ſuiv. ‡ Paſquier Rech. de la Fra. p. 44, &c.; Encyclopedie, tom, xii. (Art, Parlement), p. 3 et 5.

though, by two different ſallies, they had loſt three thouſand men, they perſevered in their attack, and reduced the place to the laſt extremity; the king, appriſed of this circumſtance, collected a freſh army*, but, when he had advanced as far as Peronne, he was prevailed upon, by the duke of Savoy, to conclude a truce with the Flemings for eight months, during which time attempts were made to ſettle a laſting peace. For this purpoſe, the old count of Flanders was releaſed from priſon, and ſent to negociate with his former ſubjects; but, elated by their recent ſucceſſes, the Flemings refuſed to ſubmit to Philip, and Guy, unable to accompliſh the object of his miſſion, returned to his priſon at Compiegne, where he ſoon after died.

A. D. 1304.] The truce being expired, both parties prepared for renewing the war. John of Hainault had lately ſucceeded to the county of Holland, by the death of count Florent, and his ſon John. The Flemings, pretending that that principality was a fief of the county of Flanders, made incurſions into Zealand, defeated William the count's ſon, took his uncle, the biſhop of Maeſtricht, priſoner, and reduced a great part of the province. William, however, had the good fortune to eſcape, and ſhut himſelf up in a ſtrong fortreſs; and, as the houſe of Hainault, had conſtantly adhered to the French, Philip equipped a naval armament, which he ſent, under the command of Grimaldi, a noble Genoeſe, to his relief. The fleet was ordered to ſteer toward Zuric-Zee, which was beſieged by an army of fifteen thouſand Flemings, aſſiſted by ſome rebel Zealanders, commanded by Guy of Flanders. After an obſtinate action the Flemiſh fleet was diſperſed, Guy taken priſoner, and Zuric-Zee relieved.

The king, in the mean time, entered Flanders, at the head of fifty thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe, accompanied by his two brothers, Charles, count of Valois, and Lewis, count of Evreux, with all the chief nobles of the realm. The enemy, under the conduct of Philip of Flanders, who had left Sicily, where he had extenſive poſſeſſions, to come to the aſſiſtance of his country, was encamped between Lille and Douay, at a ſmall diſtance from *Mons-en Puelle* or *Pevelle*, their camp was haſtily fortified with their carriages; it was attacked, however by the French, who, after ſecuring ſome of the baggage, retreated. But the Flemings, eager to revenge this affront, followed them to their own camp, which they endeavoured to force, when a fierce conflict enſued; for ſome time fortune appeared to favour the Flemings, who put the count of Valois, with the braveſt of the nobility, to flight, and even penetrated to the royal tent; but, animated by the example of their ſovereign, the French ſoon rallied, when the Flemings were compelled to retire, and to abandon their camp with precipitation. Their loſs, on this occaſion, is ſaid, by Velly, to have amounted to ſix thouſand men; but Mezeray affirms, with leſs probability indeed, that ſix-and-thirty thouſand Flemings, among whom was

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 56.

William de Juliers, grandſon to the old count of Flanders, were left on the field. On the part of the French, five hundred gentlemen, and ſeveral noblemen of diſtinction, were ſlain.

Still undiſmayed, and reſolved to die ſooner than reſign their liberty, the Flemings ſpeedily returned, to the number of ſixty thouſand. Philip was then engaged in the ſiege of Lille, the garriſon of which had already conſented to ſurrender, unleſs relieved before the firſt of October. After a defeat ſo recent and deſtructive, he was aſtoniſhed at the ſight of an army thus numerous, and could not forbear exclaiming, "*Shall we never have done?—I verily believe it* "*rains Flemings!*" But his ſurpriſe encreaſed on the arrival of their heralds, who came to offer him the choice of an immediate battle, or an honourable peace: the king, doubtful of the event, wiſely preferred the latter. He conſented to releaſe Robert, the eldeſt ſon of the count of Flanders; to receive his homage for the county; to give up all the Flemiſh priſoners; to accept of two hundred thouſand livres as an indemnification for the expences of the war, for the payment of which ſum he was to retain Lille, Douay, Orchies, and Bethune*.

A. D. 1305, 1306, 1307.] The acceſſion of the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux to the papal throne, under the title of Clement the Fifth, gave Philip an opportunity of procuring a reconciliation with the church. As he had been inſtrumental in the elevation of that prelate, Clement immediately took off all the cenſures which had been inflicted on the king and the kingdom by pope Boniface; granted him a tenth of all the revenues of the church of France during five years; and created ten cardinals, nine of which were either Frenchmen or Gaſcons, and all of them friends, creatures, or ſubjects of Philip. It is pretended, indeed, by Villani†, that the king had made a previous treaty with the prelate, and inſiſted on his compliance with *ſix* requeſts he had to make, before he would conſent to his promotion; and theſe friendly meaſures are cited by Velly‡ as a confirmation of Villani's aſſertion;—but, as that author allows that the conference between them took place in a wood, (the foreſt of St. Jean d'Angeli) to prevent a poſſibility of being overheard, and that either party took an oath of ſecrecy; and conſidering, moreover, that, independent of an obligation ſo ſacred, they were both intereſted in concealing a tranſaction by no means honourable—we cannot but regard the account of Villani, which diſplays all the particulars of this ſecret interview, as doubtful, if not fabulous. Be that as it may, Philip had no longer occaſion to fear the thunders of the vatican; the pope was his friend, and every aſſiſtance the church could afford him, he had reaſon to expect.

But, though the kingdom was releaſed from the dread of foreign attacks, or eccleſiaſtical cenſures, the conduct of Philip had excited a ſpirit of diſcontent among his ſubjects that evinced itſelf in frequent murmurs. During the late

* Velly, tom. vii. p. 352. † L. viii. c. 80. ‡ Tom. vii. p. 374.

wars, he had not only recourſe to the dangerous and impolitic practice of debaſing the coin, and of raiſing its value; but, finding a ſcarcity of ſilver, he compelled* all his ſubjects, except the barons and prelates, to carry one half of of their ſilver plate to the mint; he alſo forbade the exportation of gold and ſilver, and commanded all men, under the moſt ſevere penalties, to receive the baſe coin which he put in circulation; this was naturally attended with great detriment to the national commerce, and with various other inconveniences that rendered him odious to the people. In ſhort, ſuch was the confuſion it occaſioned, that, in 1303, the prelates of the kingdom offered the king two twentieths of their revenues†, on condition that neither he nor his ſucceſſors would debaſe the coin, unleſs it ſhould become indiſpenſably neceſſary; which neceſſity ſhould be certified by the privy-council, and confirmed by an aſſembly of nobles and prelates; and the moment it ſhould ceaſe, the coin ſhould be reſtored to its primitive purity. This propoſal, however, was rejected, which ſufficiently proves, that the king preferred his own intereſt to the welfare of his ſubjects. The exceſs to which this ſhameful debaſement of coin was carried, may be known from the price of ſilver: at the commencement of Philip's reign the mark of ſilver was worth fifty-five *ſols* ſix *deniers;* in 1305, it was worth eight *livres* ten *ſols;* and, in 1306, *one denier* of the old coin was worth *three* of the new.

The king's inattention to the remonſtrances of the people on a circumſtance in which their intereſt was ſo materially affected, at length produced an inſurrection at Paris, where Philip was beſieged in his palace, and expoſed to every kind of inſult and indignity; with the aſſiſtance of his troops, however, he contrived to quell the tumult, and eight-and-twenty of the inſurgents were hanged at the gates of the city. In Normandy, too, the people revolted, in conſequence of an oppreſſive tax, which the king found himſelf obliged to repeal. The univerſal clamours that began to prevail in the kingdom, at length induced him to think of finding a remedy for a grievance that was productive of ſo many diſorders; he accordingly aſſembled the ſtates, and made ſeveral regulations for reſtoring the coin to its ancient ſtandard, but they were never enforced, and the evil was ſuffered to continue during his whole reign.

Nor was the oppreſſion of his ſubjects the only inſtance in which Philip diſplayed his rapacity; the Jews, alternately baniſhed and recalled, encouraged and perſecuted, offered him a rich harveſt, which he haſtened to reap, by the publication of an ordinance, in conſequence of which they were all arreſted on the ſame day, baniſhed the kingdom, forbidden to return under pain of death, and all their effects confiſcated. Some of them, indeed, eſcaped by receiving baptiſm; many died on the road, from fatigue or vexation; and all of them

* Laur. Ord. tom. i. p. 482, 372, 379. † Le Blanc, Traité des Monnoïes, p. 187.

were reduced to a ſtate of poverty, as they were only permitted to carry with them as much money as would defray their expences to the frontiers.

On the death of Edward the Firſt (who died in July, 1307) his ſon Edward the Second ſucceeded to the throne of England. This prince was betrothed to Iſabella, the daughter of Philip; and, in conſideration of his marriage, he endeavoured to obtain from the king the ſovereignty of Guienne. But Philip was too jealous of his authority to ſuffer the ſmalleſt diminution of it; Edward, therefore, was compelled to do homage for his continental dominions, and having celebrated his nuptials at Boulogne, took his queen with him to England*. About the ſame time, Philip's eldeſt ſon, Lewis Hutin, who was king of Navarre in right of his mother, (who died on the ſecond of April, 1305) was crowned at Pampeluna, amidſt the acclamations of the people. Immediately after the ceremony was performed, he advanced againſt Don Fortunio Almoravid, who, having been entruſted with the government of the kingdom, had formed a powerful faction, and even aſpired to the throne. Lewis, however, ſoon reduced him to obedience; and, having re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity in his own dominions, returned to his father's court.

A. D. 1308, 1309, 1310.] The imperial throne becoming vacant by the death of Albert, who was aſſaſſinated by his own nephew, John duke of Suabia, Philip was anxious to procure the election of his brother Charles of Valois, as king of the Romans†. It is pretended that he had previouſly ſecured the intereſt of the pope, by exacting from him a ſolemn promiſe to comply with a requeſt which he would not then mention, but which ſhould be made known to him in due time. He therefore aſſembled his council, to whom he communicated his intentions, and they were unanimous in their opinion, that an immediate application ſhould be made to the ſovereign pontiff. Clement, who was ſecretly appriſed of the king's deſigns, foreſaw the danger to which the holy ſee would be expoſed, from ſuch an acceſſion of power to a family, whoſe influence was already ſo extenſive; on the other hand, his obligations to Philip rendered him extremely cautious of offending that monarch. In this dilemma, he applied to the cardinal di Patro, who adviſed him ſecretly to diſpatch couriers to the different electors, in order to appriſe them of Philip's intentions, and ſtrenuouſly to recommend, as an object worthy of their choice, Henry of Luxembourg, whoſe courage and integrity were known to the whole world‡. The intrigue was conducted with ſo much ſkill and ſucceſs, that, in the courſe of a week, the electors aſſembled, and unanimouſly elected that nobleman king of the

* Nothing can more ſtrongly prove the ignorance, or the prejudices, of the French writers, on all matters relating to England, than the aſſertion of the abbé Velly with regard to Iſabella, wife to Edward the Second; who, he has the confidence to tell us, tom. vii. p. 387, was highly reſpected and beloved by the Engliſh, though ſhe is known to have diſhonoured the bed of their ſovereign, and is ſtrongly ſuſpected of having been an accomplice in his murder.

† Villani, l. viii. c. 101. ‡ Spicil. t. iii. p. 62.

Romans. Philip was greatly enraged at the diſappointment; and, gueſſing from whence the blow came, diſplayed the moſt lively reſentment againſt the pope, who in vain attempted to excuſe himſelf, by pleading ignorance of his deſigns; they were apparently reconciled indeed; but, in their future connections, true friendſhip was ſuperſeded by artifice and diſſimulation.

A. D. 1312.] It was neceſſary for Philip to maintain a good correſpondence with the pope, ſince he had a project in view, in which the aſſiſtance of the ſovereign pontiff was indiſpenſably requiſite; viz. the abolition of the order of knights-templars. This order had been eſtabliſhed at Jeruſalem, in the year 1118, by Hugh des Payens, Geoffrey de Saint Omer, and ſeven other French gentlemen, who took a vow of chaſtity and obedience, and devoted their lives and fortunes to the ſervice and defence of chriſtian pilgrims. Alike famous for their piety and their valour, they excited the admiration and gratitude of the chriſtian world, and ſoon acquired, from the generous devotion of the faithful, ample poſſeſſions in every country of Europe, eſpecially in France. Their great riches, joined to the courſe of time, had, by degrees, relaxed the ſeverity of theſe virtues; and the templars had, in a great meaſure, loſt that popularity, which firſt raiſed them to honour and diſtinction. Acquainted, from experience, with the fatigues and dangers of thoſe fruitleſs expeditions to the eaſt, which had given birth and ſtrength to their order, they rather choſe to enjoy in eaſe their opulent revenues in Europe: and, being all men of birth, educated, according to the cuſtom of that age, without any tincture of letters, they ſcorned the ignoble occupations of a monaſtic life, and paſſed their time wholly in the faſhionable amuſements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleaſures of the table. To the laſt they were peculiarly addicted, and a French proverb is ſtill in uſe—*Boire comme un templier* (to drink like a templar), which atteſts their attachment to the bottle. Their rival order, that of Saint John of Jeruſalem, whoſe poverty had as yet preſerved them from like corruptions, ſtill diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the enterpriſes againſt the infidels, and ſucceeded to all the popularity which was loſt by the indolence and luxury of the templars. But, though theſe reaſons had weakened the foundations of this order, once ſo celebrated and revered, the immediate cauſe of their deſtruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive ſpirit of Philip, who, having entertained ſome private diſguſt againſt ſome eminent templars, determined to gratify at once his avidity and revenge, by involving the whole order in an undiſtinguiſhed ruin.

As it was neceſſary, however, to preſerve ſome colour of juſtice in his proceedings, he waited for a favourable opportunity, before he would ſignify his intentions; but, as his enmity to the templars was ſufficiently known, it was not likely he ſhould be kept long in ſuſpence. We are told by the author of the life of Clement the Fifth, that a citizen of Beziers, named Squin de Florian, being confined in the ſame priſon with an apoſtate templar, whoſe life, like his own, was juſtly forfeited to the offended laws of his country, propoſed

to his fellow-priſoner, that they ſhould confeſs their ſins to each other, a circumſtance by no means uncommon in thoſe days, when a criminal was never allowed to have a confeſſor; accordingly, having heard the confeſſion of the templar, he ſent to a magiſtrate, and informed him, that he had a ſecret to impart of more importance to the king than the conqueſt of a new kingdom; but that he would not diſcloſe it to any other perſon than Philip; impatient to diſcover this myſtery, the king ordered the culprit to be conveyed to Paris, and, when he was brought into his preſence, he aſſured him, that if he ſpoke the truth, he might rely on not only obtaining a pardon, but on being amply rewarded. Squin, who had previouſly formed the plan of his accuſation, then charged the whole body of templars with crimes ſo atrocious and abſurd, that, as an Engliſh hiſtorian has juſtly remarked*, they were of themſelves ſufficient to deſtroy all the credit of the charge; though Velly obſerves, that they are ſo well atteſted by authentic records that it would be imprudent to call the truth of them in queſtion.

It was pretended, that every one whom they received into their order, was obliged to kiſs the ſuperior on the mouth, navel, and breech†; that they employed exhortations, menaces, and even tortures, to make him renounce his Saviour, and ſpit three times on a crucifix that was preſented to him‡—a cuſtom adopted by one of their grand-maſters, who, having been taken priſoner by an eaſtern ſultan, could only obtain his releaſe on condition of ſwearing to introduce it into the order‖; that, at their nocturnal meetings, the knights worſhipped a gilded head§; that they were forbidden to have any criminal connection with women, leſt the objects of their amours ſhould caſt reflections on the order; but, in return for theſe ſacrifices, they were permitted to indulge in vices the moſt ſhocking to human nature: that if, by chance, a templar had commerce with a girl, and a child was the reſult of their connection, it was brought to their aſſemblies, when the knights ranged themſelves in a circle, and toſſed the infant from one to the other, till it expired: they then roaſted it, and, with the fat that iſſued from the body, they anointed the head and whiſkers of their idol which was covered with a human ſkin; that, when a templar died, his body was burnt, and the aſhes mixed with a beverage which the knights drank, in the hope that it would increaſe their intrepidity, and render them more faithful to each other: that when the prieſts of the order celebrated the maſs, they omitted the words of the conſecration; and, finally, that, having ſecretly abjured their religion, and embraced the tenets of Mahomet, they had ſold the Holy Land to the infidels.

Philip mentioned theſe accuſations to the pope in the month of May, 1307;

* Hume, vol. ii. † Du Puy, Hiſt. des Tem. p. 17 et ſuiv. ‡ Chron. de S. Denis, in la Vie de Phil. le Bel.; Walſing. p. 73. ‖ Rob. Gaguin. Hiſt. p. 12; Bzovius, An. 1308, p. 103; Guil. Paradin. Hiſt. de Savoie. l. ii. c. 106. § Noſtrad. Hiſt. de Prov. p. 324; Hiſt. de Malthe, t. i. p. 509; Spicil. tom. iii. p. 69.

but it does not appear that Clement was diſpoſed to favour his iniquitous projects, ſince, by a bull dated the twenty-fourth of Auguſt in the ſame year, he declared the crimes aſcribed to the templars appeared to him to be not only incredible, but impoſſible; that the heads of the order, informed of the charges exhibited againſt them, demanded juſtice on thoſe who had caluminated them, in caſe the accuſation ſhould prove to be falſe, and ſubmitted themſelves to the moſt ſevere puniſhments ſhould they be found guilty; that, in conſequence, he was about to enter into a juridical examination of the matter, for the ſatisfaction of the king, whom he requeſted to ſend him all the proofs he had collected, that could tend to eſtabliſh the charge. But a trial of this ſolemn and public nature would not have anſwered Philip's purpoſe; the proceedings of *juſtice*, were, he pretended, too ſlow for him; he, therefore, had recourſe to a violent exertion of authority: he iſſued a ſecret order, which was executed on the thirteenth of October, 1307, to arreſt, in one day, all the templars in France, and throw them into priſon; he then took poſſeſſion of the temple, their place of reſidence at Paris, and ſeized all their property. In order to juſtify this act of violence, he aſſembled all the canons of the cathedral of Notre-Dame, and the doctors of the univerſity, to whom he imparted the motives for his conduct; two days after this, the clergy and their pariſhioners were ſummoned, by ſound of trumpet, to attend in the garden of the palace, where the long liſt of charges againſt the perſecuted templars was read to them. The credulous mob was impoſed upon; but every man of common ſenſe ſaw through the ſhallow artifice.

Philip would fain have had the templars tried by his own officers; but, on conſulting the univerſity, he was told, that no ſecular judge could take cognizance of hereſy, unleſs required to do ſo by the church* ; that the templars, as belonging to a religious order, that had been confirmed by the holy ſee, were exempt from all civil juriſdiction; and that their poſſeſſions ought certainly to be preſerved, that they might be appropriated to thoſe purpoſes for which they were deſtined by the donors. The king, on this deciſion, ordered William de Paris, a Dominican, his own confeſſor, and a member of the inquiſition, to interrogate the priſoners, in the preſence of ſeveral of the nobility.—The monk executed the commiſſion with a degree of zeal that he knew would be highly agreeable to his maſter.

The impriſonment of the knights-templars excited a general ſurpriſe throughout the chriſtian world; the pope, in particular, expreſſed his indignation at the conduct of Philip, and regarded the proceedings of the inquiſitor as an encroachment on his own authority† ; in the firſt heat of paſſion he ſuſpended the powers of William de Paris, and forbade the French prelates to take cognizance of an affair, the deciſion of which he reſerved to himſelf. He wrote to the king,

* Du Puy, p. 10; Hiſt. de Malthe, t. i. p. 515. † Du Puy, p. 11.

at the ſame time, to complain of his conduct in impriſoning a ſet of men who were ſolely dependent on the ſee of Rome; and informed him, with ſome warmth, that he had ſent two cardinals, into whoſe hands he deſired the perſons and effects of the templars might be immediately reſigned.

The king, enraged at theſe obſtacles to the completion of his ſanguinary projects, arrogantly replied, that he had done nothing but at the requeſt of the inquiſitor, who was an officer of the court of Rome; that, by ſuſpending the powers of that monk, and of the prelates of the kingdom, who were the actual judges in points of doctrine, he did a great prejudice to religion; that the templars would not fail to avail themſelves of that circumſtance; that they already began to vary in their depoſitions; that they even flattered themſelves with the idea of being ſupported by the court of Rome; that it was ſhameful in a ſovereign pontiff to diſplay ſuch tardineſs in ſeconding a prince in the purſuit of ſo juſt a cauſe; that God deteſted lukewarm minds; that, not to puniſh a crime with ſufficient promptitude, was, in ſome degree, to approve of it; that, far from prohibiting the prelates from diſcharging thoſe functions attached to their dignity, he ought, on the contrary, to excite their zeal for the extirpation of an order ſo corrupted; that, after all, the biſhops were appointed to partake with him the care of the church of God; that it would be a flagrant injuſtice to deprive them of a power which they had received immediately from Jeſus Chriſt; that they had not deſerved ſuch treatment, nor would they endure it; and that he himſelf could could not, conſiſtent with his coronation oath, ſuffer it to paſs unnoticed; he concluded his letter with ſome threatening expreſſions to the pope, and many profeſſions of his own diſintereſtedneſs; as a proof of which, he conſented to ſurrender the templars and their property into the cuſtody of the pope's miniſters; but they ſtill continued to be guarded by his own ſubjects.

Philip had convened the ſtates of his kingdom, at Tours, in the month of May, 1308, when the meeting was very numerous: he preſided in perſon, and his chancellor was ordered to detail all the various proofs that had been collected in ſupport of the charges preferred againſt the templars*. From thence the king repaired to Poitiers, where he had a private interview with the pope, at which it was ſettled—that the knights ſhould be kept in the king's cuſtody, in the name of the pope, the prelates, and the church; that the two powers ſhould engage, in caſe the order was aboliſhed, to devote their property to the defence of the Holy Land; that their revenues ſhould be employed for no other purpoſe, and that they ſhould be immediately conſigned to the care of ſome truſty perſons choſen by the Roman pontiff. This regulation, however, produced but a trifling change in the affairs of the templars; among thoſe who were appointed to take charge of their property were two of the king's domeſtics,

* Du Puy, p. 37, &c.; Hiſt. de Malthe, p. 508.

William Pidoue and Rene Bourdon; and, at Philip's ſolicitation, his confeſſor was ſuffered to exerciſe thoſe functions which the pope had ſuſpended, and to conduct the proſecution, or rather *perſecution*, againſt the knights.

The pope, however, continued to manifeſt a miſtruſt of Philip, and diſplayed, in the different bulls he publiſhed on the occaſion, an anxiety to preſerve the property of the templars from the avidity of that rapacious prince. Such precautions could not fail to enrage the king, who accordingly expreſſed his reſentment very freely*; and Clement, intimidated by his threats, appears to have ſacrificed his own ſentiments of propriety, to the gratification of his vindictive ſpirit. All obſtacles being thus removed, the tyrant proceeded to the examination of the devoted victims. Tortures were employed to extort a confeſſion of their guilt; ſeveral, to procure immediate eaſe, in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them; forged confeſſions were imputed to others; but many of them preſerved their fortitude in the midſt of pain, and bravely refuſed to purchaſe eaſe by the promulgation of a falſhood.

The pope, in the mean time, inſtigated the different powers of Europe to imitate the example of Philip; and the templars were every where thrown into priſon. "They confeſſed," ſays Velly†, "in England and Provence, at Ra-"venna, Piſa, and Florence, all the abominations of which they had been accu-"ſed in France." But this aſſertion is evidently falſe; Hume, with a greater regard to truth, obſerves‡, that, though their conduct underwent a ſtrict ſcrutiny, and the power of their enemies ſtill purſued and oppreſſed them, no where, except in France, were the ſmalleſt traces of their guilt pretended to be found: England, ſays that author, *ſent an ample teſtimony of their piety and morals*. In Arragon, the knights retired to their own fortreſſes, which they had erected for defending the country againſt the incurſions of the Moors. From thence they wrote to the ſovereign pontiff, to repel the baſe imputations that had been urged againſt them; they inſiſted on the purity of their faith, in defence of which they had ſo often ſhed their blood; they obſerved, that a great number of the templars were then priſoners with the Moors, who daily offered them their liberty on condition that they ſhould abjure their religion; that it was ſhameful to burn thoſe knights as infidels, whoſe brethren, ſlaves to the enemies of their God, were inceſſantly expoſed to the moſt cruel puniſhments as chriſtians; that, if ſome individuals of the order had acknowledged themſelves guilty of crimes, whether they had really committed them, or had been induced to ſay ſo from the pain of the torture, they deſerved puniſhment, either as criminals, or as cowards who had belied their conſcience; but that an honourable order, which, for two centuries had deſerved well of the church, ought not to ſuffer for the guilt or prevarication of a few of its members; that

* Du Puy, p. 15, 108. † Tom. vii. p. 436. ‡ Hiſt. of England, vol. ii.

it was eaſy to perceive their great wealth was the true cauſe of the perſecution they experienced; they entreated his holineſs either to grant them his protection, or elſe to ſuffer them, according to the cuſtom of the times, to defend their innocence with their ſwords. It is not known what reply Clement made to this ſpirited requeſt; but the king of Arragon beſieged the knights in their caſtles, and, having taken them priſoners, confined them in different places, till they could be tried by the biſhop of Valencia, who had received the pope's orders for that purpoſe.

In France, they were preparing to continue the proceedings againſt them, when, to the aſtoniſhment of the judges, moſt of the knights diſavowed their confeſſions*, which they declared had been extorted from them by the violence of their agonies. This retractation embarraſſed the king who was at a loſs how to proceed; but, as one iniquity too frequently leads on to another, it was ſoon determined that ſuch as diſavowed their firſt confeſſions ſhould be conſidered as *relapſed heretics*—by which wiſe deciſion hereſy was made to conſiſt in an adherence to the doctrine of chriſtianity; fifty-nine of theſe unhappy victims, among whom was one of the king's chaplains, were accordingly condemned to the ſtake†; and, in a field near the abbey of Saint Anthony, in the ſuburbs of Paris, they were all conſumed by a ſlow fire. In the midſt of the flames, they called aloud upon their God, and ſtedfaſtly refuſed to accept the pardon that was offered them on condition of abiding by their firſt confeſſions. Numbers periſhed, in the ſame cruel manner, in different parts of the kingdom; but not one of them could be prevailed on to purchaſe his life by retracting his laſt aſſertion.

Though all the knights had been tried, the grand queſtion, with regard to the abolition of the order, as well as the trial of the grand-maſter, and the principal officers, ſtill remained to be decided; as the pope had reſerved this deciſion for himſelf, he appointed eight commiſſioners—all eccleſiaſtics—who cited the whole order to appear before them at Paris. When the grand-maſter came into their preſence, he was aſked what he had to offer in defence of the order; he replied, that the order having been confirmed by the holy ſee, it was ſtrange they ſhould think of aboliſhing it without mature deliberation; that, for his part, he was unable to undertake the defence of ſo large a body of men, who had been groſsly caluminated, but that the obligations he had received from them were ſuch, that he ſhould be a wretch indeed were he not to exert his utmoſt efforts for that purpoſe; he therefore would engage to defend their intereſts, difficult as was the taſk in his ſituation—a priſoner to the pope and the king, with no aſſiſtance but that of a ſingle domeſtic; unable either to read or write, and plundered of all his money except four deniers; he concluded by demanding the aſſiſtance of council.

* Ex Secundâ vitâ Clem. v. p. 37. † Chron. de S. Denis, An. 1309.

His judges, however, informed him that in trials for hereſy, no advocate was allowed; they adviſed him to reflect ſeriouſly before he embarked in ſuch an undertaking; and reminded him of the confeſſion he had made at Chinon, which was immediately read to him. The unhappy knight evinced the utmoſt ſurpriſe; twice he croſſed himſelf, and then exclaimed, that if the three cardinals, who had ſubſcribed his interrogatory, were of a different profeſſion, he ſhould know how to talk to them. On being admoniſhed that prelates could not accept a challenge, he affirmed, that what he had ſaid had been groſsly miſtated. When preſſed to explain himſelf farther, he was unable to contain his reſentment, and declared that ſuch men deſerved the puniſhment inflicted by the Saracens and Tartars, on liars and forgers;—"They rip up their bellies," ſaid he, "and cut off their heads."

At a ſubſequent examination, the grand-maſter defended his order with great ſpirit; but ſtill perſiſted in his demand for farther aſſiſtance, and the king, afraid to preſs a ſentence thus important, without obſerving at leaſt ſome *appearance* of juſtice in his proceedings, iſſued letters-patent (on the twenty-ſixth of November, 1309) authoriſing ſuch of the templars as were confined in the provinces, and choſe to ſtand forward in defence of their order, to repair to Paris. Seventy-four knights accordingly appeared before the judges in the month of March following, when the pope's commiſſion, and the articles on which they were to be interrogated, were read to them; after which they were remanded to priſon, whilſt notaries were ſent to take their defence in writing. Peter de Boulogne, a prieſt, who was attorney-general to the order, dictated, in the name of them all, a ſhort apology, in which he obſerved, "That the templars "had a chief, without whoſe permiſſion they were unable to appoint agents; "that, nevertheleſs, they were ready to appear before the commiſſaries of his "holineſs, in order to juſtify themſelves with regard to the crimes of which they "had been accuſed; that the charges ſent by the pope were infamous, deteſta-"ble, abominable, horribly falſe, fabricated by impoſters who were their ene-"mies; that the religion of the temple was pure and unpolluted, exempt from "the abominations which had been falſely aſcribed to it; that thoſe who dared "to maintain the contrary, ſpoke like infidels and heretics; that they were re-"ſolved to defend the honour of their order at the riſk of their lives: that, "for this purpoſe, they required to be ſet at liberty, and permitted to attend "the general council, or at leaſt to entruſt their cauſe to ſuch of their brethren "as might be ſuffered to go thither; that thoſe knights who had advanced falſ-"hoods for truth were either cowards, who had been induced, through the fear "of tortures, to make ſuch confeſſions; or elſe wretches that had been bribed "by money, won by ſolicitations, or intimidated by threats; whoſe depoſitions "could not, of courſe, be ſuffered to operate to the prejudice of the order."

Some time after, a freſh apology appeared, in which the knights renewed their complaints of the violence of the proceedings againſt them, unaccompa-

nied by any of the uſual forms of juſtice. They repreſented to the commiſſaries that the moſt unfair methods had been employed to extort a confeſſion of the crimes laid to their charge; that they had been aſſured the abolition of their order had been reſolved on, and that it was to be ſolemnly confirmed by the pope, at the council of Vienne; they had been ſhewn letters-patent, with the king's ſeal annexed, by which they were offered their lives and their liberties, together with an annual penſion, if they would but make the confeſſion required of them; that ſuch as had reſiſted thoſe temptations, had been put to the torture; that it was a matter of aſtoniſhment, that the depoſitions of a few men, who, unable to withſtand pain, had confeſſed whatever their tormentors had required of them, ſhould receive more credit than the affirmations of thoſe generous warriors, who had ſupported the ſevereſt torments ſooner than advance a falſhood; that many of theſe unfortunate knights had expired in obſcure dungeons; that their brethren requeſted their gaolers and their executioners might be examined, to know in what ſentiments they had died, and whether it was not true, that in thoſe moments when man has nothing farther to hope or to fear, they had perſiſted in maintaining their own innocence, and the purity of their faith to the laſt; that it was not to be ſuppoſed any man of common ſenſe would enter or remain in a ſociety which led to the deſtruction of his ſoul; that their order was compoſed of gentlemen of the firſt families in Europe; and it was not probable that ſo many men of illuſtrious birth would have been ſilent, had they known, ſeen, or heard, the abominations with which they had been charged. They concluded by appealing to the pope, from all the deciſions of the provincial ſynods.

As this proſecution, however, was not conducted according to the uſual forms of juſtice, the appeal was rejected, and matters went on as before; two hundred and twenty-one depoſitions were taken in different parts of the kingdom, between the month of Auguſt, 1309, and May, 1311; when the examinations were finiſhed, two copies of them were drawn up, one of which was forwarded to the pope, and the other depoſited in the treaſury of the cathedral at Paris.

A. D. 1313, 1314.] All the proceedings having been read in full council, the pope aſked the fathers, ſeparately, if they did not think it proper to ſuppreſs an order againſt which more than two thouſand witneſſes had been heard; an order which had been guilty of ſuch flagrant abuſes, and ſuch enormous crimes. All the prelates, and the moſt celebrated doctors, unanimouſly replied, that, previous to the abolition of ſuch an illuſtrious ſociety, which, ſince its firſt inſtitution had rendered ſuch eſſential ſervice to religion, it would be neceſſary to hear what the grand-maſter, and principal officers, had to urge in its defence; this juſtice required, this humanity enforced*. All the biſhops of France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland, and Ireland, were of the ſame

* Ex ſecundâ vitâ Clem. v. p. 43.

opinion, except one Italian prelate, and the archbiſhops of Rheims, Sens, and Rouen: theſe four, againſt every principle of natural equity, pretended, that the templars had had ſufficient opportunities of defending themſelves before the commiſſaries appointed by the holy ſee; that there was nothing new to ſay, and that they had now a perfect knowledge of the whole affair. Though Clement himſelf inclined to this latter opinion, he was fearful of acting in direct oppoſition to the general ſentiments of the council; ſix months therefore were paſſed, not ſo much in deliberation, as in ſecret negociations on this important object; the purport of which intrigues was to perſuade the prelates that, in a cauſe which appeared ſo *clear*, the uſual forms of juſtice ſhould be overlooked. It is even affirmed*, that the pope, enraged at the reſiſtance he experienced from all the members of the aſſembly, petulantly exclaimed, that the plenitude of his pontifical power ſhould ſupply any defect in form, and he was reſolved to condemn the templars at any rate, *ſooner than offend his dear ſon, the king of France*. In fact, having aſſembled the cardinals, and ſeveral of the prelates whom he had brought over to his ſide, he pronounced, on the twenty-ſecond of March, 1312, in a *ſecret* conſiſtory, the fatal ſentence, which broke, ſuppreſſed, and annulled the military order of the Temple; a ſuppreſſion which he publiſhed in the ſecond ſeſſion of the council, April the third, in preſence of the king, the princes, (ſons to Philip) and the whole court of France. *Although*, ſaid he, *it could not be done according to law, we ſuppreſs it proviſionally, and by apoſtolic authority, reſerving to ourſelves and to the church of Rome, the diſpoſal of the perſons and poſſeſſions of the templars*†. This proviſional ſentence was *definitive;* the order was finally proſcribed and aboliſhed; and the riches belonging to it were beſtowed on the knights-hoſpitallers‡.

The fate of the grand maſter, and the principal officers, ſtill remained to be decided; the pope, who had reſerved to himſelf the right of pronouncing their ſentence, had reſolved only to condemn them to perpetual impriſonment; but, in order to convince the people that the numerous executions they had witneſſed were founded in juſtice, he wiſhed to extort from them a confeſſion of the crimes imputed to their order. Two cardinals were deputed to aſſiſt at the ceremony, and, on a ſcaffold erected before the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris, the four great officers of the order were brought into their preſence—theſe were James de Molay, grand maſter, who had ſtood godfather to one of the king's ſons; Guy, commander of Normandy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne; Hugh de Peralde, grand-viſitor of France; and the grand-prior of Aquitaine, who, previous to his impriſonment, had been miniſter of the finances. The confeſſions which they had before made of the abominations of their order, and the ſentence of perpetual impriſonment, were read to them; one of the legates then made a long harangue which he finiſhed by calling on the

* Hiſt. de Malthe, t. i. p. 530. † Du Puy, p. 106. ‡ Ibid. p. 184.

grand maſter to renew in public the confeſſion which he had privately made before the pope; but he was greatly ſurpriſed, when this reſpectable perſonage, ſhaking the chains with which he was loaded, advanced to the front of the ſcaffold, with a ſteady countenance, and, raiſing his voice, pointing to the pile which the executioners were preparing in order to burn him ſhould he retract what had been extorted from him, thus addreſſed the ſurrounding multitude: "The horrid ſpectacle now preſented to my ſight can never make me confirm "my firſt deviation from truth, by the utterance of a ſecond falſhood—I have "belied my conſcience; it is time that truth ſhould triumph in her turn—I "ſwear, then, in the face of heaven and earth, that all which has been now "ſaid of the crimes and impiety of the templars is a horrible calumny; it is a "holy, juſt, and orthodox order; I deſerve to die for having, *at the ſolicitation of the pope and the king*, dared to accuſe it. Why cannot I expiate this "crime by a puniſhment ſtill more dreadful than that of fire? It is the only "means now left me for obtaining the compaſſion of men and the mercy of "God*!" Guy, brother to the dauphin, held nearly the ſame language; and ſolemnly aſſerted the innocence of their brethren. The other two were leſs courageous; they perſiſted in their former confeſſions, and were treated accordingly.

The embarraſſment into which the legates were thrown by this unexpected incident could only be equalled by their diſappointment. At a loſs how to proceed, they adjourned the buſineſs to the next day; and, making the unfortunate noblemen deſcend from the ſcaffold, they delivered them into the hands of the provoſt of Paris. The king, informed of their retractation, immediately aſſembled the lay-members of his council†, and, in the evening of the ſame day, James de Molay, and Guy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne, were conducted to a ſmall iſland on the Seine, ſituated between the king's garden and the convent of the Auguſtins, where they were conſumed by a ſlow fire. In the midſt of the flames they evinced the ſame firmneſs they had diſplayed in the morning, and renewed the proteſtations which they then made; with their laſt breath they aſſerted the innocence of their order, and acknowledged, with the utmoſt humility and contrition, that they had deſerved death, for having maintained the contrary in the preſence of the pope and the king‡. The eyes of the people were now opened; terrified at the ſcene of *murder* before them, and aſtoniſhed at the reſolution of the victims, they lamented their cruel fate with tears, and did that juſtice to their memory which they had refuſed to their conduct.

Thus finiſhed that dreadful perſecution which reflects an eternal diſgrace on the memory of Philip, and brands with infamy the name of Clement—the firſt

* Villani, l. viii. c. 92; Pap. Maſs. in Phil. Pul.; Paul. Emil. in eumd.; Mariana, t. iii. l. 15, p. 332.
† Spicil. t. iii. p. 67. ‡ Pap. Maſs. l. iii. p. 393.



The Condecension of the French & English Monarchs to the Pope.

Philad^a Published by James Stewart & Co Jany 31.st 1797.

as the projector, the ſecond as the inſtrument, of a plan, which, for its iniquity, is ſcarcely to be exceeded in the annals of human depravity. The king is ſaid, by Velly, to have received only one-third of the money and moveable effects belonging to the templars, in order to defray the immenſe expence of the proſecution; but, as he neither tells us what was the amount of that property, nor of thoſe expences, we may ſafely admit the juſtice of his aſſertion, without, however, exempting Philip from the charge of rapaciouſneſs, which the whole tenor of his conduct moſt ſtrongly corroborates. That the pope had been influenced, in this affair, by motives of avarice, has likewiſe been aſſerted; though it muſt be confeſſed that no proof has been adduced to eſtabliſh the accuſation*—but, whatever were their motives, the manner in which they conducted the proſecution is *alone* ſufficient to prove, that they were not ſwayed by any regard to juſtice. The crimes, too, imputed to the templars, are, from their abſurdity and inconſiſtency, incredible; of all the numerous depoſitions taken in behalf of the proſecution, *one* only is preſerved in hiſtory—that of Ralph de Preſle, an advocate for the king's court (quoted by Du Puy); and this does not furniſh the ſhadow of a proof, ſince it merely relates to a converſation which the deponent had with one of the knights, who told him that there were ſo many ſtrange things paſſed at their meetings, that he would ſooner looſe his head than reveal them; and that, at their general chapter, there was one point, with regard to which ſuch ſecrecy was obſerved, that, were any man by chance, to become acquainted with it, the knights would certainly put him to death. The extorted confeſſions of the knights themſelves were, we have every reaſon to believe, the principal grounds of condemnation; and, by the ſevere puniſhments inflicted on ſuch as retracted, we may form ſome idea of the means which were employed to procure them. Had any farther proofs exiſted, it is fair to preſume, they would have been preſerved either in the vatican, or in the royal library at Paris; we cannot, with Walſingham, Albert Krants, Zurita, Volaterran, Blondus, Belleforeſt, Du Puy, and Father Daniel, conceive theſe to have been ſufficient to juſtify the execution of the knights, and the abolition of the order; on the contrary, we fully ſubſcribe to the opinion of thoſe numerous writers, both ancient and modern, who conſider the templars as objects of an unjuſt and unprincipled perſecution.—The *vindictive* Philip we regard as an inhuman tyrant; the *ſervile* Clement as a faithleſs miniſter of Chriſt.

A. D. 1313, 1314.] On the king's return from the council of Vienne, he conferred the honour of knighthood on his three ſons, on which occaſion there were great rejoicings at Paris, which laſted for ſeveral days; but the attention

* Voltaire, indeed, (t. xii. p. 268.) has gravely advanced, "that the frank and preciſe Du Puy ſays the "pope did not forget himſelf, in the diviſion of the ſpoil;" but, unfortunately for this faithleſs hiſtorian, no ſuch aſſertion is to be found in the author he quotes; nor, indeed, is it probable that Du Puy ſhould have made ſuch a remark, when it is well known that he wrote his account of this famous (or rather infamous) tranſaction, for the expreſs purpoſe of juſtifying Philip and Clement.

of Philip was ſpeedily called from ſcenes of joy to the diſmal theatre of war.—The count of Flanders having refuſed to appear in the king's court, his dominions were confiſcated, and declared to be annexed to the crown. An army was accordingly aſſembled to put this ſentence in execution; and the troops had advanced as far as Courtray, when the count offered to ſubmit to ſuch terms as Philip ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe. In conſequence of this propoſal, the nobles of either army had a meeting, and it was ſettled*, that the Flemings ſhould pay the king the remainder of the ſum that had been fixed on at the laſt treaty of peace; that the count ſhould diſmantle all his fortreſſes, at ſuch time as the king ſhould appoint, beginning by Bruges and Ghent; that the expences of this demolition ſhould be defrayed by the Flemings, in the preſence of commiſſaries nominated by Philip; and that, till the final execution of theſe articles, Courtray, with all its forts, ſhould be ſurrendered to the French, together with the count's youngeſt ſon, Robert de Caſſel.—The Flemings, however, embraced the firſt opportunity of violating this ignominious treaty; they flew to arms, and expelled the French governor of Courtray; and, though Philip ſent a freſh army to reduce them to obedience, he was glad to accept the propoſals of the count of Flanders, to reſtore the hoſtages he had received, and to conclude a truce. By theſe indeciſive meaſures he exhauſted his treaſury, without extending his dominions.

The ſituation of his kingdom, indeed, was not ſuch as to juſtify any attempts at conqueſt; the people were loud in their complaints of the taxes which had been recently impoſed; a new debaſement of the coin had almoſt driven them to an open inſurrection; in Champagne, Picardy, Artois, Forez, and Burgundy, confederacies had been formed as well for reſiſting the exaction of impoſts hitherto unknown, as for effecting the reſtoration of certain privileges, of which the nobles pretended to have been unjuſtly deprived; in ſhort, there was every reaſon to apprehend a general revolt. Philip, to quiet the minds of the people, ſuppreſſed the taxes complained of, and endeavoured to throw all the odium on his miniſters, by inſinuating that they had impoſed and levied them without his orders.

The king's uneaſineſs at the diſpoſition of his ſubjects to reſiſt thoſe proceedings which they deemed tyrannical and oppreſſive, was greatly increaſed by a calamity of a more domeſtic nature. He had three ſons, Lewis Hutin, king of Navarre; Philip the Long, count of Poitiers; and Charles the Fair; they were all three married, and ſo ſingularly unfortunate had they been in the choice of their wives, that an accuſation of adultery was exhibited againſt each of them, about the ſame time. Margaret, queen of Navarre, daughter to Robert the Second, duke of Burgundy; and Blanche, the youngeſt daughter of Otho the Fourth, count palatine of Burgundy†, wife to Charles, were convicted of the

* Spic. t. iii. p. 66. † Chron. envers de Godefroy de Paris; MSS. du Roi. N. 6812.

crime, and impriſoned in a caſtle at Andely, after undergoing the ignominious operation of having their hair cut off, and their heads ſhaved, the puniſhment annexed by the law to the crime of adultery in females. The former was afterwards ſtrangled by order of her huſband; the latter, after remaining ſeven years in priſon, was removed to the caſtle of Gauroy, near Coutances, and from thence to the abbey of Maubuiſſon, where ſhe took the veil, and paſſed the remainder of her days. Suſpicions were equally ſtrong againſt Jane, counteſs of Poitiers, eldeſt ſiſter to Blanche, and heireſs of Burgundy; but, after a ſtrict inveſtigation of the fact, the cauſe was tried by the parliament, in preſence of the count of Valois, the count of Evreux, and many other of the nobility, when the princeſs was acquitted—*Inculpabilis et omnino innoxia judicatur*. Her huſband was the firſt to acknowledge her innocence:—"thus was he more "fortunate, or at leaſt more *prudent*," ſays Mezeray, "than his brothers."

The objects of the princeſſes criminal attachment were two brothers—Philip and Gautier de Launai, gentlemen of Normandy, and officers of the houſhold to Lewis and Philip*. They were tried by an aſſembly, purpoſely convened by the king, at Pontoiſe; and the ſentence paſſed on them ſavoured not a little of the barbarity of the age. They were firſt flayed alive, then dragged through a ſtubble field, after which their private parts were cut off; and, laſtly, their heads were ſevered from their bodies. When dead, they were ſuſpended, with an uſher of the chamber, the confident of their amours, on a public gibbet. Many perſons of both ſexes were involved in their diſgrace, either as accomplices, or as being ſuſpected of having obſerved a criminal ſilence. Some of theſe were drowned, and others privately ſmothered. A biſhop, in particular, of the order of Saint Dominick, is ſaid to have been privy to the intrigue, but hiſtorians differ as to the nature of his puniſhment. They agree, however, in blaming the king for making public an affair which a juſt regard for the honour of his family ſhould have induced him to bury in oblivion.

Theſe various ſources of anxiety proved fatal to Philip's conſtitution; finding his ſtrength decay, he repaired to Fontainbleau, in the hope that his native air would prove favourable to his health; but nature was too far advanced to admit of recovery. He, therefore, thought of making a final ſettlement for his children; his ſecond ſon, Philip, had already received, as his appanage, the county of Poitiers; Charles, the youngeſt, he now inveſted with the county of Marche, but on condition that, in caſe he ſhould die without male heirs, it ſhould revert to the crown. This was the origin of a new order of juriſprudence; at the commencement of the third race of kings, appanages had been conſidered as fees-ſimple, they were then ſubjected to ſome reſtrictions, afterwards limited to the heirs of the perſon to whom they were granted, and now they were confined to the male heirs. The motive for theſe reſtrictions was, to prevent them

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 68.

from paſſing, by marriage, into the hands of foreigners; a circumſtance which endangered the tranquillity of the kingdom.

A. D. 1315.] On his death-bed, Philip caſt a retroſpective eye on the various tranſactions of his reign; and, at that moment when the voice of adulation had loſt its wonted power, he found his own gratifications had ever been conſulted, in preference to the welfare of his people. Stricken with remorſe, he ſought to repair, as far as in him lay, the miſery he had occaſioned. To Lewis, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, he gave the moſt ſalutary advice: he ſtrictly enjoined him to ſuppreſs the new taxes, and revoked, himſelf, all the edicts by which they had been eſtabliſhed; he conjured his children to relieve his ſubjects from the oppreſſion under which they laboured; gave orders for reducing the current coin to its juſt value, and for repairing all the injuries he had committed. After he had made ſome other juſt and pious regulations, he expired, at Fontainbleau, on the twenty-ninth of November, in the year 1315, which was the thirtieth of his reign, and the forty-ſixth of his age*. His body was conveyed to Saint Denis, and his heart to Poiſſy.

Philip is ſaid, by contemporary writers, to have been the handſomeſt man of the age; but the beauties of his mind by no means correſponded to thoſe of his perſon. Prodigal and ambitious, he ſacrificed the happineſs of his ſubjects to the gratification of his own deſtructive paſſions; cruel and vindictive, the objects of his hatred or revenge were expoſed to perſecution the moſt unprincipled and ſanguinary; his conduct to the templars was alone ſufficient to ſtamp him a tyrant. But while, in recording his defects, we pay a tribute to juſtice, candour requires we ſhould notice his virtues as a huſband and a parent; and beſtow a juſt commendation on his patronage of the ſciences, and on the firmneſs and vigour he diſplayed in aſſerting the rights of his crown againſt the daring pretenſions of Boniface the Eighth.

Philip had, by his queen, Jane of Navarre, four ſons and three daughters. Lewis, Philip, and Charles, who ſucceſſively attained to the regal dignity; and Robert, who was affianced to Conſtantia of Arragon, daughter of Frederic the Third, king of Sicily, but died in his twelfth year. His daughters were, Margaret, who was promiſed to Ferdinand the Fourth, but who died ere the marriage was celebrated; Iſabella, wife to Edward the Second, king of England; and Blanche, who was betrothed to Ferdinand, Infant of Caſtille, but died young.

Philip was attached to the ſtudy of the belles lettres, and extended his patronage and protection to all who cultivated the ſciences. He founded the univerſity of Orleans; beſides which ſeveral colleges were founded during his reign: that of Navarre, by his queen; that of the cardinal le Moine, by a prelate of that name; and that of Montagu, by Gilles Aycelin de Montagu, archbiſhop of Narbonne.

* P. Anſ. Hiſt. Gen. t. i. p. 52.

Among the celebrated characters that flouriſhed during this reign, were, William de Nangis, John de Meun, and William Duranti. The firſt of theſe, who was a monk of Saint Denis, finiſhed the life of Saint Lewis, which had been begun by one of his brethren named Gillon de Rheims; he alſo compiled that of Philip the Hardy, and continued the hiſtory of Sigebert, the monk of Gemblours, from 1114 to 1300. John de Neun is famous for his continuation of the celebrated poem entitled, "The Romance of the Roſe," which was begun forty years before by William de Lorris; he was likewiſe author of a French tranſlation of the Epiſtles of Abelard, and of ſome other works of inferior note.

William Duranti, a native of Puimiſſon in the dioceſe of Beziers, one of the moſt learned lawyers of the age, was the firſt law-profeſſor at Bologna and Modena, then chaplain and auditor of the holy palace, governor of the patrimony of Saint Peter, general of the eccleſiaſtical troops, legate to pope Gregory the Tenth at the council of Lyons, canon of Beauvais and Narbonne, dean of Chartres, and, laſtly, biſhop of Mende. He has left ſeveral curious works; his two principal publications are, *Speculum Juris*, by which he gained the appellation of *Speculator;* and *Rationale divinorum, Officiorum.*

The celebrated John Duns Scotus, ſo famous for his genius and learning, that England, Scotland, and Ireland have contended for the honour of his birth*, was commanded, by the general of his order, (the Franciſcans) to remove from Oxford to Paris, in the year 1304, to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary, which is generally believed to have been firſt maintained by him, though Velly aſſerts†, that it had been taught by many of the Pariſian doctors before his time. Be that as it may, it was now impugned by the divines of Paris, who were ſucceſsfully oppoſed by Duns Scotus, before an aſſembly of the univerſity, called for the determination of that important queſtion. The adverſaries of the immaculate conception collected all their force on this occaſion, and produced no leſs, it is ſaid, than two hundred objections to that doctrine. "Scotus heard them with great compoſure; and, in his reply, "he recapitulated all their objections, and refuted them with as much eaſe as "Sampſon broke the cords of the Philiſtines; after which he proved, by ma-"ny ſtrong arguments, to the amazement and conviction of all who heard him, "that the moſt holy virgin conceived without the ſtain of original ſin. The "univerſity of Paris beſtowed on him the title of the *Subtle Doctor*, as a reward "for his victory in this famous diſpute‡." One of the aſſembly, who was a ſtranger to the perſon, but not to the fame, of Scotus, was ſo highly delighted, that he exclaimed—"'This is either an angel from heaven, a devil from hell, "or John Duns Scotus‖."

* Du Pin. Cent. xiv. p. 52. † Tom. vii. p. 500. ‡ Bulœi Hiſt. Univ. Paris, t. iv. p. 70.
‖ Hugo Cavillus in vitâ J. Duns Scoti.

When Scotus had paſſed about four years at Paris, he was ſent, by Gonſalvo, the general of the Franciſcan order, to Cologne, in the year 1308, to found an univerſity in that city, in imitation of that of Paris, and to defend his favourite doctrine of the immaculate conception againſt the diſciples of Albert the Great*. He experienced a moſt favourable reception at Cologne, but died, ſoon after his arrival, in November, 1308.

John Duns Scotus poſſeſſed a great fertility of invention, a very retentive memory, an acute and penetrating genius, and an unremitting application to ſtudy; but his talents, from the falſe taſte of the age, were unfortunately miſapplied to the ſubtilties of ſchool-philoſophy, and the abſurdities of ſcholaſtic theology. When the ſhortneſs of his life is conſidered, he was one of the moſt voluminous writers that ever lived. Many of his writings have been ſeveral times publiſhed; but the moſt complete edition of his works is that publiſhed by Waddingus, at Lyons, in 1639, in twelve volumes folio†.

A great depravity of manners prevailed in the thirteenth century, particularly among the clergy; it appears, by the acts of the council of Virſbourg‡, which was holden in 1287, that the eccleſiaſtics wore gaudy dreſſes, frequented public houſes, attended tournaments, and publicly kept miſtreſſes‖. By another council, aſſembled at Rouen, in 1299, we learn, that vicars and curates appeared in public with ſhort coats and ſwords by their ſides; that they took women of ſuſpicious characters to their houſes; that they filled civil offices; lent money on uſurous intereſt, and were groſsly addicted to the pleaſures of the table, and every other ſpecies of debauchery. In the annals of the counts of Oldemberg, it is related, that, in certain dioceſes, the *officials* granted licences, for a ſtipulated ſum, to commit adultery during a year; that, in other places, a perſon who had committed fornication was excuſed on paying a quart of wine—a tax which was exacted for the remainder of his life—once inſcribed on the regiſter, his tribute was perpetual, although he ceaſed to have the inclination, or ability, to commit that ſin, for which it ſerved as an abſolution.

The vices and irregularities of the clergy were amply detailed in two memorials, preſented by two French biſhops, to the council of Vienne, in 1312. Theſe may be ſeen in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of M. Fleury. After noticing the groſs ignorance and depravity of manners which pervaded the different orders of the clergy, they obſerved, that the archdeacons, in their viſitations, either from want of knowledge, or abuſe of power, excommunicated people for the moſt trivial offences; one of the prelates aſſerted, that he had known *ſeven hundred* perſons under a ſentence of excommunication in one pariſh. The canons were accuſed of behaving with the utmoſt indecency during the celebration of divine ſervice; the monks quitted their cloiſters to attend fairs and markets, where

* Bulæi Hiſt. tom. iv. p. 70. † Du Pin. Cent. xiv. ‡ Concil. tom. xi. p. 1319, 1332, 1426.
‖ Rer. Gerin. Meibom. t. ii. p. 17, &c.

they carried on a regular trade, and gave themſelves up to the moſt ſhameful vices. The nuns wore ſilks and rich furs; dreſſed their hair in the faſhionable ſtyle; went to balls, concerts, and all public places, and walked the ſtreets, even at night. Rome is repreſented as the ſeat of deſpotiſm, cupidity, and licentiouſneſs; where money alone could enſure preferment; whence it was that men, deſtitute of knowledge, and depraved in manners, obtained the beſt livings, and diſhonoured religion by the irregularity of their lives. Incontinence was ſo common, that brothels were eſtabliſhed cloſe to the churches, and even near the palace of the pope, the marſhal of whoſe court received a part of the wages of proſtitution. The ſovereign pontiff himſelf was accuſed of an intrigue with a lady of quality; and ſome hiſtorians* have made no ſcruple to aſcribe the removal of the holy ſee to France (which took place at this period) to the pope's attachment to the counteſs of Perigord, daughter to the count de Foix, a lady of exquiſite beauty, from whom he could not bear to part.

During the reign of Philip the Fourth, in 1293, a ſumptuary law was paſſed, preſcribing the number of diſhes which a perſon was to have on his table at each meal; the number of dreſſes he was permitted to buy every year, and the price of the ſtuffs of which they were compoſed, with various other economical regulations. It enacted, that no perſon ſhould give more than two diſhes of meat, and a ſoup or ragout for ſupper, which was the principal meal†; and, at dinner, one diſh of meat and an *entremets*. On faſt days (when he had only one meal) he was allowed to have two diſhes of herrings, and two of meat, or one of herrings and three of meat—but never more than four diſhes on faſt-days, and three on others‡. But, leſt this law might be evaded, it was farther enacted, that no diſh ſhould contain more than one kind of meat or fiſh—cheeſe, however, was not conſidered as meat, unleſs encloſed in a paſte, or boiled. The ſame economical regulations which the kings preſcribed to their ſubjects they obſerved themſelves; they never ſuffered more than three diſhes to appear at their tables; and never drank any wine but ſuch as came from their own vineyards, which were all ſituated in the Orleanois.

By another part of this law it was decreed, that no duke, count, nor baron, poſſeſſing a territorial revenue of ſix thouſand livres, ſhould have more than four robes a year, and their wives as many; prelates and knights were reſtricted to two, except ſuch knights as had a landed eſtate of three thouſand livres a year, who were allowed to have three; an eſquire, two; a bachelor, one; and every woman, ſingle or married, who had leſs than two thouſand livres a year in land, one. It was uſual for noblemen to make preſents of their robes to their dependants; theſe alſo were limited; knights were forbidden to give more than two, and prelates more than one. The uſual dreſs of the men, in theſe times, were

* Villani, l. ix. c. 58; S. Anton. de Conc. Vien. tit. xxi. parag. 3. † Traité de la Police, l. iii. tit. 50, p. 386, 387. ‡ Cont. de Beauv. Obſerv. p. 371, 372; Mœurs des François, p. 157 158; Lettr. Hiſt. ſur. le Parl. 2 part. p. 344, & ſuiv.

the long tunic, with a robe or a cloak, and ſometimes both, over it; the ſhort jacket, except in camp, was confined to ſervants. At one time the robes had no ſleeves; and, when ſleeves were introduced, they were at firſt very tight, and afterwards very full and large. The cloak, particularly when trimmed with fur, was only worn by perſons of a certain rank. It was faſtened with a claſp on the right ſhoulder, ſo as to leave the right arm at full liberty: tucked up on the left ſide above the ſword, and hung looſe behind as low as the ground. The different claſſes of nobility were diſtinguiſhed by the breadth of the border of their cloaks, by the quality of the fur or ermine with which it was trimmed, the ſize of the cape, and length of the train. The cloak of a duke, count, baron, or knight, was made of ſcarlet or violet cloth; this laſt colour was generally uſed by the peers for their long court dreſs. Hats were not yet known; caps were worn of velvet, or of cloth; the firſt, which were laced, were confined to kings, princes, and knights. Over the cap a kind of hood was worn with a cuſhion at top, and a tail hanging down behind; this part of the headdreſs, which was called a *chaperon*, was common to both ſexes. The *chaperons* of people of diſtinction were larger than the others, and trimmed with fur; thoſe of the common people were plain, and formed like a ſugar-loaf.

With regard to the price of the different ſtuffs of which the robes were compoſed, it was decreed, that no prelate or baron ſhould wear a robe that coſt more than five-and-twenty ſous an ell; the wives of barons were allowed to exceed this price, by one fifth. The knight-banneret could not exceed eighteen ſous the ell; the baron's ſon, fifteen; the eſquire, ten; the dignified clerk, or ſon of a count, ſixteen; the ſimple clerk, twelve and a half, and the canon of a cathedral, fifteen. Citizens who were worth two thouſand livres, were limited to twelve ſous ſix deniers the ell; their wives allowed to go as high as ſixteen; others, leſs opulent, were limited to ten ſous, and their wives to twelve.

By an account of the expences of the king's houſhold in 1202, it appears, that the complete dreſs of a page coſt a *hundred and ſeven ſous;* that of a lady of the court, *eight livres;* of women of inferior rank, one third leſs; of female domeſtics, *fifty-eight ſous*. The price of cloth for the ſhifts of women of the higheſt rank, was fixed at *one ſol, eight deniers* the ell; the ſcarlet robe, which Philip Auguſtus wore at the feſtival of Eaſter, coſt *ſixteen livres and a half;* his tunics, each *fifteen ſous;* and the queen's beſt robe and furred cloak, *twenty-ſeven livres, ſeventeen ſous*. Another account of the year 1217, ſtates, that the robes of M. Lewis, the king's eldeſt ſon, and thoſe of the princeſs his wife, amounted to a *hundred and ſixteen livres, eleven ſous*—the richeſt which the prince had, in the month of September, coſt *nine livres, fifteen ſous;* there was one which coſt only *thirty-ſix ſous*.

In thoſe days, as in the preſent times, the citizen affected to ape his ſuperiors, and to mimic the manners of the courtier; like him he had his carriage, his

flambeaus, his rich dreſſes, and brilliant trinkets. The new edict ſought to reſtrain theſe abuſes, and to make men live according to their reſpective ſituations in life; it was ordained, that no citizen's wife ſhould have a carriage, or be lighted home at night with waxen torches; that neither ſhe nor her huſband ſhould wear ermine or any other expenſive furs, or gold, or precious ſtones, or *crowns of gold or ſilver*.

But no ſumptuary law could ſuffice to check the vanity of the times; the fines annexed to a violation of the edict proved inadequate to enforce its execution; and, as ſoon as one article of luxury was forbidden, another was introduced in its place. During the reign of Philip, the long ſhoes, turned up at the toes, were introduced into France; they are ſaid to have been firſt worn by a nobleman, who had a large fleſhy excreſcence at the end of his foot, for the purpoſe of concealing that defect. They ſoon became general, and thenceforth a man's rank was known by the length of his ſhoes; the ſhoes of a prince were two feet and a half in length; thoſe of a baron two feet, while a ſimple knight was reduced to eighteen inches, and a plain cit to twelve. Hence the French proverb—*Etre ſur un grand pied dans le monde*. The ſhoes were frequently adorned with horns, claws, or ſome groteſque figure; the more ridiculous it was, the greater its beauty. The biſhops long exclaimed in vain againſt this abſurd cuſtom, which the continuator of William de Nangis calls—"a ſin "againſt nature," "an inſult to the Creator;" and the wearing ſuch ſhoes was very near being declared *hereſy**. Charles the Fifth, in order to pleaſe the clergy, declared the cuſtom to be "contrary to good manners, invented in de- "riſion of God and the church, by worldly vanity, and mad preſumption†;" to affect its abolition, all thoſe who followed it were ſentenced to pay a fine of ten florins. This regulation had the deſired effect; but the long ſhoes were ſucceeded by large ſlippers, above a foot wide‡.

An abſurd and moſt irrational credulity prevailed, in all the nations of Europe, during the thirteenth century, not only among the vulgar, but among perſons of the higheſt rank and beſt education. No prince engaged in any enterpriſe of importance till his aſtrologers had conſulted the ſtars, and diſcovered the auſpicious momemt for carrying it into execution. Of this a very curious example is exhibited by Matthew Paris, in his account of the marriage of Frederic, emperor of Germany, with Iſabella, ſiſter to Henry the Third, of England, in the year 1235.—"Nocte vero prima qua concubuit imperator cum "ea, noluit eam carnaliter cognoſcere, donec competens hora ab aſtrologis ei "nunciaretur‖."

* Spicil. tom. iii. p. 138. † Liv. Vert. aye du Châtelet, fol. 148. ‡ Paradin, Hiſt. de Lyon, ch. v.
‖ M. Paris, p. 285. ad Ann. 1235.

LEWIS THE TENTH,

*SURNAMED HUTIN**.

A. D. 1314.] ON the acceſſion of Lewis to the throne of his anceſtors, all Europe was convulſed by inteſtine commotions. Edward the Second, of England, a weak but well-diſpoſed prince, was haraſſed by his factious and turbulent barons, for entruſting to others the weighty cares of government which he was unable to bear himſelf. His kingdom was divided into parties; the ſtandard of revolt was hoiſted in every quarter; and juſtice and order gave way to violence and bloodſhed.

Germany, by the death of the emperor, Henry of Luxembourg, was equally convulſed by two contending factions†. The princes, on whom the appointment of a ſucceſſor devolved, were divided in their choice; and the want of a proper regulation to prevent diſorder, on the deceaſe of the ſovereien, occaſioned an interregnum of fourteen months, which was terminated by a double election; the particulars whereof are variouſly related by hiſtorians. The moſt common opinion is, that five electors—the king of Bohemia, the archbiſhops of Mayence and Treves, the duke of Saxe, and the marquis of Brandebourg, elected Lewis of Bavaria, grandſon, by his mother's ſide, to the emperor Rodolphus the Firſt; and that the two others, the archbiſhop of Cologne, and the count Palatine, proclaimed Frederic the Handſome, ſon to the emperor Albert of Auſtria. They were both crowned; the firſt at Aix la Chapelle, by the archbiſhop of Mayence, and the laſt at Rouen, by the archbiſhop of Cologne. After their coronation, each of them prepared to aſſert his right by force of arms; which gave riſe to thoſe dreadful diſorders, that deſolated Germany during

* Why the appellation of 'Hutin' was beſtowed on this monarch has not been determined; the literal meaning of this obſolete term is, 'imperious,' 'peeviſh,' or 'quarrelſome;' but there was nothing in the diſpoſition of Lewis the Tenth that could poſſibly juſtify the annexation of ſuch epithets to his name. Mezeray is of opinion, that he was called 'Hutin,' either from the circumſtance of his having been ſent by his father to quell the 'Hutins,' or inſurgents of Navarre and Lyons, or becauſe, in his infancy, he had given ſymptoms of a martial diſpoſition, by aſſembling the young noblemen of the court, whom he drew up in order of battle, and made them go through their exerciſe.

† Eſſai ſur l'Hiſt. Gen. t. xii. p. 278.

eight years. At length a battle, that was fought in the vicinity of Muhldorff, on the twenty-eigth of September, 1322, in which the Auſtrian was defeated and taken priſoner, ſecured the crown to his competitor; and Frederic was glad to procure his liberty by reſigning his pretenſions to Lewis.

Rome was expoſed to the ſame diſorders, and from a ſimilar cauſe. The pontifical throne had been ſome time vacant, by the death of Clement the Fifth, and the cardinals, aſſembled at Carpentras, could not agree in the choice of a ſucceſſor. The Gaſcons, who formed a powerful party in the conclave, wiſhed for a pontiff of their own nation; but they were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the French and Italians; and, ſuch was the equality between theſe two factions, that neither could preponderate; thus there was no proſpect of putting an end to the conteſt. The Gaſcons, tired with the length of their confinement, engaged their ſervants to ſet fire to the conclave, by which the cardinals were compelled to ſeparate; they promiſed, indeed, to meet again as ſoon as a convenient place ſhould be fixed upon; but, as they firmly adhered to their reſpective opinions, they were in no haſte to fulfil their engagement. Lewis, ſoon after his acceſſion, ſent his brother, the count of Poitiers, to affect an accommodation between the different parties; and, having aſſembled all the cardinals in a convent at Lyons, he declared that they ſhould not ſtir from thence, till they had given a head to the church.

The Caſtilians were engaged in a war with the Moors, whom, though they often defeated, they could never reduce*. Their kingdom, in the mean time, was infeſted with formidable troops of banditti, who plundered travellers, pillaged the country, and committed a thouſand acts of violence and outrage, which no care was taken to repreſs. The throne was filled by an infant monarch, and the princes of the blood, wholly occupied by projects of ambition, violated all laws, human and divine, in order to obtain the regency.

Such was the ſituation of the neighbouring powers, when Lewis aſcended the throne; nor was his own kingdom in a ſtate of greater tranquillity†. Moſt of the provinces had either actually revolted, or were ready to revolt; in that of Sens, a conſpiracy, of a very ſingular nature, had been formed. Many of the inhabitants, oppreſſed by the ſhameful extortions, and enraged at the uncontrouled inſolence of the officers of the archbiſhop's court, elected a king, a pope, and cardinals of their own; and prepared to retaliate on their enemies by the commiſſion of ſimilar outrages. They pronounced ſentences of excommunication, gave abſolution, adminiſtered the ſacraments, or elſe compelled the prieſts to adminiſter them, by threatening them with death. They proceeded ſo far that Lewis was obliged to interpoſe his authority, and to put a ſtop to the diſorders, by conſigning the principal authors of them to condign puniſhment. But a league between the people of Vermandois, Beauvaiſis,

* Mariana, t. iii. l. 15, p. 342, &c. † Spicil. t. iii. p. 70.

Champagne, Burgundy, and Forez, which had been formed during the preceding reign, and lately renewed, gave him more ſerious apprehenſions. He ſent his uncle, the count of Valois, to hear the complaints of the inſurgents, and to do them juſtice. Charles, after many negociations, had at length the good fortune to ſucceed in quelling this dangerous revolt. He ſatisfied the nobles, by the re-eſtabliſhment of all the prerogatives which they had enjoyed under the reign of Saint Lewis, and he appeaſed the people by repealing the taxes which occaſioned their diſcontent, and by ſacrificing to their reſentment the life and honour of Enguerrand de Marigny, whom they had long been taught to regard as the author of their miſery.

Enguerrand was deſcended from an ancient and noble family in Normandy; the name of which was originally Le Portier, but his grandfather Hugh, lord of Roſey and Lyons, having married the heireſs of the count of Marigny, gave her name to his children. The moment young Marigny made his appearance at court, he was univerſally admired for the graces of his perſon, the elegance of his wit, and the ſtrength of his talents. The late king, finding him poſſeſſed of much political knowledge, appointed him a member of his council, gave him the poſt of chamberlain, created him count of Longueville, made him governor of the Louvre, maſter of the houſhold, ſuperintendant of the finances, and prime miniſter*. This accumulation of favours naturally excited the envy of the great, whoſe enmity increaſed in proportion to his merit. The imprudence of Philip, in the multiplication of impoſts, rendered his miniſter an object of public indignation. But of all his enemies, the count of Valois was the moſt violent and implacable; during the life of his brother, however, he was under the neceſſity of confining his animoſity to his own boſom. A change of government, attended by a general inſurrection, appeared to him a proper ſeaſon for revenge; he therefore laid his plan of perſecution, and veiled it under the ſpecious maſk of public good.

Notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums which had been levied, during the late reign, on the king's deceaſe the treaſury was ſo far exhauſted, that there was not ſufficient money to defray the expence of a coronation†. "Where then," ſaid Lewis one day in full council, "are the tenths which were levied on the "clergy? What has become of the numerous ſubſidies exacted from the peo-"ple? Where are the riches that muſt have been derived from the debaſement "of the coin?" "Sire," ſaid the count of Valois, "Marigny was entruſted "with all this money, it is his place to give an account of it." Enguerrand proteſted that he was ready ſo to do, whenever he ſhould receive the king's orders for that purpoſe. "Let it be done, then, immediately," exclaimed the count. "With all my heart," replied the miniſter; "I gave you, Sir, a great "part of it; the reſt was employed in defraying the expences of the ſtate, and

* Hiſt. des Miniſ. d'Etat, p. 504. † Le Blanc Traité des Mon. p. 196.

"in carrying on the war againſt the Flemings." "*You lye!*" ſaid Charles in a rage.—"It is yourſelf, who are the liar, Sir," returned the miniſter, with more ſpirit than prudence. The count immediately drew his ſword; Marigny put himſelf in a poſture of defence, and the conſequences muſt have been ſerious but for the interference of the council, who haſtened to ſeparate them. The prince no longer placed any bounds to his reſentment; all his credit was exerted for the infliction of vengeance; and his friends, the count of Saint Paul, and the vidame of Amiens, were, in the mean time, ordered to intimate to the young monarch that the ſuperintendant of his finances was the only victim capable of aſſuaging the rage of the people.

Some days after this incident, Marigny, relying too much on his own innocence, attended the council as uſual; but he was arreſted as he entered the king's apartment, and conveyed to the priſon of the Louvre, of which he was governor; from thence, at the interceſſion of the count of Valois, he was transferred to the temple, and thrown into a dungeon*. Ralph de Preles, a celebrated advocate, the intimate friend of Marigny, was alſo arreſted, through fear that he might furniſh the miniſter with ſuch means of defence as might baffle all the efforts of his adverſaries. Some pretext, however, was neceſſary to cover the iniquity of this proceeding; he was therefore accuſed of having conſpired againſt the life of the late king; and, by an inſtance of unparalleled injuſtice, his effects were immediately confiſcated, and were not reſtored even after his innocence had been eſtabliſhed. The king, indeed, on his death-bed, felt a remorſe of conſcience, and did all that he could to repair this injury. In his laſt will he ordered all the lands and effects belonging to Ralph de Preles to be reſtored, whether they were in poſſeſſion of the crown or of individuals†. But it is not known, whether his orders were executed.

Many other perſons were involved in the diſgrace of Marigny, particularly all ſuch as had been any wiſe concerned with him in the adminiſtration of the finances. Theſe were committed to different priſons; ſome put to the torture, for the purpoſe of extorting from them ſomething that might tend to criminate the miniſter; but, either from gratitude to their benefactor, or from reſpect for truth, they bore the pain with fortitude, and made no confeſſion. The count of Valois was highly diſappointed; nor did he ſucceed better in a proclamation he iſſued, inviting all perſons, whether rich or poor, who had any complaints to make againſt the ſuperintendant of the finances, to appear in the king's court, where they might depend upon having juſtice done them—Not a ſoul appeared; not a ſingle complaint was preferred‡.

The proſecution, however, was carried on; and, when every thing was prepared, Marigny was conducted to the wood of Vincennes, to hear the charges

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 70; Mezeray, t. ii. p. 302. Edit. in 4to. † Hiſt. des Min. d'Etat, p. 580.
‡ Ibid. p. 567.

exhibited againſt him before an aſſembly at which the king preſided in perſon, aſſiſted by a great number of nobles and prelates. The accuſations were numerous; but the moſt ſerious were theſe—that he had debaſed the coin; burthened people with taxes; artfully perſuaded the late king to make him preſents to an immenſe amount; ſtolen conſiderable ſums, that had been deſtined for the uſe of Edmond de Goth, a relation of the pope's; iſſued various orders unauthoriſed by the command of his ſovereign; and maintained a traiterous correſpondence with the Flemings.

Such of theſe charges as were founded on facts had been acts of the king, and not of the miniſter; the reſt were wholly unſupported by proof;—nor, indeed, did the count of Valois attempt to bring any proof; ſo little regard did he pay, even to the forms of juſtice, that he refuſed to hear what the party accuſed had to urge in his own defence. Marigny's brothers, however, the biſhop of Beauvais, and the archbiſhop of Sens, uſed all their credit with the king, to obtain for him a permiſſion, that had never been denied to the moſt atrocious culprits—that of anſwering juridically to the various charges that had been brought againſt him. The king, conſcious that what he deſired was juſt, readily complied with it; he went ſtill farther; enraged at finding nothing was produced againſt the miniſter but vague aſſertions, unſupported by proof, he expreſſed his determination to do him juſtice by immediately releaſing him from confinement; but he was prevented, by the interference of his uncle, from executing this laudable reſolution: Charles had proceeded too far to retract, and his influence over the mind of his nephew was ſuch, that he perſuaded him to let the matter reſt for ſome days, when he did not doubt of being able to convince him more fully of his miniſter's guilt.

He then proceeded to ſuborn ſome witneſſes, who depoſed that Alips de Mons, wife to Marigny, and the lady of Canteleu, his ſiſter, had had recourſe to witchcraft in order to ſave him, and that they had made the images of the king, the count of Valois, and ſome of the barons in wax*. In theſe days of ignorance and ſuperſtition, it was believed that any operations performed on ſuch images would affect the perſons they repreſented; and in the ancient chronicle of Saint Denis, it is gravely aſſerted, that ſo long as theſe had laſted, the ſaid king, count, and barons, would have daily waſted away, till they had died. Abſurd as this may appear, the two ladies were ſeized and confined in the priſon of the Louvre, and the magician, James de Lor, who had aſſiſted them in their magic incantations, was committed to the Chatelet, with his wife, who was afterwards burned, and his ſervant, who expired on a gibbet. A report was preſently propagated that De Lor had hanged himſelf in priſon; it is probable he had been privately ſtrangled. Be that as it may, his death was received as a proof of his guilt. Lewis was young, ſimple, and inexperienced; the waxen

* Hiſt. des Min. d'Etat, p. 576, 577.

images were ſhewn to him ; the ſelf-inflicted puniſhment of the magician was enforced ; his credulity proved ſtronger than his judgment ; he withdrew his protection from Marigny, and conſigned him to the care and diſpoſal of his implacable foe.

The count of Valois, having now attained the ſummit of his wiſhes, aſſembled a few barons and knights, at the wood of Vincennes, ordered the accuſations to be read to them, and ſpared no pains to convince them of their truth—without hearing any evidence, without admitting the priſoner to ſpeak in his defence, he was declared guilty of all the crimes that were laid to his charge, and, notwithſtanding his rank, was ſentenced to be hanged. This iniquitous ſentence was executed on the thirtieth of April, 1315, at break of day, (the time at which all executions were then performed) and his body was afterwards ſuſpended on a gibbet at Montfaucon.

Charles was diſappointed in his expectations of applauſe ; nothing is more common in the minds of the people than ſudden tranſitions from rage to compaſſion ; highly irritable, their reſentment is eaſily rouſed ; but, deſtroy its object, it inſtantly ſubſides, and they are the firſt to accuſe themſelves of injuſtice. This was preciſely the caſe with regard to Marigny ; they had been dazzled by his ſplendour, and had been eager to promote his downfall ; when that was effected, they were moved by his misfortunes, and began to enquire into the juſtice of his condemnation. What to reſentment had ſeemed clear, to compaſſion appeared myſterious ; the irregularity of the proceedings now ſtruck them in a forcible point of view, and they loudly condemned thoſe meaſures which before they had, as loudly, commended. The count of Valois himſelf, on his death-bed, acknowledged the injuſtice of his own conduct, and the innocence of Marigny, whoſe family was, at a ſubſequent period, reinſtated in all the honours and poſſeſſions of which he had been unjuſtly deprived.

A. D. 1316.] A great famine prevailed at this time, occaſioned by the heavy rains, which, falling inceſſantly for four months*, rotted the corn upon the ground, and deſtroyed the vines. Proviſions of all kinds were ſo dear that the poor, unable to purchaſe them, died with hunger in the ſtreets. The evil was encreaſed by the avarice of the bakers, who mixed all kinds of filth with their bread, in order to render it more weighty. Being detected by the vigilance of a citizen of Paris, named Roger Bon-Tems, they were expoſed upon wheels, to the inſults of the populace, and then baniſhed the kingdom. The nation was at length relieved from this dreadful ſituation, by the ſupplies it received from Gaſcony, where commerce was in a more flouriſhing ſtate than any other part of France.

Lewis having reſolved to reduce the Flemings to ſubjection, but being afraid of riſking a civil war by the exaction of new impoſts, iſſued an edict, by which

* Spicil. tom. iii. p. 70, 71 ; Godefroi de Paris, MSS. du Roi, N. 6812. fol. 88. col. 1.

he declared, that, as king of the Franks, he wiſhed to have none but free men in his dominions; and that he would, therefore, emancipate from ſlavery all ſuch of his ſubjects as would pay him a certain ſum*. As all the inhabitants of the country were in a ſtate of feudal ſervitude—the nature of which we have before had occaſion to explain—it was expected that the contribution would be conſiderable. The greater part of the *ſerfs*, however, preferring money to liberty, he determined to force them to accept his proffered kindneſs. For this purpoſe he iſſued orders to his officers† to exact from them ſuch ſums as their ſituation and fortune would admit of. But even this was found inſufficient; recourſe, therefore, was had to another expedient. The Jews were permitted to return to France, on condition of paying a very heavy tax, and to remain there for twelve years, during which they were at liberty to enter into trade, or to live by the labour of their hands; they were allowed, alſo, to ſue for their old debts, two-thirds of which the king claimed for himſelf; to purchaſe their ſynagogues, their burying-places, and their books, except the Thalmud. But the joy which this perſecuted people experienced on receiving a favour which they had ſo long ſolicited in vain, was conſiderably damped by the hard conditions annexed to the acceptance of it. They were obliged to wear, as formerly, a particular mark; they were prohibited from lending money on uſurous intereſt, or written obligations; or, in ſhort, on any thing but pledges; and they were forbidden to diſpute on matters of faith, either in public or private.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when Clemence, daughter to the king of Hungary, who had been betrothed to Lewis, arrived in France. The king gave her the meeting at Saint Lie, near Troyes in Champagne, where the marriage was celebrated; and, in a few days after, (on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt) they were both crowned at Rheims. Lewis then placed himſelf at the head of the army which he had aſſembled for the reduction of Flanders; an army more numerous, and better equipped, than any which France had ſeen for ſome time; but the inclemency of the ſeaſon marred all its operations. On the approach of the French, the Flemings, who were employed in the ſiege of Marquette, retired in diſorder, and fled to Courtray, where they were inveſted by Lewis. But the heavy rains which fell, without intermiſſion, for a great length of time, prevented the beſiegers from proceeding with their works. The whole army, officers as well as men, were up to their knees in mud; to add to their diſtreſs, a dearth of proviſions ſoon prevailed in the camp; the roads being ſo deep that thirty horſes were ſcarcely ſufficient to draw a ton of wine. The king, therefore, was reduced to the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege, and of abandoning his tents, and ſetting fire to his baggage, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. Enraged at having inconſiderately embarked in this enterpriſe, againſt the advice of his council, he ſwore, that, if he lived till the enſuing ſum-

* Ordon. des Rois de France, t. i. p. 583. † Spicil. t. iii. p. 707.

mer, he would not grant a peace to the Flemings, until he had reduced them to unconditional ſubmiſſion; but Robert de Bethune, count of Flanders, was involved in the ſame diſtreſs with the king; his troops were expoſed to the ſame inconvenience as the French, and the ravages of famine excited them to murmur, and urged them to ſubmit. Unable to quiet their diſcontents, by removing the difficulties that gave riſe to them, the count was compelled to have recourſe to the clemency of Lewis. Having attended a parliament which that prince had aſſembled at Pontoiſe, he there ſued for mercy, and, by promiſing to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the king ſhould impoſe, obtained it. But, no ſooner had he reſtored plenty to his dominions, by the aſſiſtance of the French, than he broke through his engagements, and again hoiſted the ſtandard of revolt.

On his return from this unfortunate expedition, Lewis received a variety of complaints from all parts of the kingdom, againſt his officers, who took every opportunity of oppreſſing the people*. He ſent commiſſioners into the provinces to inveſtigate the nature of the abuſes complained of, and to inflict an exemplary puniſhment on thoſe who had committed them. But two only of the pooreſt were hanged—Jeannot le Portier, and Renaut le Grollier; thoſe who were moſt guilty had the beſt means of bribing their judges, and therefore eſcaped the ſeverity of the law.

While the king was thus employed in repreſſing the diſorders which prevailed in his dominions, and revolving new preparations for his projected attack upon Flanders, he was ſeized with a diſorder that put an end to his life. It is affirmed, by ſome†, that, having heated himſelf extremely in playing at tenis, at the wood of Vincennes, he retired to a grotto, the cold air of which, by chilling his blood, proved fatal to him. Others pretend that he was poiſoned; but, as they neither mention the author of the crime, nor aſſign any motive for it, their teſtimony muſt be rejected. Lewis was of a liberal and generous diſpoſition, but wanted prudence and firmneſs; his concern for the welfare of his ſubjects was evinced by the repeal of thoſe oppreſſive taxes, which had been impoſed during the preceding reign; his intentions, indeed, were generally good, but he had not always ſufficient reſolution to put them in execution. Had his life been lengthened, he might probably have corrected his errors, and proved a good king. He only reigned a year and a half, and was interred, with regal pomp, at Saint Denis. In his will, he ordered all his debts to be paid, and all the poſſeſſions he had uſurped to be reſtored. He alſo bequeathed a ſufficient ſum for the maintenance of a hundred ſcholars during ten years; four thouſand livres as a marriage portion for young ladies who had no fortunes; fifty thouſand for the recovery of the Holy Land; and ten thouſand to the children of Marigny, *as ſome conſolation for the misfortune they had ſuſtained*.

* Chron. MSS. de Godefroi de Paris. † Id. ib.

Three regulations adopted during the reign of Lewis, evince his attention to the public weal. Firſt, he iſſued an edict* for enforcing a conſtitution of the emperor Frederic, by which, among other prohibitions, it was forbidden, under any pretext whatever, to interrupt the farmers in their work, to ſeize their goods, their perſons, their implements of huſbandry, or their oxen. Secondly, he iſſued the moſt poſitive orders, for enſuring the liberties of the church, the prerogatives of the nobility, and the happineſs of the people. Thirdly, he enacted ſeveral laws for remedying the abuſes which prevailed with regard to the coin, which proved of great detriment to the kingdom. He would fain have aboliſhed the privilege enjoyed by ſeveral nobles and prelates to coin money, but the oppoſition was ſo violent, that he was compelled to give up his intentions, and to content himſelf with preſcribing the form and impreſſion of each coin.

INTERREGNUM.

A. D. 1316.] LEWIS the Tenth left no male child. By his firſt wife, Margaret, he had only one daughter, named Jane, who was afterwards queen of Navarre; on his death-bed he ſent for her, and, notwithſtanding the licentiouſneſs of her mother, acknowledged her for his child†. His ſecond wife Clemence, was pregnant when he died; and, as it was uncertain whether ſhe would bring forth a prince or a princeſs, the throne was left vacant, and the regency deſtined for the count of Poitiers. That prince, who was at Lyons haſtening the election of a pope, repaired to Paris with the utmoſt expedition, in order to take upon him the adminiſtration of affairs. But, before he ſet out, he ſhut up the cardinals, and left them under the care of the count de Forez. On his arrival in the capital, he convened an aſſembly of the ſtates; a precaution which he deemed neceſſary; for though, by the cuſtom of the realm, the crown was limited to the male heirs, yet, as, from the time of Hugh Capet, no inſtance had occurred in which it was neceſſary to proceed to a formal excluſion of the females, the friends and relations of the young princeſs might poſſibly, he thought, form intrigues in her favour, and perhaps ſeduce the people to follow the example of the great fiefs, moſt of which devolved to the females.

* Ordon. des Rois, t. i. p. 610, 612. † God. de Paris, MSS. du Roi, N. 68.

To obviate theſe difficulties, and the machinations of his ſecret enemies, he wiſhed to have his right to the regency confirmed by law. The twelve peers accordingly waited on him at the palace, and, holding a parliament, decreed, that, if the queen ſhould bring forth a ſon, Philip ſhould enjoy the regency, and the guardianſhip of the young prince, till he ſhould have attained the age of eighteen; or, according to ſome, four-and-twenty; that he ſhould have the diſpoſal of the national revenue; be preſident of all the councils; have the right of making peace or war; that, far from diminiſhing the queen's dower, which had been fixed at twenty thouſand livres, he ſhould add four thouſand to it, to be taken out of the exchequer of Rouen; and, laſtly, that, if Clemence ſhould have a girl, he ſhould be declared king. It was farther decreed, that he ſhould have a particular ſeal, on which this inſcription ſhould be engraved:—"Philip ſon to the king of the French, governing the kingdoms of "France and Navarre*." All the barons then ſwore fealty to him, acknowledged him for *Guardian of the State*, and did homage to him as ſuch.

The utmoſt exertions of the regent to maintain the tranquillity of the kingdom proved inadequate to prevent the renewal of a diſpute, which had been formerly decided by the king his father†, and which was not finally ſettled till long after the preſent period. The author of theſe diſturbances may be regarded as the principal inſtigator of the war which afterwards broke out between France and England, and raged with unexampled violence, for a hundred and twenty years. The importance of this point of hiſtory renders it neceſſary to trace it to its ſource. The county of Artois had paſſed into the royal family of France, by the marriage of Philip Auguſtus with Iſabella of Hainault, who received it as a dowry from her uncle Philip, count of Flanders. Lewis the Eighth, ſon to Iſabella, enjoyed it as *an hereditary eſtate*. On his acceſſion to the throne he annexed it to the crown; and he afterwards aſſigned it as a dowry to his queen Blanche. At length it was given by Saint Lewis, as an appanage, to his brother Robert, who was killed at Maſſoura. Robert the Second, heir to that prince, had two children by Amicia de Courtenai—Philip who married Blanche of Brittany; and Maude or Matilda, wife to Otho the Fourth, count of Burgundy. Philip died, four years before his father, of the wounds he had received at the battle of Furnes, leaving one ſon, Robert the Third, and four daughters, Margaret, Jane, Mary and Iſabella. His ſiſter Maude, authoriſed by the cuſtom of the country, claimed, on the death of her father, the greateſt part of the ſucceſſion, as being his neareſt heir. Philip the Fair acknowledged the validity of her claim, and put her in poſſeſſion of the county of Artois, with a reſervation, however, in favour of any rights to which her nephew and nieces, the children of Robert the Second, might pretend. Robert the Third when he came of age, preferred his claim, and demanded the re-

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 71. † Ibid. Mem. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. viii. p. 670. tom. x. p. 572.

ſtitution of the county. After much altercation, both parties conſented to leave their reſpective pretenſions to the arbitration of Philip the Fair; and engaged to pay a fine of one hundred thouſand livres in caſe they refuſed to abide by his deciſion. The ſentence was again favourable to Maude, but the king decreed, that ſhe ſhould pay her nephew, as well for his own claims, as for thoſe of his ſiſters, and of his mother, Blanche of Brittany, a penſion of four thouſand livres, chargeable on the lands of Charny,. Chateau-Regnard, and other eſtates then ſpecified; that ſhe ſhould, moreover, pay Robert, for his own uſe, an annuity of one thouſand livres, alſo chargeable on eſtates; and the net ſum of twenty thouſand livres, payable in four years. Robert confirmed this deciſion; and, during the reigns of Philip the Fair, and his ſon Lewis Hutin, it does not appear that he made any attempt to diſturb the counteſs Maude in the poſſeſſion of Artois; but the period of an interregnum appeared to him favourable for the execution of his deſigns.

The nobility of Artois and the Cambreſis, as well as thoſe on the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne, diſcontented with the government of Maude, who was wholly ſwayed by the advice of Thierri d'Inechon, or de Heriſſon, then provoſt of Aire, but afterward biſhop of Arras, had entered into a confederacy for remedying the abuſes introduced into the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the collection of the revenue. Lewis Hutin, aware of the conſequences of theſe commotions, endeavoured to quell them, by ordering the counteſs to enforce the obſervance of thoſe laws and cuſtoms which had prevailed in Artois, in the time of Saint Lewis. This regulation reſtored tranquillity; but Maude was not punctual in enforcing it; and the death of her ſon, together with that of the king, once more induced the inſurgents to have recourſe to arms. Robert of Artois, eagerly embraced the opportunity of again advancing his own claims, and, placing himſelf at the head of the conſpirators, proceeded to make himſelf maſter of the county. Hedin, Avennes, and Arras opened their gates to receive him: and Saint Omer, after ſome reſiſtance, was compelled to ſurrender. The regent, enraged at this daring attack on the royal authority, ſummoned the prince to appear in his court, to anſwer for his conduct; and, as Robert refuſed to obey the citation, he reſolved to march againſt him.

With this view Philip aſſembled his troops, and, in the beginning of November, advanced towards Artois; but, when he had proceeded as far as Amiens, the inſurgents, being intimidated at the magnitude of his force, haſtened to meet him with offers of ſubmiſſion. The regent conſented to pardon them, on condition that they ſhould reſtore all that they had taken from the counteſs, and make proper conceſſions for their miſconduct. With regard to the ſucceſſion, it was ſettled, that the pretenſions of Robert ſhould be ſubmitted to arbitration; that if the appointed umpires could not agree in their deciſion, the matter ſhould then be referred to the peers and principal nobles of the realm, who were the proper and natural judges of ſuch an affair; that, in the mean time, every

thing ſhould be put on the ſame footing as on the death of Robert's grandfather; that the county ſhould be ſequeſtered in the hands of the counts of Valois and Evreux, who ſhould receive the revenue; and laſtly, that Robert himſelf ſhould be kept priſoner till the buſineſs was formally ſettled. The regent then returned to Paris, where the count ſurrendered himſelf, and was detained in priſon near two years.

This diſpute being deemed an object of importance, it was reſolved to inveſtigate the pretenſions of the different claimants with the utmoſt care and impartiality. Every neceſſary formality was obſerved, and every delay, required by either party, accorded; and, after the moſt ſolemn deliberation, a ſentence was pronounced (in the month of May, 1318,) by which it was determined—that the county of Artois, with all its dependencies, ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of Maude, her heirs and ſucceſſors for ever; that ſhe ſhould conſign to oblivion the paſt miſconduct of her nephew; that, in future, a good correſpondence ſhould ſubſiſt between them, both parties engaging to refer any difference that might occur to the deciſion of the king; and that Robert, for the better enſurance of tranquillity, ſhould promiſe to get his preſent engagements ratified by his uncle, the count of Richemont, and his brother-in-law, the count of Namur. Both parties expreſſed their ſubmiſſion to this ſentence, and bound themſelves, by a ſolemn oath, to abide by it. Robert immediately ſigned letters of ratification, which were confirmed, not only by the counts of Richemont and Namur, but alſo by the princes of the blood—Charles of France, count of La Marche; Charles, count of Valois; Lewis, count of Evreux; Lewis, count of Clermont; Philip of Valois, count of Mans; and his brother Charles; all of whom bound themſelves to ſee this deciſion duly enforced, and even to take up arms againſt ſuch as ſhould preſume to attack it. Thus was finiſhed, for the ſecond time, the famous conteſt for the county of Artois. To conſole Robert for his diſappointment, the princeſs Jane, youngeſt daughter to the count of Valois was given him in marriage; he had already received from Philip the Fair the county of Beaumont-le-Roger, on which the privilege of beſtowing the dignity of a peer was afterwards conferred; but nothing could make him forget a ſucceſſion to which his ambition led him to aſpire, in violation of the law of the country. Under the reign of Philip of Valois, this diſpute was revived, and was attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences to the kingdom.

JOHN THE FIRST.

A. D. 1316.] On the return of Philip from his expedition to Artois, Clemence gave birth to a prince who was named John. But the grief ſhe had experienced on the death of her huſband gave riſe to a diſorder which proved fatal to the infant monarch, who lived but five days*. He was conveyed from the Louvre, where he was born, to the abbey of St. Denis, where he was interred at the feet of his father. The princes of the blood attended the funeral proceſſion of John, who had been formally proclaimed king of France and Navarre; a title by which he is diſtinguiſhed in all the ancient records, which are ſtill extant in *the treaſury of the charters*. The regent now became heir to the throne; and, for the firſt time ſince the acceſſion of Hugh Capet, the crown paſſed from the direct line of ſucceſſion.

PHILIP THE FIFTH,

SURNAMED THE LONG.

A. D. 1316.] ALTHOUGH Philip was the undoubted heir to the throne, he nevertheleſs met with ſome obſtacles to his acceſſion. Eudes the Fourth, duke of Burgundy, and his mother, Agnes of France, daughter to Saint Lewis, inſiſted, that, before Philip was proclaimed king, the pretenſions of Jane, daughter to Lewis Hutin, ſhould undergo an examination; and they were openly ſeconded, in this propoſal, by ſeveral of the nobility, and ſecretly, it is pretended, by the count of Valois*. Even the count of La Marche, brother to the new monarch, withdrew from Rheims the very morning appointed for the corona-

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 72. † Id. ib.

tion. That the princes of the blood, who were intereſted in rejecting the demands of the confederates, ſince it eventually affected their own right to the ſucceſſion, ſhould, by their conduct, give encouragement to their ſchemes, is a matter of aſtoniſhment—their perſonal enmity to the regent muſt have overcome their concern for their own intereſt; though we are not told, by contemporary writers, whence that enmity aroſe.

A. D. 1317.] Thus a ſerious oppoſition aroſe on all ſides; and the peers, particularly the biſhops, received a formal notice not to proceed with the coronation*, till the pretended rights of the princeſs Jane had been duly diſcuſſed. This notice, however, was diſregarded; and, on the Sunday after the Epiphany, Philip and his queen were crowned at Rheims by Robert de Courtenay, archbiſhop of that dioceſe, in the preſence of Charles, count of Valois, and Lewis, count of Evreux. But the apprehenſions excited by the retreat of the count of la Marche, and the proteſt of the court of Burgundy, induced the king to order the doors of the church to be kept ſhut during the ceremony, and the guard to be doubled.

No ſooner had the young monarch, who had juſt entered his twenty-fourth year, returned to Paris, than he convened an aſſembly of the prelates, nobles, and citizens of the capital, who all ſwore to yield him obedience as their lawful ſovereign, and, after him, to obey his ſon, Lewis, who died, in a few days, at the age of ſeven months. At this aſſembly an expreſs law was made, for excluding females from the throne†. It was, indeed, only declaratory of that which had been in force from the commencement of the monarchy, though no occaſion for calling it into action had ever occured; ſince all the ſovereigns from Hugh Capet to the preſent time, that is, for the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years, had ſucceeded to throne, from father to ſon.

Philip's next care was, to quell the diſcontents which prevailed in different parts of the kingdom, by the alternate exertion of force and addreſs. While his armies were calculated to operate on the fears of the inſurgents, his offers were ſucceſsfully applied to the paſſions of their leaders. It had been already agreed, by a treaty concluded the preceding year, between the regent and the houſe of Burgundy, that, if the queen ſhould give birth to a daughter, that princeſs, and Jane, the late king's daughter by his firſt wife, or the ſurvivor, in caſe either ſhould die, ſhould enjoy the kingdom of Navarre, with the counties of Champagne and Brie, of which Philip ſhould have the government, until they had attained to years of maturity; that, on their marriage, they ſhould formally reſign all their pretenſions to the reſt of the kingdom of France, or, if they rather choſe to adhere to thoſe pretenſions, the ceſſion of Navarre, Champagne, and Brie, ſhould be null; that Jane ſhould be entruſted to the

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 72. † Tunc etiam declaratum ſuit, quod ad coronam regni Franciæ mulier non ſuccedit; Contin' Chron. Guill. de Nangis; Spicil. tom. iii. p. 72.

care of her grandmother, Agnes, ducheſs of Burgundy, but that ſhe ſhould not marry without the conſent of the king, and the princes of the blood; but that, if the queen ſhould give birth to a ſon, this agreement was to be void*. It was made in the preſence, with the conſent and advice, of the princes of the blood, and the principal nobles of France, who ſwore to obſerve it.

Philip, however, when he came to the throne, was unwilling to execute this treaty. Belleforet aſcribes his refuſal to the licentiouſneſs of Jane's mother, which rendered her daughter's legitimacy doubtful; but the ſuppoſition is abſurd, ſince by the preceding convention, he had formally acknowledged her to be the lawful child of king Lewis. The duke of Burgundy warmly eſpouſed the intereſt of his niece, and entered into a league with the nobles of Champagne, for the purpoſe of compelling Philip to fulfil his engagements; but, when hoſtilities were on the point of commencing, the evils with which the kingdom was threatened were fortunately averted by the concluſion of a treaty between the contending parties. The duke, in the name of the princeſs, gave up all pretenſions to the kingdoms of France and Navarre, as well as to the counties of Champagne and Brie, which laſt, however, were to revert to her in caſe Philip ſhould die without male heirs. The king, on his part, agreed to give her a penſion of fifteen thouſand livres, chargeable on the county of Angouleme; and the ſum of fifty thouſand, to be laid out in the purchaſe of an eſtate. In caſe Champagne and Brie ſhould revert to the princeſs, ſhe engaged to reſtore to the crown all the money ſhe ſhould have received by way of recompence for the renunciation of her rights: but thoſe two counties were to remain in the hands of the reigning prince till ſhe ſhould attain her thirteenth year; nor was ſhe to be put in full poſſeſſion of them, till, in concert with her huſband, ſhe ſhould have ratified the preſent treaty, of which the duke of Burgundy became the guarantee. If the princeſs ſhould die without children, they were to return to the crown, the penſion was to ceaſe, and the lands purchaſed to be reſtored. Jane was then affianced to Philip, the eldeſt ſon of the count of Evreux; and it was reſolved, in order to prevent any impediment to the projected alliance, that the marriage ſhould be immediately celebrated, *by words* ("par paroles") if a diſpenſation could not be obtained, which the tender age of the princeſs rendered requiſite, ſhe being only in her ſeventh year; and, laſtly, that, as ſoon as the ceremony was over, Jane ſhould be entruſted to the care of queen Mary, widow to Philip the Hardy, and grandmother to the bridegroom. The treaty was fully executed, and, from this marriage, ſprang Charles, ſurnamed *the Bad*.

The inſurgents were highly diſcontented with the duke of Burgundy, who, they aſſerted, had ſacrificed the intereſt of his ward, to ſome private ſchemes of ambition. In fact this ſoon appeared to be the caſe, for Eudes, ſhortly after,

* Treſ. des Ch. Nav. Layette iii. piéce 7; Du Puy, Tr. de la maiſon des Rois, p. 149; Leibnitz in Cod. Diplomat. p. 70; Mem de l'Ac. des B. L. tom. xvii. p. 295, & ſuiv.

married the eldeſt daughter of Philip, by which alliance he acquired the county of Burgundy in addition to the duchy, which territory belonged to his wife's mother. Philip had always recourſe to the ſame means of quelling a revolt, and he always found it ſucceſsful.

Iſabella, his third daughter, had been affianced to Alfonſo the Eleventh, king of Caſtile; but, from political motives, he now judged it prudent to break that engagement; and to promiſe the hand of the princeſs to Guigne the Twelfth, dauphin of Viennois and count of Albon. It is ſaid* that the lord of Saſſenage, one of the dauphin's vaſſals, being ſent to demand his bride, one of the king's *maitres d'hotel* brutally replied—"That ſo beautiful a lady was not made for "ſuch a great hog as the dauphin!" The ambaſſador, enraged at the inſult offered to his maſter, drew his ſword, and killed the maitre d'hotel on the ſpot; he then took refuge with Amadeus of Savoy, who was, at that time, at the court of France; and the count concealed him till he had found means to appeaſe the king, and obtain his pardon. This ſervice did not paſs unrewarded; for Amadeus, at a ſubſequent period, having been taken priſoner in an action with the dauphin, the Savoyards haſtened to his reſcue, when Saſſenage, who might eaſily have repulſed them, not only forbore to oppoſe them, but even carried his generoſity ſo far, as to make way through his own men, to facilitate the count's eſcape.

Margaret, the king's ſecond daughter, was promiſed to Lewis of Crecy, ſon to Lewis, count of Nevers, and grandſon to Robert, count of Flanders. This young prince had ſought an alliance with the houſe of Evreux, but the count of Valois interfered, and propoſed to him his own daughter, who was accordingly accepted. The day was fixed for the celebration of the nuptials, when the king, under pretence of removing every ground of jealouſy between the counts of Evreux and Valois, ſupplanted them both, by giving the princeſs Margaret to Lewis. But, previous to the ceremony, it was deemed neceſſary to ſettle the diſturbances which ſtill prevailed in Flanders; where the inhabitants, accuſtomed to regard the French as their enemies, had almoſt forgotten that they were in any wiſe dependent on the king. Philip, at the commencement of his regency, had projected a treaty, by which the count of Flanders was to have been re-eſtabliſhed in his peerage, and the people reſtored to their privileges; but the conditions on which theſe indulgences were to be granted appeared too hard to a nation averſe from every kind of reſtraint. The treaty, therefore, being rejected by Robert, a freſh army was ſent to reduce the Flemings, and, after their country had been laid waſte by the troops, they obtained from Philip a truce, after which the negociations for a peace were renewed, but without ſucceſs.

* Mezeray, t. ii. p. 365.

A. D. 1318, 1319, 1320.] It was agreed to leave the matter to be decided by the pope, but the Flemings entertained a proper miſtruſt of a pontiff, who, beſides being born a Frenchman, had particular reaſons for wiſhing to pleaſe the king. In vain did he employ both ſolicitations and menaces to make them ſubmit to his arbitration; both were alike reſiſted for a conſiderable time; at length, however, the count of Flanders, finding his ſubjects ſo ſtrongly inclined to pacific meaſures, that they refuſed to follow him, when, by an attack on the territory of Lille he committed an infraction of the truce, repaired to Paris, attended by his eldeſt ſon, and by deputies from the principal towns in Flanders.

When every thing was apparently ſettled, and nothing remained but to ſign the treaty, the count proteſted that he would never conſent to make peace, unleſs the towns of Orchies, Lille, and Douay were reſtored to him. With this demand Philip peremtorily refuſed to comply, and exacted an oath from the princes of the blood, and ſuch of the barons as were preſent at the time, that they would never conſent to the ceſſion of thoſe places. Robert eſcaped from Paris during the night, with a full reſolution to renew the war, but the deputies ſent after him, and poſitively declared, that they would not leave France till an accommodation had been ſettled on a ſolid baſis. He was therefore compelled to return and give his conſent to the terms propoſed.

It was ſtipulated that Orchies, Lille, and Douay, ſhould remain in the king's poſſeſſion; that the Flemings ſhould pay him a conſiderable ſum of money; according to ſome, ninety thouſand livres; according to others, two hundred thouſand; that they ſhould bind themſelves, by oath, to take up arms againſt their prince, in caſe he violated any of the articles of the preſent treaty; and that Lewis, ſon to the count of Nevers, ſhould marry Margaret of France, on condition that he ſhould ſucceed to the county of Flanders, even ſhould his father die before his grandfather. Thus finiſhed a deſtructive war, which had laſted five-and-twenty years; the Flemings were ſerious in their profeſſions of ſubmiſſion, and the moderation of Philip at length ſurmounted their inveterate hatred.

While theſe tranſactions were paſſing in France, Italy was the theatre of a cruel and ſanguinary war. The two powerful factions of the Guelfs and the Ghibelines, had ariſen in Germany during the conteſts of pope Gregory the Eighth, with the emperor Henry the Fourth; and, for ſucceſſive centuries, they divided and diſtracted the different ſtates of Italy. The Guelfs ſupported the pretenſions of the pope, the Ghibelines the rights of the emperor. The ſchiſm which now prevailed in Germany renewed their animoſity—the former eſpouſed the cauſe of Frederic of Auſtria, while the latter declared for Lewis of Bavaria, whom the ſovereign pontiff refuſed to acknowledge. The pope's pretext for his refuſal was, that Lewis had preſumed to exerciſe the ſovereign authority, without *his* conſent, who alone, he pretended, had

the right of confirming or annulling his election. But the moſt formidable partiſans that appeared on either ſide, were the Viſcomti. Maffeo, head of this family, had three ſons, all deeply verſed in the art of war. Milan, Pavia, Piacenza, Novara, Vercelli, Alexandria, and ſeveral other places in Lombardy, owned his ſway. The emperor, too weak to humble, feigned to protect him, and left him the title of his lieutenant. Proud of this diſtinction, which placed him at the head of the Ghibelines, he laid ſiege to Genor; and, to an order which he received from the pope to abandon his enterpriſe, he replied, "That "that city was not within the dominions of the church, but of the empire, and "that the pontiff, therefore, had no right to interfere." Such a declaration was ſufficient to induce the inquiſition to pronounce him a heretic. He was, accordingly, condemned as a wretch* who had abuſed, ſtricken, and poiſoned the pope's nuncios; pillaged the churches; firſt whipped, and then expelled ſeveral biſhops and abbots; burned the hoſpitals and temples conſecrated to God; diſturbed the eccleſiaſtics, at their ſynods, councils, or chapters; debauched ſeveral young virgins; ſeduced the married women; raviſhed the nuns, and—what was ſtill worſe—compelled the clergy to celebrate divine ſervice, notwithſtanding the interdicts pronounced by the holy ſee! He was alſo accuſed of denying the reſurrection, or at leaſt of calling it in queſtion; and, as a proof of this aſſertion, it was affirmed, that his grandfather, grandmother, and ſiſter had been burned as heretics. They next had recourſe to excommunications, the frequent uſe of which, in thoſe times of ſuperſtition, had rendered them almoſt ineffectual; a cruſade, therefore, was determined on, to reduce this rebellious ſon of the church, and the ſame indulgences were granted to thoſe who would engage in it, as had formerly been accorded to the cruſaders in Paleſtine.

At the ſame time a diſpute aroſe, ridiculous in its nature†, and only worthy of hiſtorical notice from the importance attached to it by a ſpirit of party. The cordeliers, by the rules of their order, were compelled to renounce, by a ſolemn vow, all kind of property whatever, reſerving to themſelves only the ſimple uſe of the things of this world. The full extent of this engagement was not at firſt properly underſtood, or at leaſt, if underſtood, was not attended to; and, although no diſtinction was made between a property in the articles they conſumed, and the uſe they made of thoſe articles, the brethren of the order were ſuffered to take their ſoup in peace, and without experiencing any qualms of conſcience. Thus things went on in their uſual train, ſome eating their bread as proprietors, others as ſimple uſufructuaries, exerciſing the rights of the church of Rome, in which the *property* was excluſively veſted. But certain caſuiſts having taken it into their heads to lay it down as a maxim,

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 73.

† Ibid. p. 74; Hiſt. des Ouvrag. des Scav. An. 1700. p. 72, 73; Lettres ſur le Péch. Imagin. p. 22 and ſuiv.

that this mode of life approached the neareſt to perfection, was the moſt conformable to the rules preſcribed by the goſpel, was the very life, in ſhort, which Jeſus and his apoſtles had taught and practiſed;—the other religious orders thought themſelves inſulted; both ſides grew warm in the diſpute; and, in a ſhort time, it became a queſtion in which the conſcience and future ſalvation of diſputants appeared to be deeply affected. The enemies to the new dogma reaſoned thus—It is evident that the cordeliers have a right to eat, but they cannot eat lawfully, without having a property in their food, a property which is inſeparable from the conſumption of it; thus each morſel which they eat is an infraction of the rules of their order, a violation of their vow, conſequently a perjury and a mortal ſin; every cordelier therefore is evidently out of the path of ſalvation, and a public ſinner. It is, in fact, impoſſible to live without eating and drinking; if then it be notorious that a cordelier lives, it is equally ſo that he eats and drinks, conſequently, that he habitually violates the conſtitutions of his order, and that he is habitually guilty of perjury and ſacrilege; they carried this curious mode of reaſoning ſtill farther—to ſay that a life polluted by mortal ſins was the ſame kind of life which Chriſt and his apoſtles led, was, they affirmed, a horrible blaſphemy; the cordeliers, therefore, who maintained that the life they led was the life which Chriſt had led, were impious blaſphemers. Beſides, it was mentioned in the ſcriptures, they obſerved, that our Saviour had ſome money for the ſubſiſtence of his apoſtles: it was then an eſtabliſhed article of faith that he was a proprietor: the cordeliers, therefore, who deemed that to be the caſe, were heretics*.

Nothing could be more frivolous or abſurd than this diſpute; it was nevertheleſs productive of ſerious conſequences, by the diſturbance and ſchiſms which it occaſioned in the church. John the Twenty-ſecond (who then filled the papal chair) diſliked the cordeliers; he did not thank them for their gift of a property whence he derived no emolument, and which neither added to the wealth of the holy ſee, nor increaſed the *poverty* of the *monks*; he therefore iſſued bulls, in order to render them, in ſpite of themſelves and their rules, proprietors of the food they conſumed†. Theſe bulls were publiſhed in all the ſchools; it was forbidden, under pain of being deemed a heretic, to maintain a contrary doctrine; and the pontiff burnt, without mercy, all the refractory Franciſcans who fell into his hands. The perſecuted monks applied to the emperor, who, being already at variance with the pope, did not heſitate to afford them protection, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the ſevere cenſure which had been iſſued againſt them. But, according to the cuſtom of theſe times, not content with defending the friars, he wiſhed to prove their adverſaries heretics; and pretended, "that the holy father could not, without a breach of "the catholic and chriſtian faith, ſubvert a rule ſo ſacred as that of the corde-

* Hiſt. de France, par Villaret, tom. viii. p. 92. et ſuiv. † Spicil. t. iii. p. 75.

" liers; a rule founded on the goſpel, and authoriſed by the example of Chriſt " and his apoſtles." The Ghibelines, too, ſtill more from their hatred to the pope, than from their attachment to the emperor, declared in favour of the monks, and made incurſions on the lands which had been given to the church by the counteſs Matilda—a fatal preſent, which had become an eternal ſubject of diſpute.

The pope, however, continued to fulminate his excommunications—arms, the impotency whereof was beſt proved by the ſucceſs of his enemies. He applied to the French, formed a treaty with the count of Mons, who afterwards ſucceeded to the throne, under the title of Phillip of Valois, and appointed him lieutenant-general of the holy church, for defending it againſt the Viſcomti, the moſt powerful of all the Ghibelines. The young prince accepted this dignity with joy, and ſet out for Italy, accompanied by ſeveral gentlemen, at the head of whom was his youngeſt brother Charles. He marched ſtrait to Vercelli, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the Guelfs, who, being maſters of one part of the town, were engaged in continual ſkirmiſhes with the Ghibelines, who had taken poſſeſſion of the other. Theſe laſt, not being ſufficiently ſtrong to keep the field, ſhut themſelves up within their walls, and prepared for a vigorous defence; but Philip, who had only fifteen hundred horſe, was unable to inveſt the place, ſo that proviſions and other ſuccours had a free paſſage into the town, which, of courſe, impeded the progreſs of the ſiege. A council was called; and it was reſolved, that the prince, while he waited for the reinforcements he expected, ſhould place himſelf in an advantageous ſituation, on the great road, for intercepting all the convoys. This expedient ſucceeded, and the beſieged ſoon found themſelves ſo deſtitute of every thing that was neceſſary for their defence, that they began to think of ſurrendering at diſcretion.

Maffeo, informed of their ſituation, ſent his ſon Galleazzo to their relief, with a force greatly ſuperior to that of the French. Philip, appriſed of his arrival, ſent to aſk him, whether he meant to offer him battle. He anſwered, that it was not his intention to attack any prince of France, but merely to defend his territories and relieve his friends; with that view he ſhould uſe his utmoſt efforts to introduce proviſions into the town; and that, if any attempts were made to oppoſe him, he ſhould defend himſelf with vigour. As the party was by no means equal, Galleazzo having ten times more troops than Philip, it became neceſſary to negociate. The young prince, whoſe impatience to ſignaliſe his valour, had prevented him from waiting for the re-inforcements from Gaſcony, Provence, Naples, Bologna, Vienna, and Florence, demanded a conference with Viſcomti. The Italian, who had been knighted by count Charles of Valois, accepted the propoſal, and both of them having advanced to ſome diſtance from their reſpective armies, they had a long converſation together, in which Galleazzo appears to have had the advantage. Prayers, compliments, preſents—all were employed, and ſo opportunely, that Philip, won by his profeſſions of reſpect and

attachment, abandoned his enterprise, dismissed his troops, and returned to France, without having achieved any thing either to the advantage of the sovereign pontiff, or to his own reputation or glory.

The tranquillity which the kingdom enjoyed at this period revived the project of a crusade. The king, who had bound himself by a vow to assume the cross*, during the reign of his father, Philip the Hardy, expressed a great eagerness for the expedition. But the pope—with more wisdom than his predecessors had displayed in similar circumstances—endeavoured to moderate his imprudent zeal; he represented to him that the time was unfavourable; that peace, so essential to the success of such an enterprise, was totally banished from the christian world; that all the horrors of discord were combined to desolate Germany, England, Scotland, the two Sicilies, Lombardy, Cyprus, and Armenia; that the order of knights-hospitallers, from whom the most effectual assistance might be expected, were in debt, to the amount of three hundred and sixty thousand florins; but that if, in spite of all these obstacles, he should still persevere in his intentions, he ought first to enquire into the expence of such an expedition, and the means of providing for it, without attempting impossibilities, as his predecessors had done before him. This letter made some impression on the king, though it did not prevent him from continuing his preparations.

The execution of this plan, however, was retarded by the intervention of an occurrence that caused no little confusion in the kingdom. The shepherds and other inhabitants of the country, abandoning their flocks, assembled, with no other arms than a pilgrim's staff, and gave out that they were going to Jerusalem, the relief of the Holy Land being reserved for them†. They marched in great bodies which daily encreased, by the junction of all the idlers, vagabonds and rogues that met them on the road. They took with them children of sixteen; even women were led to imitate the example, and were not ashamed to leave their husbands to follow them. They were called *pastoureaux*‡; their leaders were two profligate priests, one of whom had been deprived of his living on account of his crimes, and the other was an apostate monk of the order of St. Benedict. At first, they observed a strict discipline, marching in procession two by two, carrying a cross before them, paying their devotion at all the principal churches, and begging a subsistence in a manner corresponding to the poverty they professed. The people supplied them with great plenty of provisions, and the king himself, led away by the fanatical spirit of crusading, encouraged them with more zeal than prudence. But they soon contracted the habits of those vagabonds who had joined them, and began to commit every species of depredation and outrage. Some of them being apprehended by an order from the magistrates, the rest hastened to the prison, burst open the doors, and relea-

* Rain. An. 1319, No. 19. † Rain. Ann. 1320. No. 21, 22, 23; Spicil. t. v. p. 77. ‡ Little Shepherds.

ſed the captives. When they arrived at the capital, they forced the Chatelet, threw the provoſt of Paris, who had oppoſed their entrance, down ſtairs, and reſcued all their companions. From thence they repaired to a meadow near the abbey of St. Germain, where they drew up in order of battle, in expectation of being attacked; but, nobody appearing, they marched off quietly, and neither the king nor his miniſters took any ſtep for preventing their inſolence, or checking their rebellious proceedings.

The Jews, in particular, were the objects of their perſecution; left to the choice of death or baptiſm, they collected their moſt valuable effects, and fled before this tumultuous rabble. A conſiderable number of them having taken refuge in the royal caſtle of Verdun on the Garonne, in the dioceſe of Toulouſe, were there beſieged by the *paſtoureaux;* they defended themſelves with vigour, throwing large beams, ſtones, and *even their own children* at the enemy; the beſiegers, however, diſplayed equal reſolution, and at length ſucceeded in ſetting fire to the fortreſs. The Jews, half ſuffocated by the ſurrounding ſmoke, perceived there was no means of eſcape; and, to avoid falling into the hands of an enemy, they requeſted one of their fellow-citizens, a young man of great ſtrength, to put them all to death. The wretch accepted the fatal commiſſion; and, after he had maſſacred five hundred, he preſented himſelf to the beſiegers, with a few children whoſe lives he had ſpared, and demanded baptiſm. This requeſt however was rejected, and he inſtantly met the puniſhment that was due to his barbarity*.

From thence the *paſtoureaux* paſſed into Languedoc, and had advanced nearly as far as Carcaſſonne, when the ſeneſchal, Aymeri de Cros, publiſhed a prohibition to commit any act of violence on the Jews who belonged to the king, but this order being diſregarded, he was compelled to aſſemble troops, and adopt more vigorous and deciſive meaſures. A great number of theſe vagabonds were apprehended and hanged in different places, particularly at Toulouſe, where they had maſſacred all the Jews in the city; the reſt marched towards Avignon, but, finding the gates of the town ſhut againſt them, they were obliged to retreat, when many of them were killed; others were taken and executed, and the whole body of them now meeting with a general reſiſtance, ſpeedily diſperſed and retired to their reſpective habitations.

A. D. 1321.] The infidels, informed of this occurrence, imagined that the rage for cruſading was revived in France†; and, in order to avert the danger with which they conceived themſelves to be threatened, they had recourſe to a ſtratagem the moſt treacherous and baſe. Knowing that the Jews, from the perſecution they had continually experienced in France, entertained an implacable hatred againſt the nation; they applied to them to poiſon all the wells and ſprings in the kingdom, which would of courſe effect the deſtruction of

* Villaret. tom. viii. p. 101, & ſuiv. † Spicil. tom. iii. p. 78, 79.

thouſands, and thereby prevent the king's intended expedition into Paleſtine. The king of Grenada, urged on by the mahometans of Aſia, and excited, moreover, by his own reſentment againſt the chriſtians, whoſe victorious armies had laid waſte his dominions, was the principal contriver of this deteſtable plot. The Jews being cloſely watched, were afraid to undertake a commiſſion ſo pregnant with danger, but they promiſed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevail on the lepers, who were then very numerous in France, to execute the plan. Theſe unfortunate people, whoſe malady was contagious, bore with impatience the humiliating degradation of being conſidered not only as outcaſts of ſociety, but as objects of public execration and horror. They were eaſily perſuaded that all who ſhould drink of the poiſoned waters, and eſcape with life, would be afflicted with the leproſy; by which means the diſorder would become general, and no longer be regarded as ignominious. This flattering hope, ſo natural to man, of ſeeing others reduced to the ſame wretched ſituation with themſelves; and the farther inducement of a bribe, proved two powerful to be reſiſted; all the waters in Upper-Guienne were poiſoned, and, in a ſhort time, the country was almoſt depopulated. But they did not conduct the matter with ſuch ſecrecy as to eſcape ſuſpicion; their motions were watched; and ſeveral of them being detected, avowed the crime, and were burned alive.

In Poitou, a ſimilar attempt was made; but it was fortunately diſcovered ere the evil had ſpread, and an adequate remedy was applied. The authors of it were apprehended, and, full proof of their guilt being obtained, the king publiſhed an edict, commanding ſuch of the lepers as ſhould be convicted to be burned alive, and the reſt to be impriſoned for life; and this edict was rigorouſly enforced. As to the Jews, in many places they were burned without any diſcrimination; at Chinon, it is ſaid, a large fire was made in a deep hole dug for the purpoſe, and one hundred and ſixty of them were caſt into the flames. Several, we are told, jumped into the fire of their own accord, and exhibited every ſymptom of joy*; the women, too, followed the example, and devoted their children to deſtruction, through fear that the chriſtians might ſeize them, and convert them to chriſtianity. At Paris, the guilty were puniſhed with equal ſeverity; and the innocent were baniſhed the kingdom; the king, however, was careful to detain the moſt opulent Jews till he had procured an account of the debts that were due to them, which he appropriated to his own uſe, together with all their effects, which were eſtimated at one hundred and fifty thouſand livres—a conſiderable ſum in thoſe times. At Vitry, forty of this wretched people, being condemned to the flames, determined to anticipate the executioner. For this purpoſe they ſelected one of the oldeſt among them, a man of high repute and great ſanctity; he refuſed, however, to undertake the office, unleſs

* Spicil. tom. iii. p. 78, 79; Villaret. t. viii. p. 109. et ſuiv.

a young man was associated with him. This being immediately done, the two executioners proceeded to massacre their companions; when they had accomplished their sanguinary task, a dispute arose between them, as to which should die the first; at length the young man yielded, and dispatched the old one. Left to himself, and alarmed at the prospect of death, and tying the robes of his dead countrymen together, he sought to escape by the window; but he fell in the attempt, and having broken his leg, was seized and burned.

Though the fanaticism of Philip had led him to connive, in a great measure, at the disorders committed by the *pastoureaux*, he generally enforced a due obedience to the laws, and administered justice with strictness and impartiality. Of this, a striking instance is recorded in history*. A rich citizen was confined in the prison of the Chatelet, on a charge of murder, under the care of Henry Capetal, provost of Paris. The crime was so notorious, and the proofs were so clear, that the culprit was unanimously convicted, and sentenced to die. But the provost, tempted by the offer of a considerable sum of money, consented to save his life; and, ordering a *poor* prisoner, who was confined on a false accusation to be hanged in his stead, suffered the *rich* criminal to escape. This iniquitous transaction being communicated to the king, he appointed commissaries to try the magistrate, and the fact being ascertained, very properly ordered him to be suspended on the same gibbet.

A. D. 1322.] The king was employed, during the greater part of his reign, in the adoption of salutary regulations, as well for checking abuses in the administration of justice, as for facilitating the internal traffic of the kingdom, by establishing an uniformity of coin, weights, and measures. But this last design, laudable as it was, had nearly excited a revolt†. A report was industriously propagated, that, in order to indemnify those who enjoyed the privilege of coining, he had resolved to impose a tax upon all his subjects, amounting to one-fifth of their property. Associations were immediately formed in various parts of the kingdom: and the nobility and clergy joined the people in their efforts to resist an impost, both onerous and unprecedented. Philip, therefore, was obliged to give up the scheme; but, such was the misery occasioned by the debasement of the coin, that he resolved, at all events, to deprive the barons and prelates of that dangerous privilege. This measure he enforced with equal spirit and success, in Chartres, Anjou, Clermont, and the Bourbonnois, and there is little doubt but he would finally have accomplished the total abolition of private mints, had he not been seized with a violent fever, accompanied by a dysentery, which put an end to his life. He expired at Long-Champ, on the third of January, 1322, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the sixth of his reign. His body was conveyed to Saint-Denis; his heart, to the convent of the cordeliers, at Paris; and his entrails to the Jacobins. "Those good fathers,"

* Spicil. tom. iii. p. 76. † Ibid. p. 79.

ſays Mezeray*, "had, from the time of Saint Lewis, claimed a right of having "a part of the entrails of their ſovereigns—leſs for the honour of the circum- "ſtance, than for the emoluments with which it was generally accompanied."

Philip was a juſt and virtuous prince, whoſe only fault appears to have been an exorbitant love of money, which ſometimes led him to the adoption of meaſures, that were inconſiſtent with the general tenour of his conduct. He was pious and devout; ever faithful to his word; vigilant, active, and reſolute in all his undertakings; but in manners mild, and poſſeſſed of a capacious and cultivated mind. Attached to the ſtudy of the belles-lettres, he patroniſed all who had the ſame propenſity. Million, and Bernard Marquis, two celebrated poets, the firſt of Poitou, the laſt of Provence, were, in conſideration of their talents, honoured with his friendſhip, and rewarded with places in his houſhold.

Philip had, by his queen Jane, heireſs of Burgundy, one ſon, named Lewis, who died in his infancy; and four daughters—Jane, married to Eudes the Fourth, duke of Burgundy; Margaret, wife to Lewis, count of Flanders; Iſabella, who was firſt married to Guigue, dauphin of Viennois, and afterwards to John, baron of Faucongney, in Franche-Comte; and Blanche, who took the veil in the monaſtery of Long-Champ.

It was under this reign that the conſtitutions of pope Clement the Fifth, vulgarly called *Clementines*, were publiſhed; that Thouloufe became a metropolis; and that the biſhoprics of Montauban, Saint Papoul, Rieux, Lombez, Lavaur, Mirepoix, Alet, Saint-Pons, Caſtres, Condom, Sarlet, Tulle, Saint Flour, Vabres, Lucon, and Maillezais, were erected; the laſt was afterwards transferred to Rochelle.

It was cuſtomary, at this period, to admit children of eight years to take the veil†; but they neither made the uſual vows, nor received the ſolemn benediction; if they afterwards left the convent, and married, which they were at liberty to do, they were obliged to obtain letters of *legitimation* for their children, in order to render them capable of inheriting; whence it would appear, that, without ſuch letters, they would have been deemed baſtards. "The "caſe was very different"—ſays the preſident Henault—"two hundred years "before, when Hugh, abbot of Cluni, ſupported by the authority of the "church, forbade the reception of any girl under twenty, at the abbey of "Marcigny, which he had founded."

In theſe times, nuns were required to learn Latin, which had ceaſed to be the vulgar tongue; this cuſtom was obſerved till the latter end of the fourteenth century.

Philip, by a law, excluded the clergy from ſitting in parliament, in order that they might have more leiſure to attend to the duties of their profeſſion. He revoked all the grants of crown-lands which had been made during the reigns of his father, Philip the Fair, and his brother, Lewis Hutin; and, from that time, the domains of the crown became *inalienable*.

* Hiſt. de Fr. t. ii. p. 365. † Abreg. Chron. de l'Hiſt. de Fr.

CHARLES THE FIFTH,

SURNAMED THE FAIR.

A. D. 1322.] PHILIP leaving no male iſſue, his brother Charles, count of la Marche, ſucceeded to the throne without oppoſition*; and was crowned at Rheims, by Robert de Courtenai, archbiſhop of that dioceſe†. His firſt care was to procure a divorce from his wife, Blanche of Burgundy, who, for adultery, was ſtill confined in the priſon of Chateau-Gaillard. He had recourſe to the uſual convenient pretext of conſanguinity, which, in this inſtance, however, was ſtrengthened by a farther impediment, ariſing from the circumſtance of Maude of Artois, mother to Blanche, having ſtood godmother to Charles. A diſpenſation from pope Clement the Fifth was indeed produced, in oppoſition to this plea, but the attorney-general undertook to prove its invalidity, from the inſertion of ſeveral falſe facts, which had tended to impoſe on the ſovereign pontiff. The court of Rome being inclined to gratify his inclinations, readily admitted the ſtrength of his reaſons; the divorce was accordingly pronounced, and Charles, ſoon after, gave his hand to Mary of Luxembourg, daughter to the emperor, Henry the Seventh, and ſiſter to John, duke of Bohemia.

The pope was induced to grant this indulgence to the king, from a promiſe which he made to undertake a cruſade for the relief of the Cyprian and Armenian chriſtians, who were cruelly haraſſed by the infidels. But though conſiderable preparations were made for this expedition, to command which Amalric, viſcount of Narbonne, was releaſed from priſon, while Berenger Blanc was appointed admiral of the fleet, it never took place; Charles finding the immediate concerns of his kingdom ſufficient to employ his attention, and to occupy his forces. The Lombards and Italians, to whom the adminiſtration of the finances were principally entruſted, being accuſed of malverſation and oppreſſion, were ſtripped of their property, and ſent back in a ſtate of poverty to their native country. Gerard Laguette, a native of Clermont in Auvergne, a man of low extraction, formerly maſter of the mint, now receiver-

* Rain. Ann. 1322. No. 23. † Baluz. tom. i. p. 440.

general of the revenues of the crown, died on the rack, to which he had been applied in order to extort from him a confeſſion of the hidden treaſures which he was *ſuſpected* of poſſeſſing*. His body was afterwards dragged through the ſtreets, and ſuſpended on a gibbet at Paris.

A. D. 1323.] Appriſed of the tyrannical proceedings of the nobility, who ſeized with impunity the property of their neighbours, and exerted the moſt deſpotic ſway over the country in which they reſided, Charles ſent commiſſioners of approved integrity and known talents into the different provinces, as well to repreſs their licentious proceedings, as to check the abuſes ariſing from the venality and ignorance of the provincial judges. The commiſſioners had orders to ſhew no favour to any one, but to adminiſter juſtice with the utmoſt rigour and the ſtricteſt impartiality; having recourſe leſs to the exaction of pecuniary fines than to the infliction of corporeal puniſhments. A gentleman of note, named Jourdain, lord of Lille, in Aquitaine, the moſt conſiderable of theſe petty tyrants, the ſcourge of the country in which he lived†, was cited to appear before the king, to anſwer to eighteen different charges that had been exhibited againſt him, the leaſt of which merited death. The criminal, knowing the king's ſeverity, made application to the pope, to whom he was related by marriage; and, the interceſſion of John proving ſucceſsful, he obtained a pardon for all his crimes: but, rather encouraged than diſmayed by his recent eſcape, he ſoon committed freſh enormities, and gave way to every ſpecies of oppreſſion and licentiouſneſs—raviſhed the virgins, putting to death all ſuch as oppoſed his iniquitous proceedings, declaring himſelf the protector of thieves and public depredators, and openly reſiſting the royal authority. Cited a ſecond time to appear in the king's court, he had the temerity to ſlay the uſher of the council, who brought him the ſummons; and, even after this act of violence, he preſumed to appear, accompanied by the principal nobility of the province. He relied on the dignity of his birth, and the influence of the pope, who again interfered to reſcue him from the hands of juſtice; but the viſcount de Lomagne, and the lord of Albret, his principal accuſers, having eſtabliſhed the facts laid to his charge, he was committed to the priſon of the Chatelet, and, being tried and condemned by the *Mayors of the Palace*‡, was tied to a horſe's tail, dragged to the place of execution, and there hanged.

Charles was equally ſevere in aſſerting his authority over the moſt powerful vaſſals of the crown. We have before obſerved, that Philip the Long, when he married his daughter Margaret to Lewis, ſon to the count of Nevers, inſiſted that the young prince ſhould ſucceed to the county of Flanders, even ſhould his father die before his grandfather. The event juſtified the precaution, as the old count ſurvived his eldeſt ſon two months. On his death, Robert de Caſſel, his youngeſt ſon, laid claim to the ſucceſſion, and, aſſiſted by the count of Namur,

* Le Gendre, Hiſt. de Fr. t. ii. p. 149. † Idem, Ibid. ‡ Villaret, t. viii, p. 133.

took poſſeſſion of ſeveral forts. He founded his pretenſions on proximity of blood, being ſon to the laſt proprietor, whereas Lewis was only his grandſon. The king took upon himſelf the deciſion of the affair, and forbade the rival claimants to proceed till he ſhould have pronounced ſentence. The Flemings, being ſtrongly attached to Lewis, ſent a deputation to Charles to requeſt he would confirm the laſt treaty, and to aſſure him, that they would convert the country into an independent republic, if he attempted to give them any other ſovereign. The young prince, flattered by theſe profeſſions of attachment, entertained no doubt of gaining his cauſe, and, without waiting for the king's conſent, received the homage of his new ſubjects. Charles, enraged at this act of diſobedience to his mandates, arreſted Lewis, and confined him for ſome days in the priſon of the Louvre; but, appeaſed by his ſubmiſſions, he reſtored him to liberty, gave a ſentence in his favour, received his homage, and exacted an oath that he would never require the ceſſion of Orchies, Lille, and Douay.

Lewis ſoon loſt the affection of his ſubjects, by the great confidence which he imprudently repoſed in the abbot of Vezelay, ſon to the famous chancellor of France, Peter Flotte, who was killed at the battle of Courtray. The Flemings compelled him to diſmiſs his favourite; and his condeſcenſion, in this inſtance, encreaſed their audacity; having impoſed a tax, which, though onerous in itſelf, was rendered more ſo by the extortions of the collectors, the inhabitants of Bruges took up arms, and maſſacred all thoſe tyrannical miniſters of the court. Robert de Caſſel, being ſuſpected of giving birth to this inſurrection, his death was reſolved on, and the inhabitants of Warneton, where he reſided, received orders to kill him. But, having received intelligence of their deſign from the count's chancellor, he had time to effect his eſcape. Lewis, enraged at loſing his prey, ordered the worthy magiſtrate to be apprehended; when brought into his preſence, he was aſked by the count, why he had betrayed his ſecret?—"To "preſerve your honour," replied the intrepid miniſter. Lewis, who had neither ſufficient ſenſe to perceive the dignity of the reply, nor ſufficient merit to appreciate and reward the ſentiments that influenced the conduct of his chancellor, threw him into priſon.—This incident occurred in 1325.

Unimproved by experience, the count of Flanders continued to impoſe new taxes on his ſubjects, who reſiſted them by the ſame means as before. They again flew to arms; and, in a pitched battle, Lewis was defeated, taken priſoner, and confined in the priſon of Bruges. Robert de Caſſel was then recalled, and the whole country, except Ghent, acknowledged him for their prince. The king now interfered, and exhorted the Flemings to reſtore their count to liberty; but they rejected his ſolicitations, and refuſed to ſubmit; but, alarmed at his formidable preparations for attacking them, they were at length induced to accept ſuch conditions as he choſe to dictate. After releaſing Lewis, and re-eſtabliſhing him in his former dignity, they were compelled to diſmantle Ypres and Bruges, and to demoliſh all the other fortifications which had been recent-

ly erected; to renounce, under pain of death, all leagues and associations for opposing the authority of their prince; to pay four thousand livres tournois, for founding a convent of Carthusians in the district of Courtray; and to repair all the damages done to the churches during the commotions. The inhabitants of Bruges and Ypres promised to send a hundred pilgrims to Saint-James, in Gallicia; a hundred to Notre-Dame de Vanvert, and a hundred to Notre-Dame de Roque Madour, or else to pay the king ten thousand livres tournois, in case he should incline to dispense with this engagement*.

A. D. 1324.] Charles, about the same time, made his public entry into Toulouse, accompanied by his queen, his brother-in-law, the king of Bohemia, his uncle Charles of Valois, and Sancho king of Majorca. On his return to Paris, the queen, who was pregnant, oppressed by the fatigue of the journey, was brought to bed before her time at Issoudun, of a son, who only lived long enough to receive baptism; and his mother survived him but a few days. The king, before the expiration of the year, having procured a dispensation of the pope, married Jane, daughter to Lewis, count of Evreux, his paternal uncle; this princess was crowned with great pomp, in the chapel adjoining the palace.

The attention of Charles was now called to an object of less magnitude, from its immediate consequence, than from its probable effects. A nobleman of Agenois, named Montpesat, had erected a fortress on a spot, which, he pretended, belonged to the king of England, as duke of Aquitaine, but which the king's officers maintained to be situated on the domains of the crown. The dispute was carried before the parliament, who decided in favour of the French monarch. Montpesat, enraged at a sentence which he believed to be unjust, had recourse to the seneschal of Guienne, who supplied him with troops, and, laying siege to the fortress, which had been taken from him in consequence of the decision of the parliament, carried it by assault, put the garrison to the sword, and hanged some of the officers.

Charles, instead of making reprisals, applied for reparation to the king of England. Edward promised him satisfaction, and even dispatched his brother, Edmond earl of Kent, to Paris, with full power to investigate the fact, and to decide on the nature of the reparation to be made to the French monarch; who required that the fortress which had occasioned the dispute should be surrendered to him, and that Montpesat, with the seneschal of Guienne, and all their accomplices, should be delivered into his hands, in order to be punished according to the magnitude of their offence. The earl of Kent, after a long negociation, expressed his determination to comply with the demands of Charles; and desired some one might be sent to receive, in the king's name, the fortress and the prisoners. John d'Arablay was accordingly appointed to accompany him, but, when they arrived on the frontiers of Gascony, the earl dismissed him with derision, threatening to kill him if he dared to advance any farther†.

* P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 275. † Villaret, tom. viii. p. 148.

Charles, to revenge this inſult, ſent an army into Gaſcony, under the command of his uncle, the count of Valois, who was attended by his two ſons, Philip and Charles, and by his ſon-in-law, Robert of Artois. His firſt attempt was on Agen, which immediately ſurrendered, and the other towns of the province followed the example of the capital. He then marched againſt Reole, whither the earl of Kent had retired; a party of volunteers, advancing to the gates of the city, dared the Engliſh to come forth and give them battle; the challenge was accepted, and they paid dear for their preſumption; oppreſſed by ſuperior numbers they were completely routed, and the lord of Florentin, with ſeveral brave knights, was left on the field. The count of Valois, appriſed of this diſaſter, haſtened to remedy it; but, before he arrived at the ſcene of action, the Engliſh had re-entered the town; which, however, was ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating. The fortreſs which occaſioned the war, was, in the mean time, taken and demoliſhed; and all Guienne, except Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Saint Sever, was reduced by the French arms. In this ſituation, the earl of Kent ſued for a truce, which was accordingly granted till the octave of Eaſter, 1325. It was ſtipulated, that he ſhould return to England, and engage his brother to repair to the court of France, to do homage to Charles, (a ceremony which he had hitherto omitted) as well as to prefer his claims, and exhibit his complaints before the peers; but, in caſe Edward refuſed to appear, the earl of Kent engaged to return and ſurrender himſelf a priſoner to the king. Four Engliſh knights were left as hoſtages, who conſented to loſe their heads, ſhould he fail to perform his engagements.

A. D. 1325.] The king of England ſent the biſhops of Norwich and Wincheſter, the earl of Richmond, and Sir Henry Beaumont to Paris, in order to accommodate the difference between the two nations. The firſt thing they ſettled was a prolongation of the truce till the twenty-fifth of July; but, finding their negociations of little avail, they diſpatched the biſhop of Wincheſter to London, to intimate to Edward that his queen Iſabella was the moſt likely perſon to procure favourable conditions from her brother Charles. The queen willingly accepted the commiſſion; not, however, with any view to promote the intereſt of her huſband, but to exhibit complaints againſt him, and to forward her own flagitious ſchemes. Her enmity had been chiefly provoked by a young man of the name of Spenſer, deſcended from a noble family, who now enjoyed that portion of her huſband's confidence and favour, which ſhe thought only due to herſelf. Charles, moved by her affected ſorrow, vowed to aſſiſt her in obtaining vengeance for the injuries ſhe complained of; but having convened an aſſembly of the nobles, they all diſſuaded him from engaging in a war with England, merely on his ſiſter's account; though they treacherouſly adviſed him to grant her *ſecret* aſſiſtance, by permitting her to levy troops in the kingdom, and by ſupplying her with money for that purpoſe*—a

* Villaret, tom. viii. p. 160.

mean and pitiful conduct, which, viewed either in a moral or political light, muſt appear equally deſerving of reprobation. This advice, being conformable to the views and wiſhes of the monarch, was followed; and the queen was informed of her brother's determination by Robert of Artois.

Iſabella, contented with theſe aſſurances of protection, withdrew her oppoſition, and a peace was immediately concluded with the Engliſh plenipotentiaries*. It was agreed, that the duchy of Guienne ſhould be ſurrendered to the French monarch, who might appoint a ſeneſchal to govern it in his name, but without the power of changing the captains or commanders of fortified places; that in the mean time, to prevent any interruption in the exerciſe of his authority, all the troops, belonging to either monarch ſhould quit the country; that Edward ſhould repair to Beauvais, on the feſtival of the Aſſumption, to pay homage to Charles, who ſhould then, through friendſhip to the queen his ſiſter, reſtore all the places which had been ſurrendered to him in Guienne; that Agenois, however, and the other territories which had been reduced, ſhould not be compriſed in this reſtitution, but that the king of England ſhould be at liberty to prefer his demands on this ſubject before the court of peers; that if the court decreed he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of that country, he ſhould then diſcharge all the expences of the war; but if, on the contrary, they ſhould declare his pretenſions to be unfounded, no demand of that ſort ſhould be made on him; and, finally, that after the publication of the peace, the priſoners, on either ſide, ſhould be releaſed. This treaty, which is dated the thirty-firſt of May, 1325, was ratified by Edward.

The article by which Edward obliged himſelf to repair to France, for the purpoſe of performing homage, could not but prove highly diſagreeable to his favourite, the younger Spenſer, who was afraid to remain in the kingdom, during the abſence of his ſovereign, as he knew his enemies, who were numerous, would not fail to take advantage of an opportunity ſo favourable for effecting his deſtruction; and he was equally averſe from accompanying Edward to France, where the queen, (of whoſe hatred to his family he was firmly convinced, though of late ſhe had been ſtudious to conceal it, by a diſplay of the moſt conſummate hypocriſy) was poſſeſſed of ſufficient power to accompliſh any project, which the native cruelty of her mind might ſuggeſt, and the inveteracy of her revenge induce her to execute. Urged by theſe powerful motives, he had ever ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the king's departure from his dominions; and his oppoſition to that meaſure, ſo pregnant with danger to himſelf, was now more violent than ever. But a parliament which aſſembled at London, on the twenty-fifth of June, having adviſed Edward to comply with the terms of the treaty, that prince made preparations for his journey, and actually ſet out for Dover; when he arrived, however, at the abbey of Langton, in the vicinity of Dover,

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 237.

a ſickneſs, either real or pretended, impeded his progreſs, and impelled him to ſend a meſſenger to Charles, to acquaint him with his indiſpoſition, and to deſire that a more diſtant day might be appointed for the performance of the intended ceremony*.

At this criſis Edward received a new and unexpected overture from the court of France—probably, at the inſtigation of Iſabella—purporting, that if he would reſign his continental dominions to his ſon—now thirteen years of age—Charles would accept the homage of the prince, and grant him the inveſtiture of Guienne and Ponthieu. This expedient, which ſeemed ſo happily to remove all difficulties, was eagerly embraced, through the perſuaſions of Spenſer, and executed with a rapidity almoſt incredible. The deed of conveyance being ſigned by the king of England at Dover, on the tenth of September, the prince embarked for the continent on the twelfth, and performed homage to Charles, at Beauvais, on the fourteenth of the ſame month†. Hence it is evident, that neither the king nor his favourite was aware of the inſidious ſnare concealed beneath this project; and, indeed, the whole of this myſterious tranſaction was managed with ſuch extreme caution, that a prince of much greater ſagacity than Edward poſſeſſed, might have been equally impoſed upon.

It appears, that when Iſabella arrived in France, ſhe there found a great number of Engliſh fugitives, who had been either baniſhed their country for treaſonable practices, or had ſubmitted to a voluntary exile, in order to avoid the puniſhment that was due to their crimes. Theſe were the ſhattered remains of the Lancaſtrian faction; and their common hatred of Spenſer proving a ſtrong recommendation to the favour of Iſabella, they were admitted to the friendſhip of that princeſs, who maintained a ſecret correſpondence with them. Among the reſt was young Roger Mortimer, one of the factious barons who had been reduced to ſubmiſſion by Edward; and had been condemned for high treaſon, but had received a pardon on condition of ſubmitting to perpetual impriſonment in the tower, from whence, however, he was ſo lucky as to effect his eſcape into France. This nobleman being one of the moſt conſiderable perſons now remaining of the party, and being particularly diſtinguiſhed for the violence of his animoſity againſt Spenſer, was received by the queen with peculiar marks of attention. The graces of his perſon, and the elegance of his addreſs, ſoon made an impreſſion upon her heart; he became her ſole counſellor; ſhe adopted no meaſure, however trivial, without his previous advice or approbation, and the gradation from an intimacy ſo cloſe and unreſerved to a criminal entercourſe, being eaſy and natural to a mind unbiaſſed by the reſtraints of virtue, or unawed by the rules of decorum, he at laſt prevailed on her to yield to the dictates of paſſion, and ſacrifice to its gratification

* Rymer, vol. iv. p. 163. † Du Tillet, Receuil des Traites, Rymer, vol. iv. p. 165, 166: Walſing, p. 121; T. de la More, p. 592; Mon. Malms. p. 239.

her honour and conjugal fidelity*. In conſequence of her crime and its effects, ſhe willingly entered into the treacherous plans of her paramour, and, having gotten the prince of Wales, the heir to the throne, into her poſſeſſion, ſhe reſolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. When Edward, therefore, on the concluſion of peace, required her to return, the purpoſe of her journey being effected, ſhe peremptorily refuſed to comply with his requeſt; declaring that ſhe would never ſet foot in England, till Spenſer was baniſhed not only from the court, but the kingdom†.

Mezeray pretends that as ſoon as Charles diſcovered the criminal connection which ſubſiſted between his ſiſter and Mortimer, he ſhewed the ſtrongeſt marks of reſentment to the former, treating her with great coolneſs, ſeldom ſeeing her, and ſcarcely ever exchanging a word with her. This, however, reſts ſolely on his own teſtimony, and the aſſertion is too groſs to be credited; ſince he is compelled to acknowledge, that, notwithſtanding Charles's diſapprobation of Iſabella's irregularities, he permited her to remain in France as long as ſhe pleaſed, and promiſed that, during her reſidence there, ſhe ſhould want for nothing; his previous conduct too, is alone ſufficient to prove that if not the open accomplice, he was, at leaſt, the ſecret encourager of her nefarious practices. When the queen's determination was made known to her huſband, he informed her brother, that ſo far from her having juſt ground of complaints againſt Spenſer, he could juſtify the conduct of his favourite by Iſabella's own teſtimony, ſhe having written ſeveral letters to that nobleman, ſince her departure from England, replete with profeſſions of confidence and eſteem—to ſuch a height had this artful and malicious princeſs carried her diſſimulation. Edward farther obſerved, that he would never ſuffer Spenſer, nor any other ſubject, to ſhow the ſmalleſt diſreſpect to the partner of his throne. The juſtice of theſe remonſtrances, however, had no weight with the queen; and the conſternation of Edward and his favourite was ſoon after greatly augmented by the intelligence brought them from the court of France, by the biſhop of Exeter. That prelate, who was equally diſtinguiſhed for his wiſdom and loyalty, had been ſent by the king of England, as guardian and counſellor to the prince of Wales; and having obſerved that the court of Iſabella was daily filled with the fugitive partiſans of the Lancaſtrian faction, and having diſcovered the criminal nature of her connection with Mortimer, who now lived in the moſt declared intimacy with her, he quitted Paris in diſguiſe, and haſtened home to impart theſe important particulars to his injured ſovereign‡.

Edward, alarmed at the diſcovery, reiterated his orders to the queen and prince to return without delay; and alſo wrote to Charles requeſting he would haſten their departure. He farther ſummoned a council of his prelates and nobles, which met at Weſtminſter on the tenth of November, and having aſked

* T. de la More, p. 568; Adam Muremuth, p. 65. † Walſing. p. 122; Mon. Malms. p. 239.
‡ Idem. p. 240.

their advice, the biſhops all agreed to write, themſelves, to the queen, to deſire ſhe would immediately return with the prince*. But theſe importunities, as may eaſily be conceived, were treated with contempt; Iſabella had advanced too far in infamy to think of retreating:- having injured the honour of her huſband, ſhe determined to effect the depoſition of her ſovereign.

Hoſtilities, in the mean time, commenced between France and England; Edward deeming the countenance ſhowed by Charles to his ſiſter an infraction of the peace, directed his officers to ſeize all the French ſhips that fell in their way†. Twenty veſſels were accordingly ſeized by the Engliſh in the ports of Normandy; Xaintes was taken by aſſault, and Charles found it neceſſary to ſend an army into Guienne, where the flames of war began to rage with more than uſual fury. In order to encreaſe the animoſity of the people, a report was purpoſely ſpread that Edward had maſſacred all the French who were in England, and ſeized their effects; and, under this pretext, Charles ordered all the Engliſh, reſident in France, to be arreſted and thrown into priſon, and their property to be ſequeſtered. Theſe orders were vigorouſly executed the ſame day, (the day after the Aſſumption) and at the ſame hour, throughout the kingdom; and though, when the report was proved to be falſe, the king was obliged to releaſe his priſoners, yet he took care to keep their property—a circumſtance, ſays Villaret, which excited the indignation of all honeſt men. Indeed the murmurs on this account were general; and it was openly aſſerted, that Charles and his miniſters were rather actuated by motives of avarice, than by zeal for the glory of the throne‡.

A. D. 1326.] Edward and his miniſters were ſtill urgent in their ſolicitations to the king to withdraw his protection from Iſabella; but, though callous to their entreaties, he was moved by their bribes, and the gold which they laviſhed on him and his council‖, at length effected what juſtice and reaſon proved inadequate to enforce. Charles forbade his ſubjects, under pain of baniſhment, to aſſiſt the queen; ſtill, however, he neglected to urge her departure from the kingdom, till a letter from the pope, (produced, alſo, if the hiſtorian we laſt quoted may be credited, by Engliſh gold) threatening him with all the cenſures of the church, by alarming his fears, compelled him to the adoption of that meaſure.

Iſabella was reduced to the neceſſity of making application for aſſiſtance to ſome other power; in this emergency ſhe had recourſe to William, count of Hainault and Holland, who ſoon concluded a treaty with her, by which he engaged to ſupply her with a fleet and a ſmall body of troops, to enable her to make a deſcent upon England; and, in return for this favour, ſhe affianced the prince of Wales, who was too young to foreſee the conſequences of ſo imprudent an alliance, to Philippa, the count's ſecond daughter. Having collected a force of nearly three thouſand men, ſhe landed at Orewell Haven, in Suffolk, on the

* Rymer, vol. iv. p. 180, 181, 182; T. de la More, p. 598; Adam Muremuth, p. 65. Mon. Malmſ. p. 242, 243. † Villaret, t. viii. p. 167. ‡ Idem. p. 168. ‖ Froiſſard, fol. 3. tom. i.

twenty-fourth of September*, and ſoon found herſelf at the head of a formidable army. The forces of the royaliſts were too weak to oppoſe her progreſs; the two Spenſers were ſoon taken, and executed without any previous trial; and the unfortunate king himſelf, after the indignity of a formal depoſition, and a ſhort confinement, was barbarouſly murdered, in Berkley-caſtle, by the orders of his laſcivious conſort, and her infamous paramour†.

A. D. 1327.] Charles, on the acceſſion of Edward the Third to the throne of England, ſummoned that monarch to do homage for his continental territories; but the unſettled ſtate of his kingdom was pleaded and accepted as an excuſe for delaying the ceremony; and commiſſioners were immediately appointed for ſettling the diſputes between the two nations. A peace was accordingly concluded on the following terms—that all the places taken, by either party, in the courſe of the war, ſhould be reſtored; that the king of England ſhould pay the king of France fifty thouſand pounds ſterling‡, to defray the expences of the war; and that a general amneſty ſhould be paſſed.

A. D. 1328.] Charles died ſoon after the concluſion of this peace, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign. He was a prince neither diſtinguiſhed for any great virtues, nor remarkable vices; avarice was his chief defect, but, where that did not lead him to acts of oppreſſion, he was careful to enforce a due obſervance of order, and an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. An impulſe of ambition had urged him to profit by the troubles in Germany, to depoſe Lewis of Bavaria, and transfer the imperial diadem to his own brows; but the pope was unable to afford the aſſiſtance he had promiſed, and Charles, duped by the German princes, failed in his enterpriſe.

Charles had three wives; Blanche, of Burgundy; Mary, of Luxembourg; and Jane, of Evreux. By the firſt, he had a ſon and daughter, who both died in their infancy. The ſecond gave birth to a prince who lived but a few hours. By the third, he had two daughters, Jane, who died when a year old, and, Mary, who was cut off in the prime of her youth. At his death the queen was far advanced in her pregnancy; for which reaſon, as ſoon as he was convinced of the impoſſibility of his recovery, he ſent for the principal nobles of his court, and told them, that if the queen ſhould bring forth a prince, he had no doubt but that they would chearfully acknowledge him for their ſovereign; but if ſhe brought forth a princeſs, it would then reſt with the chief barons of France to decide on whom the crown would devolve; but that, in the interim, he appointed Philip of Valois regent of the kingdom.

Charles the Fair was the laſt of the immediate deſcendants of Hugh Capet, who had ſwayed, for near three centuries and a half, the ſceptre of France, which was now transferred to the Houſe of Valois.

* Walſing. p. 123; Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 336. † F. de la More, p. 603; Walſing. p. 127.
‡ Villaret.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TILL THE DEATH OF

LOUIS SIXTEENTH.

FROM THE FRENCH OF

VELLY, VILLARET, GARNIER, MEZERAY, DANIEL,

AND OTHER EMINENT HISTORIANS;

WITH

NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY;

BY

JOHN GIFFORD, Esq.

AND,

CONTINUED FROM THE ABOVE PERIOD,

UNTIL

THE CONCLUSION OF THE PRESENT WAR,

BY

A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

VOL. II.

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1797.



PHILIP THE SIXTH,

SURNAMED THE FORTUNATE.

A. D. 1328.] WE have ſeen the French monarchy, founded by Clovis, extend its limits by the conqueſts of his ſons; comprehending two thirds of Europe, during the ſplendid reign of Charlemagne; its luſtre diminiſhed under the feeble deſcendants of Lewis the Gentle; aſſuming a new form from the vigorous policy of Hugh Capet; reſtored to its former ſplendor under Philip-Auguſtus; become an object of envy to its neighbours from the flouriſhing ſtate to which it attained beneath the benignant influence of Saint Lewis; and finally enlarged by the fourth and fifth Philips. Under ſucceeding monarchs, the picture we have to exhibit will be ſtill more varied, marked with ſtronger features, the ſhade more gloomy, the light more glaring. We ſhall ſee the kingdom alternately elevated and depreſſed; riſing from the brink of deſtruction to the ſummit of ſplendor.

Charles the Fair had, as we have before obſerved, on his death-bed, nominated Philip of Valois to the regency, in the preſence of ſeveral noblemen who were then at court*. It is not known what anſwer they made to the king on this occaſion, but certain it is, that, ſoon after his death, the principal nobility aſſembled in order to deliberate on the matter. The regency was juſtly conſidered as a ſtep towards the regal dignity; ſince whoever obtained it, might, from having the whole force of the kingdom at his diſpoſal, eaſily procure himſelf to be proclaimed king, in caſe the queen ſhould give birth to a daughter; great precautions therefore were deemed neceſſary in making this important choice, and great intereſt was made to become the object of it. Two princes laid claim to the regency—Edward the Third, king of England, eldeſt ſon of Iſabella of France, who was ſiſter to the three laſt monarchs;—and Philip of Valois, ſon to Charles of France, their paternal uncle.—Edward ſent ambaſſadors to Paris to enforce his claim; and theſe pleaded his cauſe *be-*

* Spicil. tom. iii. p. 87.

*fore the court of peers, and before all the barons of the realm**. They were prodigal of gold and promiſes, and employed all the arts of ſeduction to accompliſh their purpoſe, but in vain; the barons, convinced of the validity of Philip's pretenſions, confirmed the choice of their late monarch, and promoted that prince to the regency. Indeed, the claim of Edward was too frivolous to admit of a debate; we have ſeen, that, for eleven ſucceſſive generations, that cuſtom invariably obtained, which excluded females from the throne of France, and it had recently been confirmed, under Philip the Fifth, by an expreſs law, propoſed by the ſtates-general of the kingdom; to ſuppoſe, therefore, that theſe objects of excluſion could convey a right which they did not poſſeſs themſelves, was as groſs an abſurdity as folly or ambition had ever engendered. Beſides, had the ſons of excluded females been deemed competent to ſucceed, Charles, king of Navarre, being deſcended from a daughter of Lewis Hutin, had a ſuperior claim to Edward.

Philip diſtinguiſhed the commencement of his regency by a juſt and ſpirited exertion of authority; great abuſes prevailing in the collection of the revenue, he ordered a ſtrict inveſtigation to be made, in order that an adequate remedy might be applied. Peter Remy, ſuperintendant of the finances, was, in conſequence, arreſted; and, being convicted of peculation, was ſentenced to die, and accordingly expired on a gibbet; all his property, amounting to the enormous ſum of twelve hundred thouſand livres, was confiſcated. The queen, during theſe tranſactions, was delivered of a daughter, who was named Blanche, and who, in the ſequel, married Philip, duke of Orleans. The regent was immediately proclaimed king, amidſt the acclamations of the people, and, with his wife, was crowned at Rheims, by the archbiſhop, William de Trie.

Immediately after his acceſſion to the throne, Philip was called upon to decide a diſpute, ſomewhat ſimilar to that which had occurred between him and Edward, though it was to be determined on very different principles. The reader muſt recollect, that Eudes the Fourth, duke of Burgundy, had, in the name of his neice Jane, daughter to Lewis Hutin, renounced, in favour of Philip the Long, all her pretenſions to the kingdom of Navarre, and likewiſe ceded, on certain conditions, her rights to the provinces of Champagne and Brie, which, however, were to revert to the princeſs, in caſe the king, her uncle, ſhould die without male heirs, which proved to be the caſe; but his ſon and ſucceſſor Charles the Fair, by the concluſion of a ſimilar treaty†, ſecured to himſelf the ſame advantages. That prince, however, likewiſe died without leaving a male heir. Thus, according to the laws of Spain, which admitted the ſucceſſion of females to the throne; and alſo, according to the common law of France, where women ſucceeded to the great fiefs, Navarre, Champagne, and Brie, inconteſtibly belonged to Jane, now counteſs of Evreux, as daughter and ſole heireſs to the

* Villaret. † Preuv. de l'Hiſt. d'Evr.

eldeſt ſon of Jane, queen of Navarre. Her right, however, was diſputed by the daughters of Philip the Long, and of Charles the Fair, under pretence that their fathers were poſſeſſed of thoſe territories at the time of their death. Edward of England too advanced his claim*, as ſon to a ſiſter of the laſt monarch, and he ſpared no pains to ſeduce the council of Pampeluna. Philip aſſembled the barons and principal nobles of the kingdom, and, with their advice, proclaimed the count of Evreux and his wife Jane, king and queen of Navarre; an act of juſtice that gave his ſubjects a favourable opinion of his diſpoſition and principles.

But Philip, unwilling to part with the provinces of Champagne and Brie, propoſed to the new monarch of Navarre an exchange, which, in conſideration of the ſervice he had rendered them, they conſented to accept. By the deed of ceſſion, the king and queen of Navarre renounce—"purely, generally, abſolutely, perpetually, and for ever†"—in favour of the French monarch, his heirs and ſucceſſors, all the rights which they have or may have, to Champagne and Brie; they make a full, pure, and true ceſſion of the ſame, without any reſtriction, and with a ſolemn engagement to make no future demand thereon. The king, in return, gave to the queen Jane the counties of Angouleme and Mortain; a penſion of five thouſand livres tournois, to be paid out of the royal treaſury, to her and her heirs forever; a ſecond penſion of three thouſand livres, alſo payable from the treaſury, but ſince made chargeable on Benon, and other lands in the diſtrict of Aunis and in Saintonge; and, laſtly, the ſum of ſeventy thouſand livres *Pariſis*, for which he conſented to pay her ſeven thouſand livres *Pariſis*, per annum, from the royal treaſury. Two conditions, however, were annexed to theſe grants:—Firſt, that the princeſs ſhould hold them *en Baronie-Pairie*, as a fief, for which ſhe was to pay fealty and homage in the ſame manner as for the territorial grants of Angouleme and Mortain: Secondly, it was ſtipulated, that, if ſhe ſhould die without children, or if her children ſhould leave no poſterity, theſe various grants ſhould revert to the crown; but that, if her huſband ſhould ſurvive her, whether ſhe left children or not, he ſhould enjoy for his life one half of what the king granted by the preſent treaty.

The prodigious difference, in the value of land, between the times we are now delineating and the preſent, here ſtrikes us in a forcible point of view. The annual revenue of Champagne and Brie, was then eſtimated at thirty thouſand livres, ſo that, reckoning according to the uſual mode of purchaſe in thoſe times, the two counties were worth three hundred thouſand livres. In the war of 1698, Champagne alone paid yearly to the king, excluſive of a poll-tax of two hundred thouſand livres, two millions one hundred and ſixty thouſand livres, for the land-tax; beſides which they paid, for various other taxes, the

* Rymer, p. 3 and 10. † Mem. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. xvii. p. 308, et ſuiv.

ſum of two millions five hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand one hundred and eighty-four livres, nine ſols* ; at the time this calculation was made (in 1762) the produce of the taxes, in the province of Champagne, amounted to more than double that ſum ; a difference which could not poſſibly ariſe from the intrinſic diminution of the value of money. In 1329, the mark of ſilver was worth four livres, four ſous ; in 1762, it was worth forty-eight livres ; conſequently, the value of the livre had encreaſed in the proportion of nearly twelve to one ; according to which eſtimation the revenue of the two counties ought not to exceed three hundred and ſixty thouſand livres ; and, deducting a third for that of Brie, Champagne ſhould yield two hundred and forty thouſand. This enormous augmentation cannot poſſibly be accounted for by any additional expence in guarding and defending the province ; it muſt chiefly be aſcribed to an exceſs of luxury in the ſubjects, and a want of economy in the ſovereigns. The provinces were equally well defended in thoſe days, and the people were leſs oppreſſed.

Such was the treaty which had been projected and determined in an aſſembly of the principal nobles of France and Navarre; but it was not ratified by the neceſſary acts till the year 1336, when queen Jane attained her twenty-fifth year. That period muſt be conſidered as the true epoch of the annexation of the provinces of Champagne and Brie to the crown of France ; though the expreſs ordinance for that purpoſe was not enacted till the reign of John, in the month of November, 1361†.

The kings of Navarre, indeed, continued to prefer a claim to thoſe counties for ſome time after, and, under the reign of Charles the Sixth, they obtained the ceſſion of the duchy of Nemours, in lieu of their pretended rights, which were never again mentioned.

While the king of France was occupied with this important affair, Lewis, count of Flanders, Nevers, and Rethel, came to do him homage for his territories, and, at the ſame time, to claim his protection againſt the attempts of his rebellious ſubjects, who had expelled him from his dominions‡. Philip promiſed him effectual aſſiſtance ; but the ſeaſon was already ſo far advanced, that it ſeemed prudent to defer the intended expedition till the ſpring. The king, however, ſummoned a council, the members whereof, being averſe to a Flemiſh war, which had hitherto been always productive of diſgrace to the nobility, were almoſt unanimous in their opinion on the neceſſity of delay. But Philip, burning with impatience to ſignaliſe the commencement of his reign by ſome act of eclat, caſt a ſignificant look at Gaucher de Chatillon, and exclaimed, in an expreſſive tone of voice—"And you, Lord Conſtable, what think you of "all this ?—Do you think it neceſſary to wait for a more favourable ſeaſon ?"

* M. de Boulainv. Etat de la France, tom. iii. p. 533, et ſuiv. † Ordon. des Rois de France, tom. iv. p. 212. ‡ Spicil. tom. iii. p. 88 et ſeq.

—Chatillon was an old nobleman, who had grown grey in the ſervice: appriſed of his maſter's intentions, he did not, like the reſt, enter into a long defence of his opinion, but laconically replied—"Sire, the ſeaſon is never unfavourable "to the man who has a ſound heart." Philip, delighted with his anſwer, ſeized the aged warrior in his arms, crying out—"Let thoſe who love, follow me!" An order was immediately iſſued for the nobility to aſſemble forthwith under the walls of Arras; and thoſe who were either unable or unwilling to obey the citation, paid for their abſence by a pecuniary contribution.

Philip, having paid his reſpects to the holy relics preſerved at the abbey of Saint Denis, and obſerved the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the times, with the view to ſecure the ſmiles of the God of Peace on ſcenes of rapine and bloodſhed, took the *oriflamme* from thence, and, advancing to Flanders, directed his ſteps towards Caſſel, which he inveſted, and ravaged the circumjacent country. The French army amounted to thirty thouſand men, of which thirteen or fourteen thouſand were men at arms. Amongſt the noblemen who accompanied the king on this expedition were, his brother Charles, count of Alençon; Philip of Evreux, king of Navarre; the duke of Lorraine; the count of Bar; the duke of Burgundy; the dauphin of Vienne; the count of Savoy; the duke of Brittany; Robert of Artois; Gaucher de Chatillon, conſtable of France; Lewis of Bourbon; Miles de Noyers; the count of Flanders, and his brother the count of Caſſel; William, count of Hainault, with his ſon William, and his brother John; Thierri de Brederole, and Alard d'Egmont. The rebel army, much inferior in numbers, was wholly compoſed of infantry, conſiſting of peaſants, fiſhermen, and artiſans, who had choſen for their general a fiſhmonger named Colin Zannequin, or Dannequin, a man of a bold and enterpriſing ſpirit, whoſe courage and cunning, appeared to ſupply his want of military experience. Such was the champion oppoſed to a powerful monarch; and ſuch the troops whom as illuſtrious a band of nobles as Europe could produce, was deſtined to encounter. But men fighting in the cauſe of freedom diſdain the vain trappings of rank, and fix their hopes of ſucceſs on a far nobler foundation. The proud battalions of France looked down with ſupercilious contempt on their undiſciplined foes, who, undiſmayed by their ſuperiority of numbers, prepared to meet them with undaunted reſolution; and, had not their valour been too precipitate, Philip would have been compelled to retreat without glory or advantage. The Flemings had choſen a moſt advantageous poſt, on an eminence, in the front of Caſſel; on one of the towers of that town they hoiſted the ſtandard of defiance, on which was repreſented the figure of a cock, with the following couplet beneath:

"*Quand ce coq chante aura*
"*Le Roi Caſſel conquerera**."

* "When this cock ſings, the king will reduce Caſſel."

Zannequin, in the mean time, was buſily employed in forming a ſcheme for ſecuring by ſtratagem a victory which he could not hope to obtain by open force. He every day went to the French camp with fiſh, which he ſold at a moderate price, in order to conciliate the confidence of the army, and to procure greater liberty for obſerving what paſſed. He remarked, that the French remained a long time at table; that, after their meals, they played and danced, and ſlept the during heat of the day: theſe obſervations, together with the careleſsneſs of the different guards, induced the bold plebeian to form the deſign of carrying off the king. At the eve of St. Bartholemew, about two in the afternoon, an hour which he knew the French devoted to repoſe, he divided his troops into three bodies, one of which he ordered to march without noiſe to that quarter of the camp where the king of Bohemia commanded; a ſecond was directed to bend its courſe againſt the part that was ſubject to the orders of the count of Hainault; and, placing himſelf at the third, he entered the camp in ſilence, and penetrated as far as the royal tent, which was negligently guarded. When the Flemings approached, the French imagined that it was a reinforcement come to join the king; and Renaud de Lor, a noble chevalier, impreſſed with this idea, went out to meet them, and gently chided them for thus diſturbing the repoſe of their friends; but, inſtead of a reply, he received a wound from a javelin, which ſtretched him on the ground. This was the ſignal for battle; the Flemings inſtantly drew their ſwords, and cut down all before them.

The alarm was immediately ſpread throughout the camp, and confuſed exclamations announced the danger to which the army was expoſed. The firſt who warned the king of his ſituation was his confeſſor, a Dominican friar, whoſe imagination Philip, at firſt, conceived to be deranged by fear. He was ſoon, however, convinced that the danger was real; and, having with difficulty procured ſome one to arm him, all his knights and eſquires having ſought for ſafety in flight, he mounted his horſe, and would fain have advanced to attack the enemy: but, being perſuaded by Miles de Noyers to wait till he had rallied his troops, that brave knight fixed the royal ſtandard on a riſing ground; when all the cavalry haſtened to defend it. The Flemings were now attacked in their turn; and, being completely ſurrounded, by the ſuperior numbers of the French, they were all cut in pieces. "Not a man eſcaped," ſays Froiſſard, "not a man fled, they were all killed, and lay one upon another, without ha-"ving ſtirred from the ſpot where the battle began." The king, in a letter which he wrote on the ſubject to the abbot of Saint Denis, makes the number of the ſlain, in this expedition, as well in the battle, as in different ſkirmiſhes, amount to nineteen thouſand eight hundred. The French, it is ſaid, loſt only *ſeventeen* men (an aſſertion ſcarcely credible) though a conſiderable number of horſes were deſtroyed.

Flanders now remained at the mercy of the conqueror, who, having taken the town of Caſſel, reduced it to aſhes. Ypres, at the king's approach, demanded to capitulate, but Philip inſiſted on unconditional ſubmiſſion. The citizens were compelled to give five hundred hoſtages, who were ſent to Paris; to baniſh all the principal inſurgents, and to diſmantle the city. A prieſt having endeavoured to diſſuade the people from ſubmitting to ſuch rigorous terms, was cowardly attacked by the French officers, when he took refuge in a neighbouring houſe, with fourteen others; the houſe was immediately ſet on fire; and the prieſt and his companions periſhed in the flames. Bruges delivered a thouſand hoſtages, and the other towns in proportion. The fortifications were every where deſtroyed, and the privileges of the Flemings were demoliſhed; theſe, however, were reſtored at a ſubſequent period, though with conſiderable modifications. The leaders of the revolt were then tried, when ten thouſand of them were condemned to die; a ſentence that was rigorouſly enforced in the courſe of three months*. The French hiſtorians ſpeak in terms of exultation of Philip's ſucceſs in this expedition; they triumph in his triumphs, and ſuffer his barbarity to eſcape without a ſingle reproach. But every friend to humanity muſt ſhudder at the indiſcriminate ſlaughter which tarniſhed the ſplendour of his victories; in the heat of battle, the principle of ſelf-defence may naturally riſe predominant over every other conſideration, and forcibly impel us to deſtroy where it might be poſſible to ſpare; but, without any ſuch ſtimulus, and in cool blood, to promote the ſame maſſacre of our fellow creatures, diſplays a ſavage ferociouſneſs of mind, that every faithful hiſtorian ſhould hold up to the execration of poſterity. The officers who attacked the unarmed prieſt, acted, in the firſt inſtance, as *cowards;* in the ſecond, as *aſſaſſins;* and the monarch who authoriſed ſuch conduct, became an accomplice in their crimes, though his own barbarous proceedings were ſo ſuperior in magnitude, that, to ſay he was an *accomplice* in murder, is to treat him with unmerited lenity.

After the final reduction of Flanders, Philip ſent for count Lewis, and thus addreſſed him in preſence of the principal nobles in his army, whom he had purpoſely aſſembled—"Fair couſin, I came here at your requeſt. Perhaps you "gave riſe to the revolt, by your neglect to render to your people the juſtice "which is due to them; but that is a point which I will not now examine. I "was obliged to incur a great expence for this expedition; I have, conſequent-"ly, a right to claim ſome recompence; but, I acquit you of all obligations "whatever, and reſtore your dominions in a ſtate of peace and ſubmiſſion. Be "careful how you make me return for the ſame purpoſe; ſhould your bad ad-"miniſtration compel me to take up arms a ſecond time, it would be leſs to pro-"mote your intereſt than my own." Thus did Philip, by his own confeſſion, ruſh headlong into a war, without any previous enquiry into the merits of the

* Villaret, t. viii. p. 219.

cauſe he had undertaken to eſpouſe; and even ventured to puniſh as rebels, thoſe whom he probably ought to have protected as oppreſſed vaſſals; for, by the feudal ſyſtem, every liege-lord was bound to extend the ſame protection to his ſub-vaſſals, as to his immediate vaſſals; and, indeed, the ſub-vaſſals had no other means of obtaining redreſs for injuries, than by an appeal to the ſuperior lord. His conduct, therefore, in this inſtance, independent of his cruelty, muſt be conſidered as tyrannical and oppreſſive. Yet could his hiſtorian* exultingly exclaim, that he returned to his capital—*all covered with glory!* and the monarch himſelf could preſume to viſit the churches, and inſult the Deity with ſongs of triumph, mock profeſſions of humility, and hymns of praiſe!

A. D. 1329.] Inflated with ſucceſs, the king reſolved to make his authority equally reſpected by all the vaſſals of his crown. Edward of England was now ſummoned to do homage for his continental dominions, a ceremony which hitherto he had omitted; but his pride revolted at the idea of ſhewing any degree of ſubmiſſion to a prince whom he conſidered as his equal; he therefore refuſed an audience to the French ambaſſadors, and ſent word to Philip, through his mother, Iſabella, that the ſon of a king would never humble himſelf before the ſon of a count†; an anſwer which was deemed inſolent, and was therefore puniſhed by the ſeizure of his revenues ariſing from the countries of Gaſcony and Ponthieu. The king then ſent freſh envoys to warn him, that, if he perſiſted in his refuſal to pay the required homage, all his fiefs in France would be forfeited to the crown. Edward was at a loſs how to act; but the ſtate of his affairs rendering it highly imprudent to engage in a war with a prince ſo powerful as Philip, he ſubmitted to the preſent neceſſity, and wrote a reſpectful letter to the king‡; and, in compliance with the promiſe he there made, he appeared in the cathedral at Amiens, on the ſixth of June; but the pomp he diſplayed on this occaſion ſufficiently ſhewed, that his appearance was leſs intended to do honour to Philip, than to make a parade of his own wealth and power. He was dreſſed in a long robe of crimſon velvet, embelliſhed with golden leopards‖; he wore his crown, his ſword, and ſpurs of gold; his retinue was compoſed of three biſhops, four earls, ſix barons, and forty knights.

The king, on his part, had omitted nothing which could add to the ſplendor of the ceremony. He was ſeated on a magnificent throne, with a crown enriched with precious ſtones on his head, and a ſceptre of gold in his hand. Standing at his ſide, were the kings of Bohemia, Navarre, and Majorca; with the dukes of Burgundy, Bourbon, and Lorraine; the counts of Flanders, and Alencon; Robert of Artois; the conſtable, Gaucher de Chatillon; the grand chamberlain, John de Melun; Matthew de Trie, and Robert de Bertrand, mareſchals of France; John de Macigny, biſhop of Beauvais, keeper of the

* Villaret. † This is Villaret's account of the tranſaction; but the continuator of Nangis, with greater appearance of juſtice, aſcribes this reply to Iſabella herſelf. ‡ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 23. ‖ Froiſſard, t. i. fol. 7.

ſeals; the biſhops of Laon and Senlis; the abbots of Cluni and Corbie; ſeveral other prelates, a numerous train of nobles, and all the chief officers of the crown.

As ſoon as the Engliſh monarch approached the throne, he was commanded, by the grand chamberlain, to take off his crown, his ſword, and his ſpurs, and to place himſelf on his knees before the king—though his proud ſoul recoiled at the idea of ſubmitting to this humiliating ceremony, he had advanced too far to recede; but the workings of his mind were ſtrongly depicted in his looks. The ſame officer then ſaid—"Sire, you acknowledge yourſelf, as duke of Gui-"enne, *liege-man* of my lord the king, who ſits here, and promiſe to bear him "faith and loyalty." The pride of Edward could no longer contain itſelf; he peremptorily refuſed to ſay *Yes*, and maintained that he did not owe *liege-homage* to Philip. After much altercation, the king conſented to receive his homage in general terms, on his promiſe to conſult the archives of his kingdom, immediately after his return, for the purpoſe of diſcovering what kind of homage he ought to pay, and to ſend over letters, under the great ſeal, explaining himſelf fully on the ſubject. The chamberlain then, altering the form of his addreſs, ſaid—"Sire, you own yourſelf a vaſſal of my lord, the king of "France, for Guienne and its appurtenances, which you acknowledge to hold "of him, as a peer of France, according to the form eſtabliſhed by the differ-"ent treaties of peace concluded between his predeceſſors and your own, ac-"cording to what you and your anceſtors have done for the ſame duchy to "the former kings of France." Edward anſwered in the affirmative. "If "that be the caſe," ſaid the viſcount of Melun, "the king, our ſire, receives "you, ſaving his proteſtations and reſtrictions." Philip anſwered, "Yes," and kiſſed the ſaid king of England, whoſe hands he held within his own, on the mouth. Thus finiſhed this degrading ceremony, the mortifications attending which the proud ſpirit of Edward was ill calculated to ſupport; and theſe, together with the temptations ariſing from the ſplendour of the court, and the fertility of the country, led him to adopt the reſolution of aſſerting, the firſt convenient opportunity, his prepoſterous claim to the throne of France.

A. D. 1330.] The attention of Philip was now called to a diſpute which ſubſiſted between the nobility and clergy, concerning the limitations of their reſpective rights*. Tired with liſtening to the complaints, that were perpetually laid before him, of the encroachments of the biſhops, he began to ſuſpect that thoſe complaints might proceed from a ſpirit of envy, excited by the ſuperior wealth of the clergy. In order, therefore, to inveſtigate this matter, as well as to remedy ſome abuſes in the church, he ordered them to repair to Paris, on the octave of Saint Andrew, in the year 1330, in order to defend their cauſe. Twenty prelates accordingly attended; viz. the archbiſhops of

* Spicil. Contin. Nangis; Froiſſard.

Bourges, Auch, Tours, Rouen, and Sens; and the biſhops of Beauvais, Chalons, Laon, Paris, Noyon, Chartres, Coutances, Angers, Poictiers, Meaux, Cambray, Saint-Flour, Saint-Brieux, Chalons-upon-Saone, and Autun.

The king, being ſeated upon the throne, attended by the princes of the blood, the peers and barons of the realm, and the members of his council; Peter de Cugnieres, who, on this occaſion, diſcharged the functions of king's-counſellor and attorney-general, opened the cauſe in a long ſpeech, prefaced—as was uſual, in thoſe times, in all orations, ſacred or profane—by a text from ſcripture: "Render unto Ceſar, the things that are Ceſar's; and unto God, the "things that are God's;" whence he took occaſion to expatiate on the reſpect that was due to the princes of the earth, and on the neceſſity of diſtinguiſhing between the temporal and ſpiritual powers, the firſt of which, he obſerved, inconteſtibly belonged to the king, and the laſt to the biſhops. He remarked, that the clergy ought to confine their thoughts to the ſalvation of ſouls; and, being ſufficiently occupied with the arduous duties of their profeſſion, they ſhould leave all temporal matters to the deciſion of the ſecular judges. Thus far Peter de Cugnieres had ſpoken Latin; but, fearing he ſhould not be underſtood by the nobility, and by a part of the prelates, ſome of whom were not much verſed in that language, he continued his ſpeech in French:—he ſaid, it was his majeſty's intention to re-eſtabliſh the temporal power, and to confine each juriſdiction within its proper bounds. He then proceeded to exhibit ſixty-ſix charges againſt the clergy; the chief of which were the following—That the officials were guilty of uſurpation, in ſubmitting to the deciſion of the biſhops' courts thoſe queſtions of property and poſſeſſion which were ſolely cognizable by the civil tribunals; that, when a layman cited a clerk to appear, for a treſpaſs on his property, before a ſecular judge, the official prohibited the judge and the plaintiff from proceeding with the cauſe, under pain of excommunication, and a pecuniary fine; that the officials ſummoned laymen to appear before them, in matters merely temporal, on the demand of either party, and refuſed to ſend them before the temporal judges; that they often compelled laymen to appear before them, at the ſuit of eccleſiaſtics diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of their paternal eſtates; that they eſtabliſhed on the eſtates of laymen, eccleſiaſtical notaries, who received contracts, even in temporal affairs; that, when a debtor, who was excommunicated on account of his debts, neglected to pay them, the ſentence of excommunication was renewed, with additional penalties, and an injunction iſſued to the ſecular judge to conſtrain the debtor to merit abſolution by paying; and, if the lay-judge did not obey, with ſufficient promptitude, he incurred the ſame cenſures himſelf, from which he could not obtain abſolution without paying the debts of the inſolvent; that the prelates, in order to extend the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, admitted into holy orders, indiſcriminately, children, *ſerfs*, baſtards, and married men, ignorant and unlettered, who had recourſe to the church in order to avoid a priſon, and the puniſhment due

to their crimes; that, when a thief was apprehended with the ſtolen property about him, if he proved to be a clerk, the biſhop always reclaimed him, and compelled the ſecular judge, under pain of excommunication, to deliver into the hands of the clerical judge the things ſtolen, which had been ordered to be reſtored to their right owners; that, when a criminal, without any marks of an eccleſiaſtic about him, who had been arreſted and detained by order of the king's officers, in a priſon belonging to the ſecular juriſdiction, declared himſelf a clerk, the official immediately claimed him, without farther enquiry, and compelled the officers of the crown to give him up to the eccleſiaſtical judge; that criminals of this deſcription, whether theives or aſſaſſins, were, notwithſtanding the cleareſt proof of their guilt, conſtantly acquitted, and, by favour of this dangerous privilege, eſcaped the ſeverity of the law; that the officials arreſted eccleſiaſtics, in all places whatever, without applying to the judge of the diſtrict, and that, if any one attempted to oppoſe them, he was threatened with excommunication; that excommunicated perſons could not obtain abſolution from the officials without paying an arbitrary fine, which cauſed many of them to remain in a ſtate of excommunication; that the prelates, by promoting clerks to be judges in their bailiwicks, exempted them from puniſhment for malverſation in office; that the clerical officers of juſtice iſſued prohibitions to all perſons indiſcriminately, forbidding them to work for any one who was excommunicated, whether juſtly or unjuſtly, by which means it often happened that the land remained uncultivated; that the officials cited thirty or forty perſons to appear before them, from whom they exacted pecuniary fines, under pretence that they had frequented the company of excommunicated perſons; that, by means of eccleſiaſtical cenſures and interdicts, often inflicted on account of ſome private diſpute, a whole province was thrown into confuſion, and deprived of the conſolation of public devotion. The orator finiſhed this long liſt of grievances, by complaining that the officials arrogated to themſelves the right of taking inventories when any perſon died inteſtate (though within the king's domains); ſeizing all the property of the deceaſed, which they diſtributed at their pleaſure; that, moreover, they claimed the excluſive power of drawing up wills, and had officers ſolely for that purpoſe, refuſing to acknowledge the validity of ſuch wills as had been confirmed by the proper civil officer, unleſs they themſelves had previouſly approved them.

In anſwer to theſe charges, the clergy replied, by the mouth of Peter Bertrandi, biſhop of Autun;—that, when a clerk was attacked by a layman, whoſe property he had invaded, he became the defendant, and it was right and lawful that the ſecular plaintiff ſhould apply for redreſs to the natural judge of the defendant; that it was on account of the ſins committed by the man who refuſed to reſtore what he unjuſtly detained, or to pay what he owed, that the officials cited laymen to appear before them in perſonal actions; that it was on account of the ſacrilege committed, by an attack on the perſon or property of the

clerk, of which none but the church could take cognizance, that the eccleſiaſtical judges ſummoned laymen to appear before them, at the requeſt of a clerk; that the church had a right to take cognizance of contracts paſſed in a ſecular court, particularly in caſe of the violation of an oath, or a breach of faith; that, when the church had done all ſhe could with her ſpiritual arm, ſhe was not only authoriſed but commanded, by every law, both human and divine, to employ the ſecular arm—and, if the temporal judge neglected the admonition, and forbore to conſtrain the excommunicated debtor to ſatisfy the demand againſt him, ſo that, by ſuch neglect, the creditor loſt what was due to him, no poſſible inconvenience could ariſe from proceeding againſt the judge himſelf; that, with regard to the admiſſion of two many perſons into holy orders, inſtead of being a ſubject of complaint, it was an object of public utility, ſince, by increaſing the number of God's ſervants, he would, of courſe, be better ſerved; that when the king's officers delivered up a thief to the ſpiritual judge, they ought, of courſe, to deliver up the thing ſtolen, as that would principally lead to eſtabliſh the guilt of the culprit; that a clerk, apprehended in a ſecular dreſs, did not forfeit his privilege, if it was notorious that he was a clerk, and when his identity was a matter of doubt, the care of his perſon belonged to the eccleſiaſtical judge, and the cognizance of his crime to the church; that frequently when a layman delivered up to the ſpiritual power a clerk, whom he had cauſed to be apprehended, he did not mention his crime to the judge, for which reaſon he could not conſcientiouſly detain him; that prelates and their officials were authoriſed by laws, both divine and human, to ſeize clerks wherever they found them, ſince the ſpiritual juriſdiction knew no bounds; that as a ſentence of excommunication was never iſſued but for a mortal ſin, the penance impoſed ought always to include a corporal puniſhment or pecuniary fine; that juſtice was better adminiſtered by clergymen who were verſed in the law, than by ignorant and unlettered laymen, for which reaſon clerks were preferred as provoſts to others; that all kind of commerce with an excommunicated perſon was a mortal ſin, and that, if the officials for ſuch an offence, cited one or more laymen to appear before them, it was juſt they ſhould inflict a corporal puniſhment or pecuniary fine for the ſatisfaction of God and the church; and laſtly, that every prelate had a right to draw up wills in his own dioceſe, and, conſequently, to take inventories, and diſtribute the property bequeathed; and that it was the cuſtom, with ſeveral churches of the kingdom, not to acknowledge the validity of any will that was drawn up by a notary of the archdeacon's court, or any inferior court, unleſs it had been approved by the principal judge of the dioceſe, becauſe, by truſting to ſuch notaries, many forgeries and other abuſes might occur.

The biſhop of Autun was aſked, by the king's orders, for a copy of this reply; but the prelates, after deliberating on the ſubject, would only conſent to give in a memorial, containing the ſubſtance of their claims, in which they

requeſted the king to ſupport them. The aſſembly was then diſmiſſed; and the following week, the biſhops repaired to Vincennes, to know the king's intentions, when they were told by Peter de Cugnieres, that he meant to ſecure to them all their rights; but this general declaration not contenting them, they returned two days after, when the king aſſured them, by the mouth of the archbiſhop of Bourges, that they had nothing to fear; that he promiſed them they ſhould loſe nothing during his reign; and that he would never ſet the example of attacking the church. The archbiſhop of Sens, after thanking Philip, in the name of the clergy, complained of certain proclamations which tended to infringe on the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction: when the king himſelf replied, that thoſe proclamations had been iſſued without his orders, and that he diſapproved of them. The archbiſhop was ſtill anxious to obtain a more clear and ſatisfactory anſwer; but Peter de Cugnieres finally told him, in the king's name, that if he corrected thoſe abuſes which ſtood in need of correction, the king would willingly wait till Chriſtmas; but that if, during that interval, no ſteps ſhould be taken for that purpoſe, the king would apply ſuch a remedy as would be agreeable to God and the people.

On this occaſion the king ſeemed to favour the clergy; but the preſent diſpute between the temporal and ſpiritual powers became the foundation of all thoſe quarrels which afterward occurred with regard to their reſpective juriſdictions, and the effect of which was the confinement of the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within limits leſs extenſive. This reduction of the exorbitant power of the clergy might, indeed, be aſcribed to another cauſe, viz. the neglect of the biſhops to aſſemble provincial ſynods, in which the body of the clergy combined to conſolidate their authority; while the parliaments, being rendered ſedentary, confirmed *their* powers by never ſeparating*.

Hitherto the reign of Philip had been proſperous and happy, and the meaſures he adopted for enſuring the felicity and welfare of his ſubjects ſeemed well calculated to give ſtability to his government. But Providence had placed on the throne of England a prince who was deſtined to interrupt the proſperity of France, and to caſt a thick ſhade over theſe pleaſing proſpects. The imperious diſpoſition of the two monarchs, rivals in glory as in intereſt, joined to their mutual hatred for each other, laid the foundation of a war, deſtructive in its progreſs, and fatal in its effects. Edward, glowing with the fire of youth and ambition, beheld, in the king of France, a ſucceſsful competitor who, not content with having ſecured a diadem which he was anxious to place on his own brows, and with having reduced him to the humiliating condition of a vaſſal, had endeavoured to add to the weight of feudal ſervitude, by preſcribing the very terms of the homage he exacted from him. The king, well-knowing what ſentiments ſuch conduct muſt inſpire in the proud mind of Edward, and con-

* Abreg. de l'Hiſt. de Fr. par le Preſ. Hena. t. i. p. 228.

vinced that nothing but a favourable opportunity was wanting to induce that prince openly to declare himſelf, determined to make him feel his dependence on every occaſion. A ſhort time after the conditional homage paid by Edward at Amiens, he was preſſed to give a clear and preciſe declaration of the nature of that homage; and the duke of Bourbon, and the counts of Harcourt, Tankerville, and Clermont, were appointed, with ſome other noblemen, to repair to England, in order to receive this declaration in a formal and authentic manner. It was ſome time, however, before the Engliſh monarch could be prevailed on to give the required ſatisfaction; though, at laſt, he was compelled by a deed (which is preſerved in Rymer's Fœdera) to acknowledge that he owed liege-homage to the king of France for the duchy of Guienne, and the counties of Ponthieu and Montreuil.

This deed was delivered, by Edward himſelf, to the king at *Saint-Chriſtophe en Halate** ; and, in return, he received letters, of acceptance from the chancery of France. At this interview the Engliſh monarch, notwithſtanding his youth, acquired an aſcendancy over Philip, which he ever after maintained, even in the moſt intricate negociations. The two kings had agreed between themſelves on the marriage of a daughter of France with the infant Prince of Wales; and Edward, on his return to England, ſent ambaſſadors to Paris, to ſettle the terms of this alliance, which, however, never took place.

The king's attention was now called to the ambitious attempts of his brother-in-law, Robert of Artois. That prince, as we have before ſhewn, had frequently enforced his claims to the county from whence he derived his name; but the ſuperior pretenſions of his aunt Maude had been confirmed by repeated ſentences. Still, however, Robert perſiſted in his efforts, and, on the death of the late monarch, he flattered himſelf that a fair proſpect of ſucceſs opened to his view. The friendſhip of the king, whoſe ſiſter he had eſpouſed, the ſervice he had rendered him, in ſupporting with all his power and eloquence his right to the regency and to the throne, confirmed him in his hopes. Although two ſolemn verdicts had fully eſtabliſhed the validity of his aunt's pretenſions, he had the preſumption to ſuppoſe, that the authority of the laws would bend before his influence, if he could give but the ſmalleſt colouring of juſtice to his demand.

But as he had no legal titles to prefer, he was induced to ſupport his claim by forged deeds and falſe witneſſes. Though hurried on by ambition, he did not at firſt purſue theſe degrading meaſures with the ſteady reſolution of a voluntary culprit; led, by faithleſs adviſers, from error to error, through a ſeries of intrigues, the origin of which was carefully concealed from him, he was not aware of his ſituation till he had reached the brink of the precipice, and he had then advanced too far to retreat.

* Villaret, tom. viii. p. 261.

Jane de Divion, a native of Bethune, a woman of licentious conduct, who had ſacrificed her reputation to the gratification of her infamous paſſions, was the author of this iniquitous myſtery. She had been accuſed by the public voice of having maintained a criminal intercourſe with Thierry d'Irechon, biſhop of Arras, miniſter to Maude, counteſs of Artois. The prelate, at his death, bequeathed her ſome property which the counteſs, his executrix, not only refuſed to deliver to her, but, at the ſame time, baniſhed her the province. Divion upon this repaired to Paris, breathing vengeance; and, having procured admiſſion to the counteſs de Beaumont, wife to Robert, ſhe told that princeſs, that the biſhop of Arras, urged by remorſe, had, on his death-bed, delivered to her ſeveral letters which confirmed the rights of her huſband to the county of Artois. The counteſs, however, giving no credit to the tale, ſhe applied to Maude, to whom ſhe offered to reveal ſecrets of the greateſt importance; but this application proved as unſucceſsful as the former. She therefore changed her battery, and had recourſe to Robert himſelf, to whom ſhe made the ſame overtures as ſhe had before made to the princeſs. This falſe confidence having revived his ambition, he called upon her to fulfil her promiſes, aſſuring her, at the ſame time, that a reward for a ſervice ſo important, ſhould even exceed her moſt ſanguine hopes. She immediately repaired to Arras, from whence ſhe brought the paper in queſtion, which was a letter, which, ſhe affirmed, the biſhop of Arras had, in his laſt moments, entruſted to her care, with orders to deliver it, after his death, to prince Robert. In this letter the prelate beſought his forgiveneſs for having concealed, during his life, what would fully have eſtabliſhed the validity of Robert's claims to the county of Artois; he confeſſed that he had in his poſſeſſion certain deeds, the duplicates whereof had been regiſtered in the proper court, but that a powerful nobleman of Artois having thrown them into the fire, they were afterwards eraſed from the regiſters: theſe deeds were—the marriage-contract of Philip (Robert's father) with Blanche of Brittany, by which the count of Artois (Robert's grandfather) ſettled the county on his ſon, and his ſon's heirs;—a ratification of this ſettlement by the count of Artois;—and letters patent of Philip the Hardy, confirming the preceding deeds.

Robert having this pretended letter of the biſhop of Arras in his poſſeſſion, was convinced of the juſtice of his cauſe, nor had he the ſmalleſt doubt of ſucceeding in the attempt, when he reflected that the king had frequently told him, if he could produce any act whatever, tending to prove a donation, on the part of the late count of Artois, to his ſon Philip, and, in caſe Philip ſhould die before him, to his heirs, he would immediately order the county to be delivered up to him. Hitherto, the conduct of Robert appears to have been ſtrictly proper, as he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion that the letter was forged. Having publicly declared his intentions of renewing his claims to the county of Artois, the counteſs Maude, alarmed at the report, cauſed the ſervants of Divion to be ap-

vinced that nothing but a favourable opportunity was wanting to induce that prince openly to declare himſelf, determined to make him feel his dependence on every occaſion. A ſhort time after the conditional homage paid by Edward at Amiens, he was preſſed to give a clear and preciſe declaration of the nature of that homage; and the duke of Bourbon, and the counts of Harcourt, Tankerville, and Clermont, were appointed, with ſome other noblemen, to repair to England, in order to receive this declaration in a formal and authentic manner. It was ſome time, however, before the Engliſh monarch could be prevailed on to give the required ſatisfaction; though, at laſt, he was compelled by a deed (which is preſerved in Rymer's Fœdera) to acknowledge that he owed liege-homage to the king of France for the duchy of Guienne, and the counties of Ponthieu and Montreuil.

This deed was delivered, by Edward himſelf, to the king at *Saint-Chriſtophe en Halate** ; and, in return, he received letters, of acceptance from the chancery of France. At this interview the Engliſh monarch, notwithſtanding his youth, acquired an aſcendancy over Philip, which he ever after maintained, even in the moſt intricate negociations. The two kings had agreed between themſelves on the marriage of a daughter of France with the infant Prince of Wales; and Edward, on his return to England, ſent ambaſſadors to Paris, to ſettle the terms of this alliance, which, however, never took place.

The king's attention was now called to the ambitious attempts of his brother-in-law, Robert of Artois. That prince, as we have before ſhewn, had frequently enforced his claims to the county from whence he derived his name; but the ſuperior pretenſions of his aunt Maude had been confirmed by repeated ſentences. Still, however, Robert perſiſted in his efforts, and, on the death of the late monarch, he flattered himſelf that a fair proſpect of ſucceſs opened to his view. The friendſhip of the king, whoſe ſiſter he had eſpouſed, the ſervice he had rendered him, in ſupporting with all his power and eloquence his right to the regency and to the throne, confirmed him in his hopes. Although two ſolemn verdicts had fully eſtabliſhed the validity of his aunt's pretenſions, he had the preſumption to ſuppoſe, that the authority of the laws would bend before his influence, if he could give but the ſmalleſt colouring of juſtice to his demand.

But as he had no legal titles to prefer, he was induced to ſupport his claim by forged deeds and falſe witneſſes. Though hurried on by ambition, he did not at firſt purſue theſe degrading meaſures with the ſteady reſolution of a voluntary culprit; led, by faithleſs adviſers, from error to error, through a ſeries of intrigues, the origin of which was carefully concealed from him, he was not aware of his ſituation till he had reached the brink of the precipice, and he had then advanced too far to retreat.

* Villaret, tom. viii. p. 261.

Jane de Divion, a native of Bethune, a woman of licentious conduct, who had ſacrificed her reputation to the gratification of her infamous paſſions, was the author of this iniquitous myſtery. She had been accuſed by the public voice of having maintained a criminal intercourſe with Thierry d'Irechon, biſhop of Arras, miniſter to Maude, counteſs of Artois. The prelate, at his death, bequeathed her ſome property which the counteſs, his executrix, not only refuſed to deliver to her, but, at the ſame time, baniſhed her the province. Divion upon this repaired to Paris, breathing vengeance; and, having procured admiſſion to the counteſs de Beaumont, wife to Robert, ſhe told that princeſs, that the biſhop of Arras, urged by remorſe, had, on his death-bed, delivered to her ſeveral letters which confirmed the rights of her huſband to the county of Artois. The counteſs, however, giving no credit to the tale, ſhe applied to Maude, to whom ſhe offered to reveal ſecrets of the greateſt importance; but this application proved as unſucceſsful as the former. She therefore changed her battery, and had recourſe to Robert himſelf, to whom ſhe made the ſame overtures as ſhe had before made to the princeſs. This falſe confidence having revived his ambition, he called upon her to fulfil her promiſes, aſſuring her, at the ſame time, that a reward for a ſervice ſo important, ſhould even exceed her moſt ſanguine hopes. She immediately repaired to Arras, from whence ſhe brought the paper in queſtion, which was a letter, which, ſhe affirmed, the biſhop of Arras had, in his laſt moments, entruſted to her care, with orders to deliver it, after his death, to prince Robert. In this letter the prelate beſought his forgiveneſs for having concealed, during his life, what would fully have eſtabliſhed the validity of Robert's claims to the county of Artois; he confeſſed that he had in his poſſeſſion certain deeds, the duplicates whereof had been regiſtered in the proper court, but that a powerful nobleman of Artois having thrown them into the fire, they were afterwards eraſed from the regiſters: theſe deeds were—the marriage-contract of Philip (Robert's father) with Blanche of Brittany, by which the count of Artois (Robert's grandfather) ſettled the county on his ſon, and his ſon's heirs;—a ratification of this ſettlement by the count of Artois;—and letters patent of Philip the Hardy, confirming the preceding deeds.

Robert having this pretended letter of the biſhop of Arras in his poſſeſſion, was convinced of the juſtice of his cauſe, nor had he the ſmalleſt doubt of ſucceeding in the attempt, when he reflected that the king had frequently told him, if he could produce any act whatever, tending to prove a donation, on the part of the late count of Artois, to his ſon Philip, and, in caſe Philip ſhould die before him, to his heirs, he would immediately order the county to be delivered up to him. Hitherto, the conduct of Robert appears to have been ſtrictly proper, as he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion that the letter was forged. Having publicly declared his intentions of renewing his claims to the county of Artois, the counteſs Maude, alarmed at the report, cauſed the ſervants of Divion to be ap-

prehended. Divion, appriſed of this circumſtance, preferred her complaints to Robert, to whom ſhe inſinuated that the object of Maude, in arreſting her ſervants, was, to get poſſeſſion of thoſe deeds which would eſtabliſh his claims; the prince accordingly applied to the king, who ordered them to be releaſed; but, during their detention, the counteſs of Artois had diſcovered a part of the intrigues of their miſtreſs.

The king, being determined to inveſtigate the matter, appointed commiſſioners for that purpoſe, who examined ſeveral witneſſes, moſt of whoſe depoſitions were favourable to Robert. But an affair of this kind could not poſſibly be decided on ſuch authority; the deeds mentioned in the letter of the biſhop of Arras were alone adequate to eſtabliſh the validity of Robert's claim; and, when theſe were called for; Divion being unable to produce them, was compelled to acknowledge the impoſture. Robert, enraged at finding himſelf impoſed upon by this intriguing woman, threatened her with inſtant death; but, having proceeded thus far, he was afraid to retreat; the dictates of true honour were ſilenced by the ſuggeſtions of a falſe ſhame; and, though hitherto he had only been the dupe of her art, he now conſented to become the accomplice of her crime. It was determined between them, that the neceſſary deeds muſt be *forged*, and Divion undertook to procure them.

The counteſs of Beaumont, wife to Robert, who was equally ambitious with her huſband, had recently had an interview with the queen, when an explanation on the ſubject of that prince's claim had taken place; and a difference of opinion prevailing between them, the diſpute was maintained with warmth on both ſides, and they parted with mutual diſcontent. This circumſtance induced the counteſs to ſecond the ſcheme of the forgery, and both ſhe and her huſband became earneſt in their ſolicitations to Divion, which were occaſionally enforced by threats, and ſtrengthened by promiſes: they even furniſhed her with copies of the deeds they wanted: it was an eaſy matter to get them tranſcribed, but the grand difficulty was in affixing the neceſſary ſeals to them.

During theſe tranſactions, Robert, who had obtained permiſſion to purſue his claims, always eluded the production of his written proofs*. In the interim Maude, counteſs of Artois, died†, and a report prevailed that ſhe had been poiſoned; and the ſuſpicions of the public were thought to be confirmed by the death of her daughter and heireſs, Jane, widow to Philip the Long, which happened ſoon after, and was aſcribed to the ſame cauſe. Robert, and his accomplice, Divion, were accuſed of the crime; but the accuſation appears to have been unſupported by any kind of proof. Jane, grand-daughter to Maude, and her huſband, Eudes, duke of Burgundy, were then admitted to do homage for the county of Artois, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Robert.

* Spicil. Contin. Nangis; Ann. 1330. † Mezeray.

The forged deeds being now ready for production, Robert firſt ſhewed them to the king, who immediately expreſſed his doubts as to their authenticity, and adviſed him, in a friendly manner, not to make uſe of them; ſince they would infallibly cover him with confuſion, and cauſe him to be ſtigmatized as the accomplice of a forgery. The count warmly anſwered that he was no impoſtor, and that he was ready to maintain his innocence againſt any one who ſhould preſume to attack it. Philip, imagining this challenge to be addreſſed to himſelf, inſtantly replied, in a deciſive tone, "Theſe deeds are forged; I know it well, "and will cauſe the authors of the forgery to be puniſhed*." But Robert, though detected, determined to perſiſt; and, in order to avoid the imputation of diſhonour, reſolved to become more criminal.

When the deeds were produced before the parliament, they were eaſily diſcovered to be forged; and the king, eager to ſave the count from the ignominy of a public condemnation, ſent for Divion, under pretence of conſulting her on certain difficulties which he wiſhed to be removed; ſhe accordingly haſtened to Paris, and, being examined in the preſence of Philip, her confidence forſook her, and ſhe ſubſcribed a confeſſion of her guilt; which ſhe confirmed before Robert himſelf. Still, however, that prince refuſed to acknowledge himſelf in an error; and a formal deciſion of the parliament was requiſite to declare the deeds, on which he founded his pretenſions, to be forgeries. When the ſentence was pronounced, the attorney-general aſked Robert, if it was ſtill his intention to maintain the authenticity of thoſe deeds. After deliberating ſome time with his council, he anſwered in the negative. Philip, yet willing to hope that he would be brought to a juſt ſenſe of his diſhonourable conduct, ſtopped all farther proceedings for five months. But finding that, inſtead of repentance, the diſappointment which Robert had experienced, only gave riſe to indignation and reproach, he ordered the attorney-general to proceed; when the count was ſummoned to appear before the parliament, and a criminal ſuit was inſtituted againſt Divion and her accomplices. On the eighth of April, 1331, ſentence was pronounced. Robert of Artois was condemned to loſe his life, and his property was confiſcated to the crown; Divion, and her ſervant were ſentenced to be burned alive; and the falſe witneſſes were puniſhed with the pillory.

A. D. 1331, to 1337.] Robert, who had fled from Paris, and embarked his treaſures at Bourdeaux for England, was at Bruſſels, when he received intelligence of his condemnation. Inflamed with rage, he is ſaid to have formed the deſperate deſign of murdering the king†; but the aſſaſſins, whom he hired for that purpoſe, alarmed at the danger of the enterpriſe, returned, when they had proceeded half way to Paris. He then went back ſecretly to France, in order to ſound the diſpoſition of his friends and partiſans, and, after paſſing ſome days with his wife, left the country with precipitation. It appears that the king was

* Mezeray. † Villaret.

appriſed of his motions, and that he entertained ſome ſuſpicions of the fidelity of ſeveral of the nobility who favoured the pretenſions of Robert; for which reaſon he exacted an oath from the princes and chief barons of the realm, containing a formal diſavowal of the conduct of the count, and a promiſe to grant him no aſſiſtance, and to ſhew him no favour. The counteſs was arreſted and confined in the caſtle of Chinon, and her children in that of Nemours*. The whole family were involved in the ſame diſgrace; the count of Foix had impriſoned his mother, who was Robert's ſiſter, under pretence that her licentious conduct diſhonoured all that were related to her† ; but every body was convinced that he had been led to this act of violeuce by the perſuaſion of Philip.

Robert himſelf, exiled, proſcribed, and purſued from place to place, at length put in execution a plan which he had long meditated. He repaired to London, in the diſguiſe of a merchant, and was fortunate enough to elude the numerous emiſſaries whom Philip had employed to apprehend him. On his arrival in England, he was favourably received by Edward‡, and was ſoon admitted into the councils, and ſhared the confidence of that monarch. The king, incenſed at his eſcape, publiſhed a manifeſto, by the advice of the princes and barons of the realm, declaring Robert "A mortal Enemy to the State," and threatening every vaſſal of the crown, whether *within* or *without* the kingdom, who ſhould afford protection to that traitor, with ſimilar penalties;—a menace that could not be miſtaken.

Although the laſt treaty concluded by the kings of France and England, appeared ſufficient to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between them, ſtill ſome articles remained open for future diſcuſſion. That which related to the reſtitution of thoſe places in Guienne which had been taken in the preceding reign, was well calculated to afford a ſpecious pretext for a rupture whenever an opportunity ſhould offer. The pope, who was anxious to promote a cruſade for the relief of the chriſtians in Paleſtine, ſtrenuouſly ſolicited the Engliſh monarch to ſecond the zeal of the king of France. Edward, who only wiſhed to gain time, continually promiſed to ſend ambaſſadors to Paris, as well to adopt the neceſſary arrangements for that purpoſe, as finally to ſettle the affairs of Guienne, and to conclude the conditions of marriage between the prince of Wales and the daughter of Philip. By theſe ſubterfuges he always evaded a deciſive anſwer, which it was never his intention to give, and endeavoured to ſecure the confidence of Philip by fruitleſs negociations, which left matters in the ſame ſituation as before.

But no ſooner had Edward accompliſhed his deſigns on the kingdom of Scotland, whoſe inhabitants had been ſecretly ſupported by Philip, in their ſtruggle for independence, than he began ſeriouſly to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of Robert of Artois. That nobleman laboured with great earneſtneſs to perſuade the king

* Spicil. Cont. Nang. † 'Quia in confuſionem ſui, totiuſque generis ſui effrænaté nimiam corporis ſui laſciviam ſequebatur;' Spicil. Cont. Nang. tom. ii. p. 94. ‡ Rymer.

of England that his title to the crown of France was indiſputably valid; and that a prince of his valour and abilities might certainly render his claims effectual. As a man is eaſily perſuaded into the belief of what is agreeable to his wiſhes, Edward acknowledged the juſtice of Robert's arguments, and came to a final determination to attempt the conqueſt of a kingdom which he either believed, or pretended to believe, was his undoubted right. With this view he endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany, the only places from which he either could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce ſuch a diverſion as might preſerve the province of Guienne, which lay ſo much expoſed to the power of Philip.

He began with communicating his deſigns to the count of Hainault, his father-in-law; and, having engaged him in his intereſts, he employed the good offices and counſels of that prince in ſecuring the alliance of the other ſovereigns of thoſe parts. The duke of Brabant was induced, by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promiſe his ſupport: the archbiſhop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Fauquemont and Baquen, with ſome others, were engaged, by ſimilar methods, to embrace the cauſe of Edward.

Theſe negociations, though conducted with all poſſible ſecrecy, were fully known to the court of France; and Philip, at length, rouſed from the lethargy in which he had hitherto appeared te be plunged, began to imitate the example of his enemy in ſecuring allies. He concluded treaties with the kings of Bohemia and Navarre, the dukes of Brittany and Bar, and the count of Flanders; but, on this laſt, he could place little reliance, as he poſſeſſed but little authority in his own dominions.

Lewis, count of Flanders, after the victory of Caſſel had reduced his ſubjects to obedience, continued to alienate their affections by ſeverity, inſtead of ſeeking to conciliate their confidence and eſteem by a mild and liberal conduct. Moſt of the towns in Flanders were deprived of their privileges; their principal inhabitants were put to death, and thoſe that ſurvived were oppreſſed by exactions the moſt onerous and tyrannical. This rigorous treatment revived the animoſity of the Flemings againſt their count; and William Chanu, a citizen of Bruges, was deputed by his countrymen, to repair to the court of Brabant, and endeavour to engage the duke to declare war againſt Lewis. The duke, who, at that time, was intereſted in preſerving the friendſhip of France, declared that he could do nothing in the buſineſs without the previous advice and conſent of Philip. He therefore ſeized Chanu, who was ſent to Paris; where, being applied to the rack, he revealed the names of all the leaders of the conſpiracy. When he had been tortured in the moſt cruel manner, both his hands were cut off at the wriſts; he was then ſtretched on a wheel, dragged alive at the tale of a cart, and, at length, hanged. This puniſhment, which reflects diſgrace upon Philip, and all who were concerned in it, laſted two days. The

Flemiſh conſpirators left their country with precipitation, and the whole province once more wore the appearance of ſubmiſſion; but hatred and revenge lurked beneath the ſpecious maſk. Juſtly enraged with the king of France, whom they conſidered as the author of all their calamities, they eagerly ſeized the firſt opportunity that occurred for diſplaying their reſentment. When that prince, foreſeeing the rupture with Edward, endeavoured to engage the Flemings in his intereſt, they replied, that their commercial concerns would not permit them to declare in his favour, and that the wool of England was more eſſential to them than the friendſhip of France*.

As the Flemings were the firſt people in the northern parts of Europe that cultivated the arts and manufactures, the lower ranks of men among them had attained to a certain degree of opulence, which none of their ſtation had acquired in other countries. Privileges and independence naturally followed an acquiſition of wealth, and hence it was, that the Flemings began to emerge from that ſtate of ſlavery to which, by the feudal inſtitutions, the common people were univerſally reduced; from this independence aroſe an averſion from every ſpecies of government that was tinctured with deſpotiſm; and, by an eaſy gradation in minds unapt to reaſon, and unreſtrained by ſalutary laws, the ſpirit of liberty ſpeedily degenerated into licentiouſneſs. Factions and tumults were the conſequence. The count of Flanders being deprived of his authority, through his own oppreſſive conduct, and the unjuſtifiable cruelty of Philip, the people delivered themſelves over to the guidance of a ſeditious leader, who ſought to ſecure the duration of his power by encouraging the commiſſion of violence, and the promotion of diſorders.

Their preſent leader was James d'Arteville, a rich brewer of Ghent, who governed them with a more abſolute ſway than had ever been aſſumed by the moſt tyrannical of their lawful ſovereigns; but, when the people enjoy the privilege of chuſing an idol for themſelves, oppreſſion ceaſes to be burdenſome, and deſpotiſm to be odious. This demagogue aſſumed the power of placing and diſplacing magiſtrates at his pleaſure; and was accompanied by a guard, who, on the leaſt ſignal from him, inſtantly aſſaſſinated any man who had been ſo unfortunate as to incur his diſpleaſure. He had ſpies in all the cities of Flanders; and whoever gave him the ſmalleſt offence was ſure to be puniſhed with immediate death. The few nobles who remained in the country lived in a ſtate of continual apprehenſion; he ſeized the eſtates of all thoſe whom he had either baniſhed or murdered; and, after beſtowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own uſe†. This was the firſt popular deſpot that was ſeen in Europe; nor was his government leſs violent than thoſe of the feudal tyrants, whoſe example he, probably, endeavoured to imitate. To this man the king of England applied, and through his influence attached the Flemings to his

* Chron. de Fland. † Froiſſard, l. i. ch. 39.

intereſts, and procured from them an invitation to land an army in their territories.

Father Daniel, with a degree of candour that does him honour, remarks that neither Edward nor Philip could be juſtly deemed the ſole aggreſſor in this unfortunate conteſt; each of them, he obſerves, had juſt grounds for complaints; and each of them could juſtify his own conduct on plauſible grounds. To us, however, Edward appears to have been the principal aggreſſor. Philip, indeed, had favoured the revolt of the Scotch, and received with hoſpitality and kindneſs their exiled monarch; but the previous conduct of Edward, in advancing a claim to the crown of France, juſtified this meaſure, and rendered it neceſſary to guard againſt any augmentation of power, which would certainly be employed to enforce that pretenſion. All the proceedings of Edward, with regard to Philip, had been marked with duplicity; his negociations were all deluſive; and it was evident, from the commencement of his reign, that he was determined, whenever an opportunity ſhould occur, to undertake the conqueſt of a kingdom, the extent of whoſe power he regarded with a jealous eye.

The king, convinced of the importance of diſtreſſing the Flemiſh allies of Edward, ſent a ſtrong reinforcement of troops to the count of Flanders, in the hope of enabling him to reduce to obedience his diſcontented ſubjects. But theſe, being attacked by a body of Engliſh, under the command of the earl of Derby, in the iſland of Cadſand, near the mouth of the Schelde, ſuſtained a total defeat, and more than three thouſand of them periſhed in the action; the earl then re-embarked his men, and returned to England with a conſiderable booty.

No formal declaration of war preceded the commencement of hoſtilities. The French fleet, commanded by Nicholas Bahuchet, committed depredations on the Engliſh coaſt, and took and plundered the iſland of Guernſey; while the enemy retaliated by reducing the fortreſs of Palencourt in Saintonge, the governor whereof being ſuſpected of treachery, was tried by the parliament, and ſuffered decapitation. In vain did the pope interpoſe his good offices to ſtop the farther effuſion of blood; Edward treated his remonſtrances with diſdain, and having completed his preparations, ſailed from the port of Orwell, in Suffolk, on the 16th of July, in the year 1338, with a large fleet, and a powerful army. But when he arrived on the continent, he found his allies but ill-prepared to ſecond his attempts; they had neglected to furniſh their ſtipulated quota of troops; and, alarmed at the ſtrength of the enemy they had to encounter, they were anxious to find ſome cauſe for retracting their engagements. Theſe unexpected difficulties reduced Edward to the neceſſity of appropriating to negociation a conſiderable portion of the time which he had deſtined for action. In order to ſatisfy the ſcruples of the German princes, he obtained from Lewis of Bavaria, who was then emperor, the title of "Vicar of the empire;" which, though it was merely nominal, gave him an apparent right to command the in-

ferior potentates of Germany. The Flemings affecting ſimilar ſcruples, in regard to waging war againſt their liege lord; Edward, by the advice of d'Arteville, aſſumed, in his commiſſions, the title of "King of France;" and, in virtue thereof, claimed their aſſiſtance to dethrone Philip of Valois, whom he termed, The Uſurper of his lawful Inheritance. He was not perſuaded to adopt ths meaſure, the danger whereof he had ſufficient penetration to foreſee, without much reluctance and heſitation; and it would have been happy, not only for himſelf, but his poſterity, had he perſevered in his oppoſition to ſo hazardous a ſtep; as from hence we may date the commencement of that ſtrong national animoſity which has ever ſince ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms, and which has occaſioned ſuch an infinite effuſion of blood. In all preceding times, ſubſequent to the acceſſion of the firſt William to the throne of England, whenever hoſtilities had occured between the rival crowns, they had ſprung merely from fortuitous events; their effects conſequently had been but temporary, and the animoſity they had excited, ſubſided with the cauſe that gave riſe to it. The Engliſh nobility and gentry valued themſelves on their French or Norman extraction; the language of France had been faſhionable and almoſt univerſal in England; and both the Engliſh court and camp being always full of French nobles, a more intimate connection had prevailed between theſe two people, during ſome centuries, than between any two diſtinct nations whom we meet with in hiſtory. But the fatal and ill-grounded pretenſions of Edward the Third broke off this mutual intercourſe, and left the ſeeds of diſcord and hatred in both countries, which continued to thrive, with the moſt deſtructive vigour, till blighted by the ſun of liberality, whoſe effulgent beams irradiate the preſent æra of refinement with unexampled ſplendour.

A. D. 1339.] Though the king of England had exacted a promiſe from his allies to meet him in the field with their reſpective troops at the commencement of July, 1339, when that time approached he ſtill found them irreſolute; ſo that he was not able to open the campaign till late in the month of September; and even then he was obliged to allure his German allies, by a promiſe of commencing his operations with the ſiege of Cambray, a city of the empire, which had been garriſoned by Philip. Finding, however, upon trial, the extreme danger and difficulty of the enterpriſe, he conducted them to the frontiers of France; when the count of Namur, and even the count of Hainault, his brother-in-law, (for the old count was dead) refuſed to advance any farther, and immediately retired with their forces. Edward, however, notwithſtanding this defection, had ſtill an army of forty thouſand men; with which he entered the French territories, and encamped on the plains of Vironfoſſe, about two leagues from Capelle.

Philip, in the mean time, had made every neceſſary preparation for repelling the attacks of this formidable enemy; a fleet which he had aſſembled for the purpoſe of waging war againſt the infidels was now employed in the defence

of his own kingdom; and all the naval forces of France were collected, with the view of ravaging the coasts and destroying the fleet of England. It was not possible to maintain a war thus important without incurring a very considerable expence. The people, at first, submitted, without a murmur, to the necessary contributions; but as they perceived, says Mezeray, that their burdens encreased in proportion to their efforts to sustain them; that the nation was taxed beyond what it could bear; and that the privileges of the church and of the nobility were violated, they had recourse to the same remedy which they had employed with success under Philip the Fair. The Normans were the first to mutiny, and having secured the assistance of the prelates and barons, they obtained a decree of the states, purporting that no impost should in future be levied without their consent, and for the welfare of the state, unless in cases of absolute necessity.

Philip, having assembled his forces, marched from Saint-Quintin, and pitched his camp at Vironfosse, at a short distance from that of the English. He was attended by a splendid train of princes and nobles; the chief of these were the kings of Bohemia, Scotland and Navarre; the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine and Athens; the count of Alencon, brother to the king; the count of Hainault (who had left the English army the instant they set foot on the French territories, and joined Philip, with five hundred lances.) The counts of Flanders, Bar, Foreſt, Foix, Armagnac, Auvergne, Longueville, Etampes, Vendome, Harcourt, Saint-Pol, Guynes, Boulogne, Rouſſy, Dammartin, Valentinois, Auxerre, Sancerre, Geneva and Dreux.—These princes and noblemen were attended by a considerable number of knights and esquires. The army was formed in three divisions, each of which contained fifteen thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand infantry. A general engagement was daily expected to take place; but the English monarch—whose forces did not amount to half the number of the French—was averse from engaging on such unequal terms; and Philip being unwilling to run any unnecessary hazard, the two armies lay opposite to each other for several days without coming to action; and after mutual defiances had passed between them, Edward at length retired into Flanders, where he sent his troops into winter quarters*.

Although the conduct of the count of Hainault was such as should have satisfied Philip, yet that monarch could never forget that he had once enlisted under the banners of his rival. Rejecting the suggestions of policy and the dictates of justice, he gave orders to his generals to ravage the territories of the count; and his orders were obeyed with the most rigorous scrupulosity.—The count, therefore, who had hitherto evinced a disposition friendly to the French, was now compelled, in his own defence, to join the adverse army;

* Froiſſard, l. 1. c. 41, 42, 43. Heming. p. 307, 302. Walſing. p. 145.

he ſent a defiance to the king by the Abbot Thibaut de St. Crepin, to which Philip replied, *that his nephew the count of Hainault was a madman.* The count revenged himſelf for the king's injuſtice, by the capture of Aubenton in Tierache, which he reduced to aſhes; Mauberfontaine, Aubeceuil, Seigny, and ſeveral other towns and villages, experienced a ſimilar fate, while the open country was ravaged, and the inhabitants ſubjected to every ſpecies of violence and outrage. The French fleet, in the mean time, cruiſed off the Engliſh ports, and intercepted all the veſſels that ſailed from thence; one large ſhip in particular, called the Saint-Chriſtopher, laden with wool for the Low Countries, was deemed a valuable prize.

Philip, anxious to ſecure the Flemings in his intereſt, offered to give up certain ſums, which, by the laſt treaty, they had engaged to pay him, and likewiſe to procure the reſtoration of ſeveral of their privileges*; but mindful of the injuries they had ſuſtained, they were neither to be moved by promiſes nor threats. He then complained to the pope, who attacked the Flemings with all the thunders of the church; and the excommunication he pronounced againſt them was ſo poſitive and terrible, that no one dared to celebrate divine ſervice. The Flemings, alarmed, had recourſe to the king of England, who told them not to be frightened, for the firſt time he croſſed the ſea he would carry over with him plenty of Engliſh prieſts, who would ſay maſs for them in ſpite of the pope.

D'Artevelle, at the head of a body of Flemings, having made an incurſion into the Tourneſis, the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk left Ypres, where they were in garriſon, with a view to join him; but they were ſurpriſed on the road, and taken priſoners by a detachment from the garriſon of Lille.

A. D. 1340.] The king being apprized of the time fixed for the departure of Edward, for a ſecond invaſion of his dominions, increaſed the fleet which was deſtined to intercept him to four hundred ſail. He gave orders to his admirals to cruiſe off the Flemiſh ports, in order to oppoſe the debarcation of the Engliſh; adding, that if Edward ſhould effect a landing through their miſmanagement, their heads ſhould pay for their neglect.

When the Engliſh monarch had completed his preparations, he ſailed from Orwell, on the twenty-ſecond of June, 1340, with a fleet of two hundred and forty ſail. The next day he fell in with the French fleet, off Sluys, and immediately prepared for action. The manœuvre of the Engliſh to gain the wind of the enemy, and have the ſun on their backs, was aſcribed by the French to fear, a circumſtance which ſhows their extreme ignorance of maritime affairs—but they ſoon changed their opinion when they ſaw them bearing down upon them on full ſail. This action was the ſevereſt that had been fought ſince the commencement of the monarchy; though the French had a ſuperiority of

* Froiſſard, Chron. de Fland.

numbers, the Engliſh had the advantage of being commanded by an intrepid monarch, who, in the diſpoſition of his fleet, diſplayed all the ſkill and foreſight of an experienced captain, and, ever foremoſt in the poſt of danger, evinced all the courage and magnanimity of a hero. Animated by the example of ſuch a leader, the Engliſh fought with more than uſual intrepidity—The French long oppoſed them with equal courage, and the action had continued for a conſiderable time, without any deciſive advantage on either ſide; when the Flemings deſcrying the battle, hurried out of their harbours, and brought a reinforcement to the Engliſh*, which, coming unexpectedly, had a greater effect than could have been ſuppoſed from its power and numbers.

The French hiſtorians† acknowledge the loſs of thirty thouſand men, and *ninety* ſhips, in this action; but the Engliſh‡ make the ſhips that were taken amount to *two hundred and thirty*. But admitting the loſs to be exaggerated on one ſide, and diminiſhed on the other—which is probably the caſe—the victory was ſplendid and deciſive. This misfortune was aſcribed by the French to the miſunderſtanding which prevailed between the three admirals, Kyriel, Barbevere, and Bahuchet; the laſt of whom, having been killed in the action, was, by the orders of Edward, ſuſpended on a maſt, in revenge for the depredations he had committed on the Engliſh coaſts||.

The day after the action, Edward entered the harbour of Sluys in triumph, and immediately repaired to Ghent, where an alliance offenſive and defenſive was concluded between the ſtates of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault§. Early in the month of July, the Engliſh monarch found himſelf at the head of an army of one hundred thouſand men, which he led to the frontiers of France, while Robert of Artois, with forty thouſand Flemings, laid ſiege to Saint Omer.—But the Flemiſh troops, chiefly conſiſting of tradeſmen and manufacturers wholly unuſed to arms, were routed by a judicious ſally of the garriſon, under the command of the duke of Burgundy¶; four thouſand of them were killed, and the reſt were ſeized with ſuch a panic, that, notwithſtanding the exertions of their gallant commander, they could never more be brought to appear in the field. The attempts of Edward, though leſs inglorious, were not more ſucceſsful. For the gratification of his Flemiſh allies, he had, the preceding year, engaged to lay ſiege to Tournay, then one of the moſt conſiderable cities in Flanders, containing above ſixty thouſand inhabitants, all well-affected to Philip; about the end of July, therefore, he fixed his camp before the place. The garriſon was numerous and well-appointed; the governor, Godemar du Fay, a man of courage and experience; and the troops were farther animated by the exhortations and example of the count of Eu, conſtable of France, who, with many others of the French nobility, had thrown himſelf into the town, on

* Spicil. Cont. Nang. tom. iii. p. 321. † Mezeray, Villaret. ‡ Aveſbury, p. 56. Heming. || Spicil. Cont. Nang. tom. iii. § Froiſſard. ¶ Spicil. Cont. Nang.

the first news of its being invested. The English monarch, by this means, experienced so vigorous a resistance, that he soon found the necessity of converting the siege into a blockade. Philip, in the mean time, having assembled his forces in Artois, marched from Arras, and encamped on the plains between Lille and Douay; he soon, however, changed his situation, and, in order to be nearer the enemy, passed the bridge of Bovines, and advanced within two leagues of Tournay.

The king of England, perpetually harassed by the French troops, and vexed at the small progress he had hitherto made, sent a herald to Philip, daring him to decide their claims to the crown of France, either by single combat, or by an action of an hundred against an hundred, or by a general engagement; but Philip replied, in a manner equally decent and dignified, that though it ill became a vassal to challenge his superior lord, yet he was willing to wave that consideration; and if Edward would, in order to render the terms equal, stake the kingdom of England against that of France, he would readily meet him hand to hand.

When things were in this situation, and the siege of Tournay had continued about two months, a powerful mediatrix appeared to prevent the farther effusion of blood. This was Jane, countess-dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip, who had retired to the monastery of Fontenelles; issuing from her sacred retreat, she employed all her pious efforts to allay those violent animosities which prevailed between persons so nearly related to her, and to each other. Philip was apprehensive that the city of Tournay could not hold out much longer, and was, moreover, actuated by that prudent policy which had hitherto led him to avoid an action; while Edward, on his side, began to dread a want of provisions, and to suspect the fidelity of his allies*; so that the proposals of the countess were favourably received by either monarch. A cessation of arms for three days was first agreed on; and a truce was afterward concluded, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1340, for nine months, by which both parties were left in possession of their present acquisitions, and all farther hostilities in the Low Countries, in Guienne, and even in Scotland, were immediately stopped. A negociation was soon after opened at Arras, under the mediation of the pope's legates; but Edward insisting that his French dominions should be freed from all claims of feudal superiority, and Philip refusing to treat till that prince had laid aside the title and arms of king of France, and renounced all pretensions to the French crown, the negociations were rendered fruitless, and all the commissioners could effect was a prolongation of the truce to the twenty-fifth of June, in the year 1342†.

After the departure of the English, the king hastened to reward the courage and fidelity of the citizens of Tournay, by the restoration of their ancient laws

* Le Gendre, tom. ii. p. 469. † Rymer, t. v. p. 242—251—266. Froissard, l. i. c. 64.

and privileges, and by giving them the power of chuſing their own governor. At the ſame time he found means to detach the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, from the intereſt of England, by promiſing to reconcile him to the Holy See. That prince accordingly embraced the opportunity afforded him by the late truce, which had been concluded without his participation, to inform Edward that he now conceived himſelf to be releaſed from all his engagements; in conſequence whereof, he recalled the title which he had formerly conferred on him, of 'Vicar of the Empire.'

A. D. 1341.] As the king of England laboured at this time under a complication of diſappointments, both foreign and domeſtic; haraſſed by his prelates and nobles at home; forſaken by his allies on the continent; perplexed at the failure of his firſt expedition againſt France; and ſomewhat moved—it is to be hoped—with the injuſtice of his pretenſions on that kingdom, we may fairly preſume that he was inclined to relinquiſh a claim he was unable to enforce. But, unfortunately, the intervention of an unexpected occurrence, by furniſhing him with an opportunity of attacking Philip in the centre of his dominions, with leſs expence, and a fairer proſpect of ſucceſs, revived his ambitious hopes, and gave his enterpriſing genius a full ſcope for exertion.

John the Third, duke of Brittany, who had ſucceeded his father Arthur the Second, perceiving the rapid decline of his health, beneath the weight of years, and the preſſure of infirmities, and having no iſſue, was anxious, during his life, ſo to ſettle his dominions, as effectually to obviate the dangers attending a diſputed ſucceſſion. His younger brother, Guy, count of Penthievre, had left only one daughter, named Jane, whoſe title was thought, by John, preferable to that of the count of Montfort, who, being his brother by a ſecond marriage, was male heir to the principality. This preference aroſe from the right of female ſucceſſion, which was eſtabliſhed in the duchy, and to which the family of John had been indebted for their elevation. But foreſeeing that Montfort would be induced to aſſert his claim, unleſs that of his niece was ſecured by ſome powerful alliance, with the concurrence of the ſtates of Brittany he married Jane to Charles of Blois, nephew to Philip, by his mother Margaret of Valois, ſiſter to that monarch; and all his vaſſals, even Montfort himſelf, ſwore fealty to Charles and his conſort, as their future ſovereigns. But on the death of John, who died at Caen, in Normandy, on his return from Flanders, (whither he had attended the king) to his own dominions, the count of Montfort aſſerted his own right to the ſucceſſion, and declared his determination to enforce it. While Charles of Blois was attending the court of France, for the purpoſe of performing homage and receiving inveſtiture, Montfort, either by force or intrigue, got poſſeſſion of Nantes, where the treaſures of the late duke were kept, and there cauſed himſelf to be declared heir to his brother's dominions, and lawful ſovereign of Brittany. He then ſummoned all the deputies of the towns, and

the chief nobles of the duchy, to ſwear fealty and to do homage to him*. He repaired, in the mean time, to Limoges, where he found ſome conſiderable ſums which had been depoſited there by John. Returning to Nantes, on the day he had appointed for receiving the oaths of the nobility and commons, he had the mortification to find but a ſingle nobleman, Henry de Leon, willing to acknowledge his authority†. Still undiſmayed, he purſued his plan with ſpirit and perſeverance, and applying the treaſures he had ſeized to the collection of troops, he ſoon reduced Breſt, Rennes, Hennebonne, Auray, and ſeveral other towns of inferior note.

Senſible, however, that, notwithſtanding the rapidity of his conqueſts, he ſhould be unable to preſerve his acquiſitions againſt a majority of the Bretons, (combined with the whole power of Philip, who was preparing to ſupport the claims of his nephew) without ſome potent ally, he caſt his eyes on the king of England, who, from inclination and ability, he conceived, was moſt likely to ſecond his deſigns. He therefore made a voyage to England, under pretence of ſoliciting the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and there offering to do homage to Edward, (as king of France,) for the duchy of Brittany, he propoſed a ſtrict alliance for the ſupport of their mutual pretenſions‡. Edward had indeed acknowledged, during the life of John, the validity of his niece's claim, by aſking her in marriage for his brother; but, ſtricken with the advantages to be derived from a connection with Montfort, he ſacrificed all other conſiderations to the proſpect of preſent emolument; and thus a treaty was immediately concluded between the two princes, who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female ſucceſſion were directly oppoſite became intimately connected by the ſtrongeſt of all human ties—the bond of mutual intereſt.

The ſame oppoſition of claims, however, prevailed between Philip and Charles of Blois; ſince the firſt was indebted for his elevation to the excluſion of the female line, while the pretenſions of the laſt were founded on the right of women to ſucceed to the government. But this difference aroſe ſolely from the different cuſtoms which obtained in Brittany and France; in the latter, the Salic law was in force; in the former, the right of repreſentation, or hereditary right was eſtabliſhed. The king, having taken the advice of his peers on the ſubject, ſummoned Montfort to appear, in order that his claim to the duchy might be fully inveſtigated. He was weak enough to obey the citation, and repair to Paris, attended by four hundred nobles of Brittany. The reception he experienced convinced him that his cauſe was prejudged; after a reproof from Philip for his late conduct, he received an order not to leave Paris before the expiration of a fortnight. Fully aware of the danger to which he

* Rymer, vol. ii. † Froiſſard. ‡ Ibid, l. i. c. 65; D'Argentré Hiſt. de Bret. l. x. c. 42. l. xi, c. 1 to 6.; Aveſbury, p. 97.

had imprudently expoſed himſelf, by accepting an enemy for a judge, he reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity of effecting his eſcape. For ſome days he diſſembled his fears with ſkill and ſucceſs, and diſplayed a full confidence in the juſtice of his cauſe; then ſuddenly feigning an illneſs, he left Paris in the night, and Philip was ignorant of his evaſion till he had reached Nantes.

The king enraged with Montfort for having eluded his vigilance, and eſcaped the ſnare which had been laid for him, rejected his application for a delay, and haſtened the termination of the cauſe. On the ſeventh of September, 1341, the court of peers accordingly pronounced a verdict in favour of Charles of Blois; and John, duke of Normandy, the king's eldeſt ſon, immediately entered Brittany, for the purpoſe of carrying the ſentence into execution. Accompanied by Charles, he marched to Angers, where the troops had aſſembled, and where he was met by the count of Alencon, brother to Philip; the count of Blois; the duke of Burgundy; the duke of Bourbon, with his brother, James of Bourbon; the count of Penthievre; Lewis d'Eſpagne; the count of Eu, conſtable of France; the viſcount of Rohan, and many other noblemen. After the reduction of Chantoceaux, the army laid ſiege to Nantes, which, though able to make a vigorous reſiſtance, was delivered, by the treachery of the citizens, into the hands of the duke of Normandy, who took Montfort priſoner, and ſent him to Paris, where he was confined in the tower of the Louvre.

This important controverſy now appeared to be decided, and the pretenſions of Montfort to be wholly deſtroyed; but his affairs were unexpectedly retrieved by the magnanimity of his conſort. Jane, counteſs of Montfort, and ſiſter to the count of Flanders, one of the moſt illuſtrious heroines that ever ſtood forward in the liſt of fame, was rouſed by the unfortunate captivity of her huſband, from the domeſtic occupations to which hitherto ſhe had ſolely confined her attention; and, actuated by the fierceſt ardour of conjugal affection, joined to a ſpirit of patriotiſm, that would have dignified the breaſt of a Cato, courageouſly undertook to ſupply the place of her lord, and to avert the misfortunes which threatened her family. When ſhe received the fatal intelligence, inſtead of giving way to deſpair, the failing of weak minds, ſhe inſtantly aſſembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where ſhe then reſided, and taking her infant ſon in her arms, conjured them to extend their protection to the laſt male heir of their ancient ſovereigns. She expatiated on the reſources that were ſtill to be derived from the powerful aſſiſtance of England, and entreated them to make one daring effort againſt an uſurper, who, being allied to France, would ſacrifice their ancient liberty as the price of her aſſiſtance. In ſhort, ſhe harangued them in a ſtrain at once ſo bold, and ſo pathetic, that it ſpoke to their hearts, inſpired them with a portion of her own enthuſiaſtic ardour, and impelled them to declare they would devote their lives and fortunes to the defence of her family. The counteſs having made a progreſs through all the other

fortreſſes of the duchy, reduced them to the adoption of ſimilar ſentiments; ſhe viſited all the garriſons, encouraged them by her exhortations; provided them with every neceſſary article of ſuſtenance; and concerted the proper plans of defence. After ſhe had ſecured the whole province againſt ſurpriſe, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in Hennebonne, where ſhe waited with impatience for the arrival of thoſe ſuccours which the Engliſh monarch had promiſed to ſend her. Meanwhile, ſhe ſent her ſon over to England, not only with a view to put him in a place of ſafety, but to engage Edward, by ſuch a pledge, to embrace with zeal the intereſts of her family.

A. D. 1342.] The ſeaſon for action had ſcarcely commenced, when Charles of Blois opened the campaign, in full expectation of ſhortly terminating a war, that was only ſupported by the feeble efforts of a woman. He firſt laid ſiege to Rennes, which the counteſs had entruſted to the care of William de Cadoudal; and as the expected reinforcement from England was delayed by contrary winds, the inhabitants revolted againſt the governor, and ſurrendered the town. Charles next proceeded to Hennebonne, where the brave counteſs commanded in perſon. This was the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Brittany, and the garriſon, actuated by the preſence and example of their incomparable heroine, prepared for a vigorous defence. The counteſs herſelf performed prodigies of valour; aſſaults the moſt violent and inceſſant ſhe ſuſtained without ſhrinking; clad in complete armour, ſhe ſtood foremoſt on the breach, and repelled with irreſiſtible courage all the attacks of Charles; with active vigilance ſhe flew from poſt to poſt, and in the encouragement and ſupport of her troops, ſhe diſplayed a degree of ſkill that would have done honour to the moſt experienced general.

Perceiving one day that the beſiegers, occupied in a general attack, had left their camp unguarded, ſhe immediately ſallied forth by a poſtern, with a body of five hundred horſe; ſet fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines; and created ſo univerſal an alarm, that the enemy deſiſted from the aſſault, in order to cut off her communication with the town. Finding herſelf intercepted, ſhe inſtantly took her reſolution, and galloped off towards Auray, which place ſhe reached in ſafety. Five days after, ſhe returned with her little army, cut her way through a part of the camp, and entered the town in triumph.

At length, however, ſo many breaches were made in the walls by the reiterated attacks of the beſiegers, that the place was deemed no longer tenable; and the biſhop of Leon, in ſpite of the prayers and remonſtrances of the counteſs, had determined to capitulate. He was accordingly engaged in a conference with Charles of Blois, for the purpoſe of fixing the terms, when the counteſs, who had aſcended to the ſummit of a lofty tower, and was caſting an eager look towards the ſea, deſcried a fleet at a diſtance. She inſtantly ran into the ſtreet, and exclaimed, in a tranſport of joy—"Succours, ſuccours! The Engliſh "ſuccours! No capitulation!" Nor was ſhe miſtaken; the Engliſh fleet, ſoon

after, entered the harbour; and the troops (which conſiſted of a body of heavy-armed cavalry, and ſix thouſand archers, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the braveſt captains of England) being landed, immediately ſallied from the city, and attacked the camp of the beſiegers, which was once more reduced to aſhes, after a great number of thoſe who defended it had been put to the ſword. On Sir Walter's return from this ſucceſsful expedition, "The "counteſs," ſays Froiſſard, went forth from the palace to meet him with a joyful "countenance, and kiſſed him and his companions two or three times, like a "valiant lady."

Lewis d'Eſpagne, who had been left by Charles of Blois to continue the ſiege of Hennebonne, while he himſelf went to inveſt Auray*, deeming it imprudent, after the check he had received, to remain any longer before a place, which the arrival of the Engliſh had rendered impregnable, decamped in a few days, and took poſſeſſion of Dinant and Guerande. With ſome veſſels which he found in thoſe parts he committed depredations on the coaſt of Brittany, and, landing a part of his troops, laid waſte the environs of Quimperlay. But, being purſued by Sir Walter Manny, the ſoldiers whom he had left to guard the veſſels were maſſacred, and his ſhips deſtroyed; and the Engliſh general then landing his troops, met with Lewis d'Eſpagne returning to the ſea-ſide, when a deſperate action enſued, in which the French were completely defeated; Lewis, however, by an uncommon exertion of valour, made his way through the enemy, and, ſeizing a ſmall veſſel that lay cloſe to the ſhore, effected his eſcape in ſight of the Engliſh fleet, which in vain attempted to purſue him.

But theſe gallant achievements, and partial victories, rather tended to prolong than to terminate the war, which now raged, with extended fury, throughout the duchy of Brittany. The counteſs of Montfort applied to the Engliſh monarch for farther aſſiſtance, which Edward promiſed to ſend her as ſoon as the ſituation of his affairs would permit him; in the mean time he adviſed her to procure, if poſſible, a ceſſation of arms. The Britiſh nobles, on either ſide, willingly acceded to the propoſal ſhe cauſed to be made for that purpoſe, and Charles of Blois was conſtrained to accept it.

The counteſs took advantage of the truce to repair to London; ſhe could not have choſen a more propitious moment for her voyage, ſince ſhe arrived at the very time when the truce which had been concluded between the kings of France and England was on the point of expiring†. Edward, burning with impatience to renew the war, immediately granted her a conſiderable reinforcement under Robert of Artois, which embarked on board a fleet of forty-five ſhips. In their voyage they were met by a French fleet off Guernſey, commanded by Lewis d'Eſpagne. An engagement enſued, in which the counteſs diſplayed her uſual courage, charging the enemy ſword in hand; but the hoſtile

* Argentre.

† Froiſſard; Argentre.

fleets, after a ſharp action, which continued till night, were ſeperated by a ſtorm which drove the French into the Bay of Biſcay, and carried the Engliſh into the river at Hennebonne.

Robert of Artois, as ſoon as he had landed his troops, formed the ſiege of Vannes, which was taken by aſſault, and the inhabitants, as well as the garriſon, were put to the ſword. The four noblemen, to whom the defence of the town had been entruſted, eſcaped the general maſſacre, and, in order to wipe out the diſgrace they had incurred, they collected a body of twelve thouſand men, and, returning to Vannes, attacked the place with ſuch vigour and impetuoſity, that it was carried on the ſecond aſſault. Robert of Artois received a wound in the attack, of which he ſoon after died at ſea, on his return to London*, "eſteemed," ſays le Gendret, "by the Engliſh, but deteſted by the French."

Edward now undertook in perſon the defence of the counteſs of Montfort; and, having ſailed from Sandwich on the fifth of October, landed at Morbian, near Vannes, with an army of twelve thouſand men. With this force, inconſiderable when compared with that of the French, he imprudently commenced four important ſieges‡ at the ſame time; that of Vannes, of Nantes, of Rennes, and of Dinant. By this diviſion of his troops, all his efforts were feeble, and, conſequently, unſucceſsful; and, by that means, he afforded time to his enemies for making every neceſſary preparation againſt him. Charles of Blois had ſhut himſelf up in Nantes to wait the arrival of the duke of Normandy, who ſoon entered Brittany, with an army of forty thouſand men. When Edward was appriſed of his approach, he recalled his troops from Dinant, which they had taken and ſacked, and collected his whole army in the vicinity of Vannes. Thither the duke of Normandy marched to attack him; but, finding that he had ſtrongly entrenched his camp, he contented himſelf with following his example, and the two armies remained in that ſituation till winter. Edward was now hemmed in, as it were, by a ſtrong garriſon on one ſide, and a ſuperior army on the other; that army too was well ſupplied with proviſions, while he himſelf was obliged to draw a precarious ſubſiſtance from England; thus circumſtanced, he willingly acceeded to the mediation of the pope's legates, the cardinals of Paleſtine and Freſcati, who interpoſed their good offices, and effected a truce of three years between the two monarchs and their reſpective allies.

By the articles of this truce, a mutual releaſe of priſoners was to take place; and all the towns and fortreſſes in Brittany, and elſewhere, were to remain in the hands of their preſent poſſeſſors, except the city of Vannes, which was to be ſequeſtered, during the truce, in the hands of the legates, who were afterwards to deliver it to whomſoever they pleaſed‖. The kings of France and

* Froiſſard, l. i. c. 94. † Tom. ii. p. 471. ‡ Argentre: Froiſſard: Villaret. ‖ Rymer, vol. v. p. 346, 352: Aveſbury, p. 100: Walſing. p. 159.

England, with ſeveral of their chief noblity, took the moſt ſolemn oaths that the treaty ſhould be rigidly obſerved.

A. D. 1343, 1344.] The ſolemnity of the engagement, however, proved inſufficient to enforce its obſervance; and but a ſhort time elapſed, before frequent violations of the truce gave riſe to mutual complaints. Oliver de Cliſſon, attached to the party of Charles of Blois, had been taken by the Engliſh at the ſiege of Vannes, and conducted to Hennebonne, where he was exchanged againſt an Engliſh noblemen. The preference which Edward ſhewed on this occaſion to Oliver, over Henry of Leon, who was equally deſirous of being exchanged, created ſome doubts of his fidelity. He was accordingly apprehended in Brittany, by an order from the king, and conveyed to Paris, where, in a few days, he ſuffered decapitation, without any previous trial, or even formal accuſation. At the ſame time, ten other noblemen of Brittany were ſeized; viz. Geoffrey de Maleſtroit; and his ſon John; John de Montauban; Alain de Quedillac; Denis Dupleſſis; William de Brieux, and two of his brothers; John Mallard and John de Senedavy. Theſe were all executed at Paris, in the ſame manner as Oliver de Cliſſon, and their heads ſent into Brittany. Henry de Maleſtroit, brother to Geoffrey, was alſo apprehended; but, being a clerk, he was delivered over to the eccleſiaſtical judge, who, obſequious to the king, condemned him to perpetual impriſonment. Geoffrey of Harcourt, brother to the count of that name, ſaved his life by a timely evaſion; but three Norman knights—William Bacon, the Lord of Roche-Teſſon, and Richard de Terſy, being accuſed of having favoured his eſcape, were beheaded, and their heads were ſent to Saint-Lo in the Cotentin. Theſe ſanguinary executions, for unknown crimes, diffuſed terror and conſternation throughout the kingdom. The nobility could not behold, without indignation, ſo many of their equals ſentenced to die, on vague accuſations of treaſon, unſupported by proof, and without the obſervance of thoſe previous forms for aſcertaining their guilt, which the laws required to be obſerved towards the loweſt and moſt abandoned criminals. The people were loud in their cenſures; and the cruelty and injuſtice of Philip became the ſubject of univerſal reprobation, as juſt as it was general. From this time, a viſible change in his temper was remarked; he appeared reſtleſs, gloomy, and ſuſpicious; and, believing himſelf to be ſurrounded by traitors, the ſmalleſt circumſtance excited his miſtruſt, and ſerved as a pretext for exertions of cruelty and revenge.

Edward complained of this ſeverity to the nobles of Brittany, as an infraction of the truce; but, as they were profeſſedly attached to the party of Charles of Blois, their execution, however unjuſt, could not poſſibly be conſidered as a violation of the treaty. As the Engliſh monarch, however, was inclined to renew the war, he was not very ſcrupulous in his ſelection of circumſtances for the juſtification of his conduct. He threatened to retaliate the cruelty exerted on Oliver de Cliſſon, on Henry de Leon, who was his priſoner; but, being diſ-

ſuaded from following ſo bad an example, he contented himſelf with exacting from that nobleman a promiſe to repair to the court of France, and tell Philip, that, as he had violated the truce by the execution of the nobles of Brittany, he, from that day, conſidered him as his enemy, and would treat him as ſuch. On this condition, which he faithfully fulfilled, three-fourths of his ranſom were remitted, and he was reſtored to liberty on paying only ten thouſand livres.

A. D. 1345.] When the king of England had thus publiſhed his reaſons for renewing the war before the expiration of the truce, he diſpatched a ſmall force into Brittany, under the conduct of Sir Thomas Dagworth, to aſſiſt and encourage the gallant counteſs of Montfort, and her adherents; and then ſent an army into Guienne, under the command of his uncle, the earl of Derby, for the defence of that province. The French governor, the count of Liſle-Jourdain, immediately aſſembled his troops; and, being joined by the counts of Comminges, Perigord, Carmain, Villemur, Valentinois, Mirande, Duras, and la Borde; the viſcount of Chatillon; the lords of Pincornet, Chateau-Neuf, and D'Eſtain, and by many others of the nobility, he ſhut himſelf up in Bergerac, a ſtrong poſt on the Dordogne, in order to oppoſe the paſſage of the Engliſh, who intended to penetrate into the Perigord. But, after two attacks, conducted with equal ſkill and ſpirit, and doubting his ability to ſuſtain a third, the governor thought proper to decamp, and leave the inhabitants at liberty to capitulate. This advantage was followed by the entire reduction of the Perigord.

The count de Liſle, who had retired to Reole, having collected an army of ten or twelve thouſand men, now inveſted Auberoche, which had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, and proſecuted the ſiege with ſuch vigour that the garriſon was reduced to the laſt extremity. Derby, appriſed of their diſtreſs, marched privately from Bourdeaux, with only a thouſand cavalry; and, his approach being concealed by a wood, he took the French by ſurpriſe, attacked them with irreſiſtible ardour, and obtained a moſt complete victory. Great numbers periſhed in the action; and two hundred knights and ten counts, in which number was the count of Liſle, were taken priſoners. The lord of Duras, and Lewis of Poitiers, were among the killed. After this victory the earl of Derby reduced all the places in Guienne which had been taken by the French, with the ſingle exception of Blaye, which he inveſted during ten weeks, when the courageous defence of Guichard de Langle and William de Rochechouart, who commanded in the town, compelled him to raiſe the ſiege. The governor of Aiguillon, a fortreſs which, in thoſe times, was deemed impregnable, ſurrendered before he was attacked; but he ſoon met with the puniſhment that was due to his perfidy; for, when he arrived at Toulouſe, he was ſeized and hanged by the inhabitants.

While the Engliſh obtained theſe advantages in Guienne, the war was carried on in Brittany with varied ſucceſs. In compliance with the articles of the truce concluded between the kings of France and England, and their reſpective

allies, the count of Montfort had been releaſed from confinement, but on condition that he ſhould not return to Brittany till the expiration of the truce. Imagining, probably, that Philip had no right to impoſe this reſtriction, he recently withdrew from Paris, and repaired to the Engliſh court, where, having done homage to Edward for his duchy, on the twentieth of May, 1345, he returned to the continent in the following month with a ſupply of Engliſh troops, which enabled him to open the campaign*. Charles of Blois, in the mean time, took the town of Quimpercorentin, and put the garriſon and the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex, to the ſword. Among the heaps of dead and dying perſons, an infant was found in the arms of its murdered mother, with its lips preſſed to the breaſt in ſearch of that nouriſhment which was now mingled with blood. This horrid ſight diſarmed the ferocity of the conqueror, who immediately put a ſtop to the ſlaughter; but the cruelty practiſed on this occaſion, though ſaid to be foreign from the ſoul of Charles, who is repreſented as an humane and generous prince, did an irreparable injury to his cauſe. Montfort haſtened to retake Quimpercorentin, but was repulſed with loſs; he revenged, however, this affront by the reduction of Dinant; ſoon after which he was ſeized with a fever at Hennebonne, that put an end to his exiſtence on the twentieth of September. He left one ſon, named John, whoſe intereſts the king of England undertook to ſupport.

A. D. 1346.] The little oppoſition which the Engliſh had hitherto experienced was owing to the exhauſted ſtate of the French treaſury; but Philip, having at length remedied this inconvenience, by the impoſition of an onerous duty upon ſalt, he levied an army of one hundred thouſand men†, which, marching into Guienne, under the conduct of the duke of Normandy, who was attended by the duke of Burgundy, and many of the chief nobility, threatened the total reduction of that province. The Engliſh general, unable to oppoſe a force ſo ſuperior in the open field, was conſtrained to act merely on the defenſive; ſo that the duke marched unmoleſted to Angouleme, which he immediately inveſted. This place was commanded by John, lord Norwich, who, after a vigorous defence, finding it impoſſible to ſave the town, had recourſe to a ſtratagem, by which he prevented the garriſon from becoming priſoners of war. He demanded a parley with the duke of Normandy, who, obſerving that he ſuppoſed it was his intention to capitulate, "By no means," replied Norwich, "but "as to-morrow will be the feaſt of the Virgin, for whom I know, Sir, that you "as well as myſelf entertain a proper degree of reſpect, I deſire a ceſſation of "arms for that day." The duke, having ſignified his aſſent to the propoſal, the governor ordered his troops to prepare their baggage, and, on the next day, marched out of the town, and advanced towards the French camp. The beſiegers ſeeing the Engliſh approach, inſtantly flew to arms, when Norwich ſent

* Hiſt. Geneal. de la France, vol. viii. p. 452. † Froiſſard, t. i. c. 189.

a meſſenger to the duke to remind him of his engagement. The duke, who on no occaſion could be prevailed on to break his word, exclaimed, "The gover-"nor, I ſee, has outwitted me; ſo we muſt e'en content ourſelves with obtain-"ing poſſeſſion of the town;" and the Engliſh were allowed to paſs through the camp unmoleſted.

The duke of Normandy now inveſted Aiguillon, which, as well from its ſituation at the conflux of the rivers Garonne and Lot, as from the new fortifications which the Engliſh had recently thrown up, was in a condition to make a long reſiſtance. The attack was conducted with determined vigour; each day four regular aſſaults were given; and the duke of Normandy, having taken a raſh oath, not to decamp till he had taken poſſeſſion of the place, ſpared no pains to reduce it. Four different bridges were conſtructed over the Garonne, and immediately deſtroyed by the active courage of Sir Walter Manny, who, with the earl of Pembroke, commanded the forces in the town. Every effort was exerted that ingenuity could deviſe, or valour execute, but in vain; the Engliſh were conſtantly under arms, and, although preſſed on every ſide, defended themſelves with ſuch ſkill and reſolution, that the duke at length deſpairing to ſucceed by force, converted the ſiege into a blockade, with a view to reduce them by famine.

Edward appriſed of his intention, and aware of the importance of preſerving Aiguillon, haſtened his preparations; and, having collected a powerful army, reſolved to repair in perſon to the relief of Guienne. He accordingly embarked his troops on board a fleet of one thouſand ſail; but, being detained more than a month at Portſmouth by contrary winds, he was, during that time, prevailed upon to change his plan of operations, and direct his courſe to Normandy, where the French were unprepared to receive him. This plan had been ſuggeſted to him by Geoffrey of Harcourt; who, compelled by the tyranny of Philip to abandon his country, had repaired to the Engliſh court, where he was favourably received by Edward. In compliance with the advice of this nobleman, the king of England ſailed from St. Helen's, on the tenth of July, 1346, accompanied by his eldeſt ſon, the prince of Wales, who had now attained his ſixteenth year, and by all the principal nobility of the kingdom.—After a voyage of two days, he landed at La Hogue, with his army, which conſiſted of four thouſand men at arms, ten thouſand archers, and eighteen thouſand infantry.

The deſcent of the Engliſh ſpread terror and diſmay throughout the fertile province of Normandy, which had long been exempted from the terrors of war. The open country was ravaged, and the towns, being ill fortified, and worſe defended, were ſpeedily reduced. Harfleur was pillaged without reſiſtance; while Cherbourg, Montebourg, Valognes, Carentan, and Saint-Lo, were all reduced to aſhes. The news of this ſudden and unexpected invaſion was received with aſtoniſhment by the court of France. The king, however,

flattered himself that the town of Caen might hold out, and, by checking the progress of the invaders, give him time to assemble his forces. He therefore sent the count D'Eu, constable of France, and the count of Tancarville, with what arms and men he could collect, to reinforce the garrison. One side of the town was defended by a castle, guarded by three hundred Genoese. The inhabitants, at first, displayed so much resolution that it was resolved to give up the original design of abandoning the suburbs, and confining themselves to the defence of the city; but, when they were attacked by the enemy, their courage soon forsook them; they fled at the first onset, and the English, following them into the town, a dreadful massacre ensued. The pillage is said, by Froissard, to have continued three days; the jewels, plate, and most valuable effects were reserved for Edward, and the rest were bestowed upon the army. The whole was embarked on board the fleet, and sent over to England, together with three hundred of the most wealthy citizens of Caen, whom the king intended to detain till they should be able to pay their ransom.

From Caen, Edward advanced to Evreux, but that town being well fortified he marched on to Louviers, which he took and burned. When he came to Rouen he found that Philip had been there before him, and had broken down the bridge over the Seine, wherefore he changed his course, and pursued his march along the banks of that river towards Paris, laying waste the whole country, and destroying every town and village that lay in his way. In this destructive progress Pont-de-l'Arche, Vernon, Mante, and Meulan were reduced to ashes. The king, in the mean time, left Rouen, and, marching along the opposite side of the river, arrived at Paris just as Edward reached Poissy. A detachment of the English army penetrated into the Chartrain; and, on their return, pillaged and burnt Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Nanterre, Reuel, Saint-Cloud, Neuilly, and the tower of Montjoye, which had been recently repaired.

Edward intended to pass the river at Poissy, but he found Philip, who had collected his forces, prepared to oppose his passage; and the bridge at that place, as well as all other bridges over the Seine, broken down. He extricated himself, however, from this perilous situation, by making a feint march towards Paris, and then hastily returning, when he repaired the bridge with incredible celerity, having secretly provided materials for that purpose; and, passing over his army, advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. His vanguard, commanded by Geoffrey of Harcourt, fell in with the commons of Picardy, who were going to join their sovereign, and defeated them with great slaughter. After this victory, the English entered the Beauvoisis, where they committed the same ravages as had hitherto marked their progress. It appears strange, says M. de Boulainvilliers*, that Edward, who had formed a plan for

* Boulainvil. Hist. de France.

the conqueſt of France, ſhould have contented himſelf with laying waſte the country; in fact, a nation is ſooner ſubdued by acts of moderation, than by exertions of cruelty; but ſuch was, at this period, the wretched condition of the common people in moſt parts of Europe, and ſuch the barbarous mode of waging war. The principal reward of the troops conſiſted in the plunder they were able to make; and the leaders themſelves could ſeldom reſtrain the diſorders which were authoriſed by cuſtom. Nor was the reſpect due to religion ſufficiently powerful to preſerve the churches from the licentious rage of a victorious ſoldiery. The rich and magnificent abbey of Saint Lucian, at Beauvais, founded by Childeric—one of the moſt ancient monuments of kingly piety then extant in France—was firſt pillaged, and then reduced to aſhes. Edward, on this occaſion, ordered one of his ſoldiers to be hanged, for having preſumed to tranſgreſs the expreſs prohibition he had iſſued not to commit the ſmalleſt outrage on the ſanctuaries of religion*.

Philip was greatly enraged when he found Edward had eſcaped; and he haſtened to purſue him with the utmoſt ardour and diſpatch. The Engliſh monarch, when he arrived on the banks of the Somme, was reduced to the ſame difficulty from which he had ſo lately diſengaged himſelf: all the bridges on that river were either broken down, or rendered impaſſable by the ſtrength of the detachments ſtationed to protect them: in vain did he attempt to force thoſe of Pequigny and Remy; he was repulſed at both places, and his ſituation daily became more critical. The French army, advancing with rapidity, he found himſelf on the point of being compelled to engage on unequal terms, with troops haraſſed by forced marches, encumbered with booty, and greatly inferior in numbers. In this extremity he offered a reward of one hundred nobles to any one who ſhould conduct him to a ford. A French peaſant, named Gobin Agace allured by the proſpect of gain, was ſeduced on this occaſion into an act of treachery; and informed Edward of a paſſage, between Abbeville and the ſea, ſufficiently broad to admit twelve men a-breaſt, where, at low water, he might paſs the river in ſafety. Preceded by his guide, the king of England continued his march during the whole night, and, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, arrived at the ford of Blanchetaque, the only place in Ponthieu where the Somme was fordable. His deſign, however, being anticipated by Godemar du Fay, that nobleman appeared on the oppoſite banks, with a ſtrong detachment of twelve thouſand men, ready to diſpute his paſſage. But the neceſſity of the caſe did not admit of deliberation; Edward, therefore, jumped into the river, ſword in hand, drove the enemy from their ſtation, and purſued them to a diſtance on the plain; Froiſſard ſays, that Godemar du Fay diſplayed, on this occaſion, his uſual courage, and that his repulſe was ſolely owing to the cowardice of his troops, who were chiefly undiſciplined militia, and fled at the firſt

* Villaret.



Seymour fec:

Bertrand de Guesclin,
Graciously received by the Prince of Wales
Consent to Edward the Black Prince.

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onſet: the continuator of Nangis, a contemporary writer (but frequently partial and incorrect) aſſerts, on the other hand, that he did not make the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, but drew off his troops the moment the Engliſh approached.

The van-guard of the French army arrived at the ford when the rear-guard of the Engliſh were paſſing, and ſome of the laſt ranks that ſtill remained on the ſide were taken priſoners. When Philip came up with the reſt of his troops, and ſaw the enemy on the oppoſite banks of the Somme, hurried on by anger and the thirſt of revenge, he would fain have paſſed the riſing ſtream; but the return of the tide had rendered it impoſſible; he was therefore obliged to take his route over the bridge at Abbeville, by which ſome time was loſt. Edward, after paſſing the night at Noyelle, had, in the morning, proceeded to the ſmall village of Crecy; though he had hitherto ſurmounted every obſtacle to his progreſs, he was fully aware that the ſuperiority of the French, particularly in cavalry, muſt materially incommode his march over the open plains of Picardy, which would afford him but little opportunity for the exertion of military ſkill; he therefore prudently reſolved to wait for them in his preſent ſituation, the local advantages of which might, in ſome meaſure, compenſate for his inferior numbers. He choſe his ground with great judgment, on a gentle aſcent, which commanded the village, where he drew up his army in three lines. The firſt, conſiſting of eight hundred men at arms, four thouſand archers, and ſix thouſand Welſh infantry, was commanded by the young prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the earles of Warwick and Oxford, by Geoffrey of Harcourt, and by the lords Stafford, Chandos, Holland, Clifford, and the flower of the Engliſh nobility. The earls of Aurundel and Northampton, with the lords of Willoughby, Roos, Baſſet, and Sir Lewis Tufton, led on the ſecond line, which was compoſed of eight hundred men at arms, four thouſand halbardiers, and two thouſand archers. The third line, which was meant as a corps de reſerve, either to facilitate a retreat, in caſe of neceſſity, to ſupply the other two lines with occaſional ſuccours, or to ſecond any advantage they might gain over the enemy, was commanded by the king in perſon, attended by the lords Mowbray and Mortimer, Sir Thomas Dagworth, Sir Hugh Haſtings, and others of the nobility. This line was ranged on the ſummit of the hill; and conſiſted of ſeven hundred men at arms, five thouſand three hundred bill-men, and ſix thouſand archers. Edward had taken the precaution to ſecure his flanks by trenches; while his rear was defended by a wood, in which he placed his baggage; and he ſurrounded the whole by an intrenchment. When the army was drawn up in this excellent order, the king of England rode along the ranks; and, by his chearful countenance and animating exhortations, inſpired his troops with a degree of courage and confidence not inferior to his own. He then ordered his cavalry to diſmount, and his whole army to repoſe themſelves a while on the graſs, and refreſh themſelves by food, that they might be prepared to receive the enemy with more ſpirit and vigour.

The king, eager to overtake the Engliſh, marched from Abbeville with a prodigious army, at break of day, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, 1346*. When he had advanced about three leagues on his road to Crecy, he ſent four knights to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy; on their return, fearful that the reſult of their obſervations might prove diſpleaſing to Philip, they forbore to ſpeak—till one of them, an experienced officer in the ſervice of the Bohemian monarch, being preſſed by the king, thus addreſſed him: "Sire, I will ſpeak, "under the correction of my companions, ſince ſuch is your pleaſure. We "have obeyed your orders, and obſerved the ſituation of your enemies; know, "they are drawn up in three lines, and are waiting your approach. Where-"fore, it is my advice, with ſubmiſſion to thoſe who are able to give better "council, that your troops remain where they are, in the fields, till to-morrow; "for, by the time your rear ſhall have reached this ſpot, and the whole be "drawn up in order of battle, it will be late; beſides, your men will be tired, "while the enemy will be freſh and vigorous. To-morrow morning you may "draw up your troops in proper order; and, in the mean time, you will have "leiſure to conſider on what ſide it will be beſt to attack the Engliſh, for, be "aſſured, they will wait for you."

The king appeared convinced of the propriety of this advice, and immediately told the knights to order the van of his army to hault; they accordingly galloped on, calling out to the ſtandard-bearers—"Stop; in the name of God, "and of Saint Denis, ſtop!" Thoſe who were moſt forward halted; but the corps that followed, under the command of the count of Alencon, obſtinately refuſing to diſcontinue their march, they ſoon reſumed their progreſs. In vain did the king ſend reiterated orders to halt, they were all diſregarded, and the army arrived at Crecy in ſuch confuſion, that it was impoſſible to reduce them into proper order. Even Philip himſelf, as ſoon as he perceived the enemy, hurried on by reſentment at the inſults he had ſuſtained, forgot every thing but his oath not to let Edward eſcape without bringing him to action. He ordered his van, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bowmen, under the command of Antonio Doria and Carolo Grimaldi, to begin the attack; but a ſhower of rain, which had fallen a little before the engagement, having moiſtened and relaxed the ſtrings of their bows, their arrows fell ſhort of their mark; whereas thoſe of the Engliſh, who kept their bows in caſes, did infinite execution among the Genoeſe, and ſoon threw them into diſorder. The king, ſeeing them fall back, ordered his men at arms to ride over them, exclaiming, "Kill that rabble, for they ſtop our "way without any reaſon." The cavalry, in attempting to obey his orders, broke their own ranks; whereas, had they opened a paſſage for them, all confuſion would have been avoided, and they might eaſily have rallied behind the horſe. But, notwithſtanding this firſt check, the count of Alencon advanced

* Villani; Memoral. Humb. Pilat. Ann. 1346.

with great fury againſt the body conducted by the prince of Wales, who received him with aſtoniſhing intrepidity; at the ſame time, an impetuous attack was made by a choſen body of French and German knights on the Engliſh archers, who were driven from the ranks, ſo that the prince was in imminent danger of being ſurrounded. In this emergency, the earl of Warwick diſpatched a meſſenger to the king of England, entreating him to advance to the relief of his ſon. Edward had fixed his ſtation in a windmill, on the ſummit of the hill, from whence he ſurveyed in tranquillity the ſcene of action. When the meſſenger accoſted him, he enquired, whether the prince was ſlain, wounded, or unhorſed; and, being anſwered in the negative—"Return," ſaid he, "to my "ſon; tell him I am confident he will prove himſelf worthy the honour of "knighthood, which I ſo lately conferred on him; and that I am determined "the glory of this victory ſhall be wholly reſerved for him and his brave "companions." This anſwer being reported to the prince and his followers, it inſpired them with freſh courage, and impelled them to more vigourous exertions. The archers recovered their ſtation; the earls of Arundel and Northampton had advanced to ſupport the prince, and enabled him to repel the attacks of the count of Alencon, though ſtrengthened by continual ſupplies. The conflict was long ſuſtained, with equal reſolution, on both ſides; but, at length, many of the principal nobility being ſlain, the two firſt lines of the French army were thrown into confuſion, and driven from the field. Philip, who evinced the moſt ſignal courage on this important day, undiſmayed by the ſlaughter of his troops, and the loſs of his beſt officers, advanced with the line under his own command, and made an impetuous attack on the Engliſh; but, ſtricken with a panic, his men fled with precipitation, and left him expoſed to the enemy, with no other ſupport than that of five knights, and ſixty followers; ſtill, however, he refuſed to fly; his horſe being killed under him, the count of Hainault aſſiſted him to mount another; though wounded in two places, all exhortations to retreat were diſregarded; till, at length, the count, finding him deaf to ſolicitation and remonſtrance, ſeized his horſe's bridle, and literally forced him off the field.

Such was the fate of this diſaſtrous day, in which the French ſignaliſed their courage at the expence of order and diſcipline. To the blind fury of the leaders, and the want of ſubordination in the troops, this defeat muſt be chiefly aſcribed; though the ſkill and valour of their foes muſt not be forgotten; the prince of Wales particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf; ſtimulated by every incitement that could animate the generous boſom of youth; he ſignaliſed his firſt feats of arms in a manner that would have done honour to the moſt experienced veteran; active and intrepid, he was foremoſt in every danger, and, by his own conduct, rendered his troops invincible. The old king of Bohemia, blind through age, accompanied Philip; and, being determined to ſet a worthy example to his followers, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each ſide to the horſes

of two of his moſt valiant knights. His body, with thoſe of his attendants, was found among the ſlain, with their horſes ſtanding by them, ſtill tied together.

The victorious Edward, on the morning after the battle, detached a ſtrong party in purſuit of the fugitives; who, meeting with a body of French troops from Rouen and Beauvais, on their march to join the main army, defeated them at the firſt onſet. The archbiſhop of Rouen, and the grand prior of France, advancing with a freſh reinforcement, were likewiſe defeated and ſlain, with two thouſand of their followers.

The numbers that fell in the memorable *battle of Crecy*, and on the ſubſequent day, are variouſly repreſented; but it appears, by the moſt moderate computation, that the French loſt twelve hundred knights, eighty bannerets, and thirty thouſand men; many of the principal nobility ſerved to ſwell the liſt of the ſlain—viz. the counts of Alencon, Blois, Sancerre, Flanders, Auxerre, Vaudemont, Aumale, and Saint Poll; the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon; and the two noble Genoeſe, Grimaldi and Doria. The ſtandard of the Bohemian monarch, who acted as a volunteer, was taken and carried to the prince of Wales; on it was his creſt, three oſtrich feathers, with the motto, in German—"*Ich Dien—I ſerve*," which the prince of Wales and his ſucceſſors adopted in memorial of the victory. It has been aſſerted that artillery was firſt employed on this occaſion; that the Engliſh, in the heat of the action, made uſe of ſix pieces of cannon, and that the terror they inſpired determined the victory in their favour*. But this invention was not unknown to the French†; ſince it appears from an ancient regiſter of the chamber of accounts, for the year 1338—eight years before the battle of Crecy—that *Bartholomew de Drach, treaſurer for the wars, gives an account of the money advanced to Henry de Famechon for powder and other materials neceſſary for the cannon employed in the ſiege of Puy Guillaume*.

The king, in deſpair at ſeeing the victory ſnatched from him, as it were, by the diſobedience and inſubordination of his own troops, haſtened to the caſtle of Broye, where he arrived about the middle of the night. When the governor aſked who was at the gate, "Open it," ſaid Philip, "it is the fortune of France." After reſting himſelf a few minutes, he proceeded to Amiens. In the firſt tranſport of anger, he ordered Godemar du Fay to be hanged; but the count of Hainault moderated his rage, by repreſenting to him that the affection of his ſubjects was already too much eſtranged, and that a miſplaced exertion of rigour would only tend to irritate them more. "It is not to be wondered at," ſaid that noblemen, "that Godemar du Fay ſhould have been unable to reſiſt "the power of the Engliſh monarch, when the united forces of France have "in vain attempted to ſubdue him." After the battle, the king wiſhed to collect

* Villani, l. xii, c. 65. † Du Cange Gloſſ. ad. verb. Bombarde.

his ſcattered troops, and try the fate of a ſecond action; but, ſuch was the terror that diffuſed itſelf throughout the army, that his commands were diſregarded, the men refuſed to join their ſtandards, and haſtened to their reſpective homes*. He was therefore conſtrained to return to Paris, and to defer his revenge till a future opportunity.

Edward, in the mean time, reſolved to profit by his victory; and, as he had long been anxious to ſecure a commodious poſt, by which he might, at all times, have an entrance into France, without being obliged to the Flemings†, he marched through the Boulonnois, to Calais, which he inveſted on the eighth of September. The governor of that city was John de Vienne, a valorous knight of Burgundy, who was determined to diſcharge the truſt repoſed in him with vigour and fidelity; to Edward's citation to ſurrender the place to him, as king of France, he bravely anſwered, that he acknowledged no other king of France than Philip, in whoſe ſervice he was reſolved to live and die. The Engliſh monarch, ſenſible of the impracticability of reducing the place by aſſault, contented himſelf with blockading it in the moſt effectual manner. He choſe a ſecure ſtation for his camp, which he ſurrounded with ſtrong entrenchments; raiſed huts, which he covered with ſtraw or broom, to preſerve his ſoldiers from the inclemency of the weather; and ſtationed a fleet at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent the introduction of proviſions into the town. The governor, perceiving his intentions, diſmiſſed all the uſeleſs mouths from the garriſon, to the number of ſeventeen hundred; and Edward had the generoſity to allow theſe unhappy people to paſs through his camp; and even provided them with money to defray the expences of their journey.

The king now recalled the duke of Normandy, who was ſtill engaged in the ſiege of Aiguillon, which he was obliged to raiſe in obedience to the order of his father, notwithſtanding the oath he had taken not to quit the place till he had reduced the town. Edward, at the ſiege of Vannes, had made a ſimilar vow, thus laying himſelf under the neceſſity of ſurmounting every obſtacle, as if the will of man, with the aid of an oath, could riſe ſuperior to all difficulties, and direct the courſe of events. The earl of Derby, by the duke's retreat, being left maſter of the field, ſoon recovered all the towns that had been taken in Guienne; he even puſhed his conqueſts as far as Poitiers, which he reduced, and, paſſing a fortnight in the place, exacted from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance to the king of England.

While the kingdom was thus haraſſed at either extremity, the war was carried on with equal ardour in the diſtracted province of Brittany. The counteſs of Montfort, aſſiſted by the Engliſh, having reduced the fortreſs of Roche-derien, Charles of Blois repaired thither with a conſiderable army and inveſted the place; but the counteſs, reinforced by a body of troops under Sir Thomas Dag-

* Chron de Fland. † Spicil. Cont. Nang. Froiſſard.

worth, attacked him during the night in his entrenchments. A bloody conflict enſued, in which Charles himſelf was dangerouſly wounded and taken priſoner. Moſt of the nobility who accompanied him were killed. The viſcount of Rohan; the lord of Laval, Chateaubriand, Rays, Tournemine, Rieux, Boiſboiſſel, Machecou, Roſternen, Loheat, and La Jaille, were found among the ſlain.

France exhauſted in men and money; the people groaning beneath the weight of impoſts; the nobility diſcouraged by the fatal defeat at Crecy; the king a prey to ſuſpicion and chagrin—ſuch was the melancholy picture now exhibited by this late flouriſhing kingdom. Every expedient which the neceſſity of affairs required, and the miſery of the inhabitants would admit of, was adopted; new duties were laid upon ſalt, new taxes upon every ſpecies of merchandiſe, new impoſts upon the citizens; but of all theſe reſources, that which excited the greateſt murmurs among the people, and proved leaſt ſerviceable to the ſtate, was the adulteration of the coin, and the augmentation of its current value. New money was coined, in weight and purity inferior to the old, which was now called in. The variations in the coin during this reign were infinite: the people, who at firſt were not aware of the diſadvantage ariſing from thence, preferred this mode of ſupplying the wants of the ſtate, to that of levying impoſts, which they more immediately felt. They were ſoon, however, made ſenſible of their error; each augmentation of the current value of money produced a conſiderable increaſe in the price of proviſions, which never fell in proportion when the value was diminiſhed; new ordinances continually occaſioned freſh confuſion; and thoſe changes became ſo frequent that people were uncertain, whether the money of the day would be current on the morrow. The evil was ſtill heightened by the adulteration of the metals; thoſe who had any of the ancient coin were compelled to carry it to the clerks appointed to cut it through the middle; and theſe clerks exacted for their trouble a duty upon each piece of money, which the proprietor was afterwards obliged to change for baſe coin, with an enormous loſs upon its intrinſic value*. In the courſe of this reign, the price of the mark of ſilver experienced more than fifty variations, from fifty-five ſols to thirteen livres ten ſous. The price of a mark of gold varied, in proportion, from forty livres to one hundred and thirty-eight livres. At one time the evil had ariſen to ſuch an alarming heighth, that the value of money became entirely arbitrary; and a piece of gold paſſed, in trade, for a half, ſometimes a quarter, (or even leſs) of the value affixed to it by the king's edict. Beſides the profits which Philip derived from this deſtructive reſource, he levied a tenth on all eccleſiaſtical property†; but, the more money was thus extorted from the people, the poorer the king became; it was all abſorbed by the nobles and military men, who ſpent, in frivolous gratifications, and in games of chance, thoſe ſums which they had received for the ſervice of the king, and the defence of the ſtate.

* Ducauge ad verb. Moneta et Marca. † Chamb. des Comp. Memor. f. 17 and 18.

Philip now attempted to detach the Flemings from their alliance with Edward. Lewis, count of Flanders, who was killed at the battle of Crecy, left only one ſon, in his ſixteenth year*. Young Lewis had been brought up in the court of France, and his attachment and fidelity might the more ſafely be relied on, as he had conceived a violent hatred againſt the Engliſh, whom he conſidered as the aſſaſſins of his father. Edward wiſhed to make him his ſon-in-law; and, having communicated his wiſhes to the Flemiſh deputies, his propoſals were accepted with joy—but the count's conſent was neceſſary, and he then reſided at the French court. The duke of Brabant, who had the ſame views with Edward, ſecretly traverſed the negociations of that monarch, and Philip was engaged to favour his deſigns, by a promiſe from the duke to gain over the Flemings to his intereſt. The young count, at the requiſition of his ſubjects, was ſent into Flanders; and his marriage with the daughter of the duke of Brabant was concluded; when the king of England, appriſed of a treaty ſo prejudicial to his own intereſt, exerted himſelf with ſuch ſucceſs that the Flemings once more changed their reſolution. They now declared that they would never ſuffer their prince to marry the duke's daughter, and gave Lewis to underſtand that he muſt conſent to eſpouſe the daughter of the Engliſh monarch. The count appearing indiſpoſed to comply with their wiſhes, they ſeized and confined him; reduced to this extremity he found the neceſſity of diſſimulation; expreſſed his determination to accede to their propoſals, and repaired to Bergues-Saint-Winoch, where the king of England (who was then before Calais) went to meet him, with his daughter, the princeſs Iſabella†. The young couple were betrothed to each other, to the great content of Edward, and the apparent ſatisfaction of the future bridegroom; but Lewis ſoon took an opportunity to elude the vigilance of his guards, and, eſcaping to France, there married, before the expiration of the year, Margaret of Brabant.

The king had flattered himſelf with the vain hope that the inclemency of the ſeaſon would compel Edward to raiſe the ſiege of Calais; and that the irruption of the Scottiſh monarch, at the head of a powerful army, would induce him to return to England; but Edward having, previous to his departure, made every neceſſary arrangement for the ſafety of his dominions, reſolved not to quit the place till he had accompliſhed the object of his enterpriſe. Fortune, indeed, ſeemed to favour all the deſigns of this prince. The queen of England, having collected a body of twelve thouſand troops, which ſhe entruſted to the command of lord Percy, came up with the Scotch army at Neville's-croſs, near the city of Durham, on the twelfth of October, 1346. An action enſued, in which the Scots, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority of numbers, ſuſtained a total defeat; fifteen or twenty thouſand of them were ſlain, and their monarch, with many of the nobles, was taken priſoner, and ſent to the tower of London. Philippa

* Froiſſard, Spicil. Cont. Nang. † Rymer, vol. i. p. 4.

haſtened herſelf to the Engliſh camp before Calais, to take the news of this victory to her huſband.

John de Vienne, the brave governor of Calais, ſtill cheriſhing hopes of relief, pertinaciouſly refuſed to ſurrender the town, though the inhabitants were reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. At length Philip, informed of their condition, determined to make a laſt effort in their favour. With this view he aſſembled an army of ſixty thouſand men, at the head of which he approached the camp of the beſiegers; perceiving the impoſſibility of forcing their entrenchments, he ſent the lords of Charny, Ribaumont, and Neſle, with the mareſchal de Beaujeu, with a challenge to Edward, who replied, that he was there to take Calais, and that, if the king was anxious to fight, it was his place to find out the means of bringing him to action. Before he diſmiſſed the meſſengers he made them examine every part of his camp, that they might give an exact account of its ſtrength to their ſovereign. Philip now experienced the extremes of ſhame and indignation; loth to retreat, but ſtill more loth to riſk the loſs of his army, and the ruin of his ſtate, by imprudently liſtening to the dictates of deſpair.

A. D. 1347.] The pope ſent two cardinals to effect an accommodation between the rival crowns; but all their efforts for this purpoſe proved fruitleſs. The king, therefore, at length compelled to yield to the law of neceſſity, which is ſuperior to all human power, drew off his troops, and left the faithful citizens of Calais to their fate. The wretched inhabitants beheld his departure from the walls, and gave themſelves up for loſt. They were now reduced to the laſt extremity; their proviſions had long been gone; and not a dog, horſe, cat, nor any ſpecies of vermin that was eatable, however unpalatable, remained in the town. The governor, therefore, finding that his hopes of relief from the army of Philip were all vaniſhed, reſolved to ſurrender a fortreſs he was wholly unable to preſerve. He accordingly appeared on the walls, and, making a ſignal to the Engliſh centinels that he deſired a parley, Edward ſent Sir Walter Manny to receive his propoſals:—"Brave knights," ſaid the governor, "I "have been entruſted by my ſovereign with the command of this town: it is "almoſt a year ſince you began the ſiege; and I, and thoſe under me, have en"deavoured to do our duty; but, you are acquainted with my preſent condi"tion: we have no hopes of relief; we are periſhing with hunger; I am wil"ling therefore to ſurrender; and deſire, as the ſole condition, to enſure the "lives and liberties of theſe brave men, who have ſo long ſhared with me eve"ry danger and fatigue*."

Manny replied, that he was well acquainted with the intentions of his ſovereign, who, enraged at the long reſiſtance he had experienced, was determined to take exemplary vengeance on thoſe who had occaſioned it; and would not

* Froiſſard, l. i. 146.

therefore liſten to any terms which ſhould preclude him from inflicting ſuch puniſhment as he ſhould think fit on the objects of his reſentment. "Conſider," replied Vienne, "that this is not the treatment to which brave men are enti-
"tled: if any Engliſh knight had been in my ſituation, your king would have
"expected the ſame conduct from him. The inhabitants of Calais have done
"for their ſovereign what merits the eſteem of every prince; much more of
"ſo gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you that, if we muſt periſh, we
"ſhall not periſh unrevenged; and that we are not ſo reduced, but that we
"can ſell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is the intereſt of both
"ſides to prevent theſe deſperate extremities; and I expect that you yourſelf,
"brave knight, will interpoſe your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Manny was ſtricken with the juſtneſs of theſe ſentiments, and repreſenting to Edward the danger of repriſals in caſe he ſhould commit any act of cruelty, that monarch was at length perſuaded ſo far to recede from his determination, as to grant their lives to all the inhabitants and garriſon, except to ſix of the principal citizens, who, he inſiſted, ſhould bring the keys of the town to his camp, bare-headed and bare-footed, and with ropes round their necks. Intelligence of this declaration being conveyed to the inhabitants of Calais, they were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; all was tumult and confuſion; and every one was at a loſs how to act; till Euſtace de Saint-Pierre, one of the moſt opulent citizens—whoſe name moſt richly deſerves to be recorded in hiſtory—boldly ſtepped forward and offered himſelf a voluntary victim, to the ſafety of his friends and companions. An example ſo noble ſoon excited a ſpirit of emulation; and five of the burgeſſes joined him, in devoting themſelves to voluntary deſtruction. The names only of three of theſe generous martyrs have been preſerved; John Daire, and James and Peter Wiſant, two brothers. The governor accompanied them to the gates of the city, where he delivered them into the hands of Sir Walter Manny, whom he earneſtly entreated to plead their cauſe with his ſovereign. When they came into the preſence of the Engliſh monarch, they preſented him with the keys of the town. The nobility who attended the king could not refrain from giving vent to thoſe emotions of pity and admiration with which ſuch an inſtance of magnanimity inſpired them: nothing but a confuſed murmur—the offspring of compaſſion—was heard around the prince. Edward alone appeared inflexible: he looked on them with an air of ſeverity; and ordered them to be led to the gibbet. Such cruelty in a ſovereign hitherto renowned for his generoſity, is truly aſtoniſhing. He remained deaf to the ſolicitations, the prayers, and the tears of his courtiers; even the entreaties of his favourite ſon, the prince of Wales, who threw himſelf at his feet, and begged aloud for mercy, were rejected; blinded by rage, and callous to every tender emotion, he perſiſted in his barbarous purpoſe, and repeated his orders for conducting the victims to the place of execution. Theſe illuſtrious ſons of misfortune had been loſt to their country, and the luſtre of Edward's

glory been totally eclipſed, but for the intervention of his queen Philippa. That virtuous princeſs entering the tent, threw herſelf on her knees, and conjured her huſband by every principle of honour, humanity, and religion, not to ſully the ſplendour of his arms by ſo flagrant an act of inhumanity. The king caſt down his eyes; and, after a moment's ſilence, exclaimed, "Ah, madam, "I could have wiſhed you had been any where but here: your prayers are ſo "forcible, that I cannot reſiſt them. To you, then, I give them up." Having obtained her requeſt, ſhe led the ſix patriots to her tent, where ſhe ordered a repaſt to be ſet before them; and, after making them a preſent of money and clothes, diſmiſſed them in ſafety*.

The Engliſh monarch took poſſeſſion of Calais, on the fourth of Auguſt; and, in order to ſecure a conqueſt which had coſt him ſo much trouble to acquire, he expelled all the inhabitants, and re-peopled the town with Engliſh; an act of policy which, though it favoured of cruelty, was certainly juſtifiable, as men who had exerted ſo much courage in reſiſting the attacks of a foreigner, could never be ſuppoſed to bear his government with patience. Edward made Calais the ſtaple of wool, leather, tin, and lead, the chief commodities of his kingdom, for which there was any conſiderable demand on the continent. Through the mediation of the pope's legates, a truce was concluded between the French and Engliſh, ſoon after the ſurrender of Calais, to continue till the eighth of July, 1348, and which was afterward prolonged, by different treaties, till the concluſion of the reign of Philip.

A. D. 1348.] No ſooner were the people releaſed from the horrors of war, than they had to encounter the more dreadful aſſaults of peſtilence and famine. A general contagion, unexampled in the annals of hiſtory, ſpread over the face of the globe; and, having ravaged Aſia and Africa, purſued its deſtructive progreſs through the different countries of Europe; in ſome of which ſcarce a twentieth part of the inhabitants eſcaped its fury. It continued to rage in France

* Such is the account of this extraordinary tranſaction as recorded by Froiſſard; but it ſhould be remembered, that it reſts on the ſingle teſtimony of that author, whoſe frequent errors and miſrepreſentations, ariſing either from credulity or a love of the marvellous, are univerſally acknowledged. Robert de Aveſbury, alſo a contemporary writer, ſays not a word on the ſubject; yet he is particular in his narration of the ſurrender of Calais, and his whole Hiſtory of the Reign of Edward, up to the year 1356, bears evident marks of candour and ſincerity; and, from the original papers which it contains, affords the ſtrongeſt ground for belief, that he had conſulted every ſource of authentic information: a circumſtance ſo ſtriking and notorious, had it really occurred, could not indeed be unknown to him, and his forbearance to record it can only be aſcribed to a want of fidelity, the reſult of prejudice or fear, repugnant to the general character of his work. From theſe conſiderations, and from the known diſpoſition of Edward to acts of generoſity, humanity, and mercy, ſo recently exemplified in his conduct to the exiled inhabitants of Calais, at the commencement of the ſiege, we ſtrongly incline to ſuſpect the veracity of Froiſſard's account. It is poſſible that Edward, exaſperated by the obſtinacy of their reſiſtance, might endeavour to excite the fears of the inhabitants, in an unjuſtifiable manner, by promulgating a pretended reſolution to ſacrifice ſix of their principal citizens; but ſtronger teſtimony, than the unſupported aſſertion of a ſingle hiſtorian, muſt be adduced to convince us that he ſeriouſly intended to puniſh with death an uncommon exertion of courage, when, at other times, deeds of extraordinary valour formed the chief object of his praiſe and admiration.

for more than a twelvemonth; during which time five hundred bodies were daily carried for interment from the Hotel-Dieu, at Paris, to the burying-place of *The Innocents*. The provincial towns and villages were so far depopulated by the pestilence, that not a sufficient number escaped to bury the dead. The superstition and ignorance of the times ascribed this calamity to the Jews, many of whom were inhumanly massacred and burned, in various parts of the kingdom.

The king of England, during this time, had nearly lost the important fortress of Calais, by the treachery of its governor, Amerie of Pavia, a man of great courage, but devoid of honour. Allured by the offers of Geoffrey de Charny, governor of Saint Omer, (who, it is affirmed, by the French historians, embarked in this enterprise without the knowledge of his sovereign) he had engaged, for a bribe of twenty thousand crowns, to deliver the town and castle to the French. Edward, informed of his perfidy by his secretary, summoned Amerie to London, on some other pretence, and there, having convinced him that he had sufficient proof of his guilt, offered to remit the punishment due to his crime, on condition that he would implicitly follow the instructions he should receive. The Italian joyfully consented to redeem his forfeited life, on such easy terms; and, having returned to Calais, informed Edward of the day which he had appointed for the admission of the French. That monarch accordingly departed secretly from London, accompanied by the prince of Wales, taking with him eight hundred men at arms, and one thousand archers, under the command of Sir Walter Manny; and arrived, unperceived, at Calais the night before the plot was to be accomplished. Having made every necessary disposition for the reception of the enemy, at the appointed time a hundred of the French were admitted at the postern, and, after they had paid the stipulated sum, were suddenly surrounded by the English troops, who put some of them to the sword, and surrounded the rest. During this time, Charny, with a strong body of forces, had advanced to the gate of Boulogne, where they remained in eager expectation of being admitted into the town; but they were greatly surprised, when the gates opened, to see an English army march out to attack them. Soon, however, recovering from their astonishment, they defended themselves with great bravery; and a bloody conflict ensued, which continued till break of day; when the king of England, who wore no particular badge of distinction, and who fought as a private man under the standard of Sir Walter Manny, remarking a French knight, named Eustace de Ribaumont, who was giving the most signal proofs of extraordinary valour, conceived a desire of encountering him in single combat. As he knew Ribaumont, he challenged him by name, and a desperate action took place. Edward was twice beaten to the ground, and twice recovered himself; equal courage and skill were exerted for some time by both parties; but at length the Frenchman was compelled to acknow-

ledge the ſuperiority of Edward; and yield up his ſword to him. The defeat became general, and all the party were either ſlain or taken priſoners.

The French officers were conducted to Calais, where Edward ordered a magnificent repaſt to be prepared for them in the great hall of the caſtle; and during the banquet made his appearance, diſcovered to them the antagoniſt with whom they had had the honour to be engaged, and treated them with great regard and courteſy. Charny, indeed, he gently reprehended for the inſidiouſneſs of his attempt; but on Ribaumont he beſtowed the higheſt encomiums; he declared him to be the moſt valorous knight he had ever been acquainted with; and acknowledged that he himſelf had never been expoſed to ſuch imminent danger as during his combat with him. He preſented him with a chaplet of pearls, ſaying—"Sir Euſtace, this preſent I beſtow on you as a ſmall teſtimony of my "eſteem for your bravery. I entreat you to wear it for my ſake; and, as I "know you to be of a gay and amorous diſpoſition, delighting in the com-"pany of ladies and damſels, let them all be told from what hand you receiv-"ed it. You are no longer a priſoner: I acquit you of your ranſom; and to-"morrow you will be at liberty to diſpoſe of yourſelf as you think proper*."

The king's uneaſineſs at the loſſes he had experienced during the war, and at the miſery of his people, was conſiderably encreaſed by misfortunes of a domeſtic nature. Jane, his queen, daughter to Robert, duke of Burgundy, died at the Hotel de Neſle, the ordinary reſidence of the French monarchs at this period, of the contagious diſtemper which prevailed throughout the kingdom, and which ſhe caught by pioufly attending the ſick, and beſtowing on them ſuch aſſiſtance and conſolation as their ſituation required. Her death was ſincerely regretted by the nation, as well as by Philip himſelf, to whom ſhe was juſtly endeared by every virtue that can embelliſh and dignify the human mind. The ducheſs of Normandy died ſoon after, and was interred at the abbey of Maubuiſſon which ſhe had founded; the body of the queen was conveyed to Saint Denis, and her heart to Citeaux.

It was about this time that the pope annexed the city and county of Avignon to the ſee of Rome. After the death of Robert, ſurnamed the Sage, his granddaughter Jane ſucceeded to the kingdom of Naples. This princeſs had been married, when very young, to her couſin Andrew, brother to Lewis, king of Hungary; but the difference of their tempers gave riſe to continual diſputes, and proved finally productive of crimes and calamities. Charles di Durazzo, brother-in-law to the queen, perſuaded her to get rid of a huſband that thwarted her inclinations and deſtroyed her repoſe; Jane was baſe enough to liſten

* The conduct of Edward, on this occaſion, tends to corroborate the opinion we have advanced in the preceding note: though the human mind may be replete with contradictory ſentiments, and ſubject to continual changes that baffle the power of argument, and the efforts of reaſon; it is ſtill difficult to conceive, that the prince who could act thus generouſly, ſhould be guilty of ſuch flagrant barbarity as is laid to the charge of Edward in his behaviour to the ſix citizens of Calais.

to the treacherous advice, and the wretched Andrew was accordingly ſtrangled in a room adjoining her apartment. In a ſhort time after his death, ſhe married the prince of Tarentum; but a crime ſo atrocious was not ſuffered to paſs unpuniſhed; Lewis the Great, king of Hungary, haſtened to revenge the murder of his brother. His arms proved every where ſucceſsful; Charles di Durazzo was arreſted, and ſuffered the ſame death which he had cauſed to be inflicted on his ſovereign. Jane then fled into Provence; and the pope—ſays Mezeray—"reſiding on her territories, paid her great honour; but, profiting by her ſituation, he drew from her the town and county of Avignon. For this acquiſition "he paid only eight thouſand Florentine florins of gold; but his approbation "of her marriage with the prince of Tarentum was thrown into the bargain." The purchaſe was confirmed by the emperor Charles the Fourth, who entirely releaſed this country from all kind of ſubjection to the empire, of which it was holden, as a ſub-fief of the ancient kingdom of Arles.

The want of money compelled the king's miniſters to have recourſe to every expedient that could tend to recruit the royal treaſury, exhauſted by a war equally tedious and unfortunate. On theſe occaſions the financiers were the firſt objects of perſecution; and, as they were always found guilty of malverſation, it is fair to preſume that their ſovereigns connived at their enormities till ſuch time as they ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance. Peter des Eſſarts, treaſurer to the king, was now condemned to the reſtitution of one hundred thouſand florins of gold; but he had ſufficient influence to procure a mitigation of the ſentence to one half of the ſum. All the Italian and Lombard uſurers who had either farmed, or been appointed to receive, different branches of the revenue, were conſtrained to give an exact account of the exorbitant ſums which they had extorted from the neceſſity of the ſtate and the wants of the ſovereign. Their conduct was ſcrutinized with the utmoſt rigour, and though they obtained from the king letters of ſuſpenſion, which ought to have put a ſtop to the proceedings againſt them, ſtill the *chamber of accounts* purſued them; they were finally compelled to quit the kingdom, and the ſums they had advanced were confiſcated to the crown.

Ever ſince the year 1343, Philip had been engaged in a negociation for the acquiſition of Dauphiny, which was not brought to a concluſion till 1349.—Humbert the Second, dauphin of Vienne, being inconſolable for the death of his only ſon Andrew, who was killed by a fall from a window, had formed the reſolution of quitting the world. With this view he treated with the king, and agreed, in caſe he died without heirs, to tranſmit his dominions to the duke of Orleans, Philip's ſecond ſon, or if the duke ſhould die before him, to any one of the children of the duke of Normandy, or of his deſcendants, that the king and his ſucceſſors ſhould chuſe to appoint, to be holden in perpetuity, and on the expreſs condition that the perſon who ſhould be appointed, ſhould aſſume the title of dauphin, and bear the arms of Dauphiny quartered with

thoſe of France; and that this country ſhould never be incorporated with the kingdom unleſs France and the empire ſhould become ſubject to the ſame ſovereign. This treaty was ſigned at the wood of Vincennes, by the king, and the deputies from the dauphin, who ratified it that ſame year. In return for this ceſſion, Philip engaged to give the dauphin the ſum of one hundred and twenty thouſand florins of gold, payable in three years, beſides one annuity for his life of ten thouſand livres, and another, in perpetuity, of two thouſand.—By a new deed, ſigned on the ſeventh of June, in the following year, the dauphin transferred the ceſſion of his dominions to the duke of Normandy or one of his children. Nothing, however, could be more uncertain than the execution of theſe treaties, although the dauphin had actually received from Philip a part of the ſtipulated ſum. Humbert was ſtill young, and the death of his wife, Mary of Baux, which happened two years after this period, far from taking away all hopes of an heir, gave reaſon to apprehend that he would be induced to marry again. The pope, in a conſolatory bull which he addreſſed to this prince, even adviſed him to look out for a wife by whom he might have children. The dauphin, rouſed by this exhortation, actually paid his addreſſes firſt to Blanche, ſiſter to Amadeus, count of Savoy, and afterwards to Joan of Bourbon; but the king, who kept a watchful eye on his motions, contrived to break this laſt alliance, by marrying Joan to Charles, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Normandy. Humbert at length gave up all thoughts of marriage, and finally reſigned to Charles, on the conditions above ſpecified, Dauphiny; the duchy of Champſour; the principality of Brianconnois; the marquiſate of Ceſanne; the counties of Vienne, Albon, Grayſivodan, Ebrionnois, and Gapencois; and the baronies of la Tour, Valbonne, Fucigny, Meuillon and Montalbin. In conſequence of this ceſſion, which was ſigned on the thirteenth of March, 1349, the duke of Normandy repaired to Lyons with his ſon Charles, where the ceremony of the inveſtiture was performed. On the ſixteenth of July the dauphin made a formal reſignation of his domains to Charles. In the deed of ceſſion it is expreſsly ſaid—"That the title and arms of the dauphins ſhall be preſerved "for ever by thoſe who ſhall ſucceed them; and that their dominions, although "forming, from this time, a part of the kingdom of France ſhall be holden by "their ſucceſſors, ſeparately, and by a different title; unleſs they ſhould happen "to govern the empire at the ſame time*." There can be no doubt—ſays the author of the Hiſtory of Dauphiny—but that the kings of France have always deemed themſelves bound to obſerve theſe conditions; whence it is, that in all their declarations and letters addreſſed to the inhabitants of Dauphiny, they only exact obedience to their orders, in their capacity of dauphins; and thoſe orders are all ſealed with the arms of the ancient dauphins. Their ordinances, alſo, although binding throughout the kingdom, are only

* Hiſt. du Dauphiné par M. de Valbonais.

received in this province as in a ſeparate ſtate, and when ſanctioned by the title, and ſealed with the arms, of the dauphin of Vienne. The province has always preſerved a particular ſeal, which is kept by the chancellor, whereas all the other provinces loſt their diſtinctive marks on their annexation to the crown. The eldeſt ſon of the king of France has, from this period, always aſſumed the title of dauphin, although not bound ſo to do by the conditions of theſe treaties, as ſome writers have pretended.

The day after the ceremony of the inveſtiture, Humbert took the habit of a Dominican friar; and, the following year, being admitted into orders, he was firſt made patriarch of Alexandria, and afterward created perpetual adminiſtrator of the archbiſhopric of Rheims. He died at Clermont, in 1355. His body was conveyed to the convent of the Jacobins at Paris, and was interred in the choir of their church, where his tomb, and that of queen Clemence, ſiſter to Beatrice of Hungary, his mother, are ſtill to be ſeen on either ſide the great altar. The king had before acquired Rouſſillon and Cerdagna, with the lordſhip of Montpelier, from James, king of Majorca, who was firſt expelled from his dominions, and afterwards maſſacred by Pedro, king of Arragon, juſtly ſurnamed *The Cruel**.

A. D. 1350.] Blanche, daughter of Philip, king of Navarre, who died in 1343, had been brought to the court of France, as the intended wife of the duke of Normandy. But the king had no ſooner ſeen this princeſs, who was one of the moſt accompliſhed women of the age, than he became deeply enamoured of her; and, changing his firſt deſign of marrying her to his ſon, reſolved to eſpouſe her himſelf†; and to procure for the duke of Normandy the hand of Jane, counteſs of Boulogne, widow to Philip of Burgundy, who loſt his life at the ſiege of Aiguillon. Theſe two marriages were celebrated nearly at the ſame time; that of the king at Brie-Comte-Robert; and that of the duke of Normandy at Saint Genevieve, near Saint Germain-en-Laye. In the month of April, in the following year, Charles, the new dauphin, married Joan, eldeſt daughter to Peter, duke of Bourbon, grand *chamberer* (chambrier) of France‡. This dignity, one of the firſt in the gift of the crown, had paſſed from the houſe of Burgundy into that of Dreux, and afterwards into the Bourbon family.

The grand-chamberer was entruſted with the care of the king's chamber, or apartment, and private treaſury‖. There were ſeveral important privileges annexed to this office; it had an excluſive authority over the furriers, ſadlers, glovers, and other trading companies at Paris, the members of which could not exerciſe their profeſſion without buying their freedom of the chamberer. This dignity was ſuppreſſed by Francis the Firſt, on the death of Charles, duke of Orleans, who was the laſt perſon that enjoyed the title of chamberer.

* Mem. Humb. Palat. Ann. 1345. † Spicil. Cont. Nang. Froiſſard. ‡ Mem. Humb. Pal. Ann. 1350. ‖ Du Cange.

Philip had juſt prolonged the truce with England for three years, when he fell ſick at Nogent-le-Roi, where he died in a few days, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, 1350. On his death-bed, he ſent for his two ſons, the dukes of Normandy and Orleans; and, having ſhewn them the deciſions of the doctors of law and divinity, confirming the validity of his own title to the crown, and the injuſtice of Edward's pretenſions, he exhorted the duke of Normandy, as his ſucceſſor, to defend the ſtate, after his death, againſt all its enemies; obſerving, that although the defenders of a juſt cauſe were not always ſucceſsful, yet God never ſuffered them to ſink beneath their misfortunes; but always made juſtice prevail in the end. He expired in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

Few monarchs have been more praiſed by hiſtorians than Philip of Valois, though few, it muſt be confeſſed, have had leſs claims to commendation; he was endued, indeed, with great perſonal courage, and was poſſeſſed of a ſtrong mind, that ſunk not beneath the preſſure of misfortune: but, though bold, he was not magnanimous; though profuſe, not liberal; though devout, not pious. The man of piety is equitable, merciful, and mild; the man of magnanimity turns with horror from deeds of cruelty, and rejects, with diſguſt, the dark dictates of revenge; the man of liberality, though not, perhaps, over-nice in ſelecting the *objects* of his bounty, is ever ſcrupulouſly juſt in the *means*; he never oppreſſes his dependents to enrich his favourites. Villaret has falſely aſcribed the odium incurred by Philip to the perfidy and ingratitude of his ſubjects; the ſource of that odium he might ſurely have diſcovered, in the tyranny and oppreſſion under which thoſe ſubjects too frequently laboured. Stern, cruel, imperious, vindictive, and inflexible, the people of Flanders and the nobles of Brittany experienced the fatal effects of his pride and revenge. With few qualities to command reſpect, with ſtill fewer to conciliate affection, Philip lived unbeloved and died unlamented. His unexpected acceſſion to the throne had, in the early part of his reign, procured him the appellation of *Fortunate*—a title which but ill-accorded with the many reverſes of fortune he experienced towards the cloſe of his life.

Philip had, by his firſt wife, Jane of Burgundy, two ſons and one daughter; John, duke of Normandy, who ſucceeded him in the throne; Philip, duke of Orleans, and count of Valois, who died without heirs; and Mary, who married John, duke of Luxembourg, ſon to John the Third, duke of Brabant. He left his ſecond wife, Blanche, in a ſtate of pregnancy; and ſhe gave birth to a princeſs, who was named Jane, and who died at Beziers, in 1373, on her way to Barcelona, whither ſhe was going to eſpouſe John, ſon to Peter the Fourth, king of Arragon.

On the acceſſion of Philip to the throne of France, he found the people poſſeſſed, by the emancipation of the commons, of a degree of liberty unknown to their anceſtors. They had begun to ſhake off that rude barbariſm which

the mind contracts in the fetters of ſlavery; but the nation had not yet made a ſufficient progreſs in the acquiſition of uſeful knowledge, to derive, from their new exiſtence, all the advantages which it was calculated to enſure. The arts were ſtill in their infancy; commerce, totally neglected by the natives, was abandoned to the avidity of foreigners, Italians, Spaniſh, and Flemings. The produce of a few manufactures, badly planned and worſe conducted, was inſufficient to eſtabliſh an internal communication between the various parts of the kingdom. Yet even here luxury was known; though generally conſidered as the child of opulence and refinement, ſhe here ſprang from the womb of miſery, diſplayed her pomp by the ſide of ignorance and ſloth, and grew into vigour by the unnatural nouriſhment of public calamity. Ridiculous faſhions were already introduced, and had become the objects of attention to the nobility, and of ambition to the common people. A head loaded with feathers, a long beard, chains round the neck, a dreſs ſo tight and ſhort as ſcarcely to conceal from the ſight thoſe parts which modeſty forbids to ſhew; ſuch was the habiliment newly invented by the knights, eſquires, and other faſhionable men, and adopted by their ſervile imitators, the citizens. The kings and princes of the blood were the only perſons who reſiſted the torrent of innovation, and preſerved the decent gravity of the ancient modes. This taſte for ſuperfluities, which vanity can only be allowed when induſtry facilitates the means of gratification, prolonged the dreary reign of indigence, notwithſtanding the fertility of the ſoil, and the number of inhabitants. Theſe defects in the economy of the ſtate proved a continual obſtacle to the raiſing ſupplies, either for the execution of works of public utility, or for reſiſting the efforts of an enemy. The moſt moderate impoſt became an inſupportable burthen to an indolent and impoveriſhed people; it is no wonder, therefore, that the frequent and onerous exactions which it was found neceſſary or expedient to levy, ſhould excite the murmurs of the citizens, whoſe ideas of patriotiſm, moreover, were yet ſo imperfect as to preclude the conception, that the welfare of the individual was inſeparably blended with the ſafety of the ſtate.—The evil was farther augmented by the uſurious intereſt extorted by the Florentine and Lombard merchants, or bankers. The rapid fortunes acquired by theſe foreigners formed a dreadful contraſt to the public miſery. Some idea of their rapaciouſneſs may be formed from the account of the ſums which were due to them when baniſhed the kingdom; they had advanced only four hundred thouſand livres, and the intereſt amounted to no leſs than two millions!

In theſe wretched times the moſt monſtrous diſorders openly prevailed. The general corruption of manners which obtained was not even diſguiſed by that external ſemblance of decency, beneath which, in more poliſhed ages, vice conceals her deformity. This depravity gave riſe to every enormity of which the human heart is capable; the extremes of avarice and prodigality were alike encouraged; duties the moſt ſacred were neglected; virtue was deſpiſed; perfi-

dy, violence, and revenge were univerſally exerciſed; nor were theſe vices confined to the people; among the nobles and the great did the country find its moſt dangerous enemies.

The ſuperſtitious credulity of the age is ſtrongly exemplified in the conduct of Philip, during the illneſs of his ſon, the duke of Normandy. He was ſo thoroughly perſuaded that John would not recover, without the intervention of ſupernatural means, that he aſſured the queen, in caſe he ſhould die, he would not ſuffer him to be buried, from a full conviction that God would bring him to life again. The clergy of Paris, and the monks of Saint Denis, followed by an immenſe crowd of people, went in proceſſion with their feet naked, to Taverny, where the duke lay, apparently, at the point of death. They carried with them the crown of thorns which had been placed on the head of our Saviour, one of the nails which had ſerved to faſten him to the croſs, and a finger of the apoſtle of France. Theſe precious relics were depoſited in the prince's chamber, who, in a few days, to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent, perfectly recovered his health. This miraculous cure—ſays the continuator of William be Nangis—was atteſted by the king, the queen, the princes of the blood, all the nobility, and even by the phyſicians themſelves. The king, from motives of gratitude, performed a pilgrimage from Taverny to Saint Denis, accompanied by the whole court. After paſſing a day at the abbey, and remaining two hours ſhut up in the tomb of Saint Denis, he returned to the capital.

The generality of writers have fixed the origin of the tax upon ſalt, in France, called the *gabelle**, in the reign of Philip of Valois. "In this ſame year, 1342," (according to an ancient manuſcript†) "the king impoſed a duty upon ſalt, "which is called gabelle, whereby he acquired the indignation and ill-will of "all his people, both great and ſmall." It is, nevertheleſs, certain that Philip of Valois was not the inventor of this impoſt‡. So early as the reign of Saint Lewis, a ſimilar tax was levied in many of the provinces. That monarch, by an edict iſſued in 1246, exempted the town of Aiguemortes from the ſalt-gabelle. Philip the Long alſo laid a duty upon ſalt. Philip of Valois, at the commencement of his reign, eſtabliſhed magazines of ſalt, in different parts of the kingdom‖; on which occaſion, Edward gave him the appellation of, *Author of the Salic Law* (Auteur de la Loi Salique;) and Philip in return called his rival, *The Wool Merchant*, in alluſion to the ſupplies of that article ſo frequently granted him by the parliament. On the remonſtrance of the ſtates, who were

* The term 'gabelle' is derived either from the Saxon word 'gapol,' or 'gapel,' which ſignifies 'tribute;' or elſe from the Hebrew word 'gab' which has the ſame ſignification. It was always made uſe of in France, to deſignate any kind of impoſt whatever. The wine-gabelle, fiſh-gabelle, cloth-gabelle, ſalt-gabelle, &c. were common expreſſions; and all the collectors of theſe different duties were indiſcriminately called 'gabellatores,' 'gabellators.' Du Cange Gloſſar. ad verb. Gabella.

† Joh. Abb. Laud. in ſpecul. Hiſt. lib. ix. cap. 17. ‡ Villaret.

‖ Cham. des Comp. Memor. B. fol. 156.

fearful that this impoſt might become perpetual, the king, by an edict, bearing date the fifteenth of February, 1345, promiſed to aboliſh it at the concluſion of the war. His ſon John, by an edict of the twenty-eighth of September, 1355, renewed the tax with the conſent of the ſtates of the kingdom. After the battle of Poictiers, the duty was augmented; the price of ſalt in Paris, in 1358, was fixed at ſixty crowns of gold the hogſhead, twenty-ſix of which were paid to the vender, twenty-ſix to the king, and eight to the town; the ſame year it was raiſed to a hundred crowns; twenty-ſix of which were for the vender, fifty-ſix for the king, and eighteen for the town; it ſoon after experienced a ſtill greater augmentation. This duty, which, in the ſequel, became arbitrary and perpetual, was firſt farmed out by Henry the Second, who, in the month of January, 1548, let it on a leaſe for ten years.

JOHN THE SECOND.

A. D. 1350.] THE acts of rigour and ſeverity which had marked the preceding reigns, had laid the foundation of a general revolution in the manners and genius of the nation. The kings, ſolely intent on giving to the ſovereign authority its primitive force, had formed projects—often counteracted, though ſometimes ſucceſsful—the ſole object of which appeared to be, the ſecurity of the regal prerogatives; but, in ſeeking to conſolidate their power, they had neglected to define its bounds; the rapidity of its progreſs had prevented the eſtabliſhment of a proper balance, which, by reſtraining its abuſe, could enſure its duration. The people, but recently emerged from a ſtate of ſlavery, were ſtill more ignorant than their monarchs of the nature and extent of their duties; incapable of diſtinguiſhing the preciſe limits which ſeparate liberty from licentiouſneſs, they ſoon began to exert their freedom for the deſtruction of that authority which, properly modified, conſtitutes its beſt ſecurity. The nobles, diſcontented with their ſovereigns, who were anxious to humble their pride and curtail their power, and impatient of the yoke which they ſought to impoſe on them, deplored in ſecret the loſs of their ancient privileges; they beheld with indignation an emancipated people forming a body in the ſtate, whoſe credit at leaſt counterbalanced their own, by its influence in objects of public deliberation. The conflict between theſe oppoſite orders had been hitherto ſuſpended

leſs from motives of policy than from ignorance of their reſpective ſtrength. A weak adminiſtration was well calculated to encreaſe the burſting of that ſtorm which had been gathering under the reſtraint of a violent government. Under ſuch dangerous circumſtances did John aſcend the throne of his anceſtors. With the dominions of his father, he inherited his defects; and to his imprudence, temerity, and inflexibility of temper, he added, a boundleſs prodigality, and all the weakneſs of a narrow mind.

The new monarch and his queen were crowned at Rheims on the twenty-ſixth of September; and, on the ſame day, John conferred the dignity of knighthood on his three ſons, Charles the dauphin, and the counts of Anjou, and Alencon; on his brother, the duke of Orleans; and on Philip, duke of Burgundy, ſon to his wife Jane; he likewiſe conferred the ſame honour on the counts of Eſtampes and Dammartin; the viſcount of Touraine, nephew to the pope; the lord of Eſcun, and on ſeveral princes and noblemen, among others, on John of Artois, (ſon to the unfortunate Robert of Artois) who, in the preceding reign, had been involved in the diſgrace of his father.

The pope was no ſooner informed of the death of Philip of Valois, than he wrote to the kings of France and England, exhorting them to peace*. Edward, adhering to thoſe maxims of policy which he had adopted at the commencement of his reign, appeared willing to accept the mediation of the ſovereign pontiff; but he could only be brought to conſent to a confirmation of the truce concluded in the preceding reign; a truce which was prolonged, at different times, for the ſpace of three years.

The reſpective ſituations of the two kingdoms ſtill remained the ſame; the Engliſh monarch had not given up his ſchemes of conqueſt; his ambition only ſeemed to repoſe in order to acquire freſh ſtrength; and unfortunately for France, the diſpoſition of the king,—who, though he poſſeſſed many virtues, was nevertheleſs violent, ſuſpicious, and vindictive—was ſuch as to afford the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs to the dangerous machinations of his formidable foe.

Before the authority of John was fully eſtabliſhed, he had recourſe to one of thoſe violent exertions of power, of which his father had ſet him the example, and which, by diſguſting the nobility, encreaſed the number of his domeſtic enemies. Ralph, count of Eu and of Guiſnes, had been taken priſoner by the king of England at Caen; for the purpoſe of negociating his own ranſom, as well as that of ſeveral of his fellow captives who had been taken at the ſame time, he had been permitted to paſs ſeveral times between France and England, during the preceding reign. On the death of Philip of Valois, he went to Paris to ſolicit the new monarch to facilitate the means of his releaſe; and he was commiſſioned at the ſame time by Edward to negociate the confirmation and prolongation of the truce.

* Rymer, vol. iii. Chambre des Comtes, Memorial c. fol. 145.

Among the nobility who had inſinuated themſelves into the confidence of the king, Charles de la Cerda, brother to Lewis D'Eſpagne, held a diſtinguiſhed place*. Proud of his birth and the credit he enjoyed, his ambition led him to aſpire to the firſt dignities in the ſtate, the attainment of which he thought a neceſſary conſequence of the blind friendſhip which his infatuated ſovereign entertained for him. For ſome time he had exerciſed the office of conſtable in the abſence of the count of Eu; and, being anxious to acquire this important place for himſelf, he is ſuppoſed to have contributed to the deſtruction of that nobleman. He gave the king to underſtand that the ſole object of the conſtable's frequent voyages to France was, to promote diſcord between the princes, and to effect a revolution in favour of Edward, to whom he was rather a friend than priſoner. The doubtful conduct of the count at the ſiege of Caen, was recalled to the mind of John, and repreſented in the moſt odious colours; in ſhort, nothing which the artful ingenuity of intereſted malice could deviſe was neglected to tarniſh his reputation, and to effect his ruin. The king, naturally inclined to ſuſpicion and miſtruſt, ſoon ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded that the conſtable was a traitor; he accordingly iſſued orders to apprehend him, and the count was ſeized as he left the palace, and thrown into priſon. His friends loudly exclaimed againſt the king's injuſtice, while ſuch as were diſintereſted in the matter, waited, in ſilence, the developement of a myſtery, which there was no intention of diſcloſing to them. The court of peers was the only tribunal which could take cognizance of the crime imputed to the conſtable; and it was not probable that ſuch a reſpectable body could be induced, through a ſervile complaiſance to the king, to diſhonour itſelf by a precipitate judgment. As the act of eluding the laws was not yet known, the only alternative was, to ſuffer them to take their courſe, or openly to violate them; this laſt meaſure was adopted, as beſt ſuited to the occaſion. The unfortunate count was taken from priſon, during the night of the thirteenth of November, and, without undergoing any previous trial or examination, was beheaded, by the king's orders, in the Hotel de Neſle, in the preſence of the duke of Burgundy; the counts of Armagnac and Montfort; Gaucher de Chatillon; the lords of Boulogne and Ruel, and of ſeveral other noblemen and knights.

Such an abuſe of arbitrary power could not fail to diſguſt all ranks of people, and paaticularly the nobility. The conſtable was now regarded as the victim of his rival's ambition, and his ſovereign's injuſtice; his innocence was univerſally acknowledged; and the accuſations preferred againſt him were conſidered as an odious calumny, the offspring of darkneſs and iniquity. In fact that prince was a juſt object of indignation, who could put to death the firſt ſubject in the realm, without deigning to conſult the laws, or even preſerving an appearance of juſtice, by conforming to thoſe ſacred rules which were preſcribed by the

* Hiſt. Gen. de la Maiſon de France, tom. i. p. 536.

conſtitution of the kingdom, which were ever deemed inviolable, and which formed the only ſecurity for the lives and liberties of the people. Nor did John pay a greater reſpect to the rights of nations, ſince the count Eu, being only releaſed on his word, was ſtill a priſoner to the king of England, of courſe he was dead in the eye of the law, and, during his captivity, could not be conſidered as amenable to the tribunals of France*.

The ſpoils of Ralph were divided among the favourites of John; Charles de la Cerda obtained the poſt of conſtable; and the county of Eu was given to John of Artois. The county of Guiſnes was re-annexed to the crown till the reign of Lewis the Eleventh, when it was conferred on Anthony de Croui.

A. D. 1351, 1352.] Though the truce with England had been renewed, the mutual animoſity which prevailed between the two nations ſuperinduced its violation, whenever an opportunity occurred. Frequent incurſions were made both by the Engliſh and French governors on the territories of each other; which, as uſual, gave riſe to mutual complaints, but no event occurred of ſufficient importance to be recorded in hiſtory, except an action on the plain of Mauron, near Rennes, in Brittany, which took place on the fourteenth of Auguſt, 1352, between a body of Engliſh troops under the command of Sir Walter Bently, and a French army conducted by the marſhal de Neſle; in which the former, though taken by ſurpriſe, and greatly inferior in numbers to the enemy, obtained a complete victory. The mareſchal was ſlain, with eighty knights, and five hundred gentlemen; and one hundred and ſixty knights and gentlemen were taken priſoners.

The kingdom, in the mean time, was again haraſſed by a general famine, attended with the moſt dreadful effects. The ſcarcity of corn neceſſarily produced ſuch an augmentation of its price, that none but the moſt opulent could poſſibly afford to purchaſe it; and the miſery of the people was ſo great, that the wretched inhabitants of the country were conſtrained to feed on the roots of the earth, and even on the bark of trees. In this ſituation, John, far from being able to levy new impoſts on his ſubjects for the renewal of the war with England, was under the neceſſity of ſtopping the collection of certain taxes, which had been granted by particular provinces, in the laſt year of the reign of Philip. In vain did he ſeek to derive ſome aſſiſtance from thoſe who had been entruſted with the adminiſtration of the finances. The inveſtigation of their accounts, though ſtrict and ſevere, was productive of no advantage. The culprits, indeed, were arreſted and puniſhed, but no money could be obtained from them, and thoſe violent remedies were not calculated to ſtrike at the root of an evil which the government wanted vigour to ſuppreſs.

Yet, notwithſtanding the wretched ſtate of his kingdom, John rejected the offer of Edward, who gave inſtructions to his plenipotentiaries, the archbiſhop

* Villaret, tom. ix. p. 26.

of Canterbury, and the earl of Derby (now duke of Lancaſter) to propoſe the entire reſignation of his pretenſions to the French crown, on condition that the king of France would, in return, give up to him the abſolute ſovereignty of Guienne, Aquitaine, and the town and marches of Calais. Policy ſhould have induced the king to accept theſe terms; by this means he would have got rid of a formidable enemy, and procured leiſure to regulate the internal economy of the kingdom, which, weakened as it was by frequent and unſucceſsful exertions, and convulſed by domeſtic feuds, required the moſt delicate and the moſt judicious management.

The elevation of Charles de la Cerda to the office of conſtable had, as we have before obſerved, excited an inveterate ſpirit of diſcontent; the embers of faction lurked beneath the murmurs of indignation, and the minds of the people appeared to be in that ſtate of ferment which only required the appearance of ſome powerful leader, to promote a general inſurrection: that leader ſoon appeared in the perſon of Charles, king of Navarre, on whom the epithet *Bad*, or *Wicked*, had been juſtly beſtowed. This monarch was poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, of wit, penetration, eloquence, and generoſity—ſpecious endowments which give a luſtre to virtue, and render vice more dangerous! The poſſeſſions which he inherited from his mother, who was the daughter of Lewis Hutin, were conſiderable; and his pretenſions, as being deſcended from the blood-royal of France, were ſtill greater. John, aware of the danger to be apprehended from a prince of his turbulent diſpoſition, reſolved, if poſſible, to attach him firmly to his intereſts; and, for that purpoſe, gave him his own daughter, Jane, in marriage. But experience ſoon convinced him, that the mind which is deaf to the precepts of morality will always be found callous to every impulſe of gratitude: where the ties of religious duty cannot deter a man from the commiſſion of evil, the more feeble bonds of affinity muſt ever prove inſufficient.

A. D. 1353.] Jealous of the influence which the conſtable poſſeſſed over the mind of his ſovereign, an influence which he deemed highly prejudicial to his own ambitious views, Charles ſoon reſolved on the deſtruction of that nobleman. After long waiting, in vain, for an opportunity to aſſaſſinate him at Paris, he was at length appriſed that the conſtable had made a journey to Aigle; upon which he immediately hired a band of armed ruffians, who followed him to that place, and maſſacred him in his bed. Far from ſeeking to conceal the part he had taken in this infamous deed, he gloried in the act, ſwearing to protect his accomplices, and to accept no pardon whence they ſhould be excluded. As he was convinced the king would not ſuffer a crime ſo atrocious to paſs unpuniſhed, he adopted ſuch precautions as he thought neceſſary to ſcreen him from the effects of his reſentment. With this view he publiſhed a manifeſto containing a juſtification of his conduct, and diſplaying the pretended neceſſity under which he lay to commit this act of violence.

The duke of Lancaſter, who was then in Flanders, being informed of the murder of Charles de la Cerda, immediately conceived that the king of Navarre would be conſtrained to throw himſelf on the protection of England. He therefore diſpatched a meſſenger to that prince, requeſting he would ſend to ſome confidential perſon, with whom he might treat on the ſubject. The king accepted the propoſals, and ſent his chancellor to the duke, accompanied by a knight, named Friquet* ; at the ſame time he diſpatched two other of his officers to Bruges, in order to borrow money upon his jewels. The duke promiſed the meſſengers of Charles to grant their maſter all the aſſiſtance he required, as well for the preſent, as the future, and aſſured that prince that all the forces of England would be ready to ſecond him ; he even preſſed the chancellor of Navarre to go with him to London. The firſt ſuccour to be ſupplied was a body of five hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, who received orders to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at the ſhorteſt notice.

During theſe negociations Charles fortified his poſſeſſions in Normandy, collected troops from all quarters, endeavoured to ſecure what allies he could, and made every preparation for war ; but, either for the purpoſe of gaining time, or in the hope of ſtill being able to appeaſe the king's indignation, he ſent the count of Namur to Paris, in order to ſound the diſpoſition of the court, where he had a number of ſecret partiſans.

When the king was informed of the murder of the firſt officer of the crown, who was, moreover, a prince of the blood, his friend and his favourite, he gave way to ſuch immoderate grief, that, for four days, he would ſuffer no one to ſpeak to him. In the firſt tranſports of his rage, he vowed vengeance againſt the aſſaſſin ; but the preſent ſituation of his affairs neither ſuffered him to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of reſentment, nor even to purſue the dictates of juſtice. The king of Navarre was a powerful prince ; and his poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Normandy were ſo ſituated, that, if driven to deſpair, he could introduce the Engliſh into the heart of the kingdom ; and as the towns of Mantes, Melun, and Pontoiſe were his, he could even bring them to the gates of the capital. Thus circumſtanced, John was conſtrained to lend a favourable ear to the ſolicitations of Jane of Evreux, widow to Charles the Fair, and to the earneſt entreaties of Blanche, widow to Philip of Valois, and ſiſter to the king of Navarre. The interceſſion of thoſe princeſſes was ſeconded by the cardinal of Boulogne, and by ſeveral other noblemen and prelates. At this period the count of Namur arrived at Paris, in order to obtain for Charles a pardon, which

* This Friquet was arreſted ſome time after, when the king ſecured the perſon of Charles of Navarre, and ſeveral of his knights, at Rouen. Friquet underwent ſeveral examinations, copies of which are ſtill extant; he was put to the torture, and would, probably, have ſuffered death, but for the addreſs of his ſervant, who enabled him to effect his eſcape from the priſon of the Châtelet. Theſe examinations contain the particulars of the murder of the conſtable, and of a plot which the king of Navarre had formed, and in which he had perſuaded the dauphin to engage. Villaret,

it was not deemed prudent to refuſe. The cardinal of Boulogne and Peter de Bourbon were, with ſome other commiſſioners, appointed to treat with the king of Navarre and his accomplices.

The treaty concluded on this occaſion affords a ſtrong proof of the weakneſs of the government; of the wretched condition of the prince and of the ſtate; and of the perfidy of the miniſters. By a convention ſigned at Mantes, on the twenty-ſecond of February, 1353, John granted to the king of Navarre, the county of Beaumont-le-Roger, and the lordſhip of Conches and Breteuil, which belonged to the duke of Orleans, but the poſſeſſion of which that nobleman reſigned to Charles. The king alſo ceded to him Port-Audemer, the Cotentin, and the viſcounties of Valognes, Coutances, and Carentan. Some farther privileges and indulgences were ſecured to the regal aſſaſſin, who, in return, gave up the town of Pontoiſe, and his pretenſions to Beaumont-upon-Oiſe, and to Ancenes. A general amneſty was publiſhed for the king of Navarre, and all his adherents. To complete this ignominious tranſaction, the king's ſecond ſon was given him as an hoſtage for the ſafety of his perſon, while he repaired to court to aſk pardon for the violence he had committed.

But while ſuch a criminal as Charles was rewarded for his crimes, a culprit of inferior diſtinction was puniſhed with ſeverity. A gentleman of Poitou, named Regnault de Preſſigny, had become the tyrant of the country in which he lived, and exerciſed every ſpecies of oppreſſion over his vaſſals and dependants. He ſeized the inhabitants, and, if they refuſed to pay the ranſom he demanded, he threw them into priſon; if they perſiſted in their refuſal, he put them to death. He even attacked the monks, and impriſoned them, to extort a ranſom from the convents; and, when he releaſed them, he put out one of their eyes, and plucked their beard up by the roots. The inhuman wretch was at length apprehended, committed to the Chatelet, tried by the parliament, and ſentenced to be hanged—a puniſhment ſcarcely adequate to his crimes!

A. D. 1354.] Thoſe dark machinations and intrigues, which produced conſequences the moſt fatal to the welfare and tranquillity of the kingdom, now began to appear. The count of Harcourt and his brother Lewis, who had always been firmly attached to the king of Navarre, became ſuddenly reconciled to the French monarch, without any apparent cauſe for a meaſure ſo extraordinary and unexpected. It was ſaid that theſe noblemen were to reveal many important ſecrets to the king, and, among others, the particulars of the plot which had been formed againſt Charles de la Cerda. The effects of this diſcovery were ſoon made viſible. The cardinal of Boulogne, who had openly tarniſhed the glory, and betrayed the intereſts, of his ſovereign, in the diſadvantageous treaty concluded at Mantes, with Charles of Navarre, was diſgraced, and retired to Avignon. Robert de Lorris, chamberlain to the king, eluded the vengeance of his maſter by a timely evaſion. Entruſted with the ſecrets of his prince, he had the baſeneſs to betray them to the king of Navarre; and he

had been privy to the design formed against the life of the constable, long before it was put in execution; a circumstance which excited the resentment of John more than any other instance of his treachery. In fact he could never cordially forgive those who were concerned in the assassination of his favourite, though he was compelled to defer his vengeance till a more favourable opportunity.

The king of Navarre, who was informed of every thing that passed in the privy council, having received intelligence that measures were adopted for arresting his person, secretly withdrew from court, and fled to Normandy; but, hearing that John had assembled a body of troops at Rouen, and the neighbouring towns, he left that province, and repaired to Avignon, where the conferences for a peace between the crowns of France and England were then holding. During his stay there, he concealed himself in the mansions of the cardinals of Ostia and Bologne, and every night paid a visit to the duke of Lancaster, Edward's plenipotentiary; and exerted all the resources and manœuvres which his restless and turbulent mind could suggest for breaking off the negociations. But, though the two cardinals, who were the pope's ministers, were suspected of favouring his plan, he could not prevent a prolongation of the truce for one year.

At length the king determined openly to pursue a prince whose conduct fully justified every exertion of severity. With this view he repaired to Caen, and ordered all the possessions of the king of Navarre to be seized; but Charles had taken care before his departure to fortify his towns, and supply them with numerous garrisons; the orders of John were therefore despised; and the principal towns, such as Evreux, Pont-Audemer, Cherbourg, Gauray, Avranches, and Mortagne, refused to open their gates. The governors of these places told the officers who were sent to take possession of them, that they would surrender them to no one but the king of Navarre, their sovereign, who had entrusted them to their care.

Charles, in the mean time, negociated a treaty with the duke of Lancaster, who was entrusted by Edward with full powers for that purpose*; and, having collected a body of troops in the kingdom of Navarre, he landed at Cherbourg with two thousand men at arms. It would have been an easy matter for the king, by uniting all the forces of France, to crush this turbulent prince, before he could possibly have put himself in a state of defence. But John was ever too apt to temporise; ignorant of the wise policy of prevention, he neglected such precautions as circumstances seemed to require; and seldom made the necessary preparations for attacking his foe, till the moment of action arrived. Alarmed at the vigorous resistance of Charles, who committed ravages in his Norman territories, and retook Conches, the only place that had been reduced

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1.; Chron. M. S.; Froissard, &c.

by John; intimidated, moreover, by the appearance of the duke of Lancaſter off the iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey, who ſeemed waiting for an opportunity to co-operate with the king of Navarre, he conſented to purchaſe an ignominious peace. James of Bourbon, count of Ponthieu and conſtable of France, and the duke of Athens, being appointed to treat with Charles, repaired to Valogne, where an accommodation was concluded. John agreed to grant a general pardon to Charles and all his accomplices, to the number of three hundred; in this liſt, which was delivered in by the king of Navarre himſelf, were included the noblemen who had ſigned the treaty of Mantes; the duke of Bourbon; the cardinal of Boulogne; Geoffrey de Charny; Robert de Lorris; and Le Cocq, biſhop of Laon; Charles, on his ſide, promiſed to renew his proteſtations of obedience and fidelity to the king, and to aſk pardon for his offences, in preſence of the princes of the blood, who were to bind themſelves by oath to enforce a ſtrict obſervance of the treaty; and the king's miniſters were likewiſe compelled to ſwear that they would never adviſe their ſovereign to any violation of it. Such articles of the treaty of Mantes as concerned the intereſt of Charles, and had not been fulfilled, were renewed in the preſent treaty; and the ſums due to him from the king were eſtimated at a hundred thouſand crowns.

A. D. 1355.] The truce between France and England, which had been ſo repeatedly prolonged and ſo frequently violated on both ſides, finally expired at Midſummer; when Edward reſolved on an immediate renewal of hoſtilities, and projected an invaſion of France, at either extremity of the kingdom, at the ſame time; he accordingly landed at Calais with a numerous army, in the month of October, laid waſte the Boulonnois, and Artois, and penetrated as far as Heſdin, on the frontiers of Picardy*. The king, in the mean time, having appointed a general rendezvous of his troops at Amiens, advanced to oppoſe the Engliſh monarch. Hiſtorians differ in their accounts of the motions of the two ſovereigns; thoſe of England aſſert that John fled before the arms of Edward; while the French writers affirm, that Edward declined the combat offered by John. It is certain, however, that the Engliſh monarch, after he had ravaged the country, retired to Calais, whence he embarked for England, where his preſence was required to repel a threatened invaſion of the Scots.

The prince of Wales, in the mean time, having paſſed over to Bourdeaux, made an irruption into the fertile province of Languedoc; he preſented himſelf before Thouloufe, paſſed the Garonne, burned the ſuburbs of Carcaſſonne; and, after a moſt deſtructive courſe, in which five hundred villages, and many conſiderable towns, were reduced to aſhes, he returned about Chriſtmas to Bourdeaux, with a vaſt booty, and put his army into winter quarters†. During theſe depredations, the prince did not experience the ſmalleſt oppoſition, though the

* Froiſſard. Spicil. Cont. de Nang. &c. † Aveſbury, p. 210 to 227.; Knighton. 2608.

French army, in thoſe parts, was ſuperior to his own, owing to the miſunderſtanding which prevailed among the generals, who were, James of Bourbon, conſtable of France; the mareſchal de Clermont; the count of Armagnac; and Gaſton Phœbus count of Foix.

It was the misfortune of France to be expoſed, at the ſame time, to the powerful attacks of a foreign enemy, and to the treacherous machinations of domeſtic foes*. The king appeared wholly occupied in making the neceſſary preparations for defending his dominions againſt the incurſions of the Engliſh, placing an implicit reliance on the fidelity of thoſe to whom he had entruſted the execution of his deſigns, when he was ſuddenly rouſed from this ſecurity, by the diſcovery of a dangerous plot.

Immediately after the concluſion of the treaty of Valogne, the king of Navarre began to form freſh intrigues; and he unfortunately found means to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of the dauphin, John's eldeſt ſon, who was then in his eighteenth year. The youth of this prince, the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, and the generoſity of his mind, joined to his inexperience, rendered him ſuſceptible of any impreſſions, which deſigning malice might wiſh to inculcate. Seduced by deceitful profeſſions of confidence and friendſhip, he liſtened to the treacherous advice of Charles the Bad, who gave him to underſtand that he was an object of hatred to the king, his father; he endeavoured to ſupport this aſſertion, by remarking to the prince, that John had never given him any appanage, although he was already in poſſeſſion of Dauphiny, the government whereof was adminiſtered in his name. The credulous dauphin, notwithſtanding the abſurdity of the charge, ſuffered himſelf to be convinced that his father was an unnatural parent, who only ſought to thwart his hopes, and interrupt his felicity; and, yielding to the ſuggeſtions of Charles the Bad, he formed a deſign ſecretly to withdraw from court, and claim the protection of his uncle the emperor, Charles the Fourth, ſon to John, king of Bohemia, who was killed at the battle of Crecy. The day was fixed for his evaſion; and he wrote to the king of Navarre, who was then in Normandy, to deſire he would ſend him ſome confidential ſervants to aſſiſt him in his eſcape. Charles the Bad, rejoiced at the ſucceſs of his plan, haſtened to Mantes, that he might be at hand to forward its execution; every thing favoured his views, and thirty men at arms were ſtationed at Saint Cloud, to wait for the heir-apparent to the throne, and to deliver him into the hands of the baſeſt of mankind. Fortunately the dauphin became ſenſible of his danger; and, ſhuddering at his own imprudence†, revealed to his father the advice of Charles, and of his own intentions. John, leſs aſtoniſhed at the criminal audacioufneſs of the king of Navarre, than moved by the repentance of his ſon, not only pardoned him, but, at his requeſt, extended his forgiveneſs to all who had had any concern in this project. The king and the dauphin were alike

* Piéces Juſtif. rap. dans les Mém de Litt. Proces. M. S. du Roi de Navarre. † Knyghton.

ignorant of the extent of the plan that had been formed againſt them, nor was it till ſome time after that they diſcovered the particulars of this iniquitous myſtery. Friquet, a dependent of Charles the Bad (whom we have already had occaſion to notice) having been arreſted and thrown into priſon, was put to the torture; when he confeſſed that his maſter had intended to ſeize the king's perſon, and put him privately to death. The king of Navarre had concealed his real deſigns under pretence of pitying the dauphin's hard fate, and of inducing him to apply to his uncle for protection and redreſs. He had laid a plan for ſurpriſing the king on his journey to the abbey of Grandpre in Normandy, whither he was going to perform the office of godfather to a child of the count of Eu. The joy which Charles experienced at the idea of having both father and ſon in his poſſeſſion, could only be equalled by his aſtoniſhment at the failure of his plot. The dauphin entered into no explanation with him, but ſimply ſent him word that he need not ſend any body to meet him, as he had changed his mind.

The king repreſented to the danger to him which his imprudence would have expoſed him, had he put himſelf in the power of a prince who was not alarmed at the commiſſion of crimes the moſt atrocious, and who had a viſible intereſt in ſowing diſſenſion between him and his children. After theſe paternal remonſtrances, John, though convinced of the ſincerity of his ſon's repentance, determined to remove all future pretence for ſeducing him from his duty, by inveſting him with the duchy of Normandy. The dauphin accordingly did homage to the king for that territory, in the houſe of Martin de Marle, canon of Notre-Dame.

The failure of this enterpriſe induced Charles the Bad to have once more recourſe to the king's clemency. The dauphin (whom we ſhall henceforth diſtinguiſh by the appellation of the duke of Normandy) had ſo little idea of the extent of his guilt, that he was the firſt to ſolicit, in favour of the parties concerned in the plot, the forgiveneſs of his father, who, himſelf, deceived by appearances, made no difficulty to grant the pardon he deſired. Letters of abſolution were accordingly publiſhed, in which the dauphin himſelf was, at his own requeſt, included. They run thus—"As it has lately been repreſented to us "that our deareſt ſon, Charles, duke of Normandy, intended to leave the king-"dom without our permiſſion, and repair to the court of our deareſt brother "the emperor, &c.; we, after being made acquainted with the full extent of "his deſigns, pardon our ſaid ſon, and all thoſe who were to accompany him "to the emperor's court, for every thing relating thereto." By the terms of theſe letters it is evident, that the real intentions of Charles the Bad were equally unknown both to the dauphin and the king. When, however, the whole extent of this nefarious plot had been revealed to John, he determined to ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity for the infliction of exemplary vengeance—a gratifica-

tion, which, at preſent, the critical ſituation of his affairs, and the ſtrength and influence of Charles compelled him to forego.

Haraſſed by the perſevering ſpirit of Edward; diſtreſſed by domeſtic feuds; and deſtitute of the means of oppoſing his enemies, the king, agreeably to the cuſtom, on like occaſions, in the preceding reigns, convened a meeting of the ſtates general. As the principal buſineſs of theſe aſſemblies was, the diſcovery of reſources to ſupport a war, and as the chief burden generally fell upon the third eſtate, the ſuffrages of the deputies of the people, muſt naturally have had a conſiderable influence on the deliberations. Hence the third order began, by degrees, to take advantage of the neceſſity of the times; and, after forming a balance to the credit of the nobility, it at length ventured to diſcuſs the rights, and attack the limits of the ſovereign authority. The firſt ſymptoms of this ſpirit of freedom appeared at the meeting of the ſtates now aſſembled by John; and the king's declaration, in conſequence of their remonſtrances, has, by ſome writers, been compared to the Magna Charta of England; it therefore requires particular notice.

The kingdom of France was, at this time, divided into two parts; one of theſe was called *La Langue d'Oyl**, or the *Cuſtomary Country*, from being governed by the cuſtomary law; it comprehended all the northern provinces: while the ſouthern provinces of which the other diviſion conſiſted, were termed *La Langue d'Oc;* here the ſtatute or written law prevailed. The Lyonnois formed the only exception to this rule; for, though it was ſubject to the written law, it belonged to the cuſtomary country. The two diviſions were ſeparated by the Garonne. As Guienne, and ſome of the neighbouring provinces were in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; the *Langue d'Oc* was the ſmalleſt part, containing only the preſent province of Languedoc, with the addition of Quercy and Rouergne.

The aſſembly, compoſed of the deputies of the *Langue d'Oyl*, met on the ſecond of December, 1355, when the ſeſſion was opened in the king's name, by Peter le Foreſt, archbiſhop of Rouen, and chancellor of France. After having explained to the aſſembly the ſituation of the kingdom, and the wants of the prince, he told them, from the king, that they were to conſult among themſelves on the beſt means of providing for the neceſſities of the ſtate, and the defence of the country. He added, that the king being informed that his ſubjects were grievouſly oppreſſed by the frequent changes and groſs adulteration of the coin, he was willing to make a ſufficient quantity of good money, and to eſtabliſh a a proper ſtandard, on condition that they would ſupply him with every neceſſary aſſiſtance for ſupporting the war. When the chancellor ſat down, thoſe members who were deputed by the three orders to anſwer him: viz. John de Craon, archbiſhop of Rheims, by the clergy; Gauthier de Brienne, duke of

* This term is ſaid to be derived from the word OYL which the inhabitants of thoſe provinces uſed for OUI; Oc being uſed in the ſame ſenſe by the inhabitants of the northern provinces, procured for them the appellation of 'La Langue d'Oc,' Du Cange ad verb, L'impiæ.

Athens, by the nobility; Stephen Marcel, provoſt of Paris, by the third eſtate —proteſted that they were all ready to devote their lives and their fortunes to the ſervice of the king. They then begged the king's permiſſion to confer among themſelves on the neceſſary expedients to be adopted, in the preſent ſituation of public affairs, and on the repreſentations which they wiſhed to make with regard to various abuſes which had been introduced into the government. The ſeſſion was accordingly adjourned till the next day, when the conferences commenced.

The firſt article they agreed on, and which they laid down as a general maxim, was, that the *unanimous* conſent of the three orders was indiſpenſably requiſite to give to any decree the force of a law; and, that the deciſions of two of the orders could not be deemed binding on the third. By this preliminary arrangement, ſome idea may be formed of the degree of influence to which the third eſtate had attained at this period.

The authority of the aſſembly being thus defined, they proceeded to deliberate on the different objects of diſcuſſion. It was determined to oppoſe the enemy with an army of ninety thouſand men, independent of the militia; a force ſufficient to ſecure the kingdom from every inſult. In order to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of theſe troops, they laid a duty upon ſalt, and impoſed a tax of eight deniers per livre on all articles expoſed to ſale, except eſtates of inheritance. No perſon was exempted from this impoſt; and in order to take away every pretext from ſuch as might ſeek to elude it, the king and queen, with their children and the princes of the blood, were equally bound to pay it. The ſtates reſerved to themſelves the power of chuſing commiſſioners to ſuperintend the collection and appropriation of the money thus granted; though the king, and his council, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed a determination which tended to deprive them of the privilege they had ever enjoyed of diſpoſing of the ſupplies deſtined to defray the expences of the war.

The king ſanctioned with his approbation the proceedings of the ſtates, and paſſed an ordonnance conformable to their wiſhes. This ordonnance preſcribes the collection of the impoſts, and the appointment, by the ſtates, of nine ſuperintendants-general, three of each order; the nomination of particular deputies in the provinces to regulate the diſtribution of the taxes granted by the ſtates, with the form of the oath to be taken by the ſuperintendants. The king engaged that the produce of the taxes ſhould not be appropriated to any other purpoſes but thoſe for which the taxes were impoſed; and, in caſe of any orders being iſſued repugnant to this engagement, the deputies were bound by an oath to reſiſt them to the utmoſt of their power. The deciſion of any diſputes that might ariſe between the ſuperintendants was referred to the parliament; and the examination of the accounts of money received and expended, to the members of the council. As the new taxes were only granted for a year, the ſtates were ſummoned to meet again at the expiration of that period. Such was the regu-

lation concerning the collection and employment of the ſubſidy granted for carrying on the war.

The king, in return, fulfilled his promiſe of coining a ſufficient quantity of good money, and of eſtabliſhing a regular ſtandard for aſcertaining its weight and purity; he alſo renounced for himſelf, his family, and principal officers, the right which they had hitherto enjoyed of exacting from the people, whenever they travelled, wine, proviſions, horſes, carriages, and, in ſhort, every thing of which they ſtood in need. And he farther engaged never more to extort loans from his ſubjects againſt their wills.

All creditors were forbidden to transfer their debts to perſons in power, or to privileged officers, under pain of forfeiture and an arbitrary fine; all the debts due to the Lombard bankers, (who were always termed uſurers) were declared to be void at the expiration of ten years; and, with regard to all lawful debts, it was decreed that no debtor could be ſued before any other than the judge of his diſtrict.

By the ſame edict, the king ordained that all juriſdiction ſhould be confined to the proper judges; and that no man ſhould, in future, be cited to appear before the officers of the crown; many other abuſes with regard to privileges claimed, and fees exacted by ſuch officers, were aboliſhed; for the encouragement of trade, all members of the council; preſidents and counſellors of the parliament; maſters of requeſts; maſters of accounts; treaſurers of France; receivers; maſters of the mint; ſeneſchals; king's ſecretaries; and, in general, all judges and officers, were forbidden to carry on any kind of traffic, directly or indirectly, under pain of confiſcation of their merchandizes, and arbitrary puniſhment; the king promiſed never to convoke the *arriere-ban*, without an evident and urgent neceſſity, nor without the advice of the deputies of the three eſtates, unleſs an impoſſibility of aſſembling them ſhould ſubſiſt; and all former impoſts were to ceaſe ſo long as the new taxes ſhould continue.

The other parts of this ordonnance conſiſted of military regulations, tending to ſecure the inhabitants from being moleſted by the troops on their march; and to prevent an impoſition, then frequent, of exacting payment for men who were not with the army by getting others to anſwer for them when their names were called over; the ſame impoſition too was practiſed with reſpect to horſes, which were, therefore, ordered in future to have ſome particular mark, that the ſame horſe might not appear twice, and ſo produce a double ſalary to his owner. The ordonnance concluded with a promiſe from the king to exert his utmoſt efforts for bringing the war to a ſpeedy termination, and not to conclude any peace or truce without the advice of a committee of deputies from the three eſtates. This ordonnance was dated the twenty-eighth of December, 1355, ſealed on the eighteenth of January following, and publiſhed on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month.

Such is the ſubſtance of that famous declaration, which formed a ſubject of exultation to contemporary writers, and has even been ſpoken of in terms of triumph by later hiſtorians. To people long accuſtomed to a ſtate of abject ſubmiſſion, this participation of power muſt have proved highly flattering; that they ſhould not have diſplayed the moſt rigid moderation in the exerciſe of their newly-acquired privileges, is rather an object of regret than a matter of ſurpriſe; the power of appropriating the ſupplies, granted by the ſtates, ſhould certainly, from reſpect to the throne, as well as from motives of expediency, have been confided to the king's miniſters, under the neceſſary reſponſibility; and the right of making peace formed an eſſential prerogative of royalty, veſted in the monarch for the wiſeſt and moſt obvious reaſons. No danger could be apprehended from a repetition of the abuſes by which the kingdom had been haraſſed during the preceding reign; for, ſince the ſtates had, very properly, aſſumed to themſelves the power of granting ſupplies, the monarch would naturally be careful not to incur their diſpleaſure by a wanton prodigality, or the concluſion of a diſhonourable peace. By ſecuring that power, the ſtates had eſtabliſhed the moſt effectual and ſalutary check to the deſtructive ambition of their monarchs; and, at the ſame time, had opened an eaſy road to the acquiſition of other privileges, and the abolition of other abuſes: had they adhered firmly to this point, and acted moderately in other reſpects; had they endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves without *degrading* their ſovereign; all the calamities in which the kingdom was, afterward, involved, might eaſily have been avoided, and this baſis of a free conſtitution have given birth and ſupport to a fabric ſtrong, uſeful, and durable.

The meaſures adopted by the ſtates for procuring the neceſſary ſupplies proved ineffectual and unproductive; many of the provinces refuſed to ſubmit to the new taxes, and to furniſh their ſtipulated quota. The king had expreſſed his apprehenſions of this failure, and had ſtrenuouſly recommended the adoption of a poll-tax; but the ſtates, jealous of their newly-eſtabliſhed power, had refuſed to liſten to his ſuggeſtions. They were at length, however, compelled to have recourſe to this meaſure, and a general poll-tax was accordingly impoſed on all ſubjects indiſcriminately, without even excepting the princes of the blood*. It was fixed at four per cent. on thoſe annual incomes which amounted to one hundred livres or upwards; two per cent. on thoſe which exceeded forty, and did not amount to a hundred; and one per cent. on all under forty. But this tax proved moſt burdenſome and oppreſſive to the poorer claſs of people, ſuch as workmen, labourers, &c. whoſe wages, when they amounted to a hundred ſols, were taxed at the rate of ten per cent.; a ſure proof that the ſtates were not guided by the beſt principles in the exerciſe of their new privileges. All moveables were taxed at four livres in the thouſand,

* Ordonn. des Etats, MS.

Widows, minors, nuns, *cloiſtered* monks, and mendicant friars, were alone exempted from the impoſt.

While theſe preparations were making for repelling the attacks of a foreign enemy, the firſt ſymptoms of internal commotion appeared. An inſurrection of the populace took place at Arras; and the nobility, in their attempts to quell the revolt, were defeated by the rebels, and compelled to quit the city, with the loſs of twenty perſons of note. This attempt, however, ſoon met with the puniſhment due to its enormity; the mareſchal d'Andreghen, entering the town without any ſhew of hoſtility, ſeized a hundred of the principal inſurgents, twenty of whom were publicly beheaded; this well-timed exertion of ſeverity had the deſired effect; and tranquillity was, for the preſent, reſtored.

The king now reſolved to execute a plan which he had long had in contemplation. If we may credit the teſtimony of contemporary writers, he had never forgotten the death of his favourite Charles de la Cerda, and had determined to inflict an exemplary vengeance on the authors and accomplices of his aſſaſſination, the moment a favourable opportunity ſhould occur*. The ſubſequent injuries he had ſuſtained from the king of Navarre, and his partiſans; their continual intrigues to thwart his projects; the conſpiracy in which they had engaged the dauphin; the conſequences of that plot, which had been ſince diſcovered; the pardon which he had been conſtrained to grant them; their efforts, in the aſſembly of the ſtates-general, to prejudice the three orders againſt the government; all theſe circumſtances tended to nouriſh and ſtrengthen that reſentment to which the murder of his favourite had given birth.

John, however, had hitherto diſguiſed his feelings; and, notwithſtanding the violence of his indignation, his deſire of obtaining a more complete vengeance had enabled him to overcome the natural impetuoſity of his temper.—The duke of Normandy contributed to the accompliſhment of his ſcheme; for what paſſed, on this occaſion, will not permit us to doubt that he entered into the views of his father. That prince was then at Rouen, the capital of his new appanage. His court was brilliant and numerous; and he had found means to induce the king of Navarre, with whom he ſtill maintained a cloſe correſpondence, frequently to attend it. The noblemen, in the retinue of Charles the Bad, generally accompanied their maſter on his excurſions from Evreux to Rouen. The dauphin one day invited that monarch to a grand repaſt; this invitation was accepted; and Charles came, attended by a number of his moſt faithful adherents.

During the preceding night, the king left Manneville, accompanied by a hundred men at arms: among whom were his ſon, the count of Anjou; his brother, the duke of Orleans; John of Artois, count of Eu, with his brother

* Froiſſard; Spicil. Cont. de Nangis; Grande Chronique; Chron. MS. du Roi Jean.

Charles of Artois; the count of Tancarville; the mareſchal d'Andreghen, and ſeveral other noblemen. He arrived at the gates of Rouen, at the very hour of dinner; and, paſſing round the outſide of the walls, entered the caſtle by a private door, and preſented himſelf in the room where the gueſts were aſſembled. The moment he appeared, every body aroſe from their ſeats; a goblet of wine was immediately offered him, but he refuſed to take it, and exclaimed, with a countenance inflamed with rage, "Let no one ſtir, under pain of "death!" He immediately went up to the king of Navarre and ſecured him. The count of Harcourt attempted to eſcape, but was inſtantly ſtopped. All the nobles and knights, in the retinue of Charles the Bad, attempted to force a paſſage; ſome few of them eſcaped, but the greater part were ſeized and confined in different parts of the caſtle. The king then ſat down to dinner; and, when he roſe from table, he ordered the count of Harcourt, the lord of Graville, Maubue de Mainemars, knight, and Oliver Doublet, eſquire, to be put into two carts; when he mounted his horſe, and, attended by his ſon, the dauphin, and his men at arms, he conducted the priſoners to a field near the town, called *The Field of Pardon*, where he cauſed them to be beheaded. A contemporary hiſtorian* relates, that, as the fatal proceſſion was paſſing through the ſtreets of Rouen, the inhabitants, aſtoniſhed at a ſight ſo extraordinary and unexpected, attempted to liberate the priſoners, but the king pulling off his helmet, and making himſelf known, they immediately deſiſted. At the ſame time John took from his pocket a deed, from whence ſeveral ſeals were ſuſpended, and aſſured the people it was a treaty concluded with the king of England. The ſame author adds, that the count of Harcourt, and the three other noblemen, denied to the laſt the exiſtence of ſuch a treaty.

On coolly conſidering the king's conduct on this occaſion, we cannot but deplore that dangerous impetuoſity of temper, which, leading him to follow the inconſiderate dictates of rage, gave an air of injuſtice to all his actions, degraded the dignity of the monarch, and the majeſty of the throne; while he might eaſily have gratified a reſentment founded in juſtice, by ſanctioning his proceedings with the authority of the law. The four bodies were ſuſpended on the public gibbet, and their heads placed on lances, fixed for the purpoſe. John diſmiſſed all the other priſoners, except the king of Navarre, Friquet, and a gentleman named Vaubattu. Charles the Bad was conducted to the Louvre at Paris; or, according to ſome, to the fortreſs of Gaillard, near Andely, and from thence to the Chatelet,† where he underwent an examination, as we learn, from the certificate of the king's ſecretary, annexed to the copy of Friquet's examination.

A. D. 1356.] The impriſonment of Charles the Bad, and the execution of the nobles of Navarre, far from extinguiſhing the zeal of his partiſans, only

* Villani. † Spicil. Cont. Nang. Froiſſard.

ſerved to light the torch of revolt in a part of the province of Normandy. Philip of Navarre, brother to that prince, aſſembled all the friends of his houſe, fortified the towns and caſtles in his brother's dominions, placed ſtrong garriſons therein, and expreſſed a determination to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. At the ſame time, he wrote to the king*, declaring, that he would never ceaſe to wage war againſt him, ſhould he preſume to offer any violence to his brother. The ſeizure now attempted to be made of the domains of the king of Navarre, proved as ineffectual as on a former occaſion prior to the treaty of Valognes; his troops that were ſtationed in the Cotentin, reſiſted every effort to reduce them. The nobility, too, and moſt of the inhabitants of the Norman towns, being diſaffected to the government, either embraced the cauſe of the king of Navarre, or obſerved a ſtrict neutrality. Geoffrey of Harcourt, who, during the preceding reign, had directed the Engliſh arms to the reduction of Normandy; and, who, after the battle of Crecy, had been reconciled to Philip, now, from reſentment for his brother's death, proved himſelf the moſt bitter enemy which the king had to encounter.

Not content with having taken proper meaſures for oppoſing the firſt attacks of John, Philip of Navarre and Geoffrey of Harcourt determined to apply for the aſſiſtance of a foreign power, under whoſe banner the enemies of the ſtate might, at all times, rally. They addreſſed themſelves to the king of England†, who, lending a favourable ear to their remonſtrances, ſent over a paſsport to their agents, to enable them to repair to London. He went ſtill farther; as John, when he arreſted the king of Navarre, and cauſed the four noblemen to be executed, had accuſed them of a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, and of having concluded a treaty with England, Edward undertook to deſtroy the reputation of his rival, by convicting him of falſhood, in the face of all Europe.

With this view, that monarch addreſſed a manifeſto to the pope, the emperor, and to all the other princes and nobles of Chriſtendom‡. "The prudent "men of the age," ſaid Edward, in this manifeſto, "endeavour to diſguiſe their "own faults, by attacking the innocence of others: we believe it to be con- "formable to our duty to God and man, to tear the veil which covers the face "of truth, and to expoſe it naked, by wiping away, through the means of a "public teſtimony, thoſe falſe colours which ſerve to obſcure it. Every body "knows that John of France, actual poſſeſſor, in ſpite of God and juſtice, of "that kingdom which belongs to us, he having ſtrengthened by an oath his "reconciliation with the king of Navarre, and having promiſed that prince to "forget all paſt ſubjects of diſcontent, which he might have either againſt him "or his adherents, has, nevertheleſs, ſeized the count of Harcourt, and ſeve- "ral other noblemen, and has treated them in a manner which our reſpect for "the honourable profeſſion of arms forbids us to explain. But, as the ſaid John

* Tréſor des Chartres. † Rymer, vol. iii. p. 122. ‡ Ib. p. 122.

" of France, in order to juſtify his conduct, pretends, as we are told, to have " in his poſſeſſion certain letters of the king of Navarre and his nobles, by which " it appears, that they had conſpired againſt him, and had promiſed to join us, " and to ſurrender the province of Normandy into our hands ; fearful, leſt ſuch " reports ſhould injure our honour, and that of the king of Navarre, and wiſh- " ing, from the ties of blood by which we are united, to clear the ſaid king " of Navarre from this falſe imputation, we declare, on the word of a king, " and before God, that the king of Navarre and his friends never concluded " any treaty with us, never favoured our cauſe, and that, on the contrary, we " have ever regarded them as our enemies." Signed at Weſtminſter, on the fourteenth of May, 1356.

The king's enemies did not fail to circulate this manifeſto, and ſucceeded but too well in accelerating the progreſs of faction, and encreaſing the number of malcontents. The prince of Navarre went to England, accompanied by Geoffrey of Harcourt, in order to preſs the concluſion of the treaty*. The latter, yielding to the dictates of reſentment, immediately after his arrival at London, acknowledged Edward for king of France and duke of Normandy, did homage to him as ſuch, and confeſſed that he held of him the lordſhip of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, and other conſiderable eſtates in Normandy, and finally declared him heir to all his poſſeſſions. Edward in return, made him lieutenant in Normandy. Philip of Navarre likewiſe did homage to the king of England. In the deed of homage are inſerted the terms of that alliance, the principal condition of which is the war againſt France which the contracting parties bind themſelves to continue till Edward ſhall have effected the entire conqueſt of the kingdom, and procured the liberation of the king of Navarre. They farther engaged to conclude no truce nor peace without the conſent of all parties.

The duke of Lancaſter, had, in the mean time, entered Normandy with a conſiderable re-inforcement of Engliſh†, which, joined to the troops of Navarre, formed a body of forty thouſand men at arms, beſides infantry. A ſhort time before his arrival, the count of Tancarville, conſtable of Normandy, and king's lieutenant of that province, had taken the town and caſtle of Evreux, which were firſt pillaged and then reduced to aſhes. The duke of Lancaſter having formed a junction with the forces of Philip of Navarre, took poſſeſſion of Breteuil, which he fortified, and from thence committed depredations on the circumjacent country. He then penetrated into Perche, and reduced Verneuil, which he diſmantled, and partly burned.

As ſoon as the king was informed of the invaſion of Normandy by the duke of Lancaſter, he aſſembled his troops, and took the road to Verneuil, where he expected to meet the enemy ; but he found that they had altered their courſe, and directed their march towards the town of Aigle. Thither he accordingly

* Rymer, vol, iii. p. 122. † Froiſſard. Grande Chronique.

repaired, but, on his arrival, he found the Engliſh ſo ſtrongly intrenched in the neighbouring foreſts, that, fearful of falling into an ambuſcade, he thought it prudent to retreat. On his return, he took and garriſoned the caſtle of Tilliers, and afterwards reduced Breteuil, after a ſiege of two months.

Theſe tranſactions in Normandy were but the prelude to the operations of this campaign, although the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced that there appeared to be but little time left to undertake any enterpriſe of importance. An enemy more formidable than the Navarreſe and the duke of Lancaſter threatened the oppoſite extremity of the kingdom. While John was employed in the ſiege of Breteuil, the prince of Wales was laying waſte the ſouthern parts of France. After paſſing the Garonne, he penetrated into Auvergne and the Limouſin, which he over-ran with the rapidity of a torrent. He then entered the province of Berry, and made an unſucceſsful attack on the towns of Bourges and Iſſoudun. Preſſing forward with incredible celerity he arrived on the frontiers of Touraine, when he thought of proceeding to join the duke of Lancaſter in Perche, but he was informed that all the bridges of the Loire were broken down, all the paſſages carefully guarded, and that the king was at Chartres with a formidable army. He therefore reſolved to haſten back to Guienne through Touraine and Poitou.

John had not been informed of the irruption of the prince of Wales till his return to Paris, after the reduction of Breteuil. The moment he received the intelligence he ſwore, that he would march againſt him, and bring him to action wherever he ſhould find him*. All the nobility of France had orders to march, and the general rendezvous of the troops was appointed on the frontiers of Touraine and the Bleſois. While the army was aſſembling, the king diſpatched the lords of Craon and Boucicaut, with the hermit of Chaumont, to haraſs the prince's troops. The French formed an ambuſcade in a kind of defile, near Romorantin, where they ſurpriſed a body of two hundred lances, whom they attacked with great fury. The Engliſh, however, defended themſelves with ſuch vigour, that the prince of Wales had time to come to their aſſiſtance. The French were then obliged to retreat, and to take refuge in the caſtle of Romorantin, the town not being in a ſtate of defence. The prince determined to revenge this affront, appeared to forget for a time the neceſſity of uſing the utmoſt diſpatch in his return to Guienne. He ſummoned the three noblemen to ſurrender at diſcretion, and, on their refuſal, laid ſiege to the place, which he reduced in a few days.

The delay, however, occaſioned by this important attack, had nearly proved fatal to the Engliſh. The king, having collected his troops, left Chartres, reached Blois the firſt day, and, in two days more, arrived at Loches, where he learned that the enemy had entered Touraine. The prince purſued his route

* Froiſſard, Spicil. Cont de Nang. Grande Chronique, Chron. MS. &c.

to Poictiers, and endeavoured, by forced marches, to recover the time he had loſt before the caſtle of Romorantin. As the two armies advanced towards Poictiers the diſtance between them gradually diminiſhed. Already had the French paſſed the ſmall river Creuſe by the bridge of Chauvigny, and, marching round a wood, within two ſhort leagues of Poictiers, pitched their camp near the village of Maupertis, when the Engliſh arrived at the ſame ſpot, from the oppoſite ſide of the wood. Here the prince learned, from ſome priſoners, that the king of France, with his whole army, were before him, and that it was impoſſible either to advance or retreat without coming to action. He ſent a detachment of two hundred men at arms to reconnoitre, and, on their return, he firſt learned the ſtrength of the enemy he had to encounter. But his courage ſeemed to encreaſe with the danger that threatened him; "God's will be done!" ſaid he, "nothing remains but to know how we ſhall fight them to the beſt ad-"vantage." It was on Saturday the ſeventeenth of September, 1356, that the two armies came in ſight of each other. The Engliſh employed the night in fortifying their camp; the ground which the prince had pitched on was a ſmall plain, gently inclining, ſurrounded by woods and vineyards, and acceſſible only by a narrow defile in front, which was encloſed with thick hedges on either ſide.

But neither the courage of the prince, nor the prudence he diſplayed in the choice of his ground could poſſibly have availed him in this emergency, had John known how to profit by the preſent advantage. The Engliſh army, fatigued with a long and toilſome march, had, for ſome days, experienced a want of proviſions and forage, from the neceſſity of returning through a country which they had before laid waſte. Encloſed on all ſides by an army more numerous than their own in the proportion of at leaſt eight to one*, a delay of three days muſt have forced them to lay down their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion. The war would then have been finiſhed; the capture of the prince of Wales would have obliged the king of England to ſubmit to almoſt any terms that his rival might wiſh to impoſe. But the blind impetuoſity of John deprived the kingdom of this advantage, and proved a ſource of endleſs misfortune to himſelf and his people.

At dawn of day the king and his officers attended maſs, which it was always uſual to celebrate previous to an action. He then called a council of war, which was attended by the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; the count of Ponthieu; James of Bourbon; the duke of Athens, conſtable of France; the counts of Sallebrache, Dammartin, and Ventadour; mareſchal d'Andreghen; the lords of Clermont, Saint-Venant, Landas, Fiennes, Chatillon, Sully, Neſle, and Duras; Euſtace de Ribaumont, Geoffrey de Charny, and many other noblemen. Whether the members were appriſed of the king's intention, and

* Villaret.

were afraid to oppoſe them, or whether the ſmall number of the enemy inſpired them with a blind confidence, there was not one man, among this crowd of princes and knights, the flower of French chivalry, endued with ſufficient ſpirit or prudence to give the only advice that ought to have been purſued.—The attack of the enemy's camp was unanimouſly reſolved on; and the troops accordingly received orders to hold themſelves in readineſs. While Euſtace de Ribaumont, John de Landas, and Guichard de Beujeau were employed in reconnoitring the enemy, the king, mounted on a white courſer, rode along the ranks and thus addreſſed his men—"Soldiers, when you are at Paris, "Chartres, Rouen, or Orleans, you threaten the Engliſh, and wiſh to be in "their preſence with your helmets on; now you are in their preſence, yonder "they are: if you wiſh to take vengeance for the injuries you have ſuſtained, "and to puniſh your enemies for what they have made you ſuffer, now is your "time, for we ſhall certainly fight them." The ſoldiers replied to this laconic harangue by proteſtations of courage and fidelity.

John now commanded one of the firſt armies that France had produced for a long time; it amounted to more than ſixty thouſand men, among whom were three thouſand knights bannerets. The four ſons of the king, the princes of the blood, and all the men of diſtinction in the kingdom, able to bear arms, were aſſembled at Maupertuis. To this formidable army was oppoſed a body of eight thouſand men, not more than three thouſand of which were Engliſh, the reſt were chiefly Gaſcons; but weak as it was in compariſon with the enemy whoſe attack it was deſtined to ſuſtain; it had the advantage of being commanded by the gallant prince of Wales, the celebrated hero of Crecy.

The French army was formed into three diviſions, each containing ſixteen thouſand men at arms, beſides infantry. The firſt was commanded by the king's brother, the duke of Orleans; the ſecond by the dauphin, attended by his two brothers, Lewis and John; theſe three princes were entruſted to the care of the lords of St. Venant, de Landas, de Tibault, de Bodenay, and Arnaud de Cervolle; the king reſerved the command of the third diviſion for himſelf, attended by his favourite ſon, Philip, then about fourteen years of age. The three knights, whom he had ſent to reconnoitre the enemy's poſition, brought him word that the prince of Wales had ſtrongly fortified his poſt; and that, in order to attack him, it would be neceſſary to paſs through a defile, ſo narrow as ſcarcely to admit four men abreaſt, and well guarded by thick hedges that afforded a complete ſhelter to the enemy. The king aſked Euſtace de Ribaumont, which was the beſt mode of beginning the attack; and that nobleman adviſed him to diſmount all the men at arms, except three hundred of the braveſt and beſt mounted, who ſhould lead the way, and endeavour to force a paſſage through the Engliſh archers. This advice being approved, orders were given accordingly; all the men at arms diſmounted, except the three hundred that were to begin the attack, under the command of

mareſchals Clermont and D'Andreghen, and the German cavalry who were deſtined to ſupport them. The men at arms were ordered to take off their ſpurs, and to cut their lances down to five feet, for the greater convenience of engaging in cloſe fight.

As ſoon as the troops began to move, they were ſtopped by the appearance of the cardinal de Perigord, the pope's legate, who having learned the approach of the two armies to each other, had haſtened to prevent, if poſſible, the effuſion of blood. By John's permiſſion, he repaired to the prince of Wales, whom he found ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation; and indeed, willing to liſten to any terms of accommodation that were not inconſiſtent with his own honour, and with that of England: he even offered to purchaſe a retreat, by a ceſſion of all the conqueſts he had made in the courſe of that and the preceding campaign; by reſtoring all the priſoners and booty he had taken; and by engaging not to bear arms againſt France for ſeven years. But John peremptorily inſiſted, that the prince ſhould ſurrender himſelf priſoner, with a hundred of his knights: the negociation, therefore, was broken off, Edward declaring, that he would never accede to ſuch diſhonourable terms; and that, whatever fortune might attend him, England ſhould never have his ranſom to pay.

Both ſides now prepared for action, though the day was ſo far advanced, that it was found neceſſary to defer it till the next morning; and, during the night, the Engliſh prince ſtrengthened, by additional entrenchments, the poſt he had ſo judiciouſly choſen. Early in the morning of the nineteenth of September, the two armies were drawn up in order of battle; the French were diſpoſed as before; and the prince of Wales had, in imitation of his adverſary, alſo divided his army into three lines; the van was commanded by the earl of Warwick, the main body by the prince himſelf, and the rear by the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk. The lords Chandos, Audley, and many other brave and experienced officers, were at the head of different corps. Edward had alſo taken the precaution to place the captal de Buche, with three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, behind an elevated ſpot, at the foot of which the dauphin's diviſion was poſted; and he lined the hedges on both ſides of the defile which led to his camp with a body of his beſt archers.

Juſt before the action began, the cardinal de Perigord, being reſolved to make one final effort for an accommodation, again appeared at the head of the French army; but the king and his generals told him they would liſten to no terms, and adviſed him to make a haſty retreat, or he might perhaps have reaſon to repent his forwardneſs. He then took his leave of John, and riding up to the prince of Wales, ſaid, "My fair ſon, do your beſt, for you muſt fight." "It is our intention ſo to do," replied Edward; "and may God aſſiſt the juſt*!"

* Villaret.

The ſignal for battle was given about nine in the morning, when the three hundred men at arms, under the conduct of mareſchals D'Andreghen and de Clermont, entered the defile, in order to clear the paſſage for the reſt of the troops; but the Engliſh archers plied their arrows with ſuch effect, that the lane was, in a manner, ſtopped up with the bodies of men and horſes, ſo that the laſt ranks were unable to advance. The two mareſchals, however, and ſome of their beſt-mounted followers, forced their way to the end, and attacked the van of the Engliſh with great intrepidity; but their courage was ineffectual; overcome by numbers, they were almoſt inſtantly ſurrounded, and either killed or taken. Mareſchal de Clermont was ſlain by lord Chandos, who, having had ſome altercation with him on the preceding day, determined to decide the quarrel, the moment they ſhould meet in battle*; and D'Andreghen was felled to the ground by the lord Audley, who took him priſoner. This firſt check, trifling as it appeared, decided the fate of the day: the men at arms, who had been prevented from reaching the end of the defile, turned the heads of their horſes, and flying back with precipitation on the dauphin's diviſion, threw it into confuſion. Thoſe who were diſmounted, quitted the ranks, and ran towards their horſes; and at that moment the captal de Buche ruſhed from his ſtation, and attacked them in flank with great fury. The noblemen who attended the dauphin and his two brothers, inſtead of attempting to remedy the diſorder, occaſioned by the attack of ſix hundred men on a body of twenty thouſand, gave way to the ſuggeſtions of fear, and taking the young princes off the field, ſought to conceal their own cowardice beneath the ſpecious pretext of preſerving the hopes of the ſtate. The duke of Orleans, who commanded the ſecond diviſion, acted ſtill more cowardly, by ſetting an example of flight to his men, even before he had drawn his ſword. The prince of Wales, obſerving the confuſion that now prevailed in the French army, mounted his horſe, and gave orders to ſuch of his men at arms as had hitherto fought on foot to follow his example. Lord Chandos, who was near him during the whole action, ſaid, "Come along, Sir, the victory is our own; nothing now remains but to attack the battalion commanded by the king."—Pointing to the king of France, who was diſtinguiſhed by his martial air, and by a coat of mail, embelliſhed with golden *fleurs de lis*, he exclaimed, "I know that his courage will prevent him from flying; ſo, with the aid of God and St. George, we ſhall ſoon have him in our power." "Come along, Chandos," replied the prince, "no one, this day, ſhall ſee me retreat†." He then advanced to attack the king's diviſion, which ſtill remained entire, though ſomewhat diſmayed by the flight of their companions, and was far ſuperior in numbers to the whole Engliſh army.

The battle now became ſerious; the king of France, enraged at the deſertion

* Villaret. † Idem.

of his two firſt diviſions, determined, by his own conduct, to ſet a worthy example to his remaining troops: never did monarch diſplay a greater intrepidity of ſoul than John evinced on this memorable occaſion. Had a fifth part of thoſe that accompanied him exhibited the ſame determined courage, the fortune of the day might probably have been changed. He gave his orders with the utmoſt tranquillity, arranged his troops, and preſented a firm front to the enemy. The ſhock was dreadful; neither party could claim a ſuperiority of valour in the bloody fray; equal reſolution appeared on both ſides; and the ground, ſtrewed with the bodies of the dead and dying, was now diſputed inch by inch.

That a whole nation may not be involved in diſgrace for the cowardice of a few, the names of thoſe brave men, who, by their ſpirited, though ſucceſsleſs efforts, preſerved the fame they had juſtly acquired, and did honour to their country, ought to be recorded in hiſtory. The chief of theſe were the duke of Bourbon; James of Bourbon; John and James of Artois; the duke of Athens; John de Melun, count of Tancarville, with his three ſons, William, archbiſhop of Sens, and John and Simon de Melun; Arnaut Chaveau, biſhop of Chalons, in Champagne; the lords of Pons, Parthenay, Damp-Marie, Montabouton, Surgeres, Rochefoucault, Saintre, L'Angle, Argenton, Linieres, Montandre, Rochechouart, Aulnoy, Beaujeu, Chateau-Villain, Montpenſier, Ventadour, Cervolle, Mareuil, La Tour, Charenton, Montagu, Rochefort, La Chaire, Apchon, Linal, Norvel, Pierre-Buffiere, Merle, Raineval, Saint-Dizier, Charny, Hely, Monſant and Hagnes.

This worthy band of valorous knights, crowding round their prince, long enabled him to reſiſt the impetuous attacks of the enemy. A body of German cavalry, commanded by the counts of Sarbruck, Nydo, and Naſſau, being placed in the front, the prince of Wales ruſhed on them with great fury, ſoon routed them, killed two of their leaders, and took the third priſoner. Still, however, the French, animated by the preſence and example of their ſovereign, made a deſperate reſiſtance. But the duke of Athens being ſlain, his brigade gave way, and left the king to ſuſtain the undivided fury of the Engliſh. His ſon Philip, fighting by his ſide, diſplayed an intrepidity ſuperior to his age; whenever a blow was aimed at his father, he ruſhed forward to catch it; and the wound he received, in thus nobly diſcharging the duties of a child and a hero, was the moſt glorious of any that was inflicted that day. The duke of Bourbon was by this time ſlain, and the ſtandard of France lay proſtrate on the ground, claſped in the lifeleſs arms of the valiant Charny, who had refuſed to quit the precious charge. The ranks were thinned; the carnage was dreadful; but the king ſeemed to riſe ſuperior to misfortune, and rallying round his perſon the few ſurviving nobles, determined, by a deſperate effort, to retrieve, if poſſible, the fortune of the day. Wielding his axe with amazing ſtrength and dexterity, he dealt deſtruction to all who dared to approach him: in vain did his enemies exhort him to yield; he ſeemed intent on death or victory.

But exhauſted, at length, by ſuch violent and continued exertion, and having received two wounds in the face, from the loſs of his helmet, which had fallen off in the heat of the action, a French knight, who had been expelled his country for a murder committed in a private war, approached him, and again exhorted him to ſurrender. "To whom ſhall I ſurrender?" ſaid the king, "where "is my couſin, the prince of Wales; could I ſee him, I might conſent to ſur- "render." "The prince," anſwered the knight, "is not here, but ſurrender "to me, and I will conduct you to him."——"Who are you?" replied the king: "Sire," ſaid he, "I am Denis de Morbec, a knight of Artois; I ſerve "the king of England, becauſe I cannot return to France, having ſpent my "fortune." John then threw down his gauntlet, ſaying to Denis, "To you I "yield myſelf."

The prince of Wales, who had purſued the fugitives to ſome diſtance, finding the field entirely clear on his return, had ordered a tent to be pitched, that he might repoſe himſelf after the fatigue of the battle. Having enquired after the king of France, and found that he had not fled, he diſpatched the earl of Warwick, and lord Cobham, in ſearch of him; and theſe noblemen arrived juſt in time to ſave the life of the captive prince, which was in as much danger after he had ſurrendered, as it had been during the heat of the action; from a violent altercation which had ariſen between a party of Engliſh and Gaſcon ſoldiers, who had taken him from Morbec, and were diſputing about his ranſom. When Warwick and Cobham appeared, their preſence put a ſtop to the contention: they approached the king with the greateſt demonſtrations of reſpect, and offered to conduct him to the prince of Wales.

France loſt on this diſaſtrous day, ſix thouſand of her braveſt citizens; among the nobles who fell in the action were, the mareſchal Clermont; Peter, duke of Bourbon; Robert de Duras; the duke of Athens; Geoffrey de Charny; Richard de Beaujeu; William de Neſle; the lords of Surgeres, Rochefoucault, la Fayette, Laval, Humieres, Urfe, l'Angle, Dammartin, Pons, Montagu, Chambly, la Heuſe, la Tour, Ribaumont, and the biſhop of Chalons*. There was ſcarcely a noble family in the kingdom, but had to deplore the loſs of a relation. The priſoners were ſtill more numerous than the ſlain; for beſides the king and his ſon Philip, there were taken three princes of the blood, the counts of Eu, Ponthieu, and Tancarville; one archbiſhop; ſeventeen counts; and fifteen hun-

* As this prelate, and the archbiſhop of Sens, were both preſent at the battle of Poictiers, it is evident that the feudal laws, which compelled the eccleſiaſtics to perſonal ſervice in the wars, ſtill ſubſiſted in ſeveral parts of France. The laws of the church expreſsly condemned this cuſtom, to which the clergy were rendered ſubject by their temporal poſſeſſions. The contradiction which prevailed in this reſpect between the French government and the national religion, continued to obtain, in its full force, till the reign of Francis the Firſt; who, by an edict of the fourth of July, 1541, exempted the clergy from the obligation of perſonal attendance in the field, on condition of paying a certain ſum in lieu of it. By a contract paſſed on the twenty-ninth of April, 1636, under the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth, they were totally releaſed from the duties of military ſervice. Villaret, t. ix. p. 189.

dred barons, knights, aud gentlemen, beſides ſeveral thouſand men at arms*. Among the priſoners, the three ſons of the count of Tancarville; the lord of Pompadour; the counts of Vaudemont and Vendome, Graville and Etampes; John of Saintre, who was eſteemed the braveſt knight of his time; James of Bourbon; the two princes of Artois; the lords of Rochechouart, Damp-Marie, Parthenai, Montandre, Brunes, Malval, Pierre-Buffiere, Sauverac, and Grenville.

All hiſtorians unite in declaring that the generoſity diſplayed by the conquerors after the battle, added a new luſtre to their victory. Minds the moſt brutal may be endued with courage! and ignorance of danger may impel the callous and unfeeling ſoul to exertions of valour; but the virtues of moderation and humanity are indiſpenſably requiſite to the formation of a hero; and never did mortal poſſeſs thoſe virtues in a more eminent degree than young Edward. Though furious amidſt the din of battle, he was now all mildneſs and humility. When the captive monarch approached his tent, the prince went forth to meet him, with a countenance that beſpoke the ſympathetic feelings of his mind; he received John with every poſſible mark of tenderneſs and regard; attempted to ſoothe him by the moſt conſolatory language that dignified compaſſion could ſuggeſt; paid the tribute of praiſe that was due to his valour; aſcribed his own ſucceſs to accident, that often, he obſerved, overturned the beſt concerted plans; and, finally, aſſured him he had fallen into the hands of thoſe who knew how to honour his virtues, and to reſpect his misfortunes. John's conduct, on this trying occaſion, ſhewed him worthy the generous treatment he experienced; he ſuffered no mean depreſſion of ſpirits to render him forgetful of his own dignity; or to ſink the ſovereign in the captive. More affected by the liberality of Edward, than by his own calamities; he confeſſed he was conſcious that the defeat he had ſuſtained could not be aſcribed to any impropriety of conduct in him, nor could poſſibly convey the ſmalleſt reflection upon his honour; and he expreſſed his ſatisfaction that, ſince he was doomed to captivity, he was ſo fortunate as to be priſoner to the moſt gallant and generous prince in the univerſe.

Young Edward ordered a repaſt to be prepared in his own tent for the royal captive, and aſſiſted in ſerving him: he conſtantly refuſed to be ſeated at table, declaring that he knew too well the diſtance between a ſubject and a ſovereign to be guilty of ſuch an impropriety. The French officers who had been taken in the battle, were ſtricken with aſtoniſhment at this ſingular inſtance of generoſity and moderation; regarding the prince as a being of ſome ſuperior ſpecies, their admiration was mingled with reverential awe; and the veneration they manifeſted for the great qualities he diſplayed, was only checked by the reflection that their country was reduced to a ſituation more pregnant with danger, from being expoſed to the reſentment of an enemy poſſeſſed of ſuch extraordinary endowments†.

* P. Emil. p. 197; R. d'Aveſbury, p. 252 to 255; Knyghton, col. 2613. † Froiſſard, l. i. c. 168.

This calamitous event was productive of the moſt fatal conſequence to the welfare and tranquillity of France. The prince of Wales having continued his march to Bourdeaux, the dauphin, inſtead of rallying his troops and attacking him on the road, when encumbered with booty, returned to Paris. But his appearance in the capital by no means diminiſhed that conſternation which the dreadful intelligence of the defeat at Poictiers had univerſally diffuſed. The ſafety of the ſtate appeared wholly to depend on him; and his paſt conduct was not calculated to inſpire confidence. His inconſiderate engagement in the conſpiracy formed by the king of Navarre had induced people to conceive a very unfavourable opinion of him; and his haſty retreat from the late battle, where he had failed in his duty to his father, his king, and his country, rendered his courage more than ſuſpected. Theſe firſt impreſſions contributed not a little to diſturb the commencement of his adminiſtration. He experienced contradictions which put his ſpirit to the teſt; but his genius being compelled to develope itſelf by the obſtacles he encountered, he became inured to buſineſs from habit and neceſſity. He gained by application the eſteem he had loſt by his weakneſs; and finally acquired, by the prudence of his conduct, the flattering appellations of ſage, and reſtorer of the monarchy.

The firſt object of Charles, on his return to the capital, was to calm the minds of the people, and to give ſome conſiſtency to the government, which the captivity of the king left, in ſome meaſure, without a guide. Some time before the battle of Poictiers, the duke of Normandy had been created lieutenant of the kingdom*, as appears by letters of the preceding months of June and September, in which he aſſumes that title. The exact degree of authority which that office conferred is not aſcertained; but, whatever it might be, it was certainly inſufficient to ſanction the free and unreſerved exerciſe of the ſovereign power. In that capacity, however, Charles haſtened the convention of the ſtates, which, accordingly, met on the ſeventeenth of October.

The firſt act of this aſſembly was the acknowledgment of the authority of the heir apparent as lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He did not aſſume the title of Regent till two years after, when he had attained the age of twenty-one; for, according to the laws of France, no minor could be appointed to the regency. This was doubtleſs one of the principal motives which engaged Charles, on his acceſſion to the throne, to iſſue that edict, by which the kings of France were declared to be of age at fourteen. He wiſhed to prevent the inconveniences ariſing from the too long minority of princes; inconveniences which he himſelf had experienced; for it is certain, that, could he have aſſumed the quality of regent, immediately after the battle of Poictiers, that title ſuperior to the rank of lieutenant, would have rendered his power more efficient, and have enabled him to reſtrain his ſubjects within the bounds of their duty.

* Froiſſard; Mem. de Litt.; Hiſt. du roi de Navarre par M. Secouſſe.

The members of the ſtates evinced a diſpoſition very different from that which the preſent ſituation of affairs required. While the kingdom ſtood in need of immediate relief, they talked of nothing but abuſes and reform: inſtead of re-eſtabliſhing the finances, they waſted their time in complaints againſt thoſe who had formerly been entruſted with the adminiſtration thereof. A cordial union of all the orders was neceſſary to oppoſe the powerful efforts of the formidable enemy they had to encounter; but a general diviſion appeared among them, and in nothing were they unanimous, except in murmurs of diſcontent.

The nobility who, ſince the commencement of the war with England, had ſuffered conſiderably, now found their credit and influence reduced almoſt to nothing; the battle of Crecy had diminiſhed their numbers, and the defeat at Poictiers had completed their ruin. The braveſt noblemen and gentlemen had either loſt their lives or liberties on that diſaſtrous day; and ſuch as had diſhonoured themſelves by an ignominious flight, become objects of general contempt or deteſtation, did not dare to ſhew their faces in public. Thoſe who were not preſent at the battle were minors whoſe tender years incapacitated them from bearing arms. Moſt of the ſurviving nobility augmented the odium under which their order laboured by an ill-timed diſplay of oſtentation and luxury.—Gaming, and every ſpecies of debauchery were now at the heighth. The people were enraged at ſeeing the money which they had granted for carrying on the war, conſumed in ſuperfluous expences. It was then that the inhabitants of the country thought themſelves entitled to retort on the nobles the injurious appellation of *Jacques Bonhomme*, with which they ſtigmatiſed ſuch as were accuſed of having deſerted their ſovereign at the battle of Poictiers. It is not ſurpriſing that, under theſe circumſtances, the people ſhould have acquired a ſuperiority in the aſſembly of the ſtates; what uſe they made of that advantage will ſoon be ſeen.

The aſſembly, compoſed of eight hundred members, was opened by the chancellor, who, in the prince's name, explained the preſent ſituation of the kingdom, and aſked advice and aſſiſtance, as well for the defence and government of the realm, as for the releaſe of the king. The three orders then deſired time to deliberate on theſe matters, before they ſhould be called on to make any propoſals; this requeſt was made by John de Craon, archbiſhop of Rheims, in the name of the clergy; by the king's brother, the duke of Orleans, in the name of the nobility; and by Stephen Marcel, provoſt of the merchants of Paris, in the name of the commons, or third eſtate. The dauphin, having given his conſent, the conferences were opened the next day, at the convent of the cordeliers, where the three orders aſſembled in ſeparate apartments. Some members of the king's council had been appointed to attend the conferences; but as their preſence operated as a reſtraint on the freedom of debate, the deputies inſiſted they ſhould retire.

After a week paſſed in uſeleſs diſcuſſion, on various ſubjects, without any

fixed object in view, they found it neceſſary to appoint a committee of fifty perſons, taken from the three orders, to draw up a project of reform, to be preſented for the approbation of the general aſſembly. The choice, as might naturally be expected from the temper of the times, fell upon ſeveral members to whom the dauphin and his council had the ſtrongeſt objections. When they had drawn up ſeveral articles, the aſſembly requeſted Charles to go to the Cordeliers; where, before they delivered the reſolution they had come to, they wiſhed to exact from him an oath of ſecrecy. This requeſt, however, the prince with becoming ſpirit rejected as injurious to his dignity; they then preſented to him the heads of thoſe demands which were the reſult of their conferences.

Robert de Coq, biſhop of Laon, who was appointed by the members to communicate their ſentiments, obſerved that the cauſe of all the calamities with which the kingdom was afflicted, was to be found in that vicious adminiſtration which called for an immediate remedy: that the miniſters and counſellors, by whom the king had been hitherto ſurrounded*, had been guilty of the moſt henious offences; that they ought, therefore, to ſuffer degradation, to be deprived of their places, and to have their effects confiſcated; that as ſome of them were exempt, by their profeſſion, from the temporal juriſdiction, the dauphin ought to write himſelf to the pope, to requeſt permiſſion of his holineſs for the ſtates to appoint commiſſioners who might be authoriſed to paſs a definitive ſentence on ſuch eccleſiaſtics as ſhould be found guilty of malverſation in office.

Le Coq then gave in a liſt of proſcriptions, which contained the names of twenty-two perſons. At the head of the liſt was Peter de la Foreſt, chancellor of France, and archbiſhop of Rouen; then followed Simon de Buſſi, firſt preſident of the parliament; Robert de Lorris, chamberlain to the king; John Chamillart, and Peter d'Orgemont, preſidents of the parliament; Nicholas Braque, maitre d'hotel to the king; John Poilvillain, maſter of the mint: Enguerrand du Petit Cellier, and Bernard de Fermont, treaſurers to the war department; Stephen de Paris, Peter de la Charite and Ancel Coquart, maſters of requeſts; Robert Deſpreaux, king's notary or ſecretary; John Turpin, knight of requeſts in the parliament; John d'Auxerre, maſter of accounts; John de Brechaigne, king's valet de chambre; Borgne de Beauſſe, maſter of the ſtables; Geoffrey le Mazanier, cup-bearer (the three laſt belonged to the dauphin's houſhold) and Regnaut Meſchin, abbot of Falaiſe.—The ſtates accuſed theſe miniſters and officers "of having flattered the king, of having paid "no regard, in their advice, either to the fear of God, the honour of the ſove-"reign, or the miſery of the people; of having confined their attention ſolely "to the acquiſition of wealth, the extortion of exceſſive donations, and to the "procuring for themſelves or their friends, dignities and places; and eſpecially "of having concealed the truth from the king."

* Froiſſard, Chron. de St. Denis.

After theſe general repreſentations, which might, with equal juſtice, be applied to almoſt any miniſters, of any country, the members proceeded to ſtate the project they had formed for remedying ſuch diſorders. They declared the neceſſity of chuſing, from among themſelves, reformers, authoriſed by expreſs commiſſions, to repreſs all malverſations in public officers; they maintained, that the dauphin ought to form a council compriſed of four prelates, twelve knights, and twelve members of the third eſtate; and that nothing ſhould be decided without the advice and approbation of theſe twenty-eight counſellors. The deputies concluded their remonſtrance by demanding the releaſe of the king of Navarre; a demand which plainly proved that their conduct was actuated by very different motives from thoſe of patriotiſm, and concern for the welfare of the people. John de Pequigny, for the nobility; Nicholas le Chanteu, advocate, and Stephen Marcel, for the third eſtate, confirmed all that the biſhop of Laon had advanced, in the name of the aſſembly.

The dauphin, notwithſtanding he had reaſon to ſuſpect the diſaffection of the ſtates, never imagined they would venture to make ſuch propoſals as theſe. Surpriſed at the boldneſs of the members, he replied, that he would examine, in concert with his council, the nature of their demands. In the mean time, he expreſſed a wiſh to know what aſſiſtance the ſtates could afford in the preſent conjuncture. The members anſwered, that, if their demands were complied with, they would engage to maintain thirty thouſand men at arms; and that, in order to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for their ſupport, they would eſtabliſh a tax of one tenth and a half, or of three twentieths on all annual incomes, as well of eccleſiaſtics as of the nobles; and that the third eſtate would pay for the equipment and ſupport of one thouſand men at arms, for every twenty hearths. They then deſired, in order to aſcertain how far ſuch an impoſt would ſuffice for the ſupport of the propoſed number of troops, that the aſſembly might be prorogued till the commencement of the third week after Eaſter.

The prince's council were, for ſome time, divided, as to the propriety of accepting or rejecting theſe propoſals; thoſe who were included in the liſt of proſcriptions naturally inclined to reject them. Some of theſe ſecretly negociated with the members of the aſſembly, in the hope of obtaining ſome modification of the conditions propoſed; but they remained reſolute. At length it was reſolved, by a majority of votes, that the dauphin ſhould comply with the demands which had been preferred to him. Charles was aware of the conſequence of ſuch a condeſcenſion, which muſt finally prove fatal to his own authority; but, unwilling to act in contradiction to the opinion of his council, he feigned a compliance with the reſolution adopted by the ſtates, and promiſed to attend the aſſembly, on the eve of the feſtival of All-Saints, in order to give his formal conſent to the various articles.

But, while the dauphin openly flattered the deputies with the hope that their

projects would be crowned with ſucceſs, he ſecretly adopted meaſures for diſconcerting them. The matter was again diſcuſſed by his council, the members whereof finally decided, that the prince was deeply intereſted in promoting the diſſolution of an aſſembly, who ſought to annihilate the royal authority, and, profiting by the critical ſituation of affairs, endeavoured to ſeize the reins of government. On the day appointed for the publication of the ordonnance decreed by the ſtates, the deputies aſſembled. The people, collecting in crowds about the gate of the palace, awaited the effect of the dauphin's promiſes, which had been induſtriouſly circulated throughout the city. His arrival, however, ſoon deſtroyed all their hopes; the moment he arrived at the palace-gate, he ſent an order to the ſtates to depute nine of their members, whom he named, to attend him—theſe were, the archbiſhops of Lyons and Rheims, with the biſhop of Laon, from the clergy; Valeran de Luxembourg, the lord of Conflans, and John de Pequigny, from the nobles; and from the third eſtate, Stephen Marcel, provoſt of the merchants of Paris, Charles Conſac, alderman, and Nicholas le Chanteur, who were accompanied by ſeveral of the deputies from the principal towns. When they came into the prince's preſence, he told them, in the hearing of all preſent, that he expected news from the king, without whoſe orders he could come to no deciſion; and that he had likewiſe reſolved to conſult his uncle, the emperor; for which reaſon he required a farther delay, and with that view adjourned the aſſembly till the Thurſday following. The ſtates began to murmur, but the duke of Orleans exerted his eloquence with ſucceſs, in juſtifying the conduct of the dauphin, and calmed the riſing tumult. The aſſembly then broke up; and ſeveral of the deputies either foreſeeing how this matter would terminate, or elſe being bribed by the members of the council, withdrew from the capital and returned to their reſpective homes. Two days after this, the duke of Normandy ſent for ſome of the deputies, to whom he declared his intention, which he deſired they would communicate to the reſt. He ordered them to retire till farther orders; and told them, that he would aſſemble them when he thought proper; that at preſent he could come to no reſolution till he knew his father's intentions; and had conſulted his uncle whom he meant to viſit immediately. After this conciſe declaration of his will, he diſmiſſed them.

Many of the deputies expreſſed their diſapprobation of the dauphin's conduct; but, as there was no pretext for prolonging the ſeſſion, they were obliged to ſubmit. Previous to their diſſolution, they drew up an account of their debates, a copy of which was delivered to each member, that they might be able, they ſaid, to juſtify their conduct.

While the ſtates of the Langue d'Oil, aſſembled at Paris, were thus engaged in ſowing diſcord between the prince and the people; the ſtates of Languedoc*,

* Ord. MS. des etats, dans la Bibliotheque du roi.

convened by the count of Armagnac, king's lieutenant of thoſe provinces, gave the moſt ſtriking proofs of their fidelity and attachment. They aſſembled at Toulouſe, where they unanimouſly agreed to raiſe and ſupport five thouſand men at arms, with at leaſt two horſes for each, one thouſand archers on horſeback, and two thouſand infantry. Not ſatisfied with having granted this voluntary aid, in proof of their loyalty, the ſtates ordained, that neither men nor women ſhould wear gold, ſilver, pearls, rich furs, or other coſtly embelliſhments, for the ſpace of a year, unleſs the king ſhould recover his liberty before the expiration of that term; all minſtrels and farce-players were forbidden to follow their profeſſion during the ſame period. The count of Armagnac ſent a deputy from each of the three orders to Paris, to impart the decrees of the ſtates to the dauphin, who immediately confirmed them.

The reſolution adopted by the ſtates-general, previous to their diſſolution, to draw up an account of their proceedings, was chiefly the work of Robert le Coq, and Stephen Marcel, two of the moſt dangerous characters of the age*. The firſt, a meddling prieſt, who, having inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of kings Philip and John, was firſt raiſed from the ſtation of private advocate, to the more important charges of counſellor and advocate-general; and was afterwards promoted to the dignities of biſhop and duke of Laon; loaded with the favours of his ſovereigns, he became one of their moſt bitter enemies, without the ability to adduce a ſingle circumſtance, that could either juſtify or palliate his ingratitude. Stephen Marcel was one of thoſe men, whom almoſt every nation has, in times of tumult and diſorder, produced; a ſpecious demagogue, who aſſumed the appellation of *man*, in order to become *maſter*, *of the people;* who talked loudly of the majeſty of the people, with a view to reduce them to a ſtate of humiliation the moſt abject; who taught the people to lord it over their ſuperiors, that he might tyranniſe over them; who flattered their paſſions that he might gratify his own; who rendered their vanity the inſtrument of his pride, and made their boaſted rights productive of miſery to themſelves, and ſubſervient to his own ambitious purpoſes. Artful, vindictive, treacherous, and overbearing, his cruelty was only equalled by his inſolence; dead to honour, and callous to remorſe, his abject ſoul was marked by none of thoſe ſtriking features which even villainy, of ſuperior magnitude, not unfrequently exhibits. His dark intrigues, his open profeſſions, and his place of provoſt of the merchants of Paris, all contributed to ſecure that extraordinary degree of popularity, which it was his grand object to acquire, as the only poſſible means of elevation for a man of his birth and principles. The honour recently conferred on him, of being appointed chief of the deputies of the third eſtate in the laſt general aſſemblies, conſiderably augmented the credit he already enjoyed. That credit he exerted to the

* Chron. MS. du roi Jean; Chron. de St. Denis; Annales de France.

degradation of the ſovereign authority: with a mad rabble at his heels, whom he had ſeduced from their duty, he was frequently ſeen to brandiſh the torch of ſedition, and to give the ſignal for murder. He wiſhed to overturn the whole fabric of government, and raiſe himſelf upon its ruins. That he had long meditated this deſign is certain. He had entered into the conſpiracy projected by the king of Navarre, with whom he maintained a cloſe correſpondence. He had been at Evreux, where he remained concealed for ſome time, during which he had many private conferences with Charles the Bad. Theſe intrigues were, probably, not diſcovered, ſince he was afterwards promoted to the office of provoſt of the merchants.

The ſtates not having granted any ſubſidy, previous to their diſſolution, the dauphin made ſeveral applications to Marcel and the aldermen, in the hope of obtaining ſome aſſiſtance; but they rejected his requeſts without ceremony, declaring they would grant nothing unleſs the eſtates were aſſembled. As the prince had ſtrong reaſons for not conſenting to this propoſal, he had recourſe to another method; he ſent the members of his council to the different towns of the kingdom, to exhort the inhabitants to contribute to the defence of the ſtate. While he was waiting to ſee the effect of theſe deputations, he repaired to Metz, where his uncle, the emperor, then reſided.

Charles the Fourth, ſon to John, king of Bohemia, had been choſen king of the Romans, ſo early as the year 1346. He ſucceeded to the kingdom of Bohemia on the death of his father at the battle of Crecy, where he himſelf was wounded*. It was this prince who, to induce the pope to favour his promotion to the empire, was weak enough to ſign an agreement, by which he engaged never to enter Rome, but on the day of his coronation, without the permiſſion of the ſovereign pontiff; a mean condeſcenſion which rendered him an object of contempt to moſt of the German princes and nobles, and even to the Italians; and procured him the appellation of *emperor of the prieſts*.

Charles poſſeſſed ſo little power, and was ſo extremely poor, that he was arreſted at Worms, by his butcher, and would not have been ſuffered to leave the city, had not the biſhop of the dioceſe diſcharged the debt. Armed with bulls and decrees he diſputed the empire with more perſeverance than ſucceſs, during the latter years of Lewis of Bavaria, after whoſe death his party acquired a ſuperiority; and, having purchaſed the claims of his competitors, he was, at length, received as emperor by the electors. Charles was the author of that celebrated conſtitution, called the Golden Bull, formed after a model drawn up by Bartholo, the moſt famous lawyer of the age; it contains thirty chapters, the object of which is to regulate the form of government, the election of the emperors, the ſucceſſion of the electors, the privileges of the members of the empire, the aſſemblies or general diets, the ceremonies of the

* Hiſt. Gen. de l'Allemagne par Le P. Barre, t. 6.

imperial court, the functions of the electors, and the ſervice of the emperor's table, on the day of his coronation, and on other public days. The firſt part of this bull was publiſhed at Frankfort in 1356, and the laſt at Metz, on Chriſtmas day, in the ſame year, the very day on which the dauphin reached that city.

The dauphin, before he left Paris, had appointed his brother, the count of Anjou, to preſide over the capital in quality of his lieutenant; and, as he had not been able to procure any aſſiſtance from the ſtates, he thought of adopting the old mode of procuring money by adulterating the coin. The completion of this project was left to the count, but the publication of an ordonnance for that purpoſe excited univerſal diſcontent, which was ſtudiouſly fomented by the enemies of the ſtate.

Hitherto the Pariſians had not departed from that zeal and attachment to their ſovereign, which had ever marked their conduct from the firſt foundation of the monarchy; but they were now about to exhibit a very different ſcene; to forget that reſpect to their ſuperiors and that ſpirit of ſubordination without which no government can long ſubſiſt; to hoiſt the ſtandard of rebellion, and give way to the moſt criminal exceſſes, under the ſpecious pretext of concern for the welfare of the ſtate, and the liberty of the people. Marcel and his partiſans were ſenſible that the deſign of the duke of Normandy was to procure money by a new coinage, in order to exempt himſelf from the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the rigorous terms which the ſtates endeavoured to impoſe. As it was neceſſary to their views to deprive him of this reſource, they openly refuſed to ſuffer the circulation of the new coin. This was the ſignal of revolt; the provoſt of the merchants, accompanied by ſeveral of his adherents, repaired to the Louvre, where the count of Anjou reſided, inſiſted on the revocation of the edict, and proteſted, in the name of the people, that the money in queſtion ſhould never become current. The count replied, that he muſt conſult his council before he could come to any deciſion on the ſubject; the next day Marcel and his gang again made their appearence, and received a ſimilar anſwer. By theſe delays the count hoped to gain time till the return of his brother, to whom he had ſent intelligence of the oppoſition he experienced: but the provoſt of the merchants, whoſe inſolence daily encreaſed, went to the Louvre with ſuch a ſtrong body of inſurgents, that the fear of a general revolt compelled the council to ſuſpend the execution of the ordonnance, and to await the arrival of the duke of Normandy. This firſt attempt of Marcel being thus crowned with ſucceſs, that factious demagogue acquired freſh confidence, and became more enterpriſing. Proud of having compelled the ſovereign authority to bend before him, he thought himſelf in a ſituation to proceed to extremities.

The Pariſians were now ſolely employed in intrigues and diſputes concerning the form of government which it would be moſt eligible to adopt. To ſee the avidity with which the oppoſite parties graſped at the ſovereign authority, every

one would have ſuppoſed that the captivity of John had left the throne vacant*. The war meanwhile continued in Normandy; Geoffrey, of Harcourt, cantoned in the Cotentin, laid waſte that province by continual incurſions, which no one attempted to repel, till the duke of Normandy and the ſtates ſent eight hundred men at arms to oppoſe him. Robert de Clermont, the duke's lieutenant, had no ſooner received this reinforcement, than he entered the Cotentin, where Geoffrey of Harcourt, rejecting the advice of his friends, aſſembled all his forces, and offered him battle; Robert gained a complete victory; the troops of Geoffrey were routed; many of them being killed, the reſt fled, and their unfortunate leader ſoon found himſelf wholly deſerted. Scorning to owe his ſafety to flight, he determined to ſell his life as dear as he could. He knew that if taken he muſt expect to periſh on a ſcaffold; and he deemed it more glorious to die nobly in the field. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he ſeized a battle-axe, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence; being endued with extraordinary ſtrength, he defended himſelf for a conſiderable time, killing all that ventured to approach him. His blows were ſo fatal, ſays Froiſſard, that no one dared to encounter him; till, at length, two men at arms mounted their horſes, and couching their lances, gallopped furiouſly towards him; the ſhock was too violent to ſuſtain; Geoffrey was thrown on the ground, and inſtantly diſpatched.

The cardinals of Perigord and Saint-Vital had been ordered by the pope to attend the interview of the duke of Normandy with the emperor at Metz; where they endeavoured in vain to promote a pacification between the hoſtile crowns of France and England. Edward, elated with his paſt ſucceſſes, was ſtill diſinclined to liſten to any reaſonable terms, and the confuſion which at preſent prevailed in the kingdom, was well calculated to favour the accompliſhment of his ambitious deſigns. Charles returned to the capital, accompanied by Peter de la Foreſt, who had recently been promoted to the dignity of a cardinal; but the Roman purple proved inadequate to protect him from the vengeance of the oppoſite faction, which daily acquired freſh ſtrength.

Charles, on his return, found the minds of the Pariſians leſs favourably diſpoſed towards him, than before his departure. A few days after his arrival he commiſſioned the archbiſhop of Sens (who had been taken at the battle of Poictiers, and releaſed on his parole) the count of Rouſſi, the lord of Renel, Robert de Lorris, and ſome other members of his council, to confer with the provoſt of the merchants, at a houſe near Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. Marcel attended, with a train of armed followers; and, on the commiſſioners preſſing him to forbear all farther oppoſition to the circulation of the new coin, a violent diſpute enſued; the provoſt, not contented with rejecting their demand, had no ſooner quitted the houſe, than he excited an inſurrection of the people, as well by his own exhortations as by thoſe of his emiſſaries; he cauſed the ſhops to be ſhut,

* Froiſſard; Spicil. Cont. de Nang.; Chron. MS.; Chron. de Saint Denis; Memoire de Literature,

and all the labour and buſineſs to ceaſe; and, at the ſame time, gave orders to the citizens to take up arms.

The prince's council, having aſſembled in great haſte, unanimouſly decided that it was abſolutely neceſſary, for a while, to give way to the torrent. Charles, accordingly, repaired the next day to the palace, where he declared, in preſence of Marcel, and the chief leaders of the inſurgents, that he pardoned every attempt againſt his authority, and particularly the riots and diſorders of the preceding day; he ſuppreſſed the new coin; and, finally, conſented to the diſmiſſion and impriſonment of the officers proſcribed by the ſtates. The chancellor, and Simon de Buſſy, firſt preſident of the parliament, who were among the number, had been appointed by the king to attend him at Bourdeaux, in the capacity of negociators; but Marcel inſiſted that the commiſſion ſhould be revoked, with reſpect to the latter; and Charles was obliged to comply. The provoſt of the merchants did not ſtop here; he extorted from the dauphin an order, which authoriſed him to ſeize the effects of Buſſy, Nicholas Prague, Enguerrand du Petit Cellier, and of John Poillevilain, ſovereign maſter of the mint.

A. D. 1357.] Charles was at length reduced to the neceſſity of conſenting to aſſemble the ſtates, which accordingly met on the fifth of February; when the laſt blow was given to the ſovereign authority. In proportion as their power encreaſed, it was eaſy to perceive that they would riſe in their demands; and the poſſibility of refuſing to confirm their proceedings no longer ſubſiſted. They aſſumed to themſelves the privilege of aſſembling whenever they ſhould think proper; inſtead of twenty eight of their members, which, according to their former plan, was to form a council for the prince, they now choſe thirty-ſix, to whom they delegated the management of public affairs, and the adminiſtration of the finances; leaving to the dauphin not even the ſhadow of authority, unleſs the vain formality of confirming the deſpotic decrees of the ſtates, by an ordonnance publiſhed in his name, may be ſo called. This ordonnance contained many articles which had been previouſly diſcuſſed by that aſſembly of the ſtates which had met before the battle of Poictiers. To theſe ſeveral other regulations were added; ſuch as, the revocation of all exceſſive gifts, and alienations of the domains of the crown, ſince the time of Philip the Fair; an expreſs prohibition, in all criminal caſes, to receive any compoſition for the offence; an abolition of all *State Letters*, the object of which was to ſuſpend the operations of juſtice; and an order to all ſubaltern judges, who left cauſes undecided (from the fear of incurring the penalty to which they were liable whenever their deciſions were corrected by the ſuperior judges) to bring them to a ſpeedy concluſion, and to pronounce ſentence without delay, under pain of arreſt and depoſition.

Moſt of theſe regulations were juſt and equitable; but, unfortunately, the ſtates were not influenced by proper principles in the promulgation of ſuch laws; they only wiſhed to impoſe on the people, by an appearance of concern for their

welfare. Their principal object was, to arrogate to themſelves every ſpecies of authority, under the ſpecious pretext of promoting order and enforcing economy. The diſpoſal of the ſubſidies which had been decreed for the ſupport of thirty thouſand men at arms, was left to themſelves; by which means the moſt eſſential part of the government became veſted in their own hands. In order to render themſelves ſtill more formidable, they obliged the prince to inſert in his declaration, that every member ſhould be allowed an eſcort of ſix armed men. The ſeſſion was terminated by a ſeditious harangue, appropriate to the occaſion, pronounced by the biſhop of Laon.

In order that nothing might be wanting to complete the degradation of the ſovereign power, the dauphin was compelled to ſuſpend, or rather to diſſolve the two ſuperior courts of parliament, and the chamber of accounts*; ſo that Paris was exempt from all juriſdiction till ſuch time as the ſtates choſe to replace them. The members of the new council appointed the new judges of the parliament, whom they reduced to ſixteen, including preſidents, and they were careful to ſelect ſuch only as were wholly devoted to themſelves. They alſo reduced the chamber of accounts, and compoſed it entirely of their own creatures; but the new officers had ſuch little knowledge of the buſineſs they were appointed to tranſact, that they were under the neceſſity of calling in ſome of the old members, in order to give them the neceſſary inſtruction.

During theſe tranſactions, the king remained at Bourdeaux, whither young Edward had conducted him after the battle of Poictiers. Several attempts to promote an accommodation had been made; and the cardinal of Perigord, who, as pope's legate, acted in the character of mediator, found the prince of Wales not averſe from liſtening to reaſonable terms; but the ambitious policy of his father led that monarch to expect from his late victory all thoſe advantages it was calculated to inſure. He had given his ſon, previous to his departure from England, full power to conclude a treaty of peace or alliance†, but, at that time, the king of France was at liberty. Affairs were now changed; he rejected, therefore, every project of pacification that was preſented to him, and required that John ſhould be conducted to London. He would only conſent to the concluſion of a truce for two years, and that merely from motives of intereſt, that he might convey the captive monarch with ſafety to England.

This truce was ſigned on the twenty-third of March, about a month after the prorogation of the ſtates. The archbiſhop of Sens then returned to the capital with his father the count of Tancarville, and the count of Eu; and theſe noblemen brought with them a letter from the king‡, which annulled all the decrees of the ſtates, and expreſsly forbade the levying of the ſubſidy. The dauphin publiſhed this letter on the fifth of April, which diſconcerted the new governors, who were thereby deprived of the opportunity of enriching themſelves by

* Mem. de la Chambre des Comptes. † Rymer. ‡ Froiſſard.

the produce of the new impoſts. They had the art, however, to perſuade the people, that this ſuppreſſion of a tax was an infringement on their rights; and Paris now exhibited the unprecedented ſcene of an enraged populace calling aloud for the collection of a burthenſome impoſt with the ſame ſymptoms of indignation and impatience, as, at any other time, they would have evinced in urging the *repeal* of a ſimilar tax. The counts of Eu and Tancarville, and the archbiſhop of Sens, were obliged to leave the capital, in order to elude the effects of their reſentment. The duke of Normandy, again conſtrained to yield to ſuperior force, publiſhed an ordonnance, by which, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the king his father, he prorogued the ſtates and commanded that the ſubſidy ſhould be levied. This condeſcenſion appeaſed the tumult for a while, and a ſhort calm was reſtored to the metropolis.

But Marcel and his adherents entertained views that were wholly incompatible with even the ſemblance of public tranquillity; they propagated a report, that the counts of Eu and Tancarville, and the archbiſhop of Sens, were employed in raiſing troops, in order to inflict vengeance on the inhabitants of Paris, for the inſult they had ſuſtained in being compelled to leave the city.—The people were alarmed; they immediately flew to arms; eſtabliſhed corps-de-gardes and placed centinels, in different parts of the town; kept all the gates cloſed except three, in the vicinity of the great bridge, (now the Pont-au-Change) and, during the night, thoſe alſo were ſhut*. For the firſt time they placed iron chains acroſs the ſtreets; the weſtern walls of the town they encloſed with a ditch, as well as the eaſtern ſuburbs; they built parapets, raiſed redoubts, and fixed cannon and other warlike machines on the ramparts. A great number of beautiful edifices were deſtroyed, in order to make way for the new fortifications; and the proprietors ſuffered this demolition without a murmur; though, when Philip wiſhed to remove a few houſes for a ſimilar purpoſe, when the king of England lay encamped at Poiſſy, the attempt had almoſt produced a general inſurrection. But the times were changed; "The ſpirit of revolt," ſays father Daniel, "on this occaſion, made the "Pariſians forget their private intereſts, to which, ten years before, they had "nearly ſacrificed the ſafety of the whole kingdom."

After the concluſion of the truce, the prince of Wales made the neceſſary preparations for conveying his royal priſoner to London; but, apprehenſive that an attempt might be made to intercept him in his paſſage, he prudently kept ſecret the time of his departure, and embarked in the night of the twenty-fourth of April; he arrived in England the beginning of May, when he was received, by his father, and the people, with the honours that were due to his merit, and to the rank of the captive who accompanied him. The lord mayor of London was commanded to raiſe triumphal arches on his road, and

* Spicil. Contin. Nang.; Mem. de Literature; La Myrre, Traite de la Police, t. i.

to regulate the proceſſion which was appointed to attend him. That magiſtrate, accordingly, met the prince in Southwark, followed by the aldermen, all adorned with the inſignia of their office, and one thouſand of the principal citizens. The captive monarch was arrayed in royal robes, and mounted on a ſuperb white courſer, conſpicuous from its ſize and beauty, and the magnificence of its furniture; while his princely victor, ſimply habited, rode by his ſide on a black palfrey, whoſe figure and trappings beſpoke that humility which dignified and adorned the mind of its maſter. The houſes were hung with tapeſtry and military weapons, and the ſtreets were lined with an infinite courſe of people. In this ſituation, more glorious than that of a Roman emperor in the hour of triumph, inſulting the misfortunes of his ſhackled captives, did the prince proceed to Weſtminſter-hall, where his father deſcended from his throne, and advanced to meet the king of France, whom he received with the ſame reſpect and cordiality, as if he had voluntarily repaired to his court, for the purpoſe of paying him a viſit of friendſhip*. When the ceremony of reception was over, John and his ſon were conducted to the palace of the Savoy, where they were entertained in the moſt ſumptuous and hoſpitable manner.

France, in the mean time, was expoſed to all the horrors of ſedition; the conduct of the new reformers ſoon made the wiſer and more virtuous part of the nation regret the loſs of the old miniſters. The ſpecious veil of public good was drawn aſide, and avarice and ambition appeared in their native colours. Marcel, more vicious and aſpiring than his colleagues, had uſurped the chief authority. That factious prelate, Robert le Coq, had exerted his utmoſt efforts to ſeduce the clergy from their duty; and John de Pecquigny had made a ſimilar attempt on the fidelity of the nobles; but theſe two orders, more prudent and circumſpect than a mad populace, refuſed to yield to their remonſtrances. Even ſuch of them as had been choſen members of the new council of reformation diſdained to partake, with ſuch aſſociates, an authority that was raiſed on the ruins of the conſtitution. They abandoned the reins of government to thoſe ſubaltern tyrants, from a conviction that their power, if left to itſelf, would ſoon operate its own deſtruction. Many of the third eſtate, too, refuſed to become the accomplices of Marcel and his adherents; ſo that, of the thirty-ſix reformers, who had been placed by the ſtates at the head of affairs, there were but ten or twelve, chiefly aldermen and citizens of Paris, who would conſent to take a part in the government.

The ſubſidy which the people were ſo eager to have collected, produced much leſs than was expected; the nobility and clergy refuſing to pay it, the whole weight fell upon the third eſtate. The chiefs of the faction had appointed collectors, who were creatures of their own; and they paid them ſuch

* Froiſſard, l. i. c. 123.

exorbitant ſalaries, that no inconſiderable part of the produce was abſorbed by that means; the reſt, the provoſt of the merchants, and the reformers, appropriated to their own uſe. Marcel thus accumulated conſiderable ſums, while no money could be found for raiſing and paying the ſtipulated number of troops. The Pariſians, themſelves, began to be diſpleaſed with the new adminiſtration. The brother of the king of Navarre had taken Evreux by ſurpriſe; and his troops, extending towards the confines of Normandy, made incurſions into the vicinity of the capital, which now found itſelf threatened with a dangerous neighbour, without an army to oppoſe him. The eyes of the people were at length opened; and the chimerical projects of order and economy, with which they had been flattered, ſpeedily diſappeared, and left their authors expoſed to merited contempt.

The dauphin ſeized this favourable opportunity to ſhake off the yoke which had been impoſed on him. The provoſt of the merchants, Charles Conſac, and John Deliſle, aldermen, with other chiefs of the ſedition, were ordered to attend him at the Louvre. The prince aſſuming, for the firſt time, that air of authority which became his birth and ſtation, told theſe factious demagogues that he was reſolved, in future, to govern without the aid of guardians; forbidding them, at the ſame time, on his own authority, to interfere in matters of ſtate, the ſuperintendance of which they had hitherto ſo monopoliſed, that greater obedience was paid to them than to himſelf. Marcel, alarmed at this addreſs, which he had not expected, was obliged to ſubmit. He was too well aware of the diminution of his influence to venture on reſiſtance; and he and his partiſans retired in confuſion. The biſhop of Laon, who alſo had loſt his boldneſs with his credit, left the capital, and repaired to his dioceſe.

A little time after this exertion of authority, the dauphin viſited many of the provincial towns, in order to ſolicit that aſſiſtance which the preſent ſituation of the ſtate required. But it is probable he reaped but little advantage from this excurſion, as, at the end of ſix weeks, he returned to Paris, and again put himſelf in the power of Marcel and his accomplices.

During the ſhort abſence of the duke, the oppoſite faction had ſeriouſly reflected on their paſt conduct; their leaders became ſenſible of the conſequences to which the proſecution of the meaſures they had purſued muſt finally tend; but they had advanced too far to retreat. They now had recourſe to ſuch expedients as they thought beſt calculated to avert the impending danger; and, having covered theſe precautions with an impenetrable veil, they deputed ſome of their party to the duke, to engage him, by the moſt flattering offers, to return to Paris. They promiſed to ſupply him with money in abundance, and no longer talked either of diſmiſſing the miniſters, or of liberating the king of Navarre; they even appeared to have totally forgotten that prince. They only requeſted, as a favour, that deputies from twenty or thirty of the principal towns might be ſummoned to aſſemble at Paris, to act in concert with them.

The dauphin, ſeduced by this appearance of ſubmiſſion, yielded to their ſolicitations, and returned to the capital. The inſincerity of the provoſt and his partiſans, however, ſoon appeared; when called upon to fulfil their promiſes, they ſaid, they could come to no deciſion, till the ſtates-general were aſſembled. Though experience had ſhewn the inefficacy of compliance, Charles once more conſented to convene the ſtates; which were, accordingly, ſummoned to meet on the ſeventh of November. Marcel had the inſolence to write, in his own name, to the principal towns, and to ſend his letters of invitation with the prince's ſummons. Le Coq heſitated ſome time, but, preſſed by the ſolicitations of the provoſt, he at length diſmiſſed his fears, and determined to obey the citation.

The ſtates had no ſooner met than they received intelligence that the king of Navarre had effected his eſcape*; all virtuous men ſhuddered at the news; while Marcel, le Coq, and their factious adherents, triumphed. This event had been planned and executed with the utmoſt ſecrecy and addreſs. John de Pecquigny, governor of Artois, attended by thirty men at arms, ſurpriſed the caſtle of Arleux en Pailleul, on the frontiers of Picardy and the Cambreſis, where the king of Navarre was confined, during the night; and, releaſing that prince, conducted him to Amiens. The long captivity of Charles the Bad, far from ſoftening the native ferociouſneſs of his mind, only ſerved to redouble his implacable hatred. When he arrived at Amiens, he aſſembled the inhabitants, and, in a public harangue, inveighed againſt the government, and complained of the ſeverity with which he had been treated during his confinement; ſtudious to ſecure the attachment of the populace, he cauſed the doors of all the priſons to be thrown open; and the emancipated culprits, enliſted in his ſervice, prepared to evince their gratitude, by any act of deſperation which their abandoned leader might command.

As ſoon as his partiſans, at Paris, were informed of his eſcape; they began to conciliate the affections of the Pariſians, and to prepare every thing for ſecuring him a favourable reception in the capital. Pecquigny, le Coq, and Marcel, had the inſolence to go to the dauphin, and, with all the boldneſs of ſucceſsful villainy, demanded a ſafe-conduct for the king of Navarre; while the prince, aſtoniſhed at their audaciouſneſs, had not the courage to refuſe what, indeed, he had not the ability to prevent. From that moment the biſhop of Laon placed himſelf at the head of the dauphin's council, without even aſking his conſent; and dictated and delivered all his anſwers. Charles the Bad, having received his ſafe-conduct, haſtened to Paris; and, in the different towns through which he paſſed, endeavoured, by ſeditious harangues, to excite the people to revolt. At his approach moſt of the deputies from the principal towns, parti-

* Spicil. Cont. Nang.; Mém. de Litérature; Mém. pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire du roi de Navarre, par M. Secouſſe.

cularly from thoſe of Champagne and Burgundy, haſtily retired, to avoid any ſuſpicion of being concerned in his eſcape. John de Meulant, biſhop of Paris, went to meet him as far as Saint Denis; and this unprincipled monarch, whoſe machinations had ever been directed againſt the repoſe and tranquillity of the ſtate, made his triumphal entry into Paris, with all the pomp of a conqueror, attended by John of Pecquigny, the provoſt, and the aldermen, and was received by the people with the ſame tokens of reſpect, and ſymptoms of joy, as if he had come to releaſe them from ſlavery. He paraded the ſtreets of the city, and alighted at the abbey of Saint Germain-des-Pres, where apartments had been prepared for his reception. The day after his arrival, he harangued the people; profeſſed his attachment to their intereſts; and artfully alluded to his own right to the crown of France. This alluſion, being reported to Edward, confirmed that prince in the reſolution he had adopted never to afford Charles ſufficient aſſiſtance, to give him a decided ſuperiority over his enemies. The people, ever fond of novelty, liſtened to his harangues, which were calculated to rouſe their feelings, and inflame their paſſions, with incredible ſatisfaction.

Marcel, emboldened by the ſucceſs of his firſt attempt, went to the palace, and begged the dauphin to redreſs thoſe grievances of which the king of Navarre complained. The biſhop of Laon, without waiting for orders, immediately replied, that the prince would do ample juſtice to the king, and treat him as one brother ought to treat another. The dauphin, compelled to yield to the importunities of a council that was wholly devoted to his enemies, conſented to an interview with the king of Navarre, at the reſidence of queen Jane; whither he repaired with a ſmall retinue: but the king was attended by a numerous body of armed men, who obliged the duke's attendants to retire, and placed themſelves at the door of the apartment where the two princes were to meet. Nothing particular paſſed at this conference, at which mutual hatred naturally gave riſe to mutual diſſimulation.

It was now determined by the council to grant all the demands of Charles the Bad; ſome members, indeed, who were not abſolutely ſold to the faction, ventured to remonſtrate, but their oppoſition was ſet aſide by a majority of ſuffrages. The provoſt of the merchants, perceiving that the dauphin evinced ſome repugnance to their proceedings, ſaid to him, "Sire, amicably grant the king of "Navarre all that he requires; for it is proper it ſhould be ſo." It was therefore decreed, that Charles ſhould be reſtored to all his poſſeſſions, eſtates, and fortreſſes; that the bodies of the count of Harcourt, the lord of Graville, Mainemars, and Doublet, ſhould be taken down from the gibbet, and delivered to their friends or relations, to be honourably interred; and that their effects ſhould be reſtored to their heirs. With regard to the ſums which the king of Navarre pretended were due to him, the diſcuſſion of that article was referred to the next aſſembly of the ſtates, which was convened for the fifteenth of January following.

But nothing can convey ſo juſt an idea of the cruel ſituation to which the dauphin was reduced, as his compliance with the laſt condition exacted by the king of Navarre. That monarch, inured to crime, and willing to ſecure the attachment of men whoſe ſouls were congenial with his own, inſiſted that all the priſons in Paris ſhould be thrown open*. The dauphin was, in conſequence, obliged to iſſue a declaration by which, at the requeſt of the king of Navarre, he ordered the provoſt of Paris to releaſe priſoners of every deſcription—*Thieves, murderers, highwaymen, coiners, forgers, ſeducers, raviſhers of women, diſturbers of the public repoſe, aſſaſſins, ſorcerers, witches, poiſoners, &c.* The king, himſelf, furniſhed this liſt of crimes. Similar orders were alſo iſſued to the abbot of Saint Germain-des-Preſt, to releaſe all the criminals confined in the priſons within his juriſdiction. The king's debtors were compriſed in the general liberation; and the provoſt of Paris, and the other heads of the different juriſdictions, were ordered to apply to the creditors of ſuch as were confined for private debts, to conſent that they ſhould be releaſed; and, in caſe of refuſal, other means were to be adopted.

The king of Navarre remained ſome time at Paris; during which the dauphin and he often met and dined together ſeveral times, as well at the palace, as at the reſidence of queen Jane, and at the houſe of the biſhop of Laon. It is ſuppoſed to have been at one of theſe repaſts that Charles the Bad found the means of adminiſtering poiſon to the dauphin, which was ſo violent in its operation, that, notwithſtanding he had immediate aſſiſtance, his nails and his hair fell off, and he felt the effects of it all the reſt of his life. The circumſtances attending this horrid tranſaction are but imperfectly explained by the ancient hiſtorians; and it is probable that the king of Navarre had taken his meaſures with ſuch ſecrecy, that nothing like a proof could be furniſhed againſt him, particularly as no mention was made of the tranſaction during the criminal proceſs that was inſtituted againſt him, in the reign of Charles the Sixth.

When Charles the Bad preſented himſelf before thoſe towns, which, according to the late treaty, were to be reſtored to him, moſt of the governors refuſed to give them up; obſerving, that, as they had been entruſted to them by the king, to the king alone would they ſurrender them. This refuſal ſerved as a pretext to the king of Navarre, for complaining of a violation of the treaty, and conſequently for levying troops, in order to enforce its execution; for which purpoſe he had, before he left Paris, been ſupplied, by the chiefs of the ſedition, with conſiderable ſums of money. The governors of ſuch places in Normandy as ſtill acknowledged his authority had a private conference with him at Mantes, when they received inſtructions as to their future conduct.

The reception which his brother experienced at Paris, and the influence which that monarch poſſeſſed in the capital, could not induce Philip of Navarre

* Tréſ. des Chart. Reg. 89. Piéce 254. † Ib. Reg. 80. Piéce 288.

to truſt himſelf to the mercy of a wavering and inconſtant populace. So little reſpect, too, did he pay to the late treaty, that his troops advanced to within five leagues of Paris, on the ſide of Trappes and Villepreux, where they laid waſte a conſiderable extent of country, took Maule-ſur-Mauldre, which they fortified, and from thence continued their depredations. Peter de Villiers left the metropolis with a body of militia, in order to attack him, but he returned either from fear or diſaffection, without effecting the object of his ſally; and the unprotected inhabitants of the country, to eſcape the fury of Philip, were compelled to retire within the walls of the capital.

The dauphin, anxious to repreſs theſe deſtructive incurſions, gave orders to aſſemble a body of men at arms* ; but the factious leaders of the people gave him to underſtand, that the Pariſians diſapproved of his intentions to introduce troops into the capital. In vain did he urge the integrity of his deſigns, and the neceſſity of ſuch a force; they placed guards at the different gates, with orders to ſuffer no armed man, that was unknown to them, to enter the city. The king of Navarre continued his preparations unmoleſted, and the nation was threatened with all the horrors of a civil war.

Marcel and his accomplices, at length, determined to lay aſide even the ſmall appearance of reſpect for the government which they had hitherto preſerved, and openly to declare themſelves, by giving to their party a ſtamp of independence, and a public badge of diſtinction†. The badge they adopted was a kind of cap reſembling a monk's hood, compoſed of red and blue cloth, embelliſhed with a ſilver enamelled claſp of the ſame colours, bearing this inſcription, *A bonne fin*‡—when the rebels had hoiſted this ſignal of revolt it was dangerous to appear in the ſtreets without the party-cap, ſo that even thoſe who condemned their proceedings, were compelled to wear it. The univerſity alone—to its honour be it ſpoken!—evinced its loyalty and attachment to the laws; the rector iſſued a prohibition to all ſtudents and others belonging to the univerſity, to wear any mark of faction||.

The dauphin, anxious to ſtifle this ſpirit of ſedition, and to conciliate, if poſſible, the affections of the Pariſians, invited the people to meet him in the market-place, that he might have an opportunity of explaining his intentions. In vain did the biſhop of Laon and the provoſt of the merchants ſeek to diſſuade him from this attempt; he repaired to the appointed place, accompanied by a ſmall retinue. This proceeding made a viſible impreſſion, on the populace who attended in great numbers. The prince aſſured them it was "his wiſh to live "and die with them;" that his ſole object in aſſembling troops, was to employ them in their defence; that he ſhould already have repelled the deſtructive meaſures of the enemy, which deſolated the neighbouring country, had he poſ-

* Chron. MS. † Spicil. Cont. de Nang.; Froiſſard.; Grande Chronique. ‡ *For a good purpoſe.*
|| Hiſtoire de l'Univerſité, t. iv. p. 336.

ſeſſed the neceſſary power; but that thoſe who were entruſted with the adminiſtration of the finances, had ſeized the produce of the taxes, with the deſign of appropriating it to their own private uſe; that he hoped, however, he ſhould one day be able to make them anſwer for a conduct ſo prejudicial to the welfare of the ſtate. This ſpeech was received with great applauſe; all preſent were affected at ſeeing the heir-apparent condeſcend to juſtify his conduct to his future ſubjects, and to call on them to be the judges of his actions.

Marcel, alarmed at this ſudden change, ſummoned the people to meet him the next day at St. Jacques de l'Hopital; where the duke of Normandy, who had been appriſed of his intentions, alſo attended. John de Dormans, chancellor of the duchy of Normandy, addreſſed the people in the prince's name, and repeated the ſame remarks and proteſtations which Charles had made the preceding day; which were received with the ſame marks of ſatisfaction. When he had finiſhed, Charles Conſac, an alderman, attempted to ſpeak, but was prevented by a general murmur. As ſoon, however, as the duke had retired, impreſſed with the idea that his triumph was complete, the emiſſaries of the provoſt and the biſhop of Laon, diſperſed among the crowd, inſiſted that Conſac ſhould be heard. He accordingly made a long ſpeech in which he inveighed bitterly againſt the duke's officers. Marcel next ſpoke, and affirmed, with an oath, that the money ariſing from the taxes had neither been touched by him, nor by any of the deputies choſen by the ſtates. An advocate, named John de St. Onde, one of the ſuperintendants of the revenue, declared, that the greateſt part of the produce of the new impoſts had been employed for bad purpoſes; and that there had been delivered to different knights, by the duke's orders, ſums to the amount of fifty thouſand *moutons* of gold*, as could be proved by the accounts. Conſac then pronounced an eulogy on Marcel, who was preſent, proteſting that he had never done any thing but with a view to the general good; and obſerving, that, if the Pariſians forbore to protect their provoſt of the merchants, he muſt ſeek for ſome other aſylum, where he could be ſcreened from the danger to which he had expoſed himſelf by his ſtrenuous exertions in the cauſe of liberty. This appeal had the deſired effect; the inconſtant multitude, who but a moment before had declared themſelves in favour of the dauphin, now embraced the oppoſite party with the ſame facility; they unanimouſly exclaimed, that Marcel was in the right, and they would defend him againſt every one. Thus terminated this ridiculous ſcene, in which the ſovereign pleaded his own cauſe before the people, againſt a band of audacious rebels; "but the worſt part of "the ſtory," ſays father Daniel, "is, that he loſt it."

In the midſt of this tumult, the new deputies arrived at Paris; but the re-

* The *Mouton d'Or* was a piece of money bearing the impreſſion of a lamb, with this inſcription, "*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miſerere nobis*;" and on the reverſe, a croſs with theſe words, "*Chriſtus regnat, Chriſtus imperat.*" Fifty-two of theſe pieces were equal to a mark of fine gold. *Du Cange, Gloſſar. ad verb.* Muttones.

preſentatives of the third-eſtates, and ſome of the clergy, only attended. The nobility diſdained to appear in an aſſembly, where the principal authority was uſurped by thoſe who had the ſmalleſt pretenſions to it. No buſineſs was tranſacted; the members agreed to meet at Mid-Lent, and, in the interim, ordered a new coinage, leſs pure than the former; one-fifth of the profits ariſing from thence was appropriated to the duke of Normandy, for his own private expences, and the remainder was reſerved for defraying the expences of the war. But a few months before, the very attempt to adulterate the coin had nearly excited a general inſurrection.

An incident which occurred about this time, though of no great conſequence in itſelf, ſerved to diſplay, in a ſtronger light, that ſpirit of revolt and independence which marked the preſent period. A low fellow, named Perrin Marc, ſtabbed John Baillet, treaſurer to the duke of Normandy; the murder was committed in the Rue Neuve St. Merry, and the culprit took refuge in the church of that name. The duke, being informed of the circumſtance, gave orders to John de Chalons, mareſchal of Champagne, to ſeize the aſſaſſin. The mareſchal, accompanied by William Staiſe, provoſt of Paris, and a body of armed men, broke open the church-door, which was ſhut againſt him, and apprehended Perrin Marc, who was publicly executed the next day, after having his hand cut off at the ſpot where the crime was committed. The body of this villain was claimed by the biſhop of Paris, as that of a *clerk*, and, being conveyed to the church of Saint Merry, was there interred with the ſame pomp as if he had died a martyr; the ceremony was attended by the provoſt of the merchants, and ſeveral of the citizens; and the funeral ſervice was performed at the ſame time as that of the murdered treaſurer, at which the dauphin aſſiſted.

Charles, with a view to intimidate the leaders of the faction, propagated a report that peace was on the point of being concluded between the crowns of England and France, when the king would be reſtored to liberty; but their intelligence was too good to ſuffer them to be deceived by ſuch a ſtratagem: John de Pecquigny was now diſpatched to Paris, by the king of Navarre, to complain that the articles of the laſt treaty had not been fulfilled: but the dauphin, at a public audience, formally denied the aſſertion, and told Pecquigny, that though he could not himſelf cope with a man of ſuch inferior rank, he had many knights in his court, who were ready to ſupport the charge of falſhood which he had juſt preferred againſt him. The biſhop of Laon, however, interrupted the diſcourſe, by obſerving, that the duke would conſult with his council on the propriety of granting the king's demands, and would ſpeedily give a ſatisfactory anſwer.

Some days after this, the Pariſians, at the inſtigation of Le Coq and Marcel, ſent a formal deputation to the duke, to engage him to ſatisfy the king of Navarre. Simon de Langres, general of the order of Saint Dominic, was at the head of the deputies, and acted as their orator. This audacious monk had the

impudence to tell the prince, that he and his colleagues had aſſembled, and decreed, that the king of Navarre ſhould prefer all his demands at once; that, as ſoon as he had made them, all his fortreſſes ſhould be reſtored; and the other articles taken into immediate conſideration. When he had ſaid this, the orator pauſed: but another monk (the prior of Eſſone near Corbeil) exclaimed—"You "have not told all." He then addreſſed himſelf to the duke, and gave him to underſtand, that it was the unanimous determination of the Pariſians to declare themſelves either againſt him or the king of Navarre, if either of them ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to their deciſions. As ſoon as theſe rebellious monks had fulfilled their commiſſion, they withdrew, with their followers, without waiting for an anſwer.

A. D. 1358.] Matters were now come to a criſis, and the chiefs of the ſedition reſolved, by the deſtruction of their principal enemies, to remove every obſtacle to the accompliſhment of their deſigns. On the twenty-ſecond of February, Marcel aſſembled the greater part of the Pariſian artiſans, in the vicinity of the church of Saint Eloy. As the populace was repairing, in arms, to the appointed place of rendezvous, Regnaut d'Acy, the advocate-general, was attacked, on his return from the palace, near the church of Saint Landry, and purſued as far as that of the Magdalen. The mob overtook him juſt as he entered a paſtry-cook's ſhop, with the view of eſcaping their rage; and inſtantly put him to death. The provoſt of the merchants then led the furious rabble to the palace, and entered, without ceremony, the dauphin's apartment, who betrayed ſymptoms of fear, when he ſaw ſuch a multitude come into his room. "Sire," ſaid Marcel, "do not be aſtoniſhed at any thing you ſee; for it is ſo "ordained, and it is proper it ſhould be ſo." Then, turning to his followers; "Come," ſaid he, "and quickly diſpatch the buſineſs you came about."

He had no ſooner ſaid this, than the mob ruſhed on the mareſchals of Champagne and Normandy; the firſt of whom, who was the lord of Conflans, was inſtantly murdered in the preſence of the dauphin, whoſe cloaths were ſtained with his blood. The other, Robert de Clermont, ran into an adjoining cloſet; but the ruffians followed him, and maſſacred him without mercy. All the duke's officers, alarmed at this ſcene of blood, left the palace with precipitation. It is ſaid that the prince himſelf, forſaken by every one, and expoſed to the mercy of theſe lawleſs aſſaſſins, beſought Marcel to ſpare his life: to which the villain replied, "Sire, be not afraid." Then taking off his cap, the badge of faction, he placed it on the head of Charles; and took the prince's in return, which he wore in triumph the reſt of the day.

The bodies of the murdered noblemen were dragged through the room where the dauphin was, down the ſteps of the palace, and placed on a piece of marble, immediately before the window of his apartment, where they remained till night, when, by command of the provoſt, they were carried to the convent of Saint Catharine du Valdes-Ecoliers. But the monks durſt not inter them, till they

had received an expreſs order from Marcel, who told them, in that reſpect they might comply with the duke's orders. Charles, at a loſs how to act, deſired they might be interred without any ceremony. When they were about to render them the laſt ſervice, the biſhop of Paris forbade them to beſtow the rites of ſepulture on Robert de Clermont, who had been excommunicated for apprehending Perrin Marc, in the church of Saint Merry. The two mareſchals, therefore, were privately buried, together with Regnaut d'Acy, (who had been murdered the ſame day) by two ſervants, who were rewarded for their trouble with one of their cloaks.

From the palace Marcel repaired to the town-houſe, from one of the windows of which he harangued the populace; telling them that what he had juſt done was ſolely with a view to the public good; that the noblemen who were killed were falſe, wicked, and treacherous; and that it was neceſſary the people ſhould ſcreen him from the conſequences of an action which had their welfare for its object. This ſpeech was anſwered by a general acclamation, followed by an aſſurance that they would live and die with him. Elated with this proof of popular favour, he returned to the palace, and repaired, with a choſen party of his followers, to the dauphin's apartment, who fully expected he was come to put him to death. The mangled bodies of his attendants, which were ſtill before his eyes, encouraged this idea. The provoſt of the merchants inſulting that grief, which any but a villain inured to crime muſt have reſpected, brutally told him, that he ought not to grieve at what had happened, as it had been done by the will of the people, in whoſe name, he now came to demand his approbation of all that had paſſed; and, at the ſame time, to requeſt that he would enter into a cloſe union with the Pariſians. The dauphin, aware of the inutility of refuſal, granted all his requeſts. He begged the inhabitants of Paris would become his friends, and aſſured them that he would be theirs. That ſame night, the provoſt ſent him two pieces of cloth, one red and the other blue, to make caps for himſelf and his officers.

Such of the members of the ſtates, as had repaired to Paris, aſſembled previous to theſe tranſactions, and decreed that a ſubſidy ſhould be levied of *half a tenth*, on the revenues of the clergy; and that the walled towns ſhould ſupply one man at arms for every ſixty-five hearths; and the inhabitants of the country one man for every hundred hearths. After the murder of the mareſchals, Marcel requeſted the deputies to meet at the convent of the Auguſtins, where he extorted from them an approbation of his conduct.

Every day produced ſome new ſcene of violence and diſorder. The chiefs of the ſedition paid the dauphin a viſit, at which they inſiſted that he ſhould confirm the deciſions of the deputies; ſuffer them to hold the reins of government as they had hitherto done; diſmiſs ſome of the members of his council, and replace them with three or four citizens whom they named. All reſiſtance being fruitleſs, they obtained whatever they aſked.

During theſe tranſactions the king of Navarre arrived at Paris, with a numerous train of armed followers. Relying on the preſent diſpoſition of the people and the impotence of the dauphin, he came to encreaſe the trouble and confuſion which prevailed in the capital. The very day of his arrival he had a long conference with the provoſt of the merchants, at the hotel de Neſle, where he eſtabliſhed his reſidence: and the dauphin was conſtrained to ſubmit to an accommodation with this treacherous prince, the conditions of which were drawn up by Marcel and le Coq.

While the capital exhibited a ſcene of murder, treachery, and revolt, the provinces were expoſed to deſolation, though proceeding from a different cauſe. After the battle of Poictiers, the troops, who, from the deficiency of pay, were no longer retained in diſcipline, threw off all regard to their officers; ſought the means of ſubſiſtence by plunder and robbery; and, aſſociating to them all the diſorderly people, with which that age abounded, formed numerous bands, which infeſted all parts of the kingdom. They deſolated the open country; burned and plundered the villages; and, by cutting off all means of communication or ſubſiſtence, reduced even the inhabitants of the walled towns to the moſt extreme neceſſity. As a part of theſe troops were ſecretly encouraged by the king of Navarre, all travellers were compelled to obtain a paſſport from that prince, to which more reſpect was paid than to thoſe which were ſigned by the duke of Normandy.

When the king of Navarre had ſettled his projects, and eſtabliſhed a proper correſpondence with the chiefs of the ſedition, he left Paris to purſue the ſame meaſures in other parts. The day after his departure, the duke of Normandy, who, ſince the captivity of his father had only borne the title of lieutenant, aſſumed that of regent of the kingdom. Charles had then completed his twenty-firſt year; the age required by the laws to enable him to hold the reins of government*. Hitherto all decrees of parliament, and other edicts, had been iſſued in the king's name, although the king was abſent; but henceforth the prince's new title of "Charles, eldeſt ſon to the king of France, and regent "of the kingdom," was prefixed to all edicts, declarations, &c.

In none of the ancient hiſtorians is the ſmalleſt trace to be diſcovered of any oppoſition to the dauphin's aſſumption of the regency; although the power of that prince was never, at any period, ſo limited and confined, no one preſumed to diſpute his right to a title which lawfully belonged to him as heir apparent to the throne. Theſe circumſtances combined, clearly demonſtrate that his minority was the only obſtacle which prevented him from aſſuming it before, or from engaging the ſtates of the kingdom to confer it on him. But though, by the acquiſition of the regency, the whole ſovereign power became

* Tréſor des Chartres; Regiſtres du Parlement; Mém. de la Chambre des Comtes; Receuil des Ordonnances, 3 vol.; Conférences des Ordonnances; Chron. MS.; Grande Chronique.

veſted in Charles, he was not ſuffered to enjoy any greater extent of authority. The lawful augmentation of his power only tended to encreaſe his real dependence. The leaders of the faction compelled him to admit into his council three aldermen of Paris; Robert de Corbie, Charles Conſac, and John de L'Iſle; without whoſe conſent, and the previous approbation of the provoſt of the merchants, and the biſhop of Laon, no meaſure was adopted; the regent even loſt his perſonal liberty; ſurrounded by a deſperate banditti, all his motions were watched.

At length the yoke, under which he groaned, became ſo intolerable, that he reſolved to ſhake it off. The perpetual contradictions he had experienced, for the laſt eighteen months, had inured him to conſtraint; and the obſtacles he had encountered had inſtructed him in the arts of government. In concert with the king of Navarre, and his partiſans, he had convened an aſſembly of the nobles of Picardy, at Senlis; which gave him an opportunity of leaving the capital without alarming the Pariſians. From Senlis, the regent, inſtead of returning to Paris, repaired to Compiegne, where he was met by numbers of the nobility. Several deputies of the three orders, for the province of Champagne, aſſembled at Provins, in obedience to his citation; but the king of Navarre, who had promiſed to attend, did not appear. The Pariſians, who began to be alarmed at the abſence of the prince, ſent Arnaud de Corbie, an alderman, and the archdeacon of Paris, to confer with the deputies for Champagne.

The regent explained to theſe deputies the ſituation and wants of the ſtate; pointed out the neceſſity of a ſtrict union between the prince and the people to preſerve the kingdom from deſtruction at this critical conjuncture; and concluded by obſerving, that the two deputies for Paris would communicate the intentions of the inhabitants of the capital. The other deputies, however, refuſed to admit the Pariſian envoys to the private deliberation which they requeſted to hold among themſelves; and the reſult of which was made known to the prince the next day by Simon de Rouſſy, count de Breſne. That nobleman aſſured the regent, in the name of all the inhabitants of Champagne, that they were ready to give him proofs of their zeal and fidelity as their ſovereign, and to ſupply him with all neceſſary aſſiſtance; requeſting, at the ſame time, that he would appoint another aſſembly at Vertus, to deliberate on the nature of ſuccours the moſt ſpeedy and effectual; and declaring that the deputies for the province were determined never more to attend at Paris.

The count of Breſne, turning towards Arnaud de Corbie, and the archdeacon, told them that he had no anſwer to make to them; then addreſſing himſelf to the regent, he aſked him, in the name of his countrymen, whether he had ever found the lord of Conflans, mareſchal of Champagne, guilty of any baſe or criminal act, which merited that death which the Pariſians had thought proper to inflict on him, obſerving, that he did not ſpeak of the maſſacre of

Robert de Clermont, mareſchal of Normandy, becauſe he was convinced that province would take care to revenge it. The prince replied, that the two mareſchals had always proved themſelves faithful ſervants and able counſellors. The count then threw himſelf on his knees, and ſaid, "My lord, we, the in-"habitants of Champagne, who are here aſſembled, return you thanks for "this declaration; and we expect that you will inflict a proper puniſhment on "thoſe who put your friend to death without cauſe."

On this delicate occaſion, where it was neceſſary to ſoothe both parties, Charles diſplayed that conſummate prudence, which, in the ſequel, gave him the ſuperiority over his enemies; and procured him the character of the greateſt politician of the age. To betray a partiality to either party was equally dangerous; had he diſguſted the deputies for Champagne, he would have loſt thoſe ſupplies which were abſolutely neceſſary to the accompliſhment of the plan he had in contemplation; and, had he openly declared for them, he would have given the rebels of Paris to underſtand what they had to fear. To extricate himſelf from this difficulty, he exhorted the former to conſent to an union, without explaining the nature of that union which the latter wiſhed to contract with them; and he only ſpoke of the murder of his officers in general terms. This conduct produced the deſired effect; it encreaſed the indignation of the inhabitants of Champagne againſt the citizens of Paris, and urged them the more ſtrongly to gratify his private reſentment, which he had prudence to conceal.

On the diſſolution of the ſtates the regent haſtened to Meaux, where his conſort had taken refuge, and which the Pariſians had formed a plan for reducing. Finding their project fruſtrated, they wrote letters to Charles, couched in terms of inſolence, and containing what was tantamount to a declaration of war. When the regent left Paris, he was followed by all the nobles in the place, and this general deſertion of the firſt order of the ſtate had excited the fears of an inconſtant and timid populace, whoſe minds receive, with equal facility, the impreſſions of fallacious hope, and of ſudden terror. Marcel wiſhed, by ſome bold enterpriſe, to diſſipate the conſternation into which they were thrown. With this view, he ſeized the caſtle of the Louvre, which was then ſituated without the walls of the city, and placed in it a ſtrong garriſon, compoſed of men who were entirely devoted to his ſervice. He there found a large collection of arms and weapons of all kinds, which he diſtributed in the different quarters of the town. By this ſhow of hoſtility, he flattered himſelf he ſhould render it impoſſible for the Pariſians to procure a reconciliation with the regent, and that, conſequently, they would preſerve their attachment to him, from intereſt and neceſſity.

The ſtates of Vermandois, preſided by the regent, aſſembled at Compiegne, and granted a ſimilar ſubſidy to that which was voted by the ſtates of Champagne, which met at the ſame time, at Vertus. Theſe ſubſidies conſiſted of a

tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues; a twentieth of the revenues of the nobles and their vaſſals; the ſupport of a man at arms for every ſeventy hearths in the towns, and for every hundred in the country. This impoſt even extended to people in a ſtate of ſervitude, who were compelled to furniſh and ſupport one man at arms for every two hundred hearths.

The time now approached for the convention of the ſtates-general of the kingdom at Paris. The regent, having ſecured thoſe of Champagne, Vermandois, and of ſome other provinces, ventured to change the place of meeting from the capital to Compiegne. The conduct of the faction had ſo far diſguſted the greater part of the kingdom, that the majority of the deputies were highly pleaſed with the alteration. At their firſt ſitting, the ſtates entreated the prince to expel from his council and preſence Robert le Coq, who was conſidered, by every honeſt man, as a traitor, and as one of the chief conſpirators and promoters of thoſe diſorders with which the kingdom was afflicted. This prelate, who had become an object of univerſal hatred and contempt, was happy to eſcape the indignation of the nobles, who threatened him with an exemplary puniſhment; he ſecretly withdrew from Compiegne, and, repairing with precipitation to Paris, arrived in that capital under the eſcort of a numerous guard, whom his friends had diſpatched to meet him on the road.

Hitherto Charles had been reduced to the neceſſity of running from province to province, in order to ſolicit aſſiſtance from each ſeparately; but he had now the ſatisfaction to ſee moſt of the towns, which had not been infected with the ſpirit of revolt, unite their ſuffrages in his favour. The ſtates-general, aſſembled at Compiegne, regulated their grants by the ſubſidies accorded by Champagne and Vermandois. All the proceedings of the ſtates holden at Paris in the preceding year were generally condemned, as well as the conduct of the Pariſians and others who had followed their example, while Charles received the praiſes of the aſſembly, which, in the name of the nation, thanked him for not having deſpaired, in thoſe tempeſtuous times of trouble and calamity, of ſaving the kingdom from deſtruction.

The Pariſians ſent no deputies to this aſſembly, ſome days before the meeting of which, the king of Navarre had deſired an interview with the regent, who, accordingly, met him at Clermont in Beauvoiſis. Charles the Bad, wiſhing to penetrate into the prince's deſigns, talked to him of a reconciliation with the Pariſians; the regent replied, that he was attached to the city of Paris, and knew it contained many loyal citizens, and good patriots; but that he never would enter it again, till the authors of the revolt, and of the diſorders and exceſſes conſequent thereon, had met with the puniſhment due to their crimes. This anſwer being taken by the king to Paris, Marcel began to be ſenſible of the danger which threatened him, and accordingly made ſome efforts in the capital to place Charles the Bad at the head of the party; but, as this diſpoſition was not general, that prince left the town, after paſſing ſome days there.

The provoſt of the merchants now perceived, by the regent's preſent conduct, that he had been greatly miſtaken in the ideas he had formed of his talents and genius; he was ſorry he had proceeded ſo far; but it was difficult to retract. He attempted, however, to avert the ſtorm. For this purpoſe the rector of the univerſity, attended by ſeveral of its members, was prevailed on to repair to Compiegne, in the hope of effecting ſome kind of accommodation. The prince received them with kindneſs, and told them, as he had before told the king of Navarre, that he was willing to grant a general amneſty to the Pariſians, provided they would return to their duty, and deliver into his hands ten or twelve or even five or ſix of the moſt criminal, whoſe lives he promiſed ſhould be ſafe; adding, that without this proof of ſubmiſſion they had nothing to expect from him. Marcel, who formed his opinion of others from the ferociouſneſs of his own mind, thought it impoſſible that the prince could poſſeſs ſo much generoſity, as to ſpare his life, if once he had him in his power. He was ſenſible alſo that his crimes were ſo atrocious—as he himſelf acknowledged to the monk who continued the Chronicle of William de Nangis*—as to be wholly undeſerving of pardon. At once tormented by the conſciouſneſs of guilt and the dread of puniſhment, he ſaw nothing but the moſt diſmal proſpect before him; loſt to hope, and devoid of conſolation, deſpair ſupplied the place of courage in his guilty breaſt. Reſolved, at leaſt, to protract the hour of deſtruction, he doubled the fortifications, as if he intended to bury himſelf beneath the ruins of the capital. He introduced a body of Engliſh and Navarreſe troops into Paris; ordered ſoldiers to be raiſed in all quarters, and even ſent as far as Provence to purchaſe arms. Theſe arms were bought and forwarded, but the count of Poictiers ſeized them and ſent them to his brother, the regent. The biſhop of Laon, reduced to the ſame ſituation with his infamous colleague, adopted the ſame precautions, and fortified his dioceſe.

The Pariſians, victims of their own obſtinacy, were ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of confining themſelves within their new fortifications. The irregular troops of marauders that had ſpread themſelves over the country extended their ravages to the very walls of the capital; the nobles too, whom they had irritated and defied, took up arms, and treated them with the ſame ſeverity. Foulques de Laval, at the head of a body of Bretons, laid waſte La Beauſſe, while another troop ſacked and burned the town of Etampes. The interior parts of France formed one continued ſcene of deſolation by fire, pillage, and murder, the towns and villages were deſtroyed, and the wretched inhabitants periſhed. The regent, meanwhile, continued, with the aſſiſtance of the nobility of thoſe cities which had preſerved their loyalty, to collect a ſufficient force to reduce the rebels to ſubmiſſion.

Though evils of this magnitude appeared ſcarcely ſuſceptible of augmenta-

* Villaret,

tion, yet a new ſpecies of calamity ſprang up, which involved the nation in ſtill deeper miſery, and ſeemed, for a while, to ſuſpend the animoſities of party and the turbulent rage of rebellion*. The country being expoſed to all the horrors of war, and the inhabitants ſubject to continual depredations; the peaſants forſook their labours, and left their fields and habitations to the mercy of thoſe barbarous plunderers, againſt whom they were unable to protect themſelves. Conſtantly inſulted, indiſcriminately oppreſſed by the oppoſite factions; compelled, notwithſtanding their extreme poverty, to purchaſe an exemption from impriſonment; deſpoiled of their property, and their griefs daily increaſing, without any proſpect of relief, they at length bade adieu to hope, and became furious from deſpair. The firſt ſpark of this revolt, which ſoon cauſed a general conflagration, appeared in the Beauvoiſis, where a few peaſants aſſembled, and ſwore to exterminate the nobility and gentry, under pretence that they were a peſt to the kingdom, and that they who would deſtroy them all would accompliſh an object of great national utility. They immediately armed themſelves with loaded bludgeons, and attacked the houſe of a gentleman in the neighbourhood; having forced open the doors, they ſeized the gentleman, his wife, and children, and maſſacred them all; they then pillaged the houſe, and ſet fire to it. All the environs of Paris, and the Iſle of France; the provinces of Picardy, the Soiſſonnois, and the Beauvoiſis; in ſhort, all the northern parts of the kingdom, were infeſted by numerous bands of armed ruſtics, who even ſlew ſuch of their brethren as refuſed to join them. This inſurrection took place, in different parts, on the ſame day†; and, what is ſomewhat extraordinary, there never was any reaſon to believe it was the reſult of a premeditated plan: moſt of the peaſants were unconnected with each other, they had never quitted their uſual employments, no public meetings had taken place, and they had never interfered in the affairs of government. Several of theſe troops uniting, ſoon formed a conſiderable body; and a contemporary hiſtorian aſſerts, that if they had been all collected together, they would have compoſed an army of a hundred thouſand men‡. The moſt formidable of theſe troops appointed chiefs, one of whom was William Caillet, an inhabitant of the village of Mello. The appellation of *Jacques* was given to theſe ruſtic inſurgents.

The exceſſes they committed ſurpaſs every thing which the moſt unprincipled revenge, and the moſt atrocious barbarity, could imagine. The chronicles of the times relate an inſtance of their inhuman rage, which almoſt exceeds belief, though, unfortunately, it bears ſuch marks of authenticity, as not to admit of a doubt. A band of theſe ruffians having forced an entrance into a nobleman's houſe, tied the maſter of it to a poſt, raviſhed his wife and daughters before his face; then impaled him, and, after roaſting him by a ſlow fire, compel-

* Mem. de Litt. Chron. de St. Denis. † Tréſor des Chartres. reg. 86. piéce 387. ‡ Froiſſard. Cont. de Nang. Chron. MS.

led his family to eat of his flesh, and concluded the horrid scene by murdering them all, and burning the house*. Upwards of two hundred country seats were pillaged and reduced to ashes. When they were asked—says Froissard—what could urge them to the commission of such abominable actions, they replied, that "they did not know, but they did what they saw others do, and they "thought it was their duty to destroy all the nobility and gentry in the world."

This unexpected revolt, at first, produced a general consternation; every body fled before the *Jacques*. The nobility took refuge in the walled towns, or else in castles sufficiently strong to resist their attacks. The duchesses of Normandy and Orleans, with several ladies of the first distinction, were compelled to fly for safety to Meaux; for their sex and rank would rather have fomented the rage, than superinduced the forbearance, of these ferocious savages. As soon as the nobility had somewhat recovered from their first alarm, they met together; while the gentry applied for assistance to the neighbouring princes; when they were joined by many foreign knights from Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and Bohemia. They then went in search of the *Jacques*, and attacking them in separate bodies, exterminated the greater part, and compelled the rest to return to their habitations.

It is a matter of astonishment that the king of Navarre should have been active in suppressing this dangerous insurrection, since it was apparently his interest to encourage a war, the professed object of which was the destruction of the nobility, most of whom were attached to the regent. It is true, indeed, that by so doing, he revenged a personal injury which he had sustained by the massacre of William and Testard de Pecquigny, knights of Artois, brothers or relations of John of Pecquigny, one of his most zealous partisans. This prince killed three thousand of the Jacques in one day, near Clermont in Beauvoisis, and hung their leader, William Caillet. When the nobles found themselves sufficiently strong to take the field, they sallied forth, laid waste the country, and massacred indiscriminately all the peasants they met, guilty or innocent.

Such of the country people as had not joined the insurgents, fortified their churches by surrounding them with a ditch, and supplying the towers with stones and other missile weapons, to throw down on the enemy, while they fixed a man at the top, who kept watch night and day. As soon as an enemy approached, the centinel gave the signal by ringing a bell, or sounding a horn, when all those who were at work in the fields or in their houses, immediately took refuge in the church. In short, a civil war so eccentric in its object, so destructive in its effects, the annals of nations cannot produce; an epidemic fury appears to have prevailed throughout the kingdom, or rather the wild state of nature, in which men are wholly independent on each other, and strength

* Villaret. t. ix. p. 41, 42.

and cunning are the ſole ſtandards of juſtice and of right, ſeems to have been renewed.

The regent, in the midſt of theſe diſorders, aſſembled the principal nobility, viſited the provinces, won over to his party many of the towns that were yet uncorrupted by the ſpirit of faction, confirmed others in their fidelity, and employed every reſource which a wiſe policy could ſuggeſt for recovering the falling fortunes of the ſtate. The gentry, avowed enemies to the rebellious citizens of Paris, enliſted under the banners of Charles. Some of them had engaged in the ſervice of the king of Navarre, when he marched againſt the peaſants, but ſpeedily convinced that his deſigns were not favourable to the tranquillity of the kingdom, they left him to join the regent. Marcel and his faction, in the mean time, though abſolute maſters in Paris, were not exempt from inquietude. They were aware that many of the moſt reſpectable citizens were hoſtile to their views, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare themſelves. At this very time an attempt was made to introduce ſome men at arms belonging to the regent into the city, which muſt have convinced them that the prince had more than one partiſan among the people. The plot being diſcovered, one of the king's carpenters, and the maſter of the bridge, were apprehended and executed in the Place de Greve.

During the abſence of the regent from Meaux, Marcel and his adherents formed a plan for taking that city, where the ducheſs of Normandy and her daughter, with Iſabella, ſiſter to Charles, and many other ladies of rank, had retired for ſafety. With this view, three hundred armed citizens were ſent from Paris, under the conduct of Peter Gilles, a grocer, who were joined on the road by ſome ſtraggling companies of peaſants. On their arrival at Meaux, the mayor and inhabitants opened the gates to him, in violation of the oath of allegiance they had recently taken to the regent; but the ladies were ſaved from the brutal treatment to which, if taken, they would have been expoſed, by the courageous conduct of Gaſton, count of Foix, and of the captal de Buche, who, though in the ſervice of England, flew to their reſcue with all the generoſity and gallantry of a true knight, and not only defended the citadel with ſucceſs, but ſallied forth and beat off the Pariſians and their ruſtic allies, with great ſlaughter. The garriſon, enraged at the perfidious conduct of the mayor, immediately hanged him, and put a great number of the inhabitants to the ſword; they then ſet fire to the town, which continued burning for a fortnight. Upwards of ſeven thouſand men periſhed that day. The peaſants, who accompanied the Pariſians, were almoſt wholly deſtroyed. This defeat annihilated the faction of the *Jacquerie*, which never more appeared in the field. Young Enguerrand, lord of Coucy, placing himſelf at the head of a ſelect troop of gentlemen, purſued the fugitives, and maſſacred them without mercy wherever he found them.

The check which the Pariſians ſuſtained at Meaux, conſiderably cooled their

courage. Marcel, equally intimidated by the enemies who threatened him from without, and by the diviſions which prevailed within the city, reſolved to call the king of Navarre to his aſſiſtance, and to revive the zeal of his partiſans by the preſence of a powerful chief, who, having troops at his command, was able to ſupport the tottering faction. That monarch obeyed the ſummons; and, on his arrival in the capital, harangued the people; he was followed by alderman Conſac, who ſaid, the ſtate being ill-governed, wanted ſome one who would govern it better, and that the king of Navarre was the only prince whoſe birth and perſonal endowments qualified him for the important office of captain-general.

If, in the courſe of theſe tumults, the king of Navarre ever conceived the deſign of aſcending the throne of France, as many of his meaſures ſeemed to indicate, the folly of his pretenſions muſt now have ſtricken him, in a forcible point of view. Moſt of the gentlemen who had been ſeduced to join him by his falſe profeſſions of rectitude, no ſooner diſcovered his ambitious projects than they immediately abandoned him. Great numbers, too, of the nobles of Burgundy, who had followed him during the preſent campaign, now left him, diſdaining to ſerve under a captain of rebel-citizens. By theſe deſertions the regent's party acquired ſtrength; and that prudent prince took care to profit by all the falſe ſteps of his enemies.

The nobility having exterminated the Jacques, haſtened to join the regent, who, by this time, had collected a body of three thouſand men at arms, with which he advanced towards Paris, reſolved to make the inhabitants of the capital feel the weight of his reſentment. The troops, diſperſed in the environs of the town, pillaged and burned the country-houſes of the Pariſians. The king of Navarre, their new captain-general, ſallied forth with ſix thouſand men, but he did nothing deſerving of the title they had conferred on him.—He went firſt to Goneſſe, and then approached Senlis, on which a detachment of his army made an unſucceſsful attempt. The regent, in the mean time, had advanced to the abbey of Chelles, within four leagues of Paris, where ſome propoſals for an accommodation were made and rejected; after which he marched from Chelles, and pitched his camp in the vicinity of Vincennes, Conflans, and Charenton. Marcel, appriſed of his motions, haſtened the completion of the new fortifications. He had introduced into the city ſeveral bodies of Engliſh and Navarreſe troops, leſs with a view of adding to its ſafety, than of giving authority to his party, which began to decline. Some of the noblemen in the regent's army, approaching the walls, defied the Pariſians to come forth*; but they refuſed to accept the challenge, ſaying, "Their deſign was "not to take up arms againſt their lord; but if they were attacked, they were "reſolved to defend themſelves."

* Spicil. Cont. Nang.

The regent, yielding to the ſolicitations of queen Jane, conſented to an interview with the king of Navarre; for which purpoſe a pavilion was erected between the town of Vincennes and the abbey of Saint Anthony*. The regent's army, amounting to twelve thouſand men, was encamped in four diviſions. The troops of the king of Navarre, conſiſting only of eight hundred men at arms, occupied a hill between Montreuil and Charonne. Both armies kept at a diſtance from the place where the conference was holden. An accommodation was concluded between the two princes; the claims of Charles the Bad were eſtimated at four hundred thouſand florins, which the regent conſented to pay by inſtalments, and farther to grant him land of the yearly value of ten thouſand livres. The king, in return, engaged to join the regent, and induce the Pariſians to ſubmit, and to contribute three hundred thouſand crowns towards the king's ranſom, on condition that the regent ſhould grant a general amneſty. After the concluſion of this treaty, the biſhop of Liſieux celebrated maſs, in preſence of the nobles and of the two princes, who ſwore to fulfil the treaty, *on the ſacred body of God, which the biſhop held in his hands*. But, when the conſecrated wafer was preſented to the king of Navarre, wicked as he was, he ſhuddered at the idea of profaning a ceremony thus ſacred, and pleaded his having broken his faſt as an excuſe for refuſing the proffered ſacrament.

When the two princes parted, the king went to Saint Denis, and the prince returned to his camp, feebly convinced of the ſincerity of his enemy, who very ſoon manifeſted his real ſentiments. Two days after he left the regent, he went to Paris, under pretence of procuring a ratification of the treaty; but, in fact, to renew his alliance with the rebels, and to leave them the troops he had brought with him. His plea for thus violating the ſacred engagement he had ſo recently contracted, was the conduct of the regent, in attacking and defeating a party of the Pariſians, who had made a ſally from the town; this, he pretended, was a breach of the treaty, and of courſe operated as a releaſe to him from the oath he had taken.

The troops were ſo diſpoſed as greatly to incommode the inhabitants of Paris. A bridge had been thrown over the Seine below Corbeil, by means of which a communication was eſtabliſhed that enabled detachments of the army to extend their incurſions along the river, and to prevent any ſupplies from entering Paris on that ſide†. Marcel, in order to inſpire the citizens with confidence, made a ſally from the town, at the head of twelve hundred men, and deſtroyed the bridge. Another ſally, which was made a few days after, under the conduct of the king of Navarre, proved leſs ſucceſsful. That prince contented himſelf with leading his men ſo near to the enemy as to hold a conference with ſome of the nobles, and then led them back again without making any attack.

* Chron. MS. du roi Jean. † Grande Chronique.; Spicil, Cont. Nang.

This conduct rendered him ſuſpected, and he thenceforth became an object of contempt to the citizens, whom he had prevented from ſignaliſing their courage; they imagined, too, that he maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the nobility, whom they regarded as their enemies. Having withdrawn their confidence, they next deprived him of the title of captain-general; and, finding his influence inſufficient to ſecure him the power he wiſhed to obtain, he left the capital in diſguſt, and retired to St. Denis.

At the inſtigation of queen Jane, the regent was weak enough again to liſten to propoſals of peace from that treacherous monarch, and his no leſs treacherous adherents, the chiefs of the ſedition. Conferences were holden near Vitry, and all the terms of accommodation were ſettled; but the faithleſs Pariſians laughed at the credulity of their prince, and diſmiſſed with threats and contempt the officers whom he ſent, agreeable to the treaty, to take poſſeſſion of the town.

Marcel and his accomplices now plainly perceived the impoſſibility of holding out much longer without effectual aſſiſtance from the king of Navarre, on whoſe protection alone they relied, not merely for the ſucceſs of their ſchemes but for the preſervation of their lives. With him, therefore, they held frequent conferences, in which they diſplayed the moſt abject ſubmiſſion, and earneſtly beſought him to extend his favour to them who had only become criminal in order to forward his intereſt, and promote his views. The king, ever profuſe of oaths and promiſes, replied "Certainly, my lords and friends, no "harm ſhall ever happen to you of which I will not partake. While you have "the government of Paris, I adviſe you to provide yourſelf with plenty of gold "and ſilver, ſince you may ſtand in need of it. You may place a confidence in "me, and ſend me all you collect to Saint Denis, where I will take good care of "it, and ſecretly employ it in the ſupport of men at arms, and companies of foot, "which will ſerve to defend you againſt your enemies." Marcel's fears, in this inſtance, overcame his avarice, and, flattering himſelf with having ſecured a powerful protection in Charles the Bad, he continued to ſend regularly twice a week two cart-loads of florins to St. Denis.

In vain did the provoſt of the merchants endeavour, by theſe precautions, to ward off the impending blow. His credit daily diminiſhed, and his partiſans began to loſe their courage with their hopes. An incident which occurred at this time tended to accelerate his ruin, by compelling him to have recourſe to the moſt dangerous expedients which rage and deſpair could ſuggeſt. Beſides thoſe troops which attended the king of Navarre, there were ſome other companies of Engliſh, which the inhabitants of Paris retained in their ſervice. The people diſcontented with the conduct of Charles the Bad, and of thoſe factious demagogues by whom they had hitherto ſubmitted to be governed, ſighed in ſecret for the return of their lawful prince. The ſight of the Engliſh reminded the citizens of their ſovereign's captivity; the calamities which deſolated the kingdom

excited their indignation; unable any longer to ſuffer their enemies to triumph, as it were, in the midſt of the capital, they inſulted the Engliſh troops, who endeavoured to defend themſelves, but, overcome by ſuperiority of numbers, ſixty of them were killed; and though Marcel favoured the eſcape of the reſt, he was compelled to conſent to the impriſonment of one hundred and fifty. The king of Navarre having expreſſed his diſpleaſure at this outrage, the provoſt, obedient to his will, went next day to the Louvre, where theſe priſoners were confined, and effected their releaſe, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of the Pariſians.

Theſe troops took revenge for the ill-treatment they experienced by committing the moſt dreadful devaſtations in the environs of the capital, whoſe inhabitants they dared to come forth and engage them. The Pariſians accepted the challenge, and the provoſt of the merchants was compelled to make a ſally at the head of twelve hundred men; but he was careful to divide them into two bodies, and to lead that which he commanded himſelf to a quarter where he was certain no enemy would be found; the other body fell in with the Engliſh near St. Cloud, and ſuſtained a total defeat; ſix hundred of them were killed, and the reſt purſued to the gates of Paris.

The king of Navarre remained a tranquil ſpectator of theſe diſaſters; and was pleaſed to ſee his reſentment againſt the Pariſians ſo completely gratified. He moreover flattered himſelf with the hope, that the inconveniences they experienced would, finally, induce them to reſign themſelves entirely to his diſcretion*. It was impoſſible that things could remain in their preſent ſituation; the confuſion was two great to continue; and the criſis was ſo violent that it muſt ſpeedily terminate in a complete revolution. Marcel, having forfeited all claims to mercy from the regent, being deteſted by the majority of that very people whoſe idol he had ſo recently been, and abhorred by all good citizens, was no longer under the neceſſity of keeping up appearances. His only alternative was to bury himſelf beneath the ruins of his faction, or elſe to abandon himſelf without reſerve to the king of Navarre, who held him in contempt, and only conſidered him as the vile inſtrument of his own wickedneſs. He now paid that monarch a private viſit, when they concerted ſuch a project, as might be expected from men ſo loſt to every principal of virtue, juſtice and humanity. It was agreed that the provoſt of the merchants ſhould ſurrender the capital to the king, whoſe troops, in conjunction with the rebels, after ſecuring the Baſtille, and the principal gates of the city, ſhould maſſacre all the friends of the regent, whoſe houſes were already marked for that purpoſe; and when by this means they ſhould have overcome every obſtacle to their wiſhes, Charles the Bad ſhould be crowned king of France. The new monarch

* Chron. MS. du roi Jean.; Chron. de St. Denis.; Froiſſard.; Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Mem. de Littérature.

would then have ceded to Edward ſuch provinces as lay contiguous to his own territories, and have done homage to him for the reſt of the kingdom.

The provoſt of the merchants having taken every precaution which he deemed neceſſary for ſecuring the accompliſhment of his ſcheme, ſent word to the king of Navarre that all was ready, and he had only to haſten the approach of his troops to the town; and, at a ſignal which they had agreed on, the gates were to be opened. Marcel accordingly repaired to the gate of St. Anthony, in the night of the laſt of July, and having diſmiſſed a part of the guard, and replaced them with ſuch as were devoted to his ſervice, he took the keys of the gate from the officer to whoſe care they were entruſted. Hitherto he had met with no obſtacle; and the town was on the point of being ſurrendered to Charles the Bad, when *John Maillard*, a loyal citizen—whoſe name merits a diſtinguiſhed place in the annals of France—arrived with a party of his friends, and ſeizing Marcel, ſaved his country. Firmly attached to his lawful ſovereign, he had only waited for a proper opportunity to diſplay his zeal; notwithſtanding the ſecrecy with which the ſchemes of Marcel had been conducted, he had found the means of detecting them. When he came up to the traitor, he exclaimed, "Stephen, "what are you doing here at this hour?" "John," ſaid Marcel, "what is "that to you? I am here to take care of the town, of which I am governor." "By heavens!" replied Maillard, "that is not the caſe, you are not here at "this hour for any good; and I will ſhew you," addreſſing himſelf to his companions, "that he has got the keys of the gate in his hand for the purpoſe "of betraying the city." "John, you lie!" ſaid the provoſt—"You are the "liar!" returned Maillard, in a tranſport of rage; then graſping his battle-axe he purſued Marcel, who attempted to fly, and with one blow laid him dead at his feet. His companions immediately attacked the troops who attended the provoſt, killed ſome of them and ſecured the reſt. Maillard then haſtened to the gate of Saint Honore, which was alſo to have been opened for the admiſſion of the Navarreſe, and, as he marched through the city, he awakened the inhabitants, and relating what he had done, called upon them to defend the common cauſe; when he arrived at the gate, he killed all ſuch as attempted to reſiſt, and led the reſt to priſon, whither moſt of the accomplices of Marcel, having been ſeized in their beds, were conducted before morning*.

The people rouſed by the cries of "*Monjoye Saint Denis!*" "*Long live the* "*king and the regent!*" aſſembled in crowds. The ſtreets were inſtantly filled with an armed multitude, who maſſacred all the partiſans of the provoſt and his faction that came in their way. Even thoſe who attempted to eſcape their fury, by keeping within doors, were forced from their habitations and thrown into priſon. One only of the moſt criminal eluded their vigilance; the biſhop of Laon, that ſeditious and turbulent prieſt, who had been the chief

* Villaret.

inſtigator of the preſent diſorders, eſcaped from the city, while the populace were engaged in wreaking their vengeance on the body of his accomplice, Marcel, who, with four of his partners in iniquity that had joined him in the aſſaſſination of the two mareſchals, was dragged through the ſtreet, and, covered with blood and dirt, thrown on the tombs of thoſe noblemen, and there expoſed, as expiatory victims, to the indignation of an enraged populace.

At dawn of day, Maillard aſſembled the people in the market-place, where he pronounced a pathetic harangue on the calamities to which the city had been expoſed ſince the commencement of the revolt; and explained the motives which had urged him to kill the provoſt of the merchants. His ſpeech was received with general applauſe; and all preſent called for the immediate puniſhment of the traitors who had conſpired againſt the ſafety of the town, the rights of the king, and the authority of the regent. The partiſans of Marcel were accordingly tried by a ſelect council of citizens, who ſentenced numbers of them to die, and previouſly to be applied to the torture.

The people, who, but a few days before, did notdare to pronounce the name of the regent, now ardently wiſhed for his return; all badges of party diſappeared; and the principal leaders of rebellion were either dead or in priſon. Among their miſguided adherents, were ſome reſpectable citizens, whoſe paſt lives had been irreproachable; but who were ſeduced, either by the example of their friends, the threats of the provoſt, or the intrigues of the king of Navarre, to take an active part in the ſedition. One of theſe unhappy men, an object of general eſteem, exclaimed, as they led him to the place of execution, "Wretch that I am! O, king of Navarre, would that I had never ſeen "nor heard you."

Simon Maillard, with two counſellors of the parliament, John Alphons, and John Paſtourel, were deputed to wait on the regent whom they found at Charenton*. They gave him an account of what had paſſed, and beſought him, in the name of the Pariſians, to complete, by his preſence, the reſtoration of tranquillity. Charles received them with kindneſs, promiſed to follow them as ſoon as poſſible, and deſired them to aſſure the inhabitants of the capital of his affection and mercy. A few days after, he entered Paris, accompanied by the mareſchal d'Andreghen, the lord of Roye, and a numerous retinue of knights and nobles. He was received by the people with every demonſtration of joy; and, the day after his arrival, he repaired to the town-hall†, when the ſtreets were crowded with the inhabitants, who invoked benedictions on his head, and made repeated proteſtations of ſubmiſſion and fidelity. At the town-hall, he publicly explained the particulars of the conſpiracy, which had been recently fruſtrated; he convinced the people that the deſign of Marcel, the biſhop of Laon, and their accomplices, was to ſurrender the town to the

* Chron. de Saint Denis; Chron. MS. † Chriſt. de Piſan, MS. part. 1, chap. xxiv. p. 16.

Engliſh and Navarreſe, to maſſacre all thoſe who were known to be attached to their ſovereign, and then to beſtow the crown on Charles the Bad. All theſe circumſtances had been collected from the confeſſions of the criminals, who had been applied to the torture, and from Thomas de Ladit, chancellor to the king of Navarre, who was apprehended, in attempting to make his eſcape in the diſguiſe of a monk; and executed ſome time after. The prince finiſhed his ſpeech by an aſſurance that he would bury in oblivion all paſt tranſactions, and ſimply confine the effects of his juſtice to the authors of the revolt, who, by their violence and intrigues, had corrupted the fidelity of their fellow-citizens.

As a proof that this promiſe implied no exceptions that could alarm ſuch as had been ſeduced to partake in the ſedition, he granted, at the ſolicitations of Gentien Triſtan, the new provoſt of the merchants, and of the aldermen and principal citizens, general *Letters of Grace*, excluding only thoſe who had been guilty of high-treaſon, which crime he explained to be an attempt to prevent the liberation of the king; a deſign on the life of the king and of the regent; or to keep them in perpetual impriſonment, and to declare the king of Navarre, king of France. The Pariſians, ſatisfied with this explanation of his intentions, vowed an inviolable attachment to him.

The night on which Marcel was to ſurrender the city, the king of Navarre preſented himſelf at the gate of Saint Anthony*; but, finding it ſhut, he began to fear that ſome unexpected event had fruſtrated his ſchemes; and the tumult he heard encreaſing his inquietude, he diſpatched meſſengers to diſcover the fact, who ſoon brought him a true account of the ſituation of affairs. He then attempted to remedy this diſappointment by an attack on the town; but, being repulſed with loſs, he retired to Saint Denis, tranſported with rage againſt the Pariſians; the effects of which were diſplayed in ravaging the environs of the capital. In a few days, he received the news that his treaty with the king of England was concluded; it was ſigned on the firſt of Auguſt†, the very day on which Marcel was to have given him poſſeſſion of Paris. By this treaty it was ſtipulated that the king of Navarre ſhould aſſiſt Edward with all his power in conquering France; that, in caſe they ſucceeded, Charles ſhould have the counties of Champagne and Brie; the county of Chartres, and the bailiwick of Amiens; and that all the other provinces ſhould belong to the king of England, with a permiſſion, however, to Charles, to eſtabliſh his pretenſions to the duchy of Normandy.

The king of Navarre, now firmly connected with England, from whence he expected to obtain effectual aſſiſtance, and having nothing farther to hope from the Pariſians, ſince the detection and puniſhment of his accomplices, no longer ſought to keep up appearances with the regent, whom he had hitherto amuſed

* Chron. de St. Denis.; Chron. MS.; Villani. † Rymer.

with negociations and treaties, always violated as ſoon as formed. Before he left Saint Denis (which he pillaged in return for the ſhelter it had afforded him) he ſent him an open defiance*. He then marched to the town of Melun, into which he was admitted by his ſiſter, queen Blanche, to whom it belonged; but he could only obtain poſſeſſion of one part of the town, the other having been previouſly fortified and ſecured by the regent's troops. Philip of Navarre, at the ſame time, entered Normandy, and placed ſtrong garriſons in Mantes and Meulan, by which means he commanded the courſe of the Seine, and was enabled to make incurſions into the Chartrain, and even to extend his depredations to the vicinity of the capital. The Engliſh troops, too, joined the Navarreſe more openly than they had hitherto done; ſo that Edward, notwithſtanding the truce, continued hoſtilities under the name of the king of Navarre. He hoped, by this policy, to weaken the kingdom, by ſecretly fomenting the diviſions that preyed upon its vitals.

Every day was productive of ſome freſh calamity. The beſt fortified towns were not exempt from the general terror, and the utmoſt vigilance was requiſite to avert the evil effects of their groundleſs apprehenſions. It was at this period that a prohibition was iſſued to ring the bells of the churches in Paris, from the hour of veſpers till day-light, through fear of interrupting the attention of the centinels, who were poſted on the walls to give notice of the enemy's approach. The garriſons, ſtationed in the towns and fortreſſes, formed ſo many independent troops of marauders, who ſuffered no opportunity of pillage to eſcape. All communication, not only between the different provinces, but between the different towns of the ſame province, were ſtopped. The high-roads were covered with graſs and brambles; the caſtles, churches, monaſteries, in ſhort, every building which would admit of a fortification, was either filled with troops, or devoted to deſtruction by either party. The Engliſh and Navarreſe demoliſhed them from enmity; and the troops of the regent, that they might not afford ſhelter to the enemy. The convents were forſaken; the cities were filled with monks and nuns, who repaired thither for ſecurity againſt the horrors of war. The inhabitants of the country were expoſed to every kind of outrage; and, after paying tribute to the different troops, in order to preſerve their habitations from fire and pillage, they were finally conſtrained to renounce the cultivation of their lands; and the fields now became the receptacles of ſoldiers and banditti.

The principal object of the king of Navarre, was, to cut off all communication with the capital, in the hope of reducing it by famine. With this view he had ſecured all the paſſages of the different rivers by which proviſions might be conveyed thither. The poſſeſſion of Creil gave him the command of the Oiſe, Lagny made him maſter of the Marne, and he ſecured the Seine, both

* Treſor des Chartres, Reg. 96, p. 219.

above and below Paris, by the garriſons of Melun, Mantes, and Meulan; while the fortreſſes of Argenteuil, Franconville, and Croiſſy, which he had reduced, enabled him to blockade the town on that ſide. The regent, in the mean time, aſſembled troops; and was obliged to enliſt in his ſervice ſeveral of thoſe companies of banditti which infeſted the kingdom. The ſtate of his finances not permitting him to pay them with regularity, they committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations in all the places where they were ſtationed; ſome of their leaders even engaged in a conſpiracy with the enemy, which was fortunately diſcovered. The puniſhment of theſe traitors cauſed their troops to deſert, and join the Navarreſe; ſo that Charles the Bad, who was enabled to pay them by the ſums he had received from Marcel, ſaw the number of his adherents daily encreaſe.

The towns of Picardy and Vermandois, on application from the regent, furniſhed a body of troops, under the command of the biſhop of Noyon, and the lords of Coucy, Ravenal, Chauny and Roye, who laid ſiege to the caſtle of Mauconſeil, a place from its ſituation important. John de Pecquigny, appriſed of the danger to which this fortreſs was expoſed, haſtened to its relief, at the head of the garriſon of Creil; and, entering, by favour of a fog, the camp of the beſiegers, took them by ſurpriſe, and put them to flight. Moſt of the noblemen were either killed or taken; among the laſt was the biſhop of Noyon. The enemy made a conſiderable booty, as well by the pillage of the camp, as the ranſom of the priſoners; and, ſuch as had not money to pay their ranſom, were compelled to ſerve, for a certain time, in the Navarreſe army.

The king of Navarre, who kept up a ſecret correſpondence in moſt of the towns which acknowledged the regent's authority, made an attempt upon Amiens, the reduction of which ſome of the citizens had engaged to facilitate. When every thing was prepared for the introduction of his troops, Pecquigny went thither by night, and took poſſeſſion of one part of the ſuburbs; but, neglecting to improve this advantage with ſufficient celerity, he gave the inhabitants of the town time to prepare for reſiſtance. The conſtable de Fiennes, and the count of St. Paul, arrived at this conjuncture, and entered the town on the oppoſite ſide; the troops they brought with them repelled the attacks of the Navarreſe, who were forced to retreat to the ſuburbs, which they abandoned, after having pillaged and ſet fire to it. Three thouſand houſes* were reduced to aſhes. Thoſe citizens who had been concerned in the plot, were arreſted the next day, and ſeventeen of them, among whom was the mayor, were executed. A ſimilar attempt was made, at the ſame time, on the town

* It appears ſtrange that one of the ſuburbs of Amiens ſhould, at this period, have contained three thouſand houſes, when all the houſes in the four ſuburbs do not now amount to eight hundred. Yet all the chronicles of the fourteenth century agree in the number; and, as it is not written in cyphers, there can be no miſtake. Amiens, therefore, muſt have formerly been a city of much greater extent than it is at preſent. Villaret.

of Laon, which the biſhop wiſhed to ſurrender to the Navarreſe, but the conſpiracy was fortunately detected, though the prelate eſcaped the puniſhment he deſerved by a timely evaſion.

Even the capital itſelf was not exempt from conſpiracies; the regent having received intelligence of a plot for introducing the troops of Charles the Bad into Paris, ordered ſeveral of the citizens to be arreſted, and thrown into priſon. The people aſſembled and inſiſted that John Culdoe, provoſt of the merchants, ſhould ſolicit the prince to releaſe them, but that officer refuſed to comply with their requeſt. The next day the regent, attended by a numerous eſcort, went to the Place de Greve, where he harangued the people, and aſſured them, he had certain proofs that thoſe he had arreſted were partiſans of the king of Navarre. A citizen then preſent, who had himſelf been connected with Charles the Bad, having confirmed the truth of the prince's declaration by oath, the people were appeaſed; but the regent, wiſhing to conciliate their affection by acts of clemency, pardoned the culprits, after he had eſtabliſhed their guilt by a fair trial*.

The cardinals of Perigord and Urzel, who had been appointed by the pope to negociate an accomodation between the regent and the king of Navarret, were compelled to return to Avignon, without accompliſhing the object of their miſſion. Theſe eccleſiaſtics had been equally unſucceſful in their attempt to negociate a peace between the crowns of England and France, for which purpoſe they had made a voyage to London. The war continuing, a troop of Engliſh and Navarreſe, not exceeding one thouſand men, took Auxerre, though defended by a garriſon of one thouſand. The town was pillaged, and the booty was eſtimated at five hundred thouſand *moutons* of gold. The Navarreſe, after paſſing a week in the place, threatened to burn it, unleſs the inhabitants would conſent to pay a ranſom of forty thouſand *moutons* of gold, and forty pearls, eſtimated at a fourth of that ſum. Plundered of all they poſſeſſed, they were unable to furniſh the money; and were therefore obliged to give the plate and jewels belonging to the church of St. Germain, the only place that had eſcaped pillage, as a pledge to the enemy; engaging to pay an annual rent of three thouſand florins to the church in caſe they ſhould fail to redeem it. The Engliſh, notwithſtanding, remained in the town, the gates and fortifications whereof they demoliſhed, while ſome of the citizens were gone to Paris to ſolicit the regent's confirmation of the treaty, to which they had been conſtrained to ſubmit, and to obtain ſome pecuniary aſſiſtance. On their return, the money they had procured was forcibly taken from them.

* Villani, in his account of the conſpiracy, in which he involves the counts of Etampes and Rouſſy, (two noblemen who had given repeated proofs of their loyalty) ſays, that the regent cauſed the citizens to be executed, and pardoned the counts; but his teſtimony is poſitively contradicted by all the French hiſtorians. Villaret.

† Chron. de Saint Denis. Mem. de Littérature.

The courage diſplayed by the conſtable de Fiennes, and the count of St. Paul, in the defence of Amiens, had ſecured them the confidence of the troops who flocked to their ſtandard*. In a ſhort time they found themſelves at the head of two thouſand men at arms, and twelve thouſand militia, with which they formed the ſiege of St. Valery, which capitulated after a moſt vigorous defence. The French had ſcarcely taken poſſeſſion of the town, when Philip of Navarre, with the counts of Harcourt and Pecquigny appeared before it; but, finding the place already reduced, and the enemy ſtronger than they expected, they retreated with precipitation. The conſtable purſued them, and, but for the delay occaſioned by the refuſal of the inhabitants of St. Quentin to ſuffer his troops to paſs, they muſt certainly have been overtaken. That delay, putting a ſtop to the purſuit, the Navarreſe returned to Normandy, where they continued their uſual depredations.

A. D. 1359.] The regent diſplayed equal patience and perſeverance in ſurmounting the numerous obſtacles he had to encounter; while his mildneſs and moderation conciliated the affection of the people, and ſecured univerſal eſteem. Having no farther occaſion to conceal his real ſentiments, he reſolved to evince the generoſity of his mind, and the rectitude of his intentions†. He went to the parliament, and there publiſhed an ordonnance, by which he declared that he had ever conſidered, as faithful and affectionate ſubjects, the two and twenty officers whom the ſtates of 1357 had compelled him to diſmiſs; that the apprehenſion of ſtill greater misfortunes could not have induced him to yield to the importunities of the enemies of the government, if he had not entertained a hope that, in happier times, he ſhould be free to follow the dictates of juſtice; that the time was now arrived for reſtoring to their places, and clearing the reputation of thoſe officers who had only been perſecuted on account of their attachment to the real good of the public, and the honour of their ſovereign; that he, accordingly, reſtored them to their dignities and poſſeſſions, and ordained that their ſalaries ſhould be paid them in the ſame manner as if they had continued to diſcharge the duties of their reſpective offices. The prince concluded by expreſſing a deſire that this declaration might be communicated to the pope, the emperor, and the different towns of the kingdom, that, by ſuch an authentic teſtimony, every ſuſpicion which the diſmiſſion of thoſe officers might have excited to their prejudice, might be effectually removed.

This meaſure ſerved to ſtrengthen and confirm thoſe ſentiments of love and reſpect which the French were accuſtomed to entertain for their ſovereigns. It was not long before the prince received an unequivocal proof of the zeal and attachment of the nobility, and of the inhabitants of the principal towns‡. At an aſſembly of the ſtates general, holden at this time, the nobles, beſides the

* Froiſſard. Chron. MS. du roi Jean. † Mem. de la Chambre des Comptes. reg. D. fol. 19.
‡ Chambre des Comptes, Mém. D. Recueil des Ordonnances, Chron. de Saint Denis.

uſual ſubſidy, agreed to ſerve a whole month at their own expence; the city of Paris offered to maintain ſix hundred men at arms, four hundred archers, and one thouſand *companions*; the other cities, making proportionable efforts, furniſhed twelve thouſand men at arms. This was a very large ſupply, when we conſider the wretched ſtate of the country, the deſtruction and pillage of ſo many towns, and the neceſſity under which they all laboured to provide for their own private defence againſt the multitude of enemies which ſurrounded them on all ſides.

In order to profit by the preſent diſpoſition of the troops, it was reſolved to lay ſiege to Melun, which, from its ſituation on the Seine, enabled the Navarreſe greatly to incommode the capital*. It moreover contained within its walls, three ſovereign princeſſes; Jane, widow to Charles; Blanche, widow to Philip of Valois, and the queen of Navarre. It was at this ſiege that Bertrand du Gueſclin, who had lately entered the regent's ſervice†, firſt diſplayed his courage in the French army. The regent, who was preſent, witneſſed his intrepidity, in firſt mounting the walls of a tower, which he would have taken, had not the ladder on which he ſtood been cruſhed by a barrel of ſtones. The ſolidity of his *armour* ſaved his life, but he was thrown into the ditch, from whence he was taken ſenſeleſs and motionleſs. The prince, who had kept his eyes on him the whole time, haſtened to his aſſiſtance, and conceived the higheſt eſteem for him. As ſoon as du Gueſclin had recovered his ſenſes, he returned to the attack, ſlew ſeveral of the enemy with his own hand, and conſtrained the reſt to retreat behind the drawbridge. Night coming on, the aſſailants retired to their tents.

A freſh aſſault was to have been given the next day; but, during the night, the garriſon propſed terms of accommodation. Queen Jane and her council engaged to ſurrender the city, and the preliminary conditions of the new treaty of peace with the king of Navarre were agreed upon. The prince, in the mean time, withdrew his troops, and returned to Paris, fully relying on the queen's promiſe that the Navarreſe ſhould evacuate Melun.

While the agents of the two princes were employed at Vernon, in diſcuſſing the articles of peace, the regent was deſirous of given his ſubjects a proof of the confidence he placed in their affections. The members of his council repaired to the parliament, where the provoſt of the merchants was appointed to attend, with the principal citizens, in order to give their opinion of the treaty now in agitation. They were unanimous in adviſing the prince to accept the terms propoſed. The deputies of the king of Navarre were accordingly invited to come to Paris; and, when every thing was ſettled, the regent went to Pontoiſe, where Charles the Bad was to meet him, in order to ratify the treaty.

The king of Navarre, before he left Mantes, required that the duke of Bour-

* Chron. MS. du Roi Jean, Froiſſard, Spicil, Cont, de Nang. † Vie du Connetable du Gueſclin, MS.

bon, Lewis of Harcourt, the lords of Montmorency and Saint Venant, William Martel, le Baudrain de la Heuze, the provoſt of the merchants, and two of the principal citizens of Paris, ſhould be delivered to him as hoſtages. He arrived with a guard of one hundred men at arms ; but, on perceiving the regent, who went out to meet him, he diſmiſſed a part of his attendants. The two princes, after reciprocal profeſſions of friendſhip, entered the town of Pontoiſe by the light of flambeaux. When they came to ſettle the terms of the treaty, ſuch objections were ſtarted by the king of Navarre as appeared to be inſurmountable ; and the regent actually ſent to inform him by the count of d'Etampes, that, if he perſiſted in refuſing the conditions he had propoſed, an accommodation was impoſſible, and he was ready to have him conducted in ſafety to the place at which he had received him.

All hopes of a peace thus ſeemed to be fruſtrated, when Charles the Bad ſuddenly changed his ſentiments, or rather his language, for his object was ſtill the ſame, though he found it neceſſary to alter the mode of attaining it. His profeſſions were now the very the reverſe of what they had hitherto been ; inſtead of advancing exorbitant claims, he diſplayed the moſt perfect diſintereſtedneſs. He ſent for the council of the regent, to whom he declared his reſolution of terminating the calamities of the ſtate, of becoming the friend of the king and his ſon, and of ſerving them to the utmoſt of his power*. He proteſted that he reſigned all pretenſions to a pecuniary ſatisfaction, or territorial grant, and only wiſhed to obtain the reſtitution of what lawfully belonged to him ; he added, that it was his intention to declare theſe ſentiments before the people.

The regent, agreeably ſurpriſed at this unexpected change, exclaimed, in a tranſport of joy, that "if the king of Navarre really thought as he ſpoke, he "muſt certainly have been inſpired by heaven." But Charles the Bad, more dangerous as a friend than formidable as an enemy, did not ſuffer him to remain long in an error. That ſame day, however, before the people of Pontoiſe, aſſembled for the purpoſe in the hall of the caſtle, he renewed the declaration he had made to the regent's council ; and farther promiſed to evacuate all the fortreſſes which either he or his allies had taken during the war. He kept his word with regard to ſome ; ſuch as Poiſſy, Chaumont en Vexin, Joui-la-Ville, and Chanville. But this apparent candour had its ſource in a principle which it is neceſſary to develope.

A great part of the troops which the king of Navarre had hitherto employed were compoſed of independent companies of Engliſh and other maurauders, who ravaged the kingdom. Moſt of the leaders of theſe companies, after they had ſtripped the provinces, were anxious to ſecure the fruits of their depredations

* Chron. de St. Denis. Chron. MS. du roi Jean. Mém. de Littérature. Hiſt. du Charles le Mauvais. Tréſor des Chartres, reg. 87, and 107. Chambre des Comptes, Mém. D.

in ſome place of ſafety. Several of them even ſold the towns they had ſeized without conſulting the king. The Engliſh, in particular, wiſhed to return with their wealth to their native iſle; and many of them were recalled by Edward, who was collecting forces for the execution of a project he then had in contemplation. What then did Charles the Bad riſk by concluding a peace? He got rid of a war which began to be onerous, at the ſame time that he reſerved to himſelf the advantages to be derived from it through the means of his brother Philip of Navarre, who refuſed to accede to the treaty, declaring that "the king of Navarre muſt be bewitched to accept an accommodation ſo "diſadvantageous to himſelf." The truce, too, with England, was expired; and, as Edward had been extremely circumſpect in granting him ſuccours, he hoped, by renewing the war at a future period, to be able to obtain better terms from that monarch; while his affectation of candour afforded him an opportunity of eſtabliſhing an intercourſe with the regent, that might facilitate the accompliſhment of his perfidious ſchemes. Such were the motives which influenced the conduct of Charles the Bad, who continued to inſinuate himſelf into the confidence and good graces of the regent, till the detection of a conſpiracy he had formed compelled him once more to throw off the maſk.

Although it had been expreſsly ſtipulated by the treaty that that part of the town of Melun, which was in the poſſeſſion of the Navarreſe, ſhould be ſurrendered, the place was not evacuated. The king of Navarre had converted the war into another ſpecies of depredation, attended with leſs danger, and productive of greater emolument. All the goods and merchandiſe which paſſed under the bridge of Melun to go to Paris, were made ſubject to enormous duties. A ton of wine paid ſix crowns of gold; a hogſhead of corn two crowns, and every thing elſe in proportion. The produce of theſe duties, it was pretended, was to pay the arrears due to the troops which the king of Navarre had ſtationed at Melun. At Mantes and Meulan the ſame impoſition was practiſed; ſo that, by commanding the navigation of the river, the king of Navarre found means to levy contributions on the capital without the expence of waging war.

The regent, at the ſolicitation of Charles the Bad, who had private reaſons for wiſhing to return to Paris, aſſembled the principal citizens in the chamber of the parliament*. After he had read the treaty, he told them that the king of Navarre was anxious to obtain permiſſion to return to the capital, but that he would not grant it contrary to the inclinations of the inhabitants. John Deſmares, an advocate, anſwered, in the name of the aſſembly, that the Pariſians were highly obliged to the regent for the peace he had concluded; and that they would not oppoſe the return of the king of Navarre, provided he would not bring with him certain traitors, whom he named, and the chief of whom

* Chron. MS. du roi Jean. Chron. de Saint Denis. Mem. de Littérature.

was the biſhop of Laon. The prince replied, that the wiſhes of the aſſembly were perfectly conformable with his own; and that he had repeatedly refuſed to grant the pardon of thoſe traitors to the prayers and remonſtrances of the Navarreſe monarch.

But, notwithſtanding the late treaty, hoſtilities ſtill continued in different parts of the kingdom; the only difference was this, that a part of the ſame troops carried on the war under another name; Philip of Navarre was the oſtenſible enemy in Normandy, and Edward in the other provinces; while the chiefs of the companies, ſometimes ſerving one party, ſometimes the other, but, in fact, always fighting for themſelves, completed the gratification of their avidity, on the few remaining ſpoils of the kingdom.

Euſtace d'Auberticourt, one of the leaders of banditti, laid waſte the fine province of Champagne, at the head of ſeven hundred lances. Animated by love, his courage was enthuſiaſtic; and, had it been exerted to a laudable end, might have entitled him to a diſtinguiſhed place in the liſt of heroes. He had conceived a violent paſſion for Iſabella de Juilliers, daughter to the count of that name, and widow to the earl of Kent. The lady, flattered by the adoration of a warrior, whoſe achievments formed the theme of general commendation, returned his paſſion with equal ardour; and, after beſtowing on him repeated marks of her favour, and exhorting him to continue in the path of glory, or rather, in the path of *plunder*, ſhe gave him her hand. The devaſtations he committed called for the ſerious attention of the regent, who could find no other means of repreſſing them, than by oppoſing to him an adverſary of the ſame ſtamp.

Brocard de Feneſtrange, chief of the banditti of Lorraine, was the perſon he employed on this occaſion, and he promiſed him a conſiderable reward in caſe he executed his commiſſion with zeal and ſucceſs. Feneſtrange having aſſembled his troops, which amounted to five hundred men at arms, was joined by ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen from Burgundy and Champagne. He carried by aſſault the caſtle of Hans, which belonged to Auberticourt, whom he overtook near Nogent-upon-Seine. Feneſtrange, who was a man of experience, drew up his little army in three diviſions; he placed himſelf at the head of the firſt, aſſiſted by the biſhop of Troies; John of Chalons, and the count of Joui commanded the ſecond; and the third was entruſted to the count of Joinville. The combat was long and bloody; but, Euſtace d'Auberticourt, having received a dangerous wound from a lance which broke three of his teeth, ſuſtained a total defeat, and was compelled to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner to Feneſtrange.

But the calm which this victory reſtored to the provinces, proved of ſhort duration. Feneſtrange had been promiſed thirty thouſand crowns, which it was not poſſible to pay him. Diſappointed in his expectations of reward, he had the audacity to ſend a defiance to the regent, and to declare war againſt him, and the whole kingdom of France. He did not confine himſelf to threats, but

ſoon proved himſelf an enemy more formidable than Auberticourt. He commenced hoſtilities by the reduction of Bar-upon-Seine, which he pillaged and reduced to aſhes; he then over-ran Champagne with fire and ſword; and, in his deſtructive progreſs, diſplayed greater inhumanity than any of his predeceſſors of the ſame deſcription. The weakneſs of the government prevented the regent from reſtraining theſe exceſſes, or puniſhing their authors; and he was finally compelled to purchaſe the forbearance of Feneſtrange, by paying him to the full extent of his demand.

Edward now thought the kingdom reduced to that ſituation which would juſtify any attempts to profit by circumſtances ſo favourable to his ambition. Hitherto he had never openly explained himſelf on the conditions he meant to impoſe. Since the king's captivity, many attempts had been made to conclude a treaty*; but Edward artfully prolonged the negociation, and rendered them all unſucceſsful. The truce being expired, hoſtilities and conferences for a peace were renewed at the ſame time. The archbiſhop of Sens, with his brother, the count of Tancarville, the count of Damartin, and the mareſchal d'Andreghen, who were priſoners in England, had made ſeveral journies to Paris, with the view to promote an accomodation, but all to no purpoſe.

John, in the mean time, notwithſtanding the efforts of his conquerors to ſoften his captivity, became impatient to recover his liberty. He flattered himſelf that he could obtain from Edward more advantageous terms if he treated with him in perſon, than if he employed an agent; but he was miſtaken in this idea; the matter was of too great importance to ſuffer any impulſe of generoſity to ſilence the dictates of policy. The king of England profited by his good fortune to preſcribe the moſt rigourous terms; and John, anxious to return to his dominions, conſented to all he propoſed. The treaty, ſigned by the two monarchs, by the prince of Wales, and the duke of Bourbon, was ſent to France for the regent's ratification. That prince regarded the conditions as too diſadvantageous to France to be complied with; but, apprehenſive that he might be accuſed of not ſhewing ſufficient anxiety for the releaſe of his father, he would not venture to give a refuſal, that might be ſubject to miſinterpretation, without the previous advice of the ſtates general, who were accordingly ſummoned to meet on the occaſion.

The aſſembly were unanimous in their advice to the duke to reject the treaty, and to continue the war, rather than make peace upon ſuch terms. When the regent heard this, he repaired to the palace, and, ſtanding on the ſteps in the court, ſhewed himſelf to the Pariſians, while William de Dormans, the advocate-general, read the treaty aloud. John agreed to cede to Edward the duchies of Normandy and Guienne, Xaintonge, Aunis, Tarbes, the Perigord, Quercy, the Limouſin, Bigorre, Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, the counties of

* Froiſſard. Chron. de St. Denis. Chron. MS.

Boulogne, Guines, and Ponthieu, Montreul-ſur-Mer, and Calais, without any obligation of homage or fealty, on the part of the Engliſh monarch; to whom he likewiſe ceded the ſovereignty of the duchy of Brittany, and engaged to pay four million crowns of gold, for his ranſom. The people burſt forth into a general murmur of indignation; and unanimouſly exclaimed, that they would never ſubmit to ſuch terms, but would continue the war againſt England. When the regent's anſwer was delivered to the two kings, John, who did not expect a refuſal, evinced the greateſt diſpleaſure; while Edward proteſted, that, before the winter was over, he would enter France with ſuch a formidable army, that the regent would be compelled to accede to any terms he ſhould chuſe to impoſe; and that he would not diſarm till France was totally ſubdued. He immediately made the neceſſary preparations for putting his threats in execution; and, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, ſailed for Calais with a fleet of eleven hundred ſail, on board of which were his four eldeſt ſons, all the principal nobility of England, and an army of one hundred thouſand men.

On the fourth day of November, the Engliſh began their march from Calais; five hundred men preceded the army in order to clear the roads; and the troops were attended with ſix thouſand waggons, which carried their baggage, proviſions, and artillery*. Edward had taken the precaution to provide them with portable ovens and mills, as well as with corn for their nouriſhment; for France was now deſolated by famine, and the continual depredations to which it had been expoſed, had deſtroyed all its reſources. The regent deemed it imprudent, with the ſmall force he was maſter of, to truſt the ſafety of the kingdom to the doubtful event of a battle; he therefore contented himſelf with ſtrengthening the fortifications of ſuch towns as would admit of defence, and with ſupplying them with ſtrong garriſons; abandoning the open country to the diſcretion of the enemy. Thus the king of England was enabled to purſue his march without oppoſition, through the provinces of Picardy and Artois, till he came to the city of Rheims, where he propoſed to be inveſted with the royal diadem of France; the archbiſhops of Lincoln and Durham attended him in order to perform the ceremony. The place, however, was vigorouſly defended by the archbiſhop of the dioceſe, John de Craon, aſſiſted by the count of Porcien and his brother Hugh, with the lords of Bone, Cannency, Dannore and Lore.

While Edward was engaged in the ſiege of Rheims, a conſpiracy was formed in the capital, which, had it ſucceeded, muſt have rendered him maſter of the whole kingdom. The king of Navarre, in concluding the late treaty, had only ſought to ſecure a free acceſs to the regent, with the view of obſerving on which ſide he might be attacked with the greateſt proſpect of ſucceſs. He lived on the moſt intimate terms with the prince; who conſulted him on all occaſions,

* Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Froiſſard. Chron. MS.

though, at the ſame time, he kept a watchful eye on his conduct, and ſuffered none of his motions to eſcape his notice*. The regent had recently returned from an excurſion to Rouen, in order to be preſent at the nuptials of Catherine of Bourbon, ſiſter to his conſort, with John of Harcourt, ſon to that count of Harcourt who had ſuffered decapitation, which were celebrated at Paris. The king of Navarre, who attended the ceremony, had procured a ſafe conduct for the captal de Buche, his relation, who made uſe of it to reduce the caſtle of Clermont, in Beauvoiſis. Although it was certain that this enterpriſe had been formed in concert with Charles the Bad, yet the regent pretended ignorance of the matter; and, by continuing to treat him with the ſame marks of friendſhip and confidence which he had ever ſhewn him, ſince his reſidence at Paris, he encouraged him to hope that a diabolical plot he had projected would be crowned with ſucceſs. A citizen of Paris, named *Martin Piſdoe*, an old friend and accomplice of Marcel, was at the head of this conſpiracy. Though he had been included in the general amneſty, yet he had ever retained a deſire of revenging the death of the provoſt, which he could only hope to do by exciting a revolution. With this view he attempted to corrupt two other citizens, John le Chavenatier, and Denis le Paumier, who immediately appriſed the regent of his deſigns; when they received orders from that prince to diſſemble their reſentment, the better to diſcover the nature and extent of Piſdoe's intrigues. The plan, which he told Chavenatier had been concerted with the officers of the king of Navarre, was this; men at arms, in diſguiſe, were to be privately introduced at the different gates, and ſtationed in different parts of the city; when a ſufficient number had been collected they were to ſeize the regent, at the Louvre, maſſacre all that oppoſed them, and take poſſeſſion of the principal ſquares, in order to prevent the people from aſſembling; by this means, the conſpirators would have made themſelves maſters of the capital. The execution of the project was fortunately prevented by the vigilance of the regent; Martin Piſdoe was apprehended, and, being put to the torture, diſcloſed all the particulars of the conſpiracy; after which he ſuffered the puniſhment due to his crime; and his body, divided into quarters, was expoſed on the four principal gates of the city. The king of Navarre at firſt appeared wholly unconcerned, but, when he found that Piſdoe was to be tortured, he thought that Paris was no longer a place of ſafety for him; and the precipitation with which he fled ſerved to confirm his guilt.

A. D. 1360.] As ſoon as Charles the Bad reached Mantes, he threw off the maſk, declared war againſt the regent, and renewed hoſtilities by the capture of Rouboiſe, a ſtrong fortreſs on the Seine. Edward, in the mean time, was compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Rheims, after laying three months before the

* Chron. de St. Denis. Tréſor des Chartres reg. 90. p. 352. Mem. de Litt. Hiſt. du Charles le Mauvais. Hiſt. Generale de la Maiſon de France.

town. He then directed his march into Burgundy; the ſtates of which province agreed to pay him two hundred thouſand *moutons* of gold, at four inſtalments: in conſideration of which he granted them a truce for three years.

Edward, after the concluſion of this treaty, left Burgundy, and proceeded towards the Nivernois, which, ſaving itſelf by a ſimilar compoſition, he transferred his ravages to Brie and the Gatinois. After a long and deſtructive march, he arrived at the gates of Paris, on the laſt day of March; and, taking up his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, extended his army to Long-jumeau, Mont-rouge, and Vaugirard. He tried to provoke the regent to hazard a battle, by ſending him a defiance, but could not induce that prudent prince to change his plan of operations. Paris was ſafe from the danger of an aſſault by its numerous garriſon, and the ſtrength of its fortifications, for which it was principally indebted to the rebel Marcel; and from that of a blockade by its well-ſupplied magazines.

A body of twelve hundred villagers from the vicinity of Chatres (now Arpajon) having taken refuge in a monaſtery, belonging to Saint Maur-des-Foſſes, and converted the church into a kind of fort, ſurrounded by a ditch, and ſupplied with warlike machines, were attacked by the Engliſh. The captain of this band finding himſelf expoſed to danger, retired, with a few regulars that he had with him, to a tower that lay contiguous to the church, leaving the peaſants to ſuſtain the aſſaults of the enemy. Theſe laſt, unable to defend themſelves, reproached him with his perfidy, and determined to ſurrender; to prevent which, the ſavage ſet fire to the church, and the wretched inhabitants all periſhed in the flames. He was ſoon, however, puniſhed for his cruelty; for, the fire reaching the tower, he experienced a ſimilar fate.

The inhabitants of Thoury, a place of ſome importance, between Etampes and Orleans, deſtroyed their habitations and carried all they poſſeſſed into wooden barracks which they had conſtructed round a ſtrong caſtle, that was ſituated in the middle of the town. When the enemy approached, they perceived that one houſe had, by chance, been left ſtanding; to this they ſet fire, and the wind blowing ſtrong towards the barracks, the flames were carried to the roofs, and ſpread with ſuch inconceivable rapidity, that not a ſoul had time to eſcape. The cries of men, women, and children were heard by the Engliſh, who were unable to afford them the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance; they all periſhed, and the whole town was reduced to aſhes. Montlhery and Long-jumeau were likewiſe burned; and the conflagration was ſeen from the ramparts of Paris.

The impoſſibility of procuring ſubſiſtence for ſuch a numerous army, in a country already waſted by foreign and domeſtic enemies, and left empty alſo by the precautions of the regent, compelled Edward to remove his quarters; and he led his troops into the provinces of Maine, Beauſſe, and the Chartraine, which were abandoned to the fury of their devaſtations. After refreſhing his army, it was his intention to proceed to Brittany, and to renew the ſiege of Paris early in the ſpring. But, while the war was carried on in this ruinous

manner, the negociations for a peace ſtill continued; though the ſeverity of the terms Edward wiſhed to impoſe ſeemed to deſtroy all hopes of accommodation. Still the rage of neither party began to abate; France was reduced to the laſt extremity, and the Engliſh themſelves, fatigued with a toilſome march through provinces rendered ſterile by the calamities of war, and their ſtrength farther impaired by the hardſhips of a winter campaign, were anxious to obtain an interval of repoſe. Edward, too, could not but perceive that his immenſe army had procured him no other advantage, than that of ſpreading deſolation around him; while not a ſingle place of importance had acknowledged his power. Theſe reflections muſt have contributed not a little to incline him to lend a favourable ear to the exhortations of the pope's legates, and the remonſtrances of the duke of Lancaſter.

The duke inſiſted, that, notwithſtanding his paſt ſucceſſes, which muſt have greatly exceeded his hopes and expectation, he was now no nearer the accompliſhment of his object—if the acquiſition of the French crown was his object—than at the commencement of the war; or rather he was placed at a greater diſtance from it by thoſe very victories and advantages, which ſeemed to lead to it. That the claim of ſucceſſion had not, from the firſt, procured him one partiſan in the kingdom; and the continuance of theſe deſtructive hoſtilities had united every Frenchman in the moſt implacable animoſity againſt him. That though inteſtine faction had debilitated the government of France, it was abating every moment; and no party, even during the greateſt heat of the conteſt, when ſubjection under a foreign enemy uſually appears preferable to the dominion of fellow-citizens, had ever adopted the pretenſions of the king of England. That the king of Navarre himſelf, the only ally of the Engliſh, inſtead of being a cordial friend, was Edward's moſt dangerous rival, and, in the opinion of his partiſans, poſſeſſed a much preferable title to the crown of France. That the prolongation of the war, however it might enrich the Engliſh ſoldiers, was ruinous to the king himſelf, who bore all the charges of the armament, without receiving any ſolid or durable advantage from it. That if the preſent diſorders of France continued, that kingdom would ſoon be reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſolation that it would afford no ſpoils to its ravagers; if it could eſtabliſh a more ſteady government, it might, from the chance of war in its favour, and, by its ſuperior force and advantages, be able to repel the preſent victors. That the regent, even during his greateſt diſtreſſes, had yet conducted himſelf with ſo much prudence, as to prevent the Engliſh from acquiring a ſingle foot of land in the kingdom; and it were better for the king to accept by a peace what he had in vain attempted to acquire by hoſtility, the ſucceſs of which had by no means been adequate to the expences; and that Edward, having obtained ſo much glory by his arms, the praiſe of moderation was the only honour to which he could now aſpire, an honour ſo much the

greater, as it was durable, was united with prudence, and might be attended with the moſt ſolid advantages*.

Theſe remonſtrances, the wiſdom of which is manifeſt, could not fail to make a deep impreſſion on the mind of Edward; who is ſaid to have been farther diſpoſed to peace, by an accident which happened during his march. At the diſtance of about two leagues from Chartres, his army was overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm of hail, the ſtones of which was of ſuch a prodigious ſize as to kill ſix thouſand horſes and one thouſand men†. The king, frightened at the horrors of the ſurrounding ſcene, threw himſelf proſtrate on the ground; and, extending his arms towards the church of Chartres, made a ſolemn vow no longer to reject the offer of peace, if he could obtain it on reaſonable terms. Voltaire, alluding to this circumſtance, archly obſerves, that "ſeldom have the "will of ſovereigns, and the fate of kingdoms, been decided by a ſhower of "rain.‡" Be that as it may, a peace was concluded at Bretigny—a ſmall town ſituated about a league from Chartres—on the eighth of May, 1360. By the articles of this treaty (forty in number) it was ſtipulated that, excluſive of the abſolute ſovereignty of Guienne and Ponthieu, the following territories ſhould be ceded to Edward—the county of Poictiers; the fief of Thouars; the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, Agenois, and Perigord; the Limouſin, Quercy, Bigorre, Gavre, Angoumois, and Rouergue; Calais, Guines, and Montreuil; with the lordſhips of Merch, Sangate, Coulogne, Homes, Wall, and Oye. The full ſovereignty of all theſe provinces and territories was to be veſted in the crown of England; and France agreed to renounce all title to feudal juriſdiction, homage, or appeal from them. It was farther ſettled, by the fourteenth article, that the king of France ſhould pay Edward three millions of crowns of gold for his ranſom (equal to fifteen hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money;) the firſt ſix hundred thouſand to be paid within four months from the arrival of John on the continent; and four hundred thouſand per annum, till the whole ſum was diſcharged. By the fifteenth article, John was to have his

* Froiſſard, l. i. c. 211. † Id. ib.

‡ *Eſſai ſur L'Hiſtoire Generale*, t. ii. p. 132. This is one of thoſe frivolous remarks with which even the ſerious works of this writer abound. The influence of fortuitous calamities on the human mind, in the production of important events, may form a ſubject of ridicule to the *philoſopher* in his ſtudy, who, exulting in the ſtrength of man's faculties, is anxious to trace each effect to an *adequate* cauſe. But, if we reflect that the impreſſions of terror are ſtrong and durable, and that the mind of Edward, at this juncture, prepared as it was by previous ſcenes of deſolation and carnage, of which he was the author, was peculiarly open to their reception, we ſhall not incline to accuſe of credulity thoſe ancient hiſtorians who aſſign the tempeſt as the cauſe of this ſudden accommodation. The inconſiſtency of Voltaire, too, is here forcibly ſtriking, ſince any one converſant in his works may recur to various paſſages, in which he aſcribes the moſt important effects to cauſes the moſt trifling; in his hiſtory of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth (chap. 22, p. 243) he aſcribes the peace with England (in 1712) to the caprice of the ducheſs of Marlborough. On which occaſion, he ſays, "un petit cauſe produit des tres grands changemens." And again, ſpeaking of the circumſtance which induced mareſchal Villars to attack prince Eugene at Denain, (ibid. p. 253) he remarks, that it ſerves to prove, "par quelles ſecrets et faibles reſſorts les grandes affaires de ce monde ſont "*ſouvent* dirigees,"



S. Allardice Sc.

Jane Countess of Montfort in complete Armour encouraging the Carrison of Hennebonne

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liberty after the firſt payment, and the reſtitution of Rochelle and the county of Guines, on delivering, as hoſtages to Edward, his ſon Philip; the counts of Eu, Longueville, Ponthieu, Tankerville, Joigny, Sancerre, Dammartin, Ventadour, Sallebruch, Ancœurs, and Vendome, with the lords of Craon, Derval, Odenham, and Aubigny; who had all been made priſoners at the battle of Poictiers;—likewiſe his two ſons, Lewis, count of Anjou, and John, count of Poictiers; his brother, Philip duke of Orleans; the duke of Bourbon; the counts of Blois, or of Alencon, or their brothers; the counts of Saint Paul, Harcourt, Portien, Valentinois, Brenne, Vaudemont, and Forez; the viſcount of Beaumont; the lords of Coucy, Fiennes, Preaux, Saint Venant and Garencieres; the dauphin of Auvergne; with the lords of Hangueſt, Montmorency, Craon, Harcourt, and Ligny. Beſides theſe noblemen, it was agreed, by the eighteenth article, that John, three months after he had recovered his liberty, ſhould deliver, as hoſtages, forty-two citizens, that is, four citizens of Paris, and two from each of the following towns—Rouen, Saint Omer, Arras, Amiens, Beauvais, Lille, Douay, Tournay, Rheims, Chalons, Troyes, Chartres, Touloufe, Lyons, Orleans, Compiegne, Caen, Tours, and the Bourges. In return for theſe important conceſſions, Edward agreed to reſign his claim to the French crown, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine and Anjou, which had been poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, as well as to the ſovereignty of Brittany. By the thirty-ſecond article, John renounced his alliance with the Scots, and Edward diſſolved his confederacy with the Flemings. By the twenty-firſt it was ſtipulated, that the diſputes relative to the ſucceſſion of Brittany, between the houſes of Blois and Mountfort, ſhould be left to the deciſion of arbiters, to be appointed by the two kings; but, ſhould every attempt to promote an amicable termination of them fail, either party was left at liberty to eſtabliſh his claims as he could, and his friends were allowed to aſſiſt him*. By the twelfth article of the treaty, it was ſettled, that the two kings ſhould agree between themſelves on the time and place for making their reciprocal renunciations.

Six Engliſh knights, deputed by Edward and the prince of Wales, repaired to Paris the day after the concluſion of the treaty†, to procure the regent's ratification of it. That prince ſent for the provoſt of the merchants, and the principal citizens of Paris, in whoſe preſence he ordered all the articles of peace to be read by John Deſmares; after which William de Melun, archbiſhop of Sens, celebrated maſs, in the hotel de Sens, where the regent reſided. During the celebration, the prince left his oratory; and, walking up to the altar, placed one hand on the miſſal, and the other on the holy ſacrament, and ſwore, in preſence of the Engliſh knights, to obſerve, inviolably, all the conditions of the treaty. As ſoon as he had taken the oath, an officer opened one of the windows of the duke's apartment, and announced the news of the peace to the peo-

* Rymer, vol. vi. p. 178. Froiſſard, l. i. c. 212. † Chron. MS. du roi Jean.

ple, who were aſſembled in the court-yard. The regent then went to the cathedral to return thanks to God for the reſtoration of tranquillity.

The prince of Wales took a ſimilar oath, in the cathedral at Louvres, in preſence of ſix deputies from the regent. After the treaty had received this confirmation, Edward and his ſon returned to England. On the eighth of July the king of France was brought over to Calais, whither Edward, alſo, ſoon after repaired; and there both princes ſolemnly ratified the treaty, on the twenty-fourth of October. Next day, John ſet out for Boulogne, and Edward accompanied him to the diſtance of a mile from Calais, where they parted with the moſt cordial profeſſions of mutual amity and eſteem. The regent had, in the mean time, begun to levy the ſubſidies which had been granted for paying the king's ranſom. The city of Paris ſupplied eight thouſand florins of gold for its part of the firſt payment, and opened a loan for one hundred thouſand nobles, which was filled by the nobility, clergy, and opulent citizens.

The ſame day on which the treaty of Bretigny was confirmed at Calais, an accommodation was concluded, through the mediation of Edward, with the king of Navarre, in conſequence of which John granted a general amneſty, as well to Charles the Bad, as to all his adherents. The king of Navarre was allowed the privilege of naming three hundred of his partiſans, to whom particular letters of grace were to be accorded by the French chancery, including a pardon for every ſpecies of crime*. The firſt on his liſt was Robert le Coq, biſhop of Laon, a prelate who merited the ſevereſt puniſhment which the offended laws of his country could inflict; though John had conſented to pardon him, he very properly inſiſted that his kingdom ſhould no longer be ſubject to the intrigues of ſuch a turbulent prieſt; Le Coq, therefore, retired into Spain, where he was promoted to the biſhopric of Calahorra. Charles the Bad engaged to ſwear fealty to the king, on condition of receiving twelve perſons of different diſtinction, as hoſtages for his ſafety. The places occupied by the Engliſh, in the dominions of the king of Navarre, were to be reſtored, and, if any one ſhould wage war againſt that monarch, John promiſed to obſerve a a ſtrict neutrality. All the articles, agreed upon by the duke of Normandy and queen Blanche, were confirmed by the preſent treaty, which was ratified by the oaths of Edward and John, in the preſence of the duke of Orleans, the biſhop of Terouane, the count of Tancarville, and the other plenipotentiaries of the French monarch, and of Philip of Navarre, the biſhop of Avranches, the captal de Buche, and the lord of Pecquigny, who attended on the part of Charles the Bad.

After a captivity of four years, John once more entered his capital, on the thirteenth of December. On this occaſion, the Pariſians ſeemed to have for-

* Acts MS. concernant le Traité de Bretigny, à la Biblothique du roi. Rymer. Mém de Litt. pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. de Charles le Mauvais, par M. Secouſſe, Tréſor des Chartres lay. iv. de Navarra. Chambre des Comptes Mém. D.

gotten their paſt misfortunes; the preſence of their ſovereign eraſed them from their memory. The ſtreets and ſquares, through which he paſſed, were hung with tapeſtry, while the people were regaled with wine that flowed from numerous fountains. Before he re-aſſumed the reins of government, he confirméd all the acts of ſovereignty performed by the regent during his abſence from the kingdom*. This confirmation, which was then deemed indiſpenſably neceſſary, ſhews the material difference there was between a regency adminiſtered during the abſence or illneſs of the ſovereign and that which takes place during a minority. In the laſt caſe, the ratification of the prince, when he comés of age, is not deemed neceſſary; becauſe, being called to the government of the ſtate by the laws of the realm, thoſe ſame laws are ſuppoſed to confirm every act of power which he performs in conſequence of the authority delegated to him.

The miſery to which the people were reduced by the war, and by inteſtine commotions, rendered the execution of the articles of peace extremely burdenſome; it was ſcarcely poſſible to procure money for the payment of the king's ranſom. The pope had granted two tenths of the revenues of the clergy; moſt of the large towns had taxed themſelves; many of the adminiſtrators of the finances had been ſeized and impriſoned with a view to extort money from them; and, in ſhort, neceſſity had impelled the adoption of almoſt every expedient that could be thought of. The adulteration of the coin was the only reſource left unemployed at this juncture, when it would have been more excuſable than at any other period. It will, doubtleſs, appear ſtrange, that, ſo far from having recourſe to this expedient, a new coinage was iſſued, in weight and purity ſuperior to the laſt†; but the tenths and other impoſts were to be paid with this money; and the king of England would probably have refuſed it for the ranſom, had it been reduced below the proper ſtandard.

The Jews thought this was a favourable opportunity to procure their recal. Exiled and proſcribed in the preceding reigns, and even labouring under a ſimilar diſgrace ſincé the acceſſion of the preſent monarch‡, their reſidence in the kingdom had rather been connived at than tolerated. During the king's captivity they had made ſeveral propoſals to the regent, who evinced a diſpoſition to grant them a favour which they offered to purchaſe at a very high price. Soon after his releaſé, John publiſhed a declaration, by which he permitted them to return, and to remain in the kingdom for twenty years§. Letters were annexed to the declaration, committing the care and conſervation of their privileges to the count d'Etampes, a prince of the blood, of the branch of Evreux. Beſides the ſum which this perſecuted people—who, though generally conſidered as outcaſts of ſociety, exert their induſtry with ſucceſs in the acquiſition of

* Du Tillet, Recueil des rois de France, Annot. Regiſt. du Parlem. Coté. A. fol. 51. C. des Cham. Mém. de fol. 14. Ordonnances des rois de France.

† Chron. MS. du roi Jean. ‡ Recueil des Ordonnances. § Tréſor des Char. reg. 89.

wealth—advanced for the permiſſion to return, every maſter of a family paid twelve Florentine florins of gold on his entrance into the kingdom, and ſix florins yearly for the liberty of reſiding there; and a general poll-tax was alſo levied on them of one florin per head. The king, thinking it neceſſary to put ſome check on their avarice, and to moderate the exorbitant intereſt which they exacted from his ſubjects, they were forbidden, in future, to take more than four deniers per livre, per week; ſuch flagrant uſury (by which the intereſt would, in fourteen months, amount to as much as the principal) authoriſed by an edict from the throne, affords a ſtrong proof of the wretched ſtate to which the kingdom was, at this period, reduced.

Six times had the Jews been baniſhed the kingdom; and, under Charles the Sixth, a ſeventh ſentence of baniſhment was iſſued againſt them; they ſtill, however, continued to be privately tolerated, though ſubject to inceſſant perſecutions, till the year 1615, when they were finally and abſolutely proſcribed by Lewis the Thirteenth. The Jews of Metz were alone excepted from the general proſcription. It appears to have been a matter of doubt whether this people were moſt uſeful or moſt dangerous to the nation. Their uſurious exactions were, in ſome meaſure, counterbalanced by their ſkill in the management of commerical affairs. The French, at this time, wholly neglected trade, and every occupation which called for exertions of induſtry; while they encouraged a taſte for awkward luxury, and unrefined diſſipation. The Jews enabled them to gratify this taſte by ſupplying them with money; and, by thus adminiſtering to their paſſions, accelerated their ruin. Every thing relating to the finances was imperfectly underſtood in France, which afforded an opportunity to the Jews, who were ſkilful calculators, and could, in an inſtant, perceive the advantages to be derived from any propoſal to purchaſe the revenues of the crown, to acquire great and rapid fortunes. They were the only bankers and money-lenders in the kingdom, till the Lombards came to partake with them thoſe lucrative profeſſions. But as trade encreaſed this deſcription of perſons encreaſed in proportion, and every country in Europe now abounds with native uſurers, equally rapacious and more dangerous than the unfortunate Jews.

The king, immediately after his return, began to take proper meaſures for fulfilling the obligations he had recently contracted. His miniſters, whoſe ſentiments of honour were leſs refined than his own, ſtrenuouſly urged him to elude the execution of a treaty ſo diſadvantageous to France. But John replied—"that though honour and good faith were baniſhed from every other place, "they ought always to find an aſylum in the boſom of princes;" a ſentiment which ſhowed him worthy his elevated ſtation, and which ought to be engraven in indelible characters, on every throne! Many of the French governors, however, ſtill refuſed, in oppoſition to the orders of their ſovereign, to evacuate the places entruſted to their command. The affection of the people for their king, which had long lain dormant, now burſt forth with renovated vigour;

the inhabitants of the provinces, ceded by the late treaty, and particularly the heads of many illuſtrious families, long refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the Engliſh monarch; and the moſt urgent ſolicitations and remonſtrances of John were neceſſary to perſuade them to ſacrifice their private inclinations to the public tranquillity.

It was at this time that John beſtowed the hand of his daughter on Iſabella on John Galeas Viſconti, ſon to the duke of Milan; the princeſs received as a dower the county of Sommieres in Languedoc, with an annuity of three thouſand livres*; the former was afterwards exchanged by Galeas for the county of Vertus, this is all we know, from authentic records, of the circumſtances of this marriage, which ſeveral hiſtorians have nevertheleſs preſumed to aſcribe to motives of avarice in the king, who bartered, they ſay, the hand of his daughter for a ſum of money, which he wanted to diſcharge a part of his ranſom. But aſſertions of this nature, unſupported by proof, muſt be rejected as calumnies, and the whole tenor of John's conduct ſerves to exculpate him from an imputation of ſo hienous a nature.

A. D. 1361.] But, while the king was careful to fulfil to the utmoſt the terms of the treaty of Bretigny, Edward is accuſed, by the French hiſtorians, of neglecting to *enforce* the poſitive orders he had given to his governors, to reſtore the places of which they were in poſſeſſion†; the ceſſion of which, they aver, John was compelled to purchaſe, at the expenſe of two millions of livers. Be that as it may, he at length obtained them. The kingdom, however, far from having recovered that tranquillity which it was expected the treaty would produce, was now expoſed to more ſerious calamities than during the war with England. The many military adventurers who had followed the ſtandard of Edward, being diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces, and poſſeſſed of ſtrong holds, refuſed to lay down their arms, or relinquiſh a courſe of life, to which they were now accuſtomed, and by which alone they could gain a ſubſiſtence‡. They aſſociated themſelves with the banditti, who were already enured to the habits of rapine and violence; and who, as we before have had occaſion to obſerve, aſſumed the name of the *companies* and *companions*, and became a terror to all the peaceable inhabitants.

Theſe new enemies firſt entered Champagne and Burgundy, where they were guilty of the moſt cruel exceſſes. They ſeized the caſtle of Genville, which they gave up, on receiving a hundred thouſand livers, after they had ravaged the environs of Verdun, Toul, and Langres, and levied contributions on the inhabitants. Beſancon, Dijon, and Beaune, experienced a ſimilar treatment; and their numbers having increaſed to ſixteen thouſand, they reſolved to

* Tréſor des Chartres. † Du Tillet. ‡ We purpoſely forbear to notice the other accuſations preferred againſt Edward, by Villaret and his predeceſſors, with regard to the non-accompliſhment of the obligations he had contracted by the treaty of Bretigny: as we ſhall have occaſion, in the reign of Charles the Wiſe to enter into a full diſcuſſion thereof.

attempt ſome enterpriſe of importance. The riches of the holy ſee induced them to bend their courſe towards the city of Avignon; directing their march through the Maconnois and the Comtat. Theſe provinces, being expoſed to the moſt dreadful depredations, addreſſed their complaints to the king's council; and France was threatened with a general deſolation, unleſs the progreſs of this banditti was ſpeedily checked.

But the difficulty of finding money and troops threw the government into the utmoſt conſternation. On this emergency the king had recourſe to James of Burbon, who was employed in ſurrendering to lord Chandos, whom Edward had appointed his lieutenant, the different places that were to be reſtored to England. This nobleman was highly eſteemed by his countrymen for the many amiable qualities he poſſeſſed; ſo that he had no ſooner ſignified the orders he had received from the king, than all the gentlemen of the neighbouring provinces flocked to his ſtandard. Followed by this choſen band he marched through the Lyonnois to the province of Foreſt, the count of which, who was recently dead, had married his ſiſter. Being joined by his nephews, and his army daily increaſing, he haſtened foward in purſuit of the enemy, who were then employed in ravaging the environs of Chalons-upon-Saone. The *companies* being appriſed of the approach of the French, called a council to decide on the propriety of waiting for them; and, having counted their troops, which were found to amount to ſixteen thouſand men, they determined to riſk an action. "If fortune favours us," ſaid they, "we ſhall all be enriched for a long "time, not only from the priſoners we ſhall take in the action, but from the "terror we ſhall inſpire, which will prevent any farther oppoſition;—if we "are beaten, we know the worſt."

As ſoon as they had taken this reſolution, they advanced to meet the French army. Quitting the Maconnois, and traverſing a part of the provinces of Foreſt and the Beaujolois*, which they laid waſte; they reduced the caſtle of Brignais, in the Lyonnois, ſituated on the ſmall river of that name, about three leagues from the Rhone. When James of Burbon heard they were ſo near him, he collected his troops, and offered them battle. Theſe *companies*, compoſed chiefly of veteran ſoldiers, and experienced leaders, had taken poſt on a hill, at the foot of which, though ſtrongly fortified by nature, they had thrown up ſome entrenchments that conſiderably encreaſed the difficulty of approaching it. They had alſo recourſe to a ſtratagem, by concealing their beſt-appointed troops behind the hill, ſo that it was impoſſible to form any juſt eſtimation of their ſtrength. This manœuvre had the deſired effect; the officers who were ſent to reconnoitre, brought word to James of Bourbon, that they did not amount to more than ſix thouſand men, all badly armed. In conſequence of this falſe report it was reſolved to force their intrenchments; the

* Froiſſard, Chron. MS.

attack was conducted with ſpirit, but the French had no ſooner ſurmounted the difficulties that preſented themſelves at the foot of the hill, than the troops that were concealed behind it ruſhed forward, and, in a ſhort time, threw them into confuſion; the victory was complete; moſt of the noblemen, in the French army were either killed, taken or wounded; among the laſt was James of Bourbon, who died of his wounds, three days after the action; his ſon, Peter of Bourbon, did not long ſurvive him; and his nephew, the young count of Foreſt, alſo loſt his life. Regnaut de Forez, paternal uncle to the count; the count of Uſez, Robert de Beaujeu, and Lewis de Chalons, were made priſoners. Such was the event of the battle of Brignais, the loſs of which was more ſenſibly felt at this calamitous period, than it would have been at any other time.

After the victory, the *companies* continued to pillage, and ranſome the provinces of Lyons, Foreſt, and Beaujolois. One part of them, under the conduct of Seguin de Badefol, a gentleman of Navarre, took poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Ence, about a league from Lyons; while the reſt, having appointed a leader, who ſtiled himſelf *the friend of God, and the enemy of the whole world*, renewed their firſt deſign of paying a viſit to the pope and cardinals. They took by ſurpriſe the town of Pont-Saint-Eſprit, which they pillaged, after maſſacring the greater part of the inhabitants, and committing the moſt dreadful diſorders. From this place they carried their incurſions to the gates of Avignon, laying waſte all the intermediate country.

When the news of the defeat at Brignais was received in France, a numerous band of adventurers, of different nations, the refuſe of Edward's army, evacuated the towns they had hitherto refuſed to ſurrender, and haſtened to join the *companies*. The reduction of Avignon, and the pillage of the whole country of Provence, were the objects they had in view. Theſe banditti, ſtimulated by the hopes of plunder, and familiariſed with every ſpecies of crime, committed the moſt horrid diſorders. They raviſhed the women, whether young or old, without diſtinction of age or condition, while they maſſacred the men and children;—their fury knew no bounds. Houſes and churches were levelled with the ground, and ſuch of their contents as could not be carried away, were conſigned to the flames. An emulation in vice prevailed among them; and the moſt cruel and moſt impious were holden in the higheſt eſtimation.

The pope and his court were thrown in the greateſt conſternation; in vain had his holineſs recourſe to his ſpiritual arms; the thunders of the church were of little avail with men who had ſet all kind of religion at defiance. A cruſade was preached, and abſolution promiſed by the pope to all who would take up arms in his defence. The cardinal of Oſbia was appointed chief of the cruſaders, and Carpentras was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous; where ſuch as wiſhed to ſave their ſouls, by obtaining a general remiſſion of their ſins, repaired to enliſt under the banners of the holy ſee. But the zeal of new cru-

ſaders ſpeedily abated when they found that the cardinal could only pay them with indulgences: moſt of them returned home, ſome went into Lombardy, and not a few joined the *companies*.

Innocent and the prelates of his court were at a loſs how to avert the ſtorm that threatened them, when the marquis of Montferrat offered, for the payment of a conſiderable ſum, to draw off the objects of their fears into Italy, where he was engaged in a war with the duke of Milan. He accordingly negociated an accommodation with the *companies*, who agreed to follow him, on condition of receiving ſixty thouſand florins, and *abſolution for their ſins*, which the pope moſt cheerfully granted. The marquis found them of great ſervice to him, in the reduction of ſeveral towns and fortreſſes which he took from the enemy.

But, though the departure of theſe adventurers afforded ſome conſolation to the French, there ſtill remained ſufficient to haraſs the kingdom with their depredations*. Seguin de Badſol, after he had laid waſte the Lyonnois, entered Auvergne, where he took Brionde, which he retained upwards of a year, during which, he ravaged the circumjacent country, nor could he be induced to evacuate it, till he had been paid the ſum of one hundred thouſand florins. Loaded with the ſpoils of the kingdom, this leader of banditti, retired into Guienne with immenſe riches. On his evacuation of Brionde, he had engaged never more to bear arms againſt France; but the king of Navarre, who was now forming new projects of hoſtility, endeavoured, ſoon after, to allure him into his ſervice, by offering to give him a conſiderable property in land. Tempted by his offers, Seguin conſented to the propoſals of Charles the Bad; the only difficulty that occurred between them was this—the king inſiſted that the lands he meant to confer on him ſhould be in Normandy, and the other would have them in Navarre. But, as both of them were obſtinate, this difficulty could not be ſurmounted; and, as Seguin was acquainted with the ſecret intention of Charles, that prince determined to get red of him. When he had adopted this reſolution, he invited him to dinner, having previouſly taken the precaution to order one of his ſervants to place before him a diſh of preſerved oranges and pears: Charles himſelf preſented the fruit to Seguin, and boaſted of its excellence; but he had not long taſted them when he fell from his ſeat, and was ſeized with the moſt excrutiating pains. The king of Navarre, without any appearance of confuſion, coolly ordered him to be carried home, where he died in a few days.

The attempts to reconcile the rival houſes of Montfort and Blois, by propoſing a diviſion of the duchy of Brittany, had proved unſucceſsful: and war was on the point of breaking out, with renovated vigour, when the humane and friendly interference of the duke of Lancaſter produced a truce, which was afterwards prolonged till Michaelmas, 1363. Had that nobleman lived, a final

* Hiſt. de France du P. Daniel. Procés M. du roi de Navarre.

accommodation might, perhaps, have been effected; but he was unfortunately taken off, ſoon after the peace of Bretigny, by a dreadful peſtilence which prevailed in London: his death was univerſally lamented by the people, who juſtly paid him that tribute of reſpect and eſteem which his numerous virtues ſo richly deſerved.

Some time after his return from England, the king invited the celebrated Bertrand du Gueſclin, a knight of Brittany, to enter his ſervice, and Bertrand accepted his invitation, and ſpoke to him with that frankneſs and candour which he diſplayed on all occaſions. "Sire," ſaid he, "war is my profeſſion; I have "obtained the friendſhip of many brave and worthy knights, my countrymen; "if you will enable me to maintain them, they will do you loyal ſervice." "I "deſire no other teſtimony of their valour than your own," replied the king; "I give you the command of an hundred lances, by which means you will "have it in your power to provide for them*." Du Gueſclin compoſed his company of gentlemen of Brittany, moſt of them his relations or friends, and all men of valour: they accompanied him in every expedition.

Several adventurers from Brittany, expecting the ſame honours as thoſe conferred on du Gueſclin, entered France, and committed depredations on Poitou, Anjou, and other provinces. The government refuſed to remedy theſe diſorders, and ſeemed to encourage them. When the citizens of Paris complained to the council, that theſe depredations extended even to the gates of the capital, they were forbidden to interfere, and told to conduct their own affairs as well as they could. In theſe diſaſtrous times, every thing ſeemed to conſpire againſt the happineſs of the people.

A variety of taxes had been impoſed, more burdenſome to the people than profitable to the ſtate. The want of ſimplification in the mode of collecting them gave riſe to heavy expences; to avoid which the king aboliſhed them all, and ſubſtituted in their place a tax of twelve deneirs per livre on all merchandiſe; a duty upon ſalt, of one-fifth of its price; and one on wines and other liquors of a thirteenth. Theſe taxes were farmed out to the Jews and Lombards. The king revoked all the grants of crown-lands, made ſince the reign of Philip the Fair, except the appanages of the princes of the blood, and the donations to the church.

While the French were lamenting the diſmemberment of their empire, by the loſs of thoſe provinces that were ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, their hopes were ſuddenly revived by the unexpected acquiſition of Burgundy. The young duke of Burgundy, Philip de Rouvre, died in the ſpring of 1361, in his ſixteenth year. He was one of the hoſtages delivered to Edward, who had permitted him to return to France. He had eſpouſed Margaret, daughter and

* Each lance, or man at arms, was attended by three archers, a *coutillier*, and a page: a company of a hundred lances compoſed ſix hundred men. *Villaret*.

heireſs to Lewis, count of Flanders; but the tender age of both parties had hitherto prevented the conſummation of the marriage.

This prince was ſon to Philip of Burgundy, who was killed at the ſiege of Aiguillon, in 1316; and whoſe widow, Jane of Burgundy, married king John. Eudes, duke of Burgundy, grandfather to Philip de Rouvre, ſurvived his ſon three years. Eudes had acquired, by his marriage with Jane of France, the counties of Artois and Burgundy, and the lordſhip of Salins. His ſon Philip married Jane of Boulogne, heireſs to William the Third, count of Boulogne and Auvergne. By theſe marriages, Philip de Rouvre inherited the firſt ſucceſſion in Europe, in point of opulence and extent, after the ſovereign princes. In him ended the firſt royal branch of Burgundy.

Philip, on his return from England, had made a will, by which he divided the ſucceſſion of his domains into three parts. Boulogne and Auvergne were bequeathed to John of Boulogne, uncle to queen Jane, the young duke's mother; Burgundy and Artois devolved to Margaret of Flanders; and the duchy of Burgundy, reverted to king John. But for the will left by Philip, the king of France's right might have been conteſted by the king of Navarre, whoſe grandmother, Margaret of Burgundy, was ſiſter to Eudes, and the elder ſiſter too; but to this pretenſion John oppoſed the advantage he had over the king of Navarre, of a degree of proximity, as huſband to Jane of Burgundy. The king took poſſeſſion of Burgundy, in virtue of his right of proximity, as he declared in the letters by which he re-annexed that province to the crown*. In thoſe letters, he enjoined his ſon and ſucceſſors never more to detach from the royal domains the provinces of Toulouſe, Champagne, Brie, and Normandy.

The king of Navarre did not fail to advance his claims, as being related to Philip de Rouvre; and he ſent deputies to demand juſtice from the king, who offered to refer the deciſion of the matter to the pope. Charles the Bad wiſhed to open a negociation, in the hope of embarraſſing the court, and of procuring ſome compenſation; but all his meaſures proved fruitleſs. Finding that there was no proſpect of ſucceſs, he was obliged to deſiſt; and this pretended refuſal to do him juſtice afterwards ſerved as a pretext to juſtify a war which, even now, he was ſecretly preparing.

A. D. 1362.] Immediately after the re-annexation of Burgundy, the king repaired thither in perſon, in order to take poſſeſſion of the province. He next repaired to Avignon, to perſuade the pope to oppoſe the projected marriage of Edmund, earl of Cambridge, ſon to the king of England, with Margaret of Flanders, widow to Philip de Rouvre, by which Edward would have acquired a farther extenſion of territory in the vicinity of France. In accompliſhing this object, John diſplayed a degree of political prudence which he ſeldom

* Chambres des Com. Mem. D, fol. 40. Recueil des Ordon. tom. iv. p. 212.

exerted; but, ſeduced by the example of the king of Cyprus, he received the croſs from the ſovereign pontiff, and engaged in two years, to march to the relief of the chriſtians in Paleſtine; a project which would have effectually completed the ruin of his kingdom.

A. D. 1363.] Edward, in the mean time, finding his new ſubjects on the continent ſtill averſe to the Engliſh government, placed them under the immediate command of the prince of Wales. The prince had lately married, by virtue of papal diſpenſation, his couſin Jane, daughter and ſole heireſs of Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Kent: when his father had conveyed to him the county of Poitou, with all the provinces in his poſſeſſion, from thence to the Pyrenees; Edward, now further inveſted him with the dignity of prince of Aquitaine, accompanied by a grant of part of Gaſcony, and of all other territories which he enjoyed in France, ſubject to feudal homage, and an annual tribute of an ounce of gold.

The prince of Wales fixed his reſidence at Bourdeaux, where he arrived in February, 1363. The nobles of that country immediately took the oath of fealty; and, by an equitable adminiſtration, he conciliated the affections of the people.

The dukes of Orleans, Anjou, Berry, and Bourbon, who had been delivered as hoſtages to Edward, gave him to underſtand, that, if removed to Calais, they might be able to defeat thoſe obſtructions which delayed the ſurrender of certain places, that had been ceded by the treaty of Bretigny. The king of England exacted from them ſuch terms as he thought would promote the object which they had engaged to accompliſh. He promiſed to releaſe them entirely, on condition, that, before the firſt of November, he ſhould receive two hundred thouſand florins, together with the territory of Belleville, and the county of Gaurre; that, in the mean time, the princes ſhould deliver to him, as a pledge, certain caſtles, with all the eſtates poſſeſſed by the duke of Orleans, in Poitou and Xaintonge, and the diſtrict of Beaurayn, in Ponthieu; and that, in caſe they ſhould fail to procure the ſurrender of Belleville and Gaure, they ſhould return to London, but the lands given as a pledge ſhould remain to Edward. The princes complying with theſe terms, were conveyed to Calais.

This convention had been ſigned during John's reſidence at Avignon. He confirmed it, but ſent it to the dauphin, whom he had appointed his lieutenant during his abſence. That prince, having taken the advice of the prelates, nobles, and members of his council, repreſented to his father, that it was impoſſible to accept a treaty ſo prejudicial to France, with the only view of procuring the liberation of the princes, *who ought already to have been releaſed*. This refuſal prevented the princes from complying with the terms of the convention. The duke of Anjou broke his parole, and eſcaped to Paris.

When the king was informed of his ſon's conduct, he reproved him, and reſolved to repair to England in perſon, to concert meaſures with Edward for

the accompliſhing of the treaty. In vain did his miniſters repreſent to him the danger and imprudence of ſuch a ſtep*; he remained ſteady to his purpoſe. At this juncture, John inveſted his ſon Philip with the duchy and county of Burgundy.

The king, after he had put Philip in poſſeſſion of his new appanage, repaired to Amiens, where he had convened an aſſemble of the ſtates general of the Langue d'Oyl, as well for the purpoſe of regulating the mode of collecting the impoſt, that had been granted for the payment of his ranſom, as for the abolition of various abuſes that had crept into the kingdom, during the late calamities†. All princes, noblemen, towns, and communities were forbidden to levy, in future, any arbitrary tolls or duties, on goods and merchandiſe paſſing through their reſpective territories. This prohibition had become highly neceſſary, ſince all internal commerce was nearly deſtroyed, from the goods being liable to be ſtopped at every town, and at every bridge. As the king of Navarre was evidently preparing for hoſtilities, all private wars were forbidden throughout the kingdom. Soon after the prorogation of the ſtates, John repaired to London, where he arrived about Chriſtmas, 1363, and was received by Edward, and the nobility of England, with all the reſpect that was due to his rank and character.

But, though the motive which induced the king to quit his dominions was highly laudable, yet his preſence was never more neceſſary than at this period. He had been long appriſed of the hoſtile deſign of Charles the Bad. The captal de Buche, on whom the king of Navarre had conferred the title of his lieutenant, had engaged ſeveral of the companies in his ſervice, entered Touraine, and directed his courſe towards Normandy. His officers publicly boaſted that they were going to wage war with the king of France. The *companies*, which were left in Languedoc, hoiſted the ſtandard of Navarre, and commenced hoſtilities in the name of Charles the Bad. The irruption was ſuſpended by the illneſs of the captal, during which, a part of his troops diſbanded; but the king of Navarre purſued his plans with unremitting vigour.

A. D. 1364.] The duke of Normandy, who acted as lieutenant-general of the kingdom in the abſence of his father, did not behold with tranquillity the motions of Charles. He ſent John de Chalons, count of Auxerre, and Bertrand du Gueſclin, to attack the places belonging to the king of Navarre in Normandy‡. Du Gueſclin took the town of Mantes by ſtratagem, laid ſiege to the

* Charles, at the time of making this obſervation, muſt have known it to be founded on falſehood, ſince it was expreſsly ſtipulated that the hoſtages ſhould remain *in England, till all the articles of the treaty had been fulfilled*; it being even provided, that, in caſe any of them ſhould *die*, or eſcape, others ſhould be ſent to replace them. And, it is certain, that but a ſmall portion of the ranſom had yet been paid; and alſo, as it appears from this very convention, that all the places agreed to be ceded had not yet been ſurrendered.

† Tréſor des Chartres, reg. 95, piéce 130. Reg. et du Parlem. fol. 53. Receuil des Ordonnances, t. iii. p. 646. ‡ Froiſſard. Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Chron. MS.

caſtle, and carried it by aſſault. Meulan being taken ſoon after, the navigation of the Seine, below Paris, was ſecured.

On the eighth of April, 1364, the day on which du Gueſclin took Mantes, John died, at London, in the Savoy; in the forty-ſixth year of his age*, and fifteenth of his reign.

John, at the commencement of his reign, was violent, impeteous and vindictive; the ſplendour of his power ſeems for a while to have dazzled his judgment; and his father had ſet him examples of cruelty and injuſtice which he was but too ready to follow. His diſpoſition experienced a moſt ſalutary change; and, during the latter years of his reign, he was meek, humble, and humane. His virtues ſhone forth in all their native luſtre; generous, frank, liberal, and pious; heroically brave; inviolably faithful to his word; conſtant in his attachment; the friend, in ſhort, of honour, truth, and juſtice. His conduct met its due reward, in the affection of his ſubjects, and the eſteem and reſpect of his enemies.

The funeral of John was celebrated with great ſplendour and ſolemnity by the Engliſh. The body was afterwards conveyed to France, and interred, with thoſe of his predeceſſors, in the abbey of St. Denis. John had, by his firſt wife, Bonne of Bohemia, four ſons and four daughters; Charles, who ſucceeded him in the throne; Lewis, duke of Anjou; John, duke of Berry; Philip, duke of Burgundy; Jane, queen of Navarre; Mary, ducheſs of Bar; Iſabella, wife of Galeas Viſconti; and Margaret, a nun at Poiſſy.

John was fond of literature, and extended his protection and bounty to its profeſſors†. He had cauſed a great part of the Bible and ſeveral other pious works, to be tranſlated into French. The firſt tranſlation of the decades of Livy into French was undertaken at his command. Saluſt, Lucan, and the commentaries of Cæſar were alſo tranſlated during this reign.

CHARLES,

SURNAMED THE WISE.

A. D. 1364.] BEFORE we enter on the events of the preſent reign, it may not be amiſs to take a ſlight view of the political and civil government of the kingdom. The principal ſtrength of the French armies conſiſted in their cavalry. Every ſoldier, by profeſſion, fought on horſeback. The knights were

* Father Anſelem, Villaret. † Mem. de Litt. vol. 17.

held in the higheſt eſteem: beſides all poſts in the army, and in adminiſtration, they held the principal places in the courts of law. Every poſſible honour was paid them; all games, plays, and feſtivals, had ſome relation to their inſtitution. Their privileges were innumerable, nor could they be degraded from their dignity, unleſs for ſome act of infamy. Even a knight who had taken holy orders was permitted to marry.

The ſpirit of chivalry aroſe from the ſtate of ſociety at this period. The feudal ſtate conſiſted of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy. The weak and unarmed were continually expoſed to inſults or injuries. The power of the ſovereign was too limited to prevent theſe wrongs; and the adminiſtration of juſtice was too feeble to redreſs them. There was almoſt no protection againſt violence and oppreſſion, but what the valour and generoſity of individuals afforded. The ſpirit of enterpriſe which prompted ſo many gentlemen to take arms in defence of the oppreſſed pilgrims in Paleſtine, incited others to declare themſelves the patrons and avengers of injured innocence at home. When the final reduction of the Holy Land, under the dominion of infidels, put an end to theſe foreign expeditions, the latter was the only employment left for the activity and courage of adventurers. To check the inſolence of overgrown oppreſſors; to ſuccour the diſtreſſed; to reſcue the helpleſs from captivity; to protect, or to avenge women, orphans, and eccleſiaſtics, who could not bear arms in their own defence; to redreſs wrongs, and to remove grievances; were deemed acts of the higheſt proweſs and merit. Valour, humanity, courteſy, juſtice, and honour, were the characteriſtic qualities of chivalry. To theſe were added religion, which mingled itſelf with every paſſion and inſtitution during the middle ages; and, by infuſing a large proportion of enthuſiaſtic zeal, carried them to romantic exceſs. Men were trained to knighthood by a long previous diſcipline; they were admitted into the order by ſolemnities devout and pompous; every perſon of noble birth courted that honour; it was deemed a diſtinction ſuperior to royalty; and monarchs were proud to receive it from the hands of private gentlemen*.

The faults of knights were puniſhed with greater ſeverity than thoſe of other men. If they chanced to become the objects of judicial reprehenſion, more heavy fines were impoſed on them than on ſimple eſquires. Their military ſervices were double†. Ever in action, their lives ſeemed to be one continual combat; they engaged in any enterpriſe either uſeful or honourable; and the opportunities that occurred for ſignaliſing their courage, though frequent, were yet inſufficient to ſatisfy their thirſt for glory.

This inſtitution, in which valour, gallantry, and religion, were blended, was

* Robertſon's Hiſt. of the reign of Charles the Fifth, vol. i. p. 83, 84. Diſſert. ſur l'ancienne chevalerie, par M. de la Curne de Sainte-Palaye.

† The knights, in 1411, at the ſiege of Dun-le-Roy, were ordered to carry eight faſcines, while the eſquires were only obliged to carry four. *Mem. de Litt.* tom. xx, p. 267. M. de Sainte-Palaye, ubi ſupra.

adapted to the taſte and genius of martial nobles; and its effects were ſoon viſible in their manners. War was carried on with leſs ſeverity, when humanity came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood. Some exceptions, indeed, will occur to this obſervation, in the military tranſactions of the times which we are delineating; but ſtill, in its general application, it will be found to be juſt. More gentle and poliſhed manners were introduced, when courteſy was recommended as the moſt amiable of knightly virtues. Violence and oppreſſion deereaſed, when it was eſteemed meritorious to check and to puniſh them. A ſcrupulous adherence to truth, with the moſt religious attention to fulfil every engagement, became the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of a gentleman; becauſe chivalry was regarded as the ſchool of honour, and inculcated the moſt delicate ſenſibility with reſpect to that point. Perhaps, the humanity which often accompanies operations of war, the refinements of gallantry, and the point of honour, the three chief circumſtances which diſtinguiſh modern from ancient manners, may be aſcribed, in a great meaſure, to this inſtitution. The ſentiments which chivalry inſpired had a powerful influence on manners and conduct during the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. They were ſo deeply rooted, that they continued to operate after the vigour and reputation of the inſtitution itſelf began to decline*.

But though ſuch were the political and permanent effects of the ſpirit of chivalry, yet, long before the completion of that period during which its beneficial conſequences were moſt ſenſibly felt, many abuſes had crept into the inſtitution and many local and temporary inconveniences were experienced from it. One principal cauſe of its degradation and decline, was the ignorance to which its profeſſors habituated themſelves. The knights, in the primitive purity of their order, were compelled to ſtudy letters as well as arms; unfortunately, the former part of their education became inſenſibly neglected, and military exerciſes were ſuffered to form their only occupation. The moſt learned of them could ſcarcely read; any degree of literary knowledge was deemed incompatible with the character of a gentleman; and almoſt conſidered as a certain indication of plebianiſm. This neglect was productive of imprudence and indocility; and knights were ſoon led to reject all reſtraint, but what was impoſed on them by the conventional laws of their fraternity. Their religion degenerated into ſuperſtitious practices, degrading in their nature, and often prejudicial in their effects.

Diſſipation, alike produced by the extremes of ignorance and refinement, though not in an equal degree, ruined the fortunes of the knights, to repair which they had recourſe to every expedient not abſolutely repugnant to the rules of chivalry. A ſpirit of plunder thence became prevalent; and courage, which ſhould only proceed from principles of honour, was excited by avidity of gain.

* Robertſon.

Another cauſe of the decline of chivalry, was a deviation from its original inſtitution, in the facility with which knights came to be created, and in the numbers that by this means gained admiſſion into the order. It became cuſtomary to confer the honour of knighthood, in the field of battle, before the action began.

Theſe frequent abuſes had already rendered too common that title, which, in order to preſerve its original luſtre, ſhould have been beſtowed with circumſpection. The inſtitution of the order of the Star, conferred on whole cities, ſuch as Paris and Rochelle, and proſtituted to farce-players, buffoons, and minſtrels, greatly diminiſhed the ſplendour of knighthood in France.

One of the greateſt vices of chivalry was, the cuſtom introduced of making private excurſions into foreign countries, for the purpoſe of ſignaliſing their valour. It was chiefly ſuch as were newly admitted that ſallied forth in queſt of adventures. The avowed object of theſe knights-errant, whoſe wild exploits have been treated with proper ridicule, was, to protect innocence, to redreſs wrongs, and particularly to devote themſelves to the ſervice of the ladies. The ſuperior beauty of their miſtreſſes they offered to maintain againſt all ſuch as dared to diſpute it. Among theſe pilgrims, many made no ſcruple to profit by the reſpect in which their profeſſion was held. The hope of booty proved a powerful incitement to their courage. The horſes, arms, and whole ſpoils of the vanquiſhed became the prey of the victors. Thus ſtimulated, many gentlemen turned highwaymen, levied contributions on the inhabitants of the country, and plundered travellers. A few ſoldiers of fortune, and people of the lower claſs, in imitation of their ſuperiors, aſſumed the maſk, and encaſed themſelves with iron, in violation of the laws of chivalry, which forbade ſuch armour to all but knights. Theſe new plunderers formed aſſociations among themſelves, and ſoon became ſo formidable, that monarchs were forced to purchaſe their ſervices or forbearance. The honour of knighthood could not be refuſed to men who had *ſuch* means of enforcing reſpect.

The habits of independence in which the knights were educated, rendered them more fit for ſingle combats than for general actions, were ſucceſs depends as much on the unanimous co-operation of the whole, as on the courage of individuals. In battle, their valour was exerted leſs with the view to decide the victory in favour of their own party, than with that of achieving ſome ſignal exploit, or of taking ſome illuſtrious priſoner. To diſplay their courage, or to encreaſe their fortune, was then their only object. They were often ſeen to quit the ranks in order to attack ſome warrior more conſpicuous than the reſt; and, if they made him ſurrender, they immediately diſappeared, through fear of loſing their prey. To the perpetual diſorders occaſioned by theſe irregular motions muſt be added the confuſion cauſed by the eſquires who accompanied their maſters in the field, as quiet ſpectators of the battle, in order to carry their arms, to hold their horſes, and to aſſiſt them in remounting whenever

they were unhorſed. When an army thus encumbered was once broken, the confuſion muſt have been dreadful, and an attempt to rally them fruitleſs.

The Engliſh had, in theſe reſpects, no advantage over the French, but the ſkill of their archers gave them a decided ſuperiority. To theſe troops, which the ſpirit of chivalry held in contempt, were they principally indebted for their victories of Crecy and Poictiers. The French archers were ſo unſkilful, that the nation choſe to hire foreigners. The Engliſh, on the contrary, encouraged archery as much as poſſible, and the archers had attained to a degree of excellence which it was difficult to ſurpaſs. The French were aware of their ſuperiority, and to evade it, they diſmounted their men at arms, who could not move without difficulty, ſinking as they were beneath the weight of their armour.

Such was the ſtate of the French troops in the fourteenth century; it is needleſs to mention the militia, who were all raw troops, undiſciplined, and almoſt unarmed. They marched into the field under the banners of their reſpective pariſhes, and were almoſt certain of being cut to pieces by the enemy.

The offenſive arms were nearly the ſame as had been uſed for a long time; ſuch as the lance, the ſword, the poignard, the battle-axe, the club, the bow, the croſs-bow, &c. Shields of different dimenſions formed the chief defenſive arms. Halberts had fallen into diſuſe. No material change had taken place in the attack or defence of towns. Though gunpowder and cannon were known, they were ſeldom employed, from a want of ſkill to uſe them with effect, or from attachment to more familiar weapons.

France was better peopled in thoſe times, than in the preſent age. At the commencement of the reign of Philip of Valois, there were no leſs than two millions five hundred thouſand hearths, in the king's demeſnes only, which were ſubject to the tax. Theſe demeſnes did not conſtitute near a third of that ſpace which formed the late kingdom. It may be affirmed, without exaggeration, that France, at that period, contained eight millions of hearths; ſo that, reckoning three perſons to each hearth, there muſt have been twenty-four millions of inhabitants, without counting the ſecular and eccleſiaſtical lordſhips, which were not included in the enumeration. When to theſe exceptions are added the ſerfs, the clergy, conſiſting of an immenſe multitude of eccleſiaſtics, nuns, and friars; the univerſities; and the whole body of nobility, all of whom were exempted from the tax, the human ſpecies will appear to have diminiſhed in the ſpace of four centuries.

Much pains had been taken, during the late reigns, to correct abuſes and to reform errors, by many ſalutary edicts, and prudent regulations, yet the kingdom was not in a more flouriſhing ſtate than before. Juſtice appears to have been tolerably adminiſtered by the parliaments, but the inferior juriſdictions were not famous for their attention to the rules of law and principles of equity.

In the preceding reigns, the value of money had undergone innumerable variations*. The monarchs, tempted by the facility of this reſource, had too frequent recourſe to it, ever promiſing that each change ſhould be the laſt. The king always fixed the price of gold and ſilver, by a royal edict. Thus, if a new coinage were ordered when the mark of ſilver was worth eight livres five ſols, and the old money received at the mint, at the rate only of ſeven livres the mark, the king had a profit of twenty-five ſols. In one year there were no leſs than eleven new coinages; ſo that the king muſt have gained thirteen livres fifteen ſols per mark, on all the money that was coined throughout the kingdom. Numerous inconveniences attended this deſtructive mode of raiſing money; ſuch as the ſudden augmentation or diminution of the value of the current coin; the malverſation of officers, and the frequent adulteration, the ſecret of which was confined to the maſters and workmen of the mint, who were bound to obſerve it under the ſevereſt penalties. Such continual breeches of faith deſtroyed all credit, public and private; annihilated commerce; and encouraged coiners. Foreigners introduced falſe coin into the kingdom, and enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of France. Money diſappeared, the people became poor, and, by a neceſſary conſequence, the ſovereign partook of their indigence.

While the new monarch repaired to Rheims to celebrate his coronation, his troops, under du Gueſclin, reduced the caſtle of Rouboiſe, which opened the communication by water between Rouen and the capital. The king of Navarre, in the mean time, ſent for the captal de Buche, who arrived in Normandy, and put himſelf at the head of his troops: while Charles diſpatched a body of men at arms, to reinforce du Gueſclin, who had now the command of twelve hundred; a force which determined him to go in queſt of the enemy. The captal, being equally eager to engage, kept along the left ſide of the river Eure, and drew up his troops on a riſing ground, not far from Cocherel.

Du Gueſclin extended the front of his little army, to make it appear more numerous than it really was; for which reaſon, the captal reſolved to wait for a reinforcement of four hundred lances, which were on their march to join him. The French were expoſed to the heat of the ſun, and in great want of proviſions, while the Navarreſe, ſhaded by a wood, had abundance of every thing. Du Gueſclin, ordered a retreat to be ſounded; and, ſending the baggage over the river, put his troops in motion. The enemy, concluded that victory was their own; and, rejecting the advice of their leader, who ſaw through the ſtratagem, haſtened into the plain, where the French ſuddenly turned about; and, as it was impoſſible to recover their ſtation, a general action enſued. Du Gueſclin, animated his men by his exhortations and example; and the captal diſplayed equal courage and prudence, in attempting to remedy what he had been

* Recueil des Ordonn, Mém, de la Chambre des Comptes,

unable to prevent. Attacked, however, by thirty knights of Gaſcony, who had aſſociated for the purpoſe of taking him priſoner, he was ſurrounded; and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, compelled to ſurrender. The capture of their leader diffuſed a general conſternation throughout the Navarreſe army, who were ſeverely puniſhed for their want of ſubordination. This battle was fought on the nineteenth of May, 1364, three days before the coronation of Charles.

Charles, on his acceſſion to the throne, confirmed the appanage beſtowed by his father on his youngeſt brother Philip, of the duchy of Burgundy; that prince accordingly did homage to him for that territory, and, at the ſame time, reſigned the duchy of Touraine, with which he had been inveſted three years before.

The authority of the courts of juſtice ceaſed the moment that the king died; and the magiſtrates could not re-aſſume their functions without the conſent of the new monarch; Charles, therefore, as ſoon as he was informed of his father's death, haſtened to confirm all the judges and other officers of juſtice in their reſpective ſtations. By an edict, iſſued ſoon after his acceſſion, all advocates and attornies were expreſsly enjoined to aſſiſt the poor with their advice, and to plead for them, without requiring any fee; and the officers of the court of requeſts were ordered to carry on, gratis, the cauſes of ſuch as were unable to pay the expences of a law-ſuit. It was impoſſible to carry ſuch an edict, into practice.

Charles ſettled the county of Longueville on du Gueſclin and his heirs, on condition of maintaining fifty men at arms, during the war. The new count went ſoon after to take poſſeſſion of his lordſhip, by force of arms; the Navarreſe were ſtill maſters of the caſtle of Longueville, which he reduced. When du Gueſclin ſet out on this expedition, he aſſured the king that he was determined to clear the kingdom of all its enemies; and particularly of thoſe bands of adventurers which ſtill continued to infeſt it. But he encouraged his own troops to commit depredations in Normandy, and to levy contributions, indiſcriminately, on friends and enemies*.

As the late king had ſubmitted the pretenſions of the king of Navarre to the duchy of Burgundy, to the arbitration of the pope, Charles gave inſtructions to his ambaſſadors, at the court of Avignon, to conform to the intentions of his father, and to aſſure his holineſs, that his brother Philip would abide by his deciſion. He ſent that prince, in the mean time, into Normandy, with five thouſand men at arms, which the duke of Burgundy divided into three bodies; the firſt, and the moſt conſiderable, he reſerved for himſelf, and the two others he entruſted to du Gueſclin, and John Bureau de la Riviere, the king's favourite, and adminiſtrator of the finances.

* Villaret, t. x. p. 43.

While the duke of Burgundy was employed in the reduction of ſeveral other places occupied by the Navarreſe; la Riviere laid waſte the diſtrict of Evreux, and du Gueſclin ſpread terror throughout the Cotentin*. The caſtle of Valognes was the only place that made the ſmalleſt reſiſtance. Du Gueſclin battered the walls with all the machines that were then in uſe, but could make little impreſſion; the garriſon, at length, conſented to capitulate. But, as they were marching out, with their baggage and effects, agreeably to the terms of capitulation, they were reviled and inſulted by the French. Eight Engliſh knights, who were with the garriſon, enraged at this illiberal treatment, re-entered the fort, to defend it to the laſt extremity: they diſplayed the moſt deſperate courage in reſiſting the attacks of the beſiegers; but, at laſt, they were conſtrained to yeild, when du Gueſclin cauſed them all to be beheaded.

The rapidity with which the French purſued their conqueſts appeared to promiſe a ſpeedy termination to the war; but the king was prevented from improving the advantages he had gained, by two unexpected events†. The count de Montbelliard, having entered Burgundy, Philip was compelled to leave Normandy, in order to defend that duchy from inſult; and, about the ſame time, the preſence of du Gueſclin was required in Brittany, where the conteſt between the rival houſes of Blois and Montfort was renewed, with additional fury. At length, a peace was made between the parties. It was agreed, that both the competitors ſhould enjoy the title and prerogatives of the duke of Brittany; and that Rennes and Nantes ſhould be the capitals of their reſpective territories. Hoſtages were interchanged; peace was proclaimed; and joy was thus diffuſed throughout the province.

The counteſs of Penthievre, ſpouſe to Charles of Blois, was exaſperated at this treaty. By her inſtigation, Charles, inſtead of his ratification of the treaty, ſent his retractation to Montfort, who loudly complained of this breach of faith. He reſtored, however, all the hoſtages, except du Gueſclin, who ſoon found means to eſcape to France; whence he was ſent into Normandy, and achieved thoſe conqueſts we have related above.

Both parties prepared once more to decide their quarrel by arms. At the expiration of a ſhort truce, which had been concluded between them, they both took the field. Montfort, after he had reduced ſome fortreſſes, inveſted Auray; and Charles, being appriſed of the danger to which that place was reduced, aſſembled his troops, with a view of forcing his rival to raiſe the ſiege.

Montfort, by the advice of the nobles of his party, ſent a herald to Charles, to demand the execution of the late treaty, and to proteſt, that he ſhould think himſelf juſtified, before God and men, with regard to any evils which a

* When du Gueſclin approached, every body fled before him; the inhabitants of the country took refuge in the walled towns, and called aloud to the centinels to ſhut the gates, *for the devil was coming.* Vie MS. de du Gueſclin.

† Chron. MS. Froiſſard, D'Argentré Hiſt. de Bret. Spicil. Cont. Nang.

refuſal, to comply with a demand ſo reaſonable, might produce. Charles of Blois diſmiſſed the herald without an anſwer, and pitched his camp within ſight of the enemy.

The two armies were ſeparated by a meadow, interſected by a rivulet. The lord of Beaumanoir made a laſt effort to promote an accommodation, but it proved fruitleſs, and each ſide prepared for action. Charles's army was left to the conduct of du Gueſclin; the right wing of which was commanded by that nobleman, the left by the counts of Auxerre and Joigny, and the centre by Charles himſelf. The diſpoſition of Montfort's army being left to lord Chandos—who had been ſent to his relief by Edward, with a ſmall body of Engliſh archers and men at arms—he placed Sir Robert Knolles oppoſite to du Gueſclin; oppoſed Oliver de Cliſſon to the count of Auxerre; put Montfort at the head of the main body; and entruſted the corps-de-reſerve to the conduct of ſir Hugh Calverly. Chandos ſtationed himſelf near Montfort, but took no particular command, that he might be the better enabled to ſuperintend the motions of the whole body. The army of Montfort conſiſted of ſixteen hundred men at arms, and from eight to nine hundred archers; that of his opponent, of two thouſand five hundred men at arms, and from a thouſand to twelve hundred archers*.

When the two armies were on the point of engaging, Montfort ordered the treaty of the Landes to be read aloud, requeſting all the noblemen of his party freely to decide on the equity of his claims, and declaring that he would immediately renounce all his pretenſions, if it were there opinion that he ought ſo to do. He was interrupted by a general acclamation; and the whole army proteſted they would fight for him to the laſt. After thanking them for this proof of their affection, he threw himſelf on the ground, and addreſſed a fervent prayer to heaven.

On the twenty-ninth of September, 1364, was the fate of Brittany decided, by the battle of Auray. But, though greater fury was never diſplayed in any battle, no troops were ever leſs eager to engage. The nobles were fatigued with a war, as tedious in its progreſs, as fatal in its effects. Montfort offered to purchaſe a peace by ceding one half of his claims, and Charles of Blois would willingly have acepted the propoſal, had not his affection for an ambitious wife overcome every other conſideration.

The two armies awaited, in ſilence, the ſignal. Lord Chandos prevented his troops from advancing the firſt; and Montfort, reſtraining his native impetuoſity, followed the advice of the Engliſh general. Du Gueſclin could not obtain the ſame influence over Charles of Blois; that prince, led away by his courage, was deaf to the ſuggeſtions of prudence; he put the body which he commanded in motion, and, paſſing the rivulet, compelled the reſt of his army to follow

* Cont. de Nang. p. 901. & ſuiv. Froiſſard, p. 226, 227.

him. Montfort ſeeing him approach, advanced to meet him, but ſlowly and in good order. As the troops were ranged very cloſe together, and covered with their ſhields, the archers could do little or no execution with their arrows; and, after the firſt diſcharge, they retired into the ranks, and mingled with the men at arms. The action then became general; the whole line of either army being engaged at the ſame inſtant. Where Montfort and Charles commanded in perſon, the battle raged with uncommon fury; thoſe princes, indeed, had the moſt powerful motives for exertion, as not only their fortunes but their lives depended on the event of that day; for the Bretons had come to a reſolution to ackowledge for their duke whichever ſhould prove victorious, and to terminate the war by putting the vanquiſhed to death. Montfort made one of his attendants wear armour exactly ſimilar to his own; Charles, deceived by his appearance, attacked him with impetuoſity, laid him dead at his feet, and exclaimed aloud—*That his rival was dead!* Montfort ſoon convinced him of his error. Charles, however, renewed his attack with ſuch vigour, that the ſtandard of his rival was beaten down, and his main body compelled to retire. At that moment Calverly, purſuant to the directions of Chandos, advanced; and, by giving a ſeaſonable check to the enemy, afforded Montfort an opportunity of rallying his diviſion, which being effected, the former retired to his firſt ſtation. Chandos and Cliſſon, in the mean time, ran from rank to rank, animating their troops by exhortation and example; while du Gueſclin ſought to counteract their meaſures, by the moſt ſignal exertions of valour and ſkill. Victory long remained doubtful; but the count of Auxerre being wounded and taken priſoner, the body he commanded was thrown into confuſion; and Oliver de Cliſſon, attacking them with great fury, put moſt of them to the ſword, and drove the reſt off the field. Calverly then made a circuit, and fell upon the flank of the main body, which was ſpeedily routed and diſperſed; Charles, in vain, endeavoured to rally them. At length an Engliſh knight plunged his ſword into his throat; his laſt words were—"I have long waged war againſt my conſcience."—His natural ſon, John of Blois, was ſlain at his ſide.

The news of Charles's death was ſpeedily circulated throughout either army; the partiſans of Montfort redoubled their efforts; while thoſe of his unfortunate competitor felt their ardour relax, from deſpair of ſupporting a party that had now loſt its chief. Du Gueſclin, though covered with wounds, and weakened with loſs of blood, continued to fight, till lord Chandos approached and exhorted him to ſurrender. The battle then ceaſed.

The loſs on Montfort's ſide is ſaid not to have exceeded twenty men; but, when the fury of the combatants be conſidered, ſuch an aſſertion appears incredible.

The noblemen, who were attached to Charles of Blois, being liberated, by his death, from their obligation of fealty, reſigned themſelves to the triumph of his rival. The governor of Vannes, opened its gates to him; and the whole pro-

vince inclined to ſubmit to the conqueror. By the mediation of the king of France, and the advice of the king of England, a treaty was ſoon ſigned.

By this treaty the widow of Charles of Blois renounced her pretenſions to the duchy of Brittany; in return ſhe was permitted to retain the county of Penthievre, and viſcounty of Limoges; and a penſion of ten thouſand livres tournois to her and her heirs, together with a life-annuity of three thouſand livres, were ſettled on her*. In conſequence of this renunciation the duchy of Brittany was adjudged to the count of Montfort and his heirs male. In default of poſterity, it was to deſcend to the houſe of Penthievre; with an expreſs excluſion, however, to females, as long as there were males capable of ſucceeding. Montfort farther engaged to procure the releaſe of John, ſon to Charles of Blois, who was then in England; to give him his ſiſter in marriage; and to furniſh a hundred thouſand livres for his ranſom, to be raiſed by taxes on the people of Brittany; but this laſt article was never fulfilled. The treaty was guaranteed by the kings of France and England, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Anjou.

Montfort ſent Oliver de Cliſſon to Paris, to deſire that the king would permit the ceremony of performing homage to be deferred till the enſuing Midſummer; when it took place with all the uſual forms. Soon after, the new duke of Brittany, who had buried his firſt wife, Mary, daughter to Edward, by whom he had no children, married, with the conſent of that monarch, Jane, daughter to the princeſs of Wales, by her firſt huſband, Sir Thomas Holland.

A. D. 1365.] The grand diſpute, with regard to the ſucceſſion of Brittany, being thus brought to a concluſion; the only enemy whom Charles had now to encounter was the king of Navarre. The widows of Charles the Fair, and Philip of Valois, ſtill interpoſed their good offices in his favour†; and the captal de Buche ſucceſsfully exerted, in his ſervice, the credit and influence that he derived from the friendſhip and eſteem with which he was honoured by the king. After ſeveral conferences, the conditions of peace were at length ſettled. All the places which had been taken by the French in Normandy were reſtored; the renunciations of the ancient claims of the houſe of Evreux, on Champagne and Brie, were renewed and confirmed; and the diſcuſſion of the rights of the king of Navarre to the duchy of Burgundy was referred to the pope. By one of the articles it was ſtipulated, that the captal de Buche ſhould be releaſed without a ranſom: the king, anxious to retain that gallant leader in his ſervice, beſtowed on him the lordſhip of Nemours; but the captal, by the advice of his friend and patron, the prince of Wales, reſtored the gift, and, at the ſame time, retracted the homage he had done for it.

* Froiſſard. Argentré. Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Chron. MS. de Charles le Sage. Tréſor des Char. Layette. *Britan*, 284.

† Tréſor des Char. Lay. 4 de *Navarra*. Mem. de Litt. Froiſſard, Chron. MS, &c.

The general peace had been attended, as uſual in thoſe times, with an evil not leſs alarming than the calamities of war. The kingdom was again expoſed to the depredations of a deſperate banditti, whoſe numbers were prodigiouſly encreaſed; to France they gave the name of *their chamber*, becauſe it was the uſual place of their reſidence; and it was no eaſy matter to diſlodge them, as the battle of Brignais had ſufficiently demonſtrated the folly of oppoſing raw recruits—and France could now furniſh no other—to veteran troops, regularly trained to the profeſſion of arms, which formed the ſole occupation of their lives, and the only means of their ſubſiſtence.

Different expedients had been tried, without ſucceſs, for removing this alarming evil. Lewis, king of Hungary, would have allured theſe *companies* into his ſervice, as he was then at war with the Wallachians, Tranſylvanians, Croats, and Tartars. With this view he wrote to the pope, the king of France, and the prince of Wales, who propoſed the expedition to their principal leaders, with a promiſe to ſupply them with money, and every thing requiſite for their journey. But, after deliberating among themſelves, they rejected the propoſal. The attempt to engage them in a cruſade to Paleſtine, projected by the king of Cyprus, proved equally unſucceſsful.

The evil, in the mean time, far from diminiſhing, daily acquired freſh force. The *companies* were no longer compoſed merely of thieves and adventurers; they were now joined by a vaſt number of knights and gentlemen, and even by noblemen of the firſt diſtinction, who were not aſhamed to degrade their rank and character by deeds of violence and outrage. The miſtaken policy of ſovereigns had contributed, in no ſmall degree, to perpetuate this evil. They had been long accuſtomed to grant penſions to military men, for ſupplying them with a certain number of men at arms, when they might, at leſs expence, have maintained regular bodies of troops, more uſeful in war, and leſs dangerous in peace. As ſoon as a man at arms had acquired a reputation for valour, he ſet up his ſervices to ſale, became the chief of a company, which he diſpoſed of at his pleaſure, and acquired the privilege of fighting for whichever party would pay him beſt. No commiſſion was requiſite to enable him to raiſe or augment his troop; ſuch levies not being made in the king's name, it was not in the power of the ſovereign to diſmiſs them at his will.

After pillaging Champagne, the Barrois, and Lorraine, the *companies* penetrated into Alſace, and extended their depredations even to the frontiers of Germany. They then returned the ſame way, and prepared to carry their incurſions into the heart of the kingdom. Charles found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of making application to the king of England, who, by one of the articles of the treaty of Bretigny, was bound to aſſiſt him. Edward made immediate preparations for an expedition into France; but Charles, alarmed at the number of his forces, and fearing that, inſtead of affording him protection, they might be employed for purpoſes of hoſtility, ſent him word that his aſſiſ-

tance was no longer neceſſary. Edward, though juſtly offended at a meſſage which betrayed ſuſpicions of his honour, diſbanded his army*. The embarraſſment, in which the king and his council were involved, was fortunately removed by the arrival of Henry, count of Tranſtamare.

Pedro, king of Caſtile, had incurred the univerſal hatred of his ſubjects, by a continued repetition of violent and barbarous actions. Three natural ſons of Alphonſo the Eleventh had periſhed by his hand; he had laviſhed the blood of his nobles; and there was ſcarcely a duty, either moral or religious, that he had not frequently violated. Inſtigated by Mary de Padilla, he confined his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, ſiſter to the queen of France, in the caſtle of Xeres, and ſoon after poiſoned her, that, by her death, he might be at liberty to marry his miſtreſs.

Henry, count of Tranſtamare, his natural brother, took up arms againſt him; but, being foiled in the attempt, he took refuge in France, and propoſed to the king to conclude the treaty which had been projected in the laſt reign, by which he offered to enliſt all the *companies* in his ſervice†. This propoſal was gladly accepted by Charles; and Bertrand du Gueſclin, who was ſtill a priſoner at war was appointed to command theſe deſperate adventurers. Lord Chandos required a hundred thouſand livres for his ranſom, forty thouſand of which were paid by the king and the pope, and the Caſtilian prince furniſhed the reſt.

The care of engaging the *companies*, who then lay encamped in the environs of Chalons-upon-Saone, to the amount of thirty thouſand men, to paſs into Spain, was entruſted to du Gueſclin, who undertook, for a certain ſum, to make them all leave France. He ſent a herald to aſk a ſafe-conduct from their leaders, and the moment he received it he haſtened to their camp. To have employed the arts of negociation with men who were ſolely actuated by preſent intereſt, would have been uſeleſs. Gueſclin, therefore, contented himſelf with expatiating, with the blunt frankneſs of a ſoldier, on the diſorders of their life. "*Both you and I*," ſaid he, "*have done ſufficient to damn our ſouls, and you may* "*even boaſt of having done more than me; it is now time, therefore, to honour* "*God, and leave the devil!*" This laconic exhortation was accompanied by arguments more perſuaſive; he allured them by the proſpect of plunder: held out to their view the treaſures of the Caſtilian monarch, delivered to their diſcretion; and made them an offer of two hundred thouſand livres, to be immediately paid by the king of France: he concluded his harangue by announcing his intention of conducting them to Avignon, to pay a viſit to his holineſs, before they entered on the Spaniſh territories. Theſe temptations were too powerful to be reſiſted. The treaty was immediately concluded; and the chiefs of the *companies* repaired to Paris to pay their reſpects to the king, who paid-

* Walſingham, p. 178.

† Hiſt. of Spain, by Mariana and Ferreras.

them the ſtipulated ſum, treated them with magnificence, and loaded them with preſents at their departure.

As ſoon as the projected expedition to Spain was made public, the *companies* were joined by ſeveral knights and noblemen. The young count de la Marche, John de Bourbon, was appointed by the king to command the expedition, but he was only the nominal general, as he had orders, to follow, in every thing, the advice of du Gueſclin.

Du Gueſclin took the road to Provence. Pope Urban had no reaſon to expect this viſit; and, when the army drew near to Avignon, he ſent a cardinal to menace them with excommunication, unleſs they immediately left the territories of the church. The cardinal was told, by du Gueſclin, that his ſoldiers muſt firſt have abſolution, and two hundred thouſand livres; the prelate anſwered that they might have as many pardons as they choſe; but, as for money, that was a different affair. Bertrand replied, that his men preferred gold to abſolution, and that he would do well to bring the ſum required without delay. The pope then extorted the money from the inhabitants of the city, and neighbourhood, and offered it to du Gueſclin; but, being informed in what manner it was raiſed, exclaimed "It is not my purpoſe to oppreſs innocent people. The "pope, and his cardinals, can themſelves well ſpare me that ſum from their own "coffers. This money, I inſiſt, muſt be reſtored to the owners; and, ſhould "they be defrauded of it, I ſhall myſelf return from the other ſide of the Pyre-"nees, and oblige you to make them reſtitution." The pope paid him the two hundred thouſand livres from his treaſury*; after which the army proceeded on their expedition.

A. D. 1366.] Du Gueſclin led his troops through Languedoc, and the ſouthern provinces of France, into Arragon, where they ſpeedily reduced the places which had been taken by the king of Caſtile from the Arragonian monarch†. Being joined by Henry of Tranſtamare he entered Caſtile, where the ſubjects of Pedro crowded to the ſtandard of his enemies. Pedro found himſelf totally forſaken; he had ſcarcely time to ſecure himſelf, his family and treaſure at Corunna; from whence he fled with precipitation to Bourdeaux, leaving Henry in poſſeſſion of his dominions: and that prince was crowned king of Caſtile, and acknowledged as ſuch by all the cities and nobility in the kingdom.

A. D. 1367 to 1369.] Pedro, on his arrival at Bourdeaux, applied for aſſiſtance to the prince of Wales. The prince, having obtained his father's conſent, gave a general invitation to the military adventurers of every country, who flocked to his ſtandard. Even the companies who had enliſted in the ſervice of Henry of Tranſtamare, in obedience to his ſummons, deſerted that prince, and repaired by thouſands to Bourdeaux. From theſe troops, Edward ſelected an army of thirty thouſand men, with which he ſet out on his enterpriſe. He was

* Hiſt. de du Gueſclin, en vers.

† Mariana; Ferreras; Ayala; Froiſſard; Chron. MS.

accompanied by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, created duke of Lancaſter, on the death of the good prince of that name, who died without any male iſſue, and whoſe daughter, an heireſs, he had married. He was likewiſe attended by the kings of Caſtile and Majorca, and by a ſplended train of Engliſh and Gaſcon nobles, at the head of whom was the gallant lord Chandos. But, as the kings of Arragon and Navarre, who ſtill adhered to the intereſts of Henry of Tranſtamare, barred his paſſage into Caſtile, it was deemed expedient to ſend ambaſſadors to the latter monarch, Charles the Bad, who perſuaded him to a conference with Pedro and the prince of Wales at Bayonne; where, in conſideration of a large ſubſidy, and the ceſſion of Guipuſcoa, Vittoria, Alava, Logrogno, Guduzen, Calahorra, and Alfaro, he not only renounced his engagements with Henry, but undertook to aſſiſt Pedro with three hundred men, and to grant him a free paſſage through his dominions.

While Pedro was occupied in his attempts to recover his crown, Henry de Tranſtamare adopted every precaution that could poſſibly tend to maintain his acquiſition. His extreme munificence to the Caſtilians had already obtained him the epithet of *Liberal;* and his continued exertions of benevolence effectually ſecured the love and eſteem of his new ſubjects. From theſe advantages he was enabled to bring one hundred thouſand men into the field. Encouraged by a ſuperiority of numbers, apparently ſo deciſive, Henry reſolved to come to action with all poſſible ſpeed, in oppoſition to the advice of du Gueſclin, and all his principal officers, and particularly to that of the mareſchal d'Andreghen, who ſtrenuouſly urged him to ſecure the paſſage of the Ebro, and by that means, cut off the enemy's proviſions.

The two armies met on the third of April, 1367, between Najara and Navarette, when a deſperate engagement took place, in which the conduct and courage of the prince of Wales were attended with their uſual ſucceſs. Henry ſuſtained a total defeat; twenty thouſand of his troops were left dead on the field, beſides five thouſand gentlemen. The priſoners were not leſs numerous; and among them were, du Gueſclin, the mareſchal d'Andreghen, the grand prior of the order of Saint Jago, the grand-maſter of Calatrava, and two thouſand French and Spaniſh knights. The loſs of the Engliſh was inconſiderable.

Pedro, in compliance with a ſavage impulſe of revenge, would have put all the priſoners to the ſword, had he not been reſtrained by the remonſtrances of the prince of Wales; who farther prevailed on him to publiſh a general offer of pardon, to ſuch of his ſubjects as would immediately return to their obedience. This offer was univerſally accepted; and Pedro replaced on his throne without farther trouble.

Though Edward had added to his military fame by this expedition, he ſoon found reaſon to repent his connection with a tyrant like Pedro; who, not leſs ungrateful than cruel, refuſed the ſtipulated pay to the army that had reſtored him to his dignity; and the prince, having paſſed the whole ſummer in Caſtile,

finding his troops daily periſhing by the exceſſive heat of the climate, and his own health conſiderably impaired, was compelled to return to Bourdeaux, without receiving ſatisfaction.

The barbarities exerciſed by Pedro over his unfortunate ſubjects, whom he now regarded as vanquiſhed rebels, revived the animoſity of the Caſtilians, and determined them to effect his deſtruction. Henry de Tranſtamare, accordingly, prepared to ſecond their endeavours; and, raiſing a new army, again entered Caſtile, reduced Calahorra and Burgos, and threatened the whole kingdom with a ſpeedy ſubjection. Du Gueſclin, in the mean time, was kept priſoner at Bourdeaux; and, as the prince of Wales had refuſed to releaſe him, it was inſinuated to him, that his refuſal was ſuſpected to proceed from his fear of a man whoſe ſuperior courage and prudence had rendered him formidable. Edward, piqued at this reproach, ordered the warrior to be brought into his preſence. "Mr. Bertrand," ſaid he, "it is pretended that I dare not releaſe "you, becauſe I am afraid of you!" "There are people who ſay as much," replied du Gueſclin; "and I think myſelf highly honoured by the opinion they "entertain of me*". The prince immediately told him to fix his own ranſom, when he named the ſum of one hundred thouſand florins, which he ſaid he could eaſily obtain from the kings of France and Caſtile, the duke of Anjou and the pope. The princeſs of Wales, who was then at Bourdeaux, being anxious to ſee du Gueſclin, invited him to dinner; and, as an unequivocal proof of the eſteem ſhe entertained for him, on account of his valour ſhe offered to pay twenty thouſand livres towards his ranſom. Du Gueſclin, bending his knee before her, ſaid, "*Madam, I have ever thought myſelf the ugliеſt knight that* "*the world could produce, but I now find that I no longer ought to hold myſelf* "*in ſuch low eſtimation.*" Edward was pleaſed with the liberality of his conſort; lord Chandos, too, offered his purſe to du Gueſclin, and moſt of the general officers evinced the ſame friendly diſpoſition towards him. Edward permitted him to go upon his parole, in ſearch of money; but, though he received twenty thouſand livres from the duke of Anjou, and as much from the pope†, he returned without a ſou. The king of France, however, relieved him from his embarraſſment, by ſending him a ſufficient ſum to make up, with what he had received from the princeſs of Wales, the ſtipulated ſum.

The firſt uſe which du Gueſclin made of his liberty, was, to raiſe a body of two thouſand men at arms, with whom he haſtened to the aſſiſtance of Henry of Tranſtamare, whom he found engaged in the ſiege of Toledo. Before that city a league offenſive and defenſive was formed between Henry and the king of France, who had diſpatched ambaſſadors to him for that purpoſe. By this treaty, the Caſtilian engaged to aſſiſt his ally with the whole naval force of his

* Vie MS. de du Gueſclin. Argentré. Froiſſard. † Villaret.

kingdom, and always to ſupply double the number of ſhips which Charles himſelf ſhould equip.

Pedro attempted to ſtop the progreſs of Henry; and, being defeated in battle, he fled to the caſtle of Montiel. In his attempt to eſcape from thence he was ſeized by a French officer, who conducted him to his tent, where he was murdered by his brother. Henry, again mounted the throne of Caſtile, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. During theſe tranſactions, the king of France had been employed in recruiting his finances, and in regulating the internal police of his kingdom; the continuation of the taxes, after the cauſe for which they had been impoſed was removed, had excited an inſurrection of the citizens of Tournay. Charles ſent Edward de Renty, a knight of Picardy, to reduce them to ſubjection; and, having quelled the revolt, he puniſhed the inſurgents by depriving the city of its municipal rights. At the expiration of three years, its privileges were reſtored.

The pope having been induced, at the inſtigation of king John, to oppoſe the marriage of the earl of Cambridge, ſon to Edward of England, with the heireſs of Flanders, Charles now procured the hand of that princeſs for his brother, the duke of Burgundy. Although Lewis, count of Flanders, had never openly evinced a repugnance to the alliance of his daughter with the ſon of Edward, from the apprehenſion of diſpleaſing the Flemings, whoſe commercial intercourſe with the Engliſh very naturally led them to prefer that connection, yet he was always ſecretly inclined to favour France. When the pope had publicly declared his determination never to grant a diſpenſation to the Engliſh prince, Lewis liſtened to the king's propoſals in behalf of his brother. Urban granted the neceſſary diſpenſations for this marriage, the conditions of which were ſettled at Ghent, by deputies from the king and the count of Flanders. Charles, on this occaſion, ceded to the count the diſtricts of Lille, Douay, and Orchies, on condition that they ſhould revert to the crown, in default of heirs male of the bodies of Margaret and Philip*. By granting ſuch an augmentation of territory to his brother, who, by his alliance with Margaret, was about to become one of the moſt powerful princes in Europe, Charles ſeems to have deviated from his uſual ſyſtem of policy; but we are told†, that this ceſſion, made with the view of ſatisfying the count of Flanders and his ſubjects, was only *colluſive*; ſince he ſtipulated, by a private treaty, with the duke of Burgundy, that, on the count's death, theſe diſtricts ſhould be immediately reſtored. But Charles dying firſt, the duke eluded the treaty during the minority of his nephew. About this time the queen was brought to bed of a ſon, who was named Charles; and, as he was the firſt male heir, his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings.

The prince of Wales, in the mean time, began to feel the effects of thoſe

* Chron de Flanders. Tréſor des Chartres. Annales des Flanders. † Villaret, tom. x. p. 148,

troubles, in which he had involved himſelf, by his ſplendid, though imprudent, expedition into Caſtile. He had not only exhauſted his treaſury in levying and paying the army which he had led into Spain, but had contracted an immenſe debt, which he knew not how to diſcharge. In this emergency, the biſhop of Rodez, whom he had appointed chancellor of Guienne, adviſed him to levy, with the conſent of the ſtates, an impoſt of one livre upon every hearth in his dominions, for five years only. The deputies from Poitou, the Limouſin, Xaintonge and Rouergue ſubmitted to the tax; but it was oppoſed with great violence by many of the Gaſcon nobles, who embraced this opportunity to revive the ancient prejudice of the people againſt the Engliſh government. The counts of Armagnac, Cominges, Albret, and Perigord, with many others, repaired to Paris, and publicly appealed to Charles, as lord paramount of Guienne, though they well knew that the feudal ſuperiority of France over that principality had been formally given up by the treaty of Bretigny. In this appeal, Charles, who was unwilling to forfeit his pretenſions to political wiſdom by imitating the virtuous conduct of his father, artfully replied: "*Certainly, my lords, it is our wiſh always to maintain the juriſdiction of the French crown, but we have ſworn to obſerve certain articles into which we will examine.*" The matter was accordingly diſcuſſed by the council, who, as might be expected, decided agreeably to the wiſhes of the ſovereign; or, to ſpeak more properly, who implicitly obeyed the will of a maſter whoſe ambition they dared not to thwart. The appeal of Edward's ſubjects was received by the court of peers: and that prince was cited to appear at Paris, on the firſt of May, 1369. Edward returned an anſwer, that, ſince Charles requeſted his company at Paris, he would repair thither at the head of ſixty thouſand men. But, before we proceed to relate the conſequences of this conduct on the part of the king of France, it will be neceſſary to examine ſome proviſions of the treaty of Bretigny and to conſider the juſtice of the accuſations preferred againſt Edward for his non-obſervance of that treaty.

By the twelfth article of the treaty of Bretigny, it is ſtipulated, "That the "king of France, and his eldeſt ſon, ſhall expreſsly renounce all kind of ſove-"reignty and right which they have or may have in all thoſe territories which "by this treaty ought to belong to the king of England. And, in like manner, "he (Edward) and his eldeſt ſon, ſhall expreſsly renounce all their pretenſions "to the kingdom of France, and to the title of king of France, and to the ho-"mage and ſovereignty of the duchies of Normandy and Touraine, the coun-"ties of Anjou and Maine, the duchy of Brittany, and the county of Flanders; "and the two kings ſhall agree, at Calais, on the time and place for making "their reſpective renunciations." But, when the treaty was confirmed at Calais, this article was omitted. Du Tillet, and ſome other writers, are of opinion that the omiſſion was a ſtroke of policy in Charles (then duke of Normandy) who wiſhed for an excuſe to annul a treaty ſo diſadvantageous to the king-

dom; but father Daniel judiciouſly remarks, that ſuch an omiſſion could not have eſcaped the attention of Edward and his miniſters. Thus theſe hiſtorians are evidently of opinion, that, if any colluſion took place it muſt have been to the *diſadvantage* of the Engliſh monarch.

But though the twelfth article of the treaty was omitted, yet Villaret ſtill acknowledges the neceſſity of a mutual renunciation; and he tells us, that a day was actually appointed for receiving it at Bruges, but that Edward never appeared, nor even ſent his renunciation, though frequently cited by John ſo to do; and hence he infers, that the treaty became void. The true ſtate of the caſe, however, is this—that it was found neceſſary to defer the mutual renunciations for ſome time, as Edward was not yet in poſſeſſion of all the territories ceded to him by the treaty of Bretigny; and it was agreed that the parties, meanwhile, ſhould make no uſe of their reſpective claims againſt each other*. It is certain, that the failure in exchanging theſe renunciations had proceeded from France†, and that apologies had been made to Edward, who was juſtly ſuppoſed to be the only perſon who could be injured by ſuch delay. The Engliſh monarch, notwithſtanding, quitted the title of king of France immediately after the treaty was ſigned, and ceaſed to quarter the arms of France with thoſe of England.

Again, Edward is accuſed, of having violated the treaty, by neglecting to employ force in expelling the garriſons from thoſe places which he had agreed to ſurrender‡. It is acknowledged that he gave the moſt poſitive orders for that purpoſe; and he would willingly have enforced them by arms, had John wiſhed him ſo to do; ſince, at a ſubſequent period, we have ſeen him inſtantly obey the ſummons of Charles, on a ſimilar emergency. It is evident, therefore, that John, probably at the inſtigation of his ſon, preferred bribing the troops to evacuate the towns and fortreſſes, to the introduction of an Engliſh army into his dominions.

A third accuſation is preferred againſt Edward by Villaret. By creating the duchy of Aquitaine into a principality, ſays that author‖, the king of England performed a *premature* act of ſovereignty, which amounted to a formal breach of the treaty of Bretigny, ſince he had not yet put himſelf in a ſituation to receive John's renunciation of the ſovereignty of that territory—conſequently he could have no right to diſpoſe of it. The delay in exchanging the renunciations was occaſioned by John himſelf; this charge, conſequently, falls to the ground; beſides, did not the king of France, by the very act of ſurrendering the ceded provinces to Edward, renounce their ſovereignty? The French writers themſelves acknowledge that John ſtrictly fulfilled *all* the conditions of the treaty; he, therefore, muſt have renounced the ſovereignty of Guienne, Aqui-

* Rymer, vol. vi. p. 219, 230, 234, 237, 243. † Rot. Franc. 35. Ed. 3. M. 3. from Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 643. ‡ Villaret, tom. xi. p. 444. ‖ Tom. ix. p. 496.

taine, &c. If the erection of Aquitaine into a principality had been deemed an infraction of the treaty, John, who was then alive, would certainly have reſented it; but he well knew that Edward was authoriſed to diſpoſe of that territory as he pleaſed, and he had too much honour to deſcend to the meanneſs of equivocation. The exaction of a ranſom from ſome of the hoſtages is advanced as another violation of the treaty. The fact is, that the hoſtages were bound to remain in England till the terms of the treaty were wholly fulfilled; but ſome of them, anxious to regain their liberty, made propoſals to Edward to releaſe them on certain conditions; the duke of Orleans procured his freedom by granting ſome lands to Thomas of Woodſtock, one of Edward's ſons; the duke of Bourbon offered twelve thouſand crowns for his liberty; and Guy de Blois purchaſed his by the ſurrender of Soiſſons. But theſe were voluntary offers on the part of the hoſtages, which Edward had certainly a right to accept, as by releaſing them he weakened the only ſecurity he poſſeſſed for the payment of John's ranſom.

It has been aſſerted*, that ſufficient reaſons for ſetting aſide the treaty of Bretigny might be deduced from the conſtitution of the monarchy, which forbids the diſmemberment of any part of the ſovereignty, and inceſſantly recalls ſuch parts as are forcibly detached for a time, to the main body. If this aſſertion has any ſignification it muſt mean, that the king, when three parts of his dominions have been wreſted from him by an enemy ſuperior in ſtrength, or favoured by fortune, muſt ſooner riſk the loſs of the remaining fourth, however unable to maintain the conteſt, than conſent to purchaſe the reſtitution of what had been conquered by ceding a portion of it, however ſmall. The whole hiſtory of France tends to prove that an idea ſo prepoſterous had never been adopted; ſince it exhibits, both before and after the time of Charlemagne, a perpetual variation in the extent of the empire, ſucceſſively enlarged by conqueſts, and contracted by defeats. Moſt of the provinces, ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, had formerly belonged to the anceſtors of Edward, who poſſeſſed them, not deſpotically, by the right of conqueſt, but, lawfully, by that of inheritance.

Such are the pleas, which have been urged in juſtification of Charles's conduct. Never was any treaty more explicit than that of Bretigny; nothing was left open to future diſcuſſion; and the greateſt pains were taken to avoid equivocation. Charles could not be deceived; he muſt have been fully aware of the conſequences; yet did he conſent to ratify the treaty, in the moſt ſolemn, in the moſt ſacred manner, and to bind the obligation he had contracted by all that was awful in religion. On the altar, and (according to *his* ideas) in the *actual preſence* of his God, were his vows made to maintain it inviolate;—yet could he coolly and deliberately reſolve to break oaths thus ſtrongly confirmed†.

* Villaret, tom. ix. p. 447.

† Though a ſtrict regard for truth compels us to juſtify Edward from charges ſo unfounded as thoſe which have been preferred againſt him by the French hiſtorians, with regard to the treaty of Bretigny;

The prince of Wales prepared to put his menaces in execution, and retained the companies which he had brought with him from Spain, and which were now diſperſed along the banks of the Loire, in his ſervice; but a general inſurrection of the Gaſcons prevented him from advancing againſt his enemy, with that alacrity which he wiſhed.

Charles obtained exact information of the ſtate of the prince's health, which had been gradually declining ſince his return from Spain; and he was, by this time, ſo weak as to be unable to ſit on his horſe. The phyſicians were of opinion that it was incurable, and that it would infallibly terminate in a dropſy. Charles rejoiced at the illneſs of a foe whom he did not dare to face in the field. He ſummoned the peers to aſſemble; and that proſtituted court, ſanctioned, with their approbation, the *perjury* of their ſovereign. War was accordingly declared againſt England, and a meſſenger diſpatched to convey the news to Edward.

A. D. 1370.] Charles, conſcious that his addreſs was ſuperior to his courage, relied chiefly on intrigue for the ſucceſs of his ſchemes. All the arts of corruption were exerted with ſucceſs; the governors of ſeveral towns and fortreſſes both in Ponthieu and Guienne, were bribed to violate their oaths, and to betray the intereſts of their lawful ſovereign. The citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to the French; thoſe of St. Valory, Rue and Crotoy, followed their example; the gallant lord Chandos was ſlain in a ſkirmiſh, on the bridge of Leuſac near Poitiers, on the firſt of January 1370; and, the prince of Wales being unable to head his troops, the French purſued their advantage with aſtoniſhing rapidity.

This ſucceſs made the people cheerfully contribute to the ſupport of the war. The ſtates-general being aſſembled at Paris, the cardinal de Beauvais, chancellor of France, aſked, in the king's name, their advice with regard to the preſent conteſt; they reſolved to maintain it, and granted the neceſſary ſupplies for that purpoſe. It was decreed, that the impoſt of twelve deniers per livre, and the ſalt-tax, ſhould be ſet apart for the ſupport of the king's houſhold; and that a tax of four livres upon every hearth in the towns, and thirty ſols in the country, ſhould be levied for defraying the expences of the war. A new duty upon wines was impoſed at the ſame time, the common wines, commonly called French, only paid one half of the duty that was levied on Burgundy; while the wines of Beaune and Saint Pourcain paid triple.

The king ſoon after held a bed of *Juſtice*, at which Edward and his ſon the prince of Wales were declared rebels; and, in conſequence of their *felony*, the duchy of Guienne, and the other territories which they poſſeſſed in France,

yet his ambitious conduct, in preferring a frivolous and abſurd claim to the French crown, calls for the ſevereſt reprobation; and he may juſtly be charged with all the calamities conſequent thereon, and with the vaſt effuſion of blood which his unprincipled attempts to enforce his pretenſions occaſioned.

were confiſcated to *their ſovereign*; this ſentence was pronounced by Charles himſelf, who could diſplay greater reſolution in the cabinet, than in the field*.

The duke of Anjou, and his brother the duke of Berry, prepared to enforce the ſentence by entering Languedoc and the Limouſin at the ſame time. Du Gueſclin, who had lately been recalled from Caſtile, inſpired the troops with a degree of confidence, and their ſucceſs was proportioned to it. The towns of Moiſſac, Agen, Porte-Sainte-Marie, Thonnins-upon-Garonne, and Montpezat, opened their gates at their approach. Sir Walter Manny, governor of Aguillon, was unable to ſuſtain a ſiege of five days, in a place, which, in the reign of Philip of Valois, had withſtood, for ſix months, the attacks of an army of ſixty thouſand men, commanded by the duke of Normandy. Theſe rapid conqueſts alarmed the Engliſh; the prince of Wales no longer thought himſelf in ſafety in Angouleme; and, hearing it was to be inveſted, he repaired to Cognac, which he fixed upon as the general rendezvous of his troops. The captal de Buche, ſhut up in Bergerac, was left to cover Guienne on that ſide. By his reſolution and preſence of mind he ſaved the town of Linde, which Thomas de Badeſol, had agreed to ſurrender to the enemy. Juſt as the gates were about to be opened to the French, the captal arrived; and, ſeizing upon Badeſol, exclaimed, "*Ah "traitor! this is the laſt attempt at perfidy thou ſhalt ever commit!*" He plunged his ſword into his body; and the French, finding their plot detected, retired.

While the Engliſh were thus preſſed in Guienne, the duke of Berry was equally ſucceſsful in the Limouſin, where he was attended by the principal nobility of the kingdom. Having overrun the province, he laid ſiege to Limoges, the capital, whoſe inhabitants revolted, and, at the inſtigation of their biſhop, ſurrendered the town to the French. The prince of Wales, having expended a conſiderable ſum in fortifying this city, was greatly enraged at the loſs of it; and he ſent word to the inhabitants that, if they did not return to their duty without delay, and expel the enemy, he would level the place with the ground, and put all the citizens to the ſword. The prince collected a body of forces; and, placing himſelf in a litter, being unable to ride, conducted them to Limoges, and laid ſiege to the city; but, ſenſible that the place was ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt any attempts to take it by aſſault, he prudently began by undermining the walls; and having by that means effected a practicable breach, he entered it at the head of his troops, and maſſacred the whole garriſon, together with three thouſand of the inhabitants. As Edward was gentle and humane, this inſtance of cruelty was the more aſtoniſhing. He was prevailed on to ſpare the life of the biſhop, who, having been the primary cauſe of the revolt, ought to have been the firſt victim of his own perfidy.

A. D. 1371.] The reduction of Limoges was the laſt military achievment

* Tréſor des Chart. Regiſtre Verd. fol. 109. Reg. des Anc. Ordonn. du Parl. fol. 110. Reg. des Plaidoyers de la Cour commencé en 1369. Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités.

of this gallant prince, who, finding his ſtrength inadequate to ſuſtain the fatigues of war, firſt retired to Bourdeaux; but, being led by his phyſicians to believe that his native air would greatly facilitate his recovery, he determined to quit the continent. Accordingly, having exacted a promiſe from all the nobels who ſtill preſerved their loyalty, that they would pay obedience to his brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, he embarked for England in the month of January, with his only ſurviving ſon, Richard, and arrived ſafe at Southampton.

A. D. 1372.] Du Gueſclin, who had lately received the conſtable's ſword, from the hand of Charles, now purſued his conqueſts without interruption; the departure of the prince of Wales proved fatal to the Engliſh, and all their attempts to recover the places that had been taken from them proved unſucceſsful. The duke of Lancaſter having reſigned his command in Guienne, the earl of Pembroke was appointed to ſucceed him; but, on his voyage to Rochelle with a fleet of forty ſail, he was intercepted by a Spaniſh ſquadron of ſuperior force, fitted out by Henry, king of Caſtile, who had warmly eſpouſed the intereſt of Charles. The two fleets met on the morning of the twenty-third of June, when the action immediately commenced, and continued, with unremitted ardour, till night put an end to the combat, which was, however, renewed on the enſuing morn with equal fury. The victory was at length decided in favour of the Spaniards, who, beſides being ſtronger, had the advantage of cannon, with which the Engliſh were wholly unprovided. The earl of Pembroke, and ſeveral other officers of note, were made priſoners, and moſt of his ſhips were taken or ſunk.

The conſtable, in the mean time, took Montmorillon by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword; he then reduced Chauvigny on the river Creuſe, Lenſac, and Montcontour. St. Severe was obliged to capitulate, and Poictiers was ſurrendered by its inhabitants. But the Engliſh ſuſtained a ſtill greater loſs in the capture of the captal de Buche, who was taken priſoner in a ſkirmiſh. He was conveyed to Paris, and thrown into priſon. Charles, who, deſtitute of valour himſelf, could only reſpect it in another when exerted in his own ſervice, having in vain attempted to corrupt his fidelity, conſigned him to perpetual confinement. All the offers of Edward to ranſom him were rejected, and, after a captivity of five years, he fell a prey to laſſitude and grief.

The caſtle of Soubiſe, and Taillebourg, were reduced by the French. Xaintes was ſurrendered by the inhabitants; Rochelle was betrayed by the mayor; moſt of the towns in Aunis, Xaintonge, and Poitou, experienced a ſimilar fate. Benon, and ſeveral other fortreſſes were taken by aſſault, or ſurrendered. Part of the garriſon of Benon were put to the ſword, and ſuch as fell into the hands of the French were hanged; becauſe David Olegrane, governor of the place, had cut of the noſes and ears of ſeveral of the citizens of Rochelle, who happened to be at Benon when Rochelle was betrayed by the inhabitants. The reſt of the garriſon retired to the caſtle, but were

reduced to ſurrender at diſcretion. Cliſſon, who was preſent at the ſiege, deſired that the priſoners might be left to his diſpoſal; and his requeſt being granted, he placed himſelf at the gate of the tower, and maſſacred the Engliſh as they came out; ſwearing, that he would ſerve all their countrymen in the ſame manner, wherever he ſhould meet with them. The firſt fifteen he clove down the ſkull with his battle-axe; whence he acquired the appellation of *Butcher*.

To complete the entire reduction of Poitou, Thouars alone remained to be ſubdued. It was a place of great ſtrength; and all the Poictevin nobility, who ſtill preſerved their allegiance to Edward, had taken refuge there; but, it being inveſted by a powerful army under the command of du Gueſclin, who battered the walls with cannon, the garriſon were reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating; and their offer to ſurrender, if not relieved by the king of England, or one of his ſons, before Michaelmas was accepted. Edward, appriſed of this circumſtance, determined to haſten in perſon to the relief of Thouars, with an army which he had aſſembled for an invaſion of France on the ſide of Picardy; but the elements warred in favour of Charles: the Engliſh monarch, having been detained nine weeks, by contrary winds, was obliged to forego his enterpriſe, and return to England. After the reduction of Thouars, the army ſeparated, and the princes and general officers repaired to Paris, to ſettle the plan of operations for the enſuing campaign.

Charles employed this interval of tranquillity, in taking proper meaſures for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the troops. All ſoldiers were ſtrictly enjoined to return quietly to their habitations, without committing any diſorders on the road; and every officer was prohibited from raiſing companies in future, without obtaining an expreſs commiſſion from the king, the princes of the blood, or the commander in chief; the commanders of companies were made reſponſible for the conduct of their ſubaltern officers, and private men; each company was to conſiſt of a hundred men at arms; and the commanders of ſuch companies were to receive a hundred livres a month.

Charles made, about this period, the acquiſition of the county of Auxerre; which he purchaſed from John de Chalons, count of Tonnere, for thirty thouſand livres of gold. The king united that county to the royal demeſnes.

A. D. 1373.] The enſuing campaign was opened by ſir Robert Knolles, who, with thirty thouſand men, marched from Calais, and extended his ravages to the gates of Paris. But Charles baffled every attempt to bring his troops to a deciſive action; and reſtrained the native impetuoſity of the French, to which were principally owing the defeats at Crecy and Poictiers. The Engliſh continued their march to the provinces of Anjou and Maine, which they laid waſte; but a part of his troops having revolted and forſaken him, Knolles was defeated by du Gueſclin. The ſmall remains of the Engliſh forces, inſtead of reaching Guienne, were compelled to take ſhelter in Brittany.

A ſimilar attempt was afterwards made by the duke of Lancaſter, who mar-

ched from Calais, with an army of equal force, on the 20th of July, 1373; and, having ravaged Artois and Picardy, purſued his route through Champagne, Burgundy, Beaujolois, Forez, and Auvergne, into Guienne; and arrived at Bourdeaux about Chriſtmas, with barely one half of his army, without having beſieged a ſingle town, or fought a ſingle battle.

The duke of Brittany, in the mean time, having evinced a diſpoſition to favour the intereſts of Edward, the nobles, ſeduced from their duty by the intrigues of Charles, threatened to renounce their allegiance, and diſown him. This tendency to revolt confirmed Montfort in his deſigns; and he admitted Engliſh garriſons into his principal towns, to preſerve them from the attempts of his ſubjects. The nobility made application to the king of France, and entreated him to ſend troops into Brittany in order to prevent the *felony* of their duke*. While their meſſengers were at Paris, they openly hoiſted the ſtandard of rebellion. The duke attempted to ſtem the torrent of revolt, and, with a ſmall body of troops inveſted Saint-Mahe; but while he was engaged in the ſiege of that place, he daily received intelligence of ſome new defection.

The king lent a favourable ear to the application of the inſurgents; but before he commenced hoſtilities he ſummoned the duke of Brittany to fulfil the duties of a vaſſal of the crown, by refuſing a paſſage to the troops of his enemies, by abſtaining from receiving them into the towns and fortreſſes of Brittany, and by aſſiſting his ſovereign in the war againſt England. To this the duke replied, that he would, in future, refuſe a paſſage to the Engliſh troops, but that it was impoſſible for him to aſſiſt the king of France, againſt his ally the king of England. He ſanctioned this refuſal by a private article in the treaty of Bretigny, which exempted him from bearing arms againſt Edward; and he offered to produce letters, ſigned by the king, and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. But Charles, without deigning to liſten to the excuſe, gave orders to the conſtable to enter Brittany with the troops under his command.

Du Gueſclin prepared to ravage his native country with fire and ſword. He was received at Rennes by the lord of Laval, and received a conſiderable acceſſion of force by the junction of all the leaders of the revolt. The duke diſplayed a degree of courage and generoſity that did honour to his heart. Having collected a body of about ſeven hundred men at arms, he kept the field for ſome time, though oppoſed by an army greatly ſuperior in numbers. The moſt *prudent* members of his council adviſed him to avert the threatening ſtorm, obſerving that, by pretending to renounce his alliance with England, he would take away all pretext from the king of France to attack him, and from the nobles of Brittany to perſiſt in their revolt. Had Montfort's honour been like that of Charles, he might have profited by this advice; but, he rejected the perfidious council†.

* Argentré. † Hiſt. de Bretagne.

The expences which the duke had been obliged to incur for reſiſting the attacks of the French, rendered it neceſſary to impoſe new taxes on his ſubjects; which gave the nobles an opportunity of exciting the people to revolt. Thus deſtitute of money and troops, and ſurrounded by enemies on all ſides, he reſolved to embark for England; with this view he conducted his conſort to Auray the governor of which place was almoſt the only officer in his ſervice on whoſe fidelity he could rely; he then repaired to Concq, where he took ſhipping, and landed ſafe at Portſmouth, having left Sir Robert Knolles in the capacity of lieutenant-general of Brittany.

The duke's departure was followed by the reduction of moſt places which ſtill acknowledged his authority. The conſtable laid ſiege to Hennebonne. The walls were battered with cannon, and the conſtable reſolved to carry the place by aſſault. The Engliſh garriſon, aſſiſted by the inhabitants, defended themſelves with courage and vigour. Du Gueſclin, having approached ſufficiently near to the walls to be heard from the ramparts, thus addreſſed the citizens: "Hark ye, friends, it is certain we ſhall conquer you all, and ſup in the town "this very night; but, if any one of you ſhall dare to throw a ſtone or any "thing elſe, by which the meaneſt of our men or boys ſhall be ſlain, I vow to "God that I'll put you all to death." The inhabitants forbore all farther reſiſtance; and the defence of the town was left entirely to the Engliſh, who were unable to guard the fortifications, which were very extenſive; they were repulſed in every part, and put to the ſword.

From Hennebonne the conſtable repaired to Breſt, which was defended by a ſtrong garriſon, under ſir Robert Knolles. Cliſſon, at the ſame time, formed the ſiege of Roche-upon-Yon, in Poitou. Breſt made ſuch a vigourous reſiſtance that the French deſpaired of taking it by aſſault; and, to make a diverſion, they laid ſiege to Derval, which was the property of Knolles, who, as they hoped, would fly to its defence, while the rebel nobles of Brittany inveſted Becherel. After the reduction of Roche-upon-Yon, Cliſſon joined the French troops before Derval, and the garriſon fearing it would be impoſſible to hold out much longer, conſented to ſurrender the place, if not relieved before the expiration of two months; the governor delivered hoſtages for the performance of his promiſe.

During the ſiege of Breſt, the conſtable went to Nantes, expecting to meet with no more oppoſition than he had experienced in moſt of the other towns; but the inhabitants ſhut the gates againſt him, and refuſed to receive the French on any other terms than as guardians of the city, which was to be ſurrendered to the duke as ſoon as he ſhould effect an accommodation with the king of France. They farther required that the public revenue ſhould be ſequeſtered in the hands of the citizens, till their ſovereign ſhould come to claim it. The terms were accepted.

The ſiege of Derval had the deſired effect upon Knolles, who, anxious to

preſerve a fortreſs which belonged to himſelf, agreed to ſurrender Breſt, if not relieved by a ſuperior army in forty days. Theſe terms were the more readily accepted by the French, as they knew that there were not troops ſufficient in Brittany to annul the treaty. Knolles, freed from the care of attending to the ſafety of Breſt, haſtened to Derval, with a determination not to comply with the terms to which the governor had, in his abſence, conſented. Moſt of the French troops were then ordered by Charles to leave Brittany.

Du Gueſclin waited with patience till the expiration of the limited time for the ſurrender of Breſt; but lord Saliſbury fruſtrated his hopes by landing a body of troops ſuperior in number to the French. That nobleman left a ſupply of men and proviſions in the town, and then ſet ſail. As ſoon as Knolles arrived at Derval, he ſignified to the duke of Anjou, and the conſtable, who were at Nantes, that he did not think himſelf bound to obſerve the engagement contracted by his officers, who, by promiſing to ſurrender the place, had exceeded the bounds of their authority. The duke immediately repaired to Derval; and, having waited till the term had expired, he ſummoned Knolles to give up the caſtle; and, on his refuſal, threatened to put the hoſtages to death. Knolles treated his threats with contempt, and replied, that he was reſolved to keep the fortreſs; and that, if the duke ſacrificed the hoſtages to his reſentment, he would retaliate on the French knights who were in his power, and for whoſe ranſom he had refuſed one hundred thouſand livres*. Oliver de Cliſſon told the duke of Anjou, that he would lay down his arms if he did not order them to be executed, adding, that the ſiege of Derval had coſt upwards of ſixty thouſand livres, and that it was juſt their enemies ſhould be puniſhed for their *diſloyalty*. The duke told Cliſſon to do what he pleaſed with the hoſtages; he accordingly ordered the unfortunate victims to be led to the caſtle walls, where they were beheaded, in the ſight of the garriſon. The executioner had no ſooner performed his taſk, than a ſcaffold, which had been previouſly prepared, appeared, projecting from one of the windows of the fortreſs, and three knights and one eſquire were beheaded, and their heads thrown among the beſiegers. This bloody ſcene was followed by a vigorous ſally, in which the French were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and Cliſſon received a dangerous wound. The ſiege was ſoon after raiſed, and the French troops were recalled to defend the kingdom from the attacks of the duke of Lancaſter.

A. D. 1374.] The Engliſh, having now loſt all their continental poſſeſſions, except Bayonne, Bourdeaux, and Calais, liſtened to the mediation of the pope: conferences were accordingly opened at Bruges for the purpoſe of effecting an accommodation; and, on the eleventh of February, 1374, a truce was concluded, which was to continue till Eaſter; but, before its expiration, it was prolonged to the firſt of May, 1375. Previous to the concluſion of this truce, the duke

* Froiſſard,

of Brittany, having received a ſupply of money from Edward, collected a body of two thouſand men at arms, and three thouſand archers; and, accompanied by the earl of Cambridge, and ſeveral of the Engliſh nobility, embarked at Southampton, and landed at Saint-Mahe. As he carried the citadel by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword, the town immediately ſurrendered. He then took and ſacked Saint-Paul de Leon. The duke, purſuing his conqueſts, formed the ſiege of Saint Brieuc, which had been newly fortified by Oliver de Cliſſon, and was defended by a numerous garriſon. Cliſſon, and the lord of Laval, commanded in Brittany after the departure of the conſtable, and were then at Lamballe. Kimperlay, a town of conſiderable importance, being greatly incommoded by a neighbouring fortreſs, which John of Evreux, one of the duke's officers, had recently repaired, the garriſon ſent to Lamballe for aſſiſtance. Cliſſon and Beaumanoir accordingly joined them, and they were on the point of reducing the fortreſs, when the duke of Brittany, being appriſed of their motions, raiſed the ſiege of Saint-Brieux, and haſtened to its relief. Cliſſon was employed in giving orders for an aſſault, when news was brought him that the Engliſh had advanced within two leagues of his camp. He fled with precipitation to Kimperlay; he was purſued by the duke, who inveſted the place, and took every precaution to prevent his eſcape. The ſiege was preſſed with vigour; Cliſſon and his aſſociates, knowing their ſituation to be deſperate, defended themſelves with intrepidity; but, deprived of all hopes of relief, they at length aſked to capitulate. The duke, inſiſted on their ſurrendering at diſcretion, and granted them a ceſſation of arms for a week. This ſhort armiſtice was on the point of expiring, when two noblemen arrived in the duke's camp with news of the truce, concluded at Bruges, in which Brittany was expreſsly included; he therefore raiſed the ſiege, and Cliſſon eſcaped.

During this interval of peace, Charles paſſed an edict, fixing the majority of the kings of France at their entrance into their fourteenth year, contrary to the regulation of Philip the Hardy, which continued their minority till they had attained fourteen complete*. His conſtitution was impaired by inceſſant attention to buſineſs, but ſtill more by the effects of the poiſon which had been adminiſtered to him by the king of Navarre, while he was dauphin. The tender years of his eldeſt ſon Charles gave him ſerious inquietude, as he was alarmed at the idea of leaving him expoſed to the mercy of the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, with the dangerous extent of whoſe ambition he appears to have been perfectly acquainted.

The majority of the kings of France had, ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, experienced ſeveral variations. The period of their majority was determined by their ability to ſupport the fatigues of military ſervice. The arms of the early Franks were extremely light, and they always fought on foot;

* Conf. des Ordonnances.

their children, of courſe, were able to bear them when very young; hence their majority was fixed at the completion of their fifteenth year. Childebert the Second was not older, when Goutran declared him of age by putting a javelin in his hand, according to the cuſtom of the times, in preſence of the national aſſembly. The mode of waging war changed during the ſecond race; the armies were almoſt wholly compoſed of cavalry, and the complete armour worn by the men required the ſtrength of maturity to ſupport it; the majority, therefore, was protracted till the age of twenty-one. This cuſtom ſubſiſted when the king paſſed his edict; but he knew that a monarch might govern his kingdom without fighting.

In this year, the appanage of Lewis, the king's ſecond ſon, was fixed at twelve thouſand livres a year*, in land, in addition to which he was to receive, when at age, the ſum of forty thouſand livres, for the eſtabliſhment of his houſhold. The king, at the ſame time, ſettled the marriage-portions of his daughters. The eldeſt, the princeſs Mary, was to have one hundred thouſand livres, beſides furniture, clothes, and jewels, ſuitable to her rank. The other princeſſes were to have, each of them, ſixty thouſand livres, with furniture, &c.

When he had thus ſettled his family affairs, Charles took neceſſary meaſures for the ſafe government of the kingdom at his death. He conferred the office of regent on his elder brother the duke of Anjou; and, in caſe of his death or abſence, on the duke of Burgundy; no notice whatever was taken of his ſecond brother, the duke of Berry, with whoſe conduct the king was diſpleaſed. The powers of the regent received certain modifications; he was prohibited from alienating the domains of the crown, under any pretext whatever. The duke ſwore to obſerve all the conditions impoſed on him.

As the regent was exempted from giving any account of his adminiſtration, when his power expired, the king entruſted the guardianſhip of his children, and the care of the public revenue to the queen, aſſiſted by the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon; and, in caſe of her death, the two princes were to take that important truſt upon themſelves; he ordered, at the ſame time, that the ſurplus of the revenue, after defraying all the neceſſary expences, ſhould be depoſited in the hands of Bureau de la Riviere, the firſt chamberlain, to be paid to the king, as ſoon as he ſhould come of age. A council was appointed to aſſiſt the queen and the two princes. This council, compoſed of the principal men of the three orders of the ſtate, was well calculated to balance the power of the regent, in caſe he ſhould incline to abuſe it. The queen, princes, nobility, prelates, and chief officers of the ſtate, ſwore to obſerve theſe regulations.

A. D. 1375 to 1377.] Some farther attempts were now made to effect a peace between France and England; but the pretenſions of the rival monarchs

* When the difference in the prices of every article of conſumption be conſidered, which, by the beſt computation, appears to be as five to one, the prince's ſettlement was equal to ſix hundred thouſand livres, or about twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling.

were ſo widely oppoſite, that it was impoſſible to reconcile them. Charles demanded the reſtitution of fourteen hundred thouſand livres, which had been paid towards his father's ranſom, and the demolition of the citadel and fortifications of Calais. Edward inſiſted that the treaty of Bretigny ſhould be fully enforced. The king declared theſe conditions inadmiſſible, *being directly contrary to the oath which he had taken on his acceſſion to the throne*. All, therefore, that the pope's legates could obtain, was a farther prolongation of the truce to the firſt of April, 1377.

All the taxes which had been impoſed during the war ſtill continued to be levied; and Charles having, by this means, filled his coffers, began to provide for the future ſecurity of the kingdom, by encreaſing his navy, which had been almoſt wholly neglected, ſince the reign of Saint Lewis. The advantage of a powerful fleet had been demonſtrated in the late conteſt, when that of Spain fruſtrated the plans of the Engliſh for recovering their continental poſſeſſions. A number of veſſels were conſtructed on the coaſt of Normandy; and edicts were publiſhed for preſerving the foreſts, which ſupplied timber for building them.

The demeſnes of the crown were encreaſed by the death of Philip, duke of Orleans, who expired in September, 1375*. This prince, the king's paternal uncle, had married Bianche of France, poſthumous daughter of Charles the Fair. Charles immediately re-annexed the duchy of Orleans to the crown, and took every means in his power to prevent its future alienation; but his commands, on this occaſion, were no more regarded than his other arrangements, with reſpect to the regency.

At this period the Engliſh ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of their favourite the prince of Wales; who, after a lingering illneſs, died at Weſtminſter, on the eighth of June 1376, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, to the inexpreſſible ſorrow of his father, and the ſincere regret of the whole nation. The death of Edward was lamented even by his enemies; Charles honoured his memory with every mark of reſpect; he ordered a funeral ſervice to be performed in the chapel belonging to his palace, at which he aſſiſted, accompanied by all the great men of the kingdom. The king of England ſurvived his ſon about a year, when he expired at Shene, in Surry, on the twenty-firſt of June, 1377; leaving his throne to Richard ſon to the Black Prince, who was crowned in leſs than a month after the death of his grandfather. As the truce was now expired, Charles thought the conjuncture highly favourable for renewing the war with England. He ſet five armies on foot at the ſame time; and his troops purſued their conqueſts, almoſt without oppoſition, while a French fleet, under the command of John de Vienne, admiral of France, ravaged the Engliſh coaſts, burnt the towns of Rye, Haſtings, Portſmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and defeated a body of men whom the prior of Lewes had haſtily aſſembled to ſtop their depredations.

* Tréſor des Chart, reg. 109. p. 20. Receuil des Ordonnances, t. 6.

The French had hitherto made little progreſs in naval affairs; the navy flouriſhed during the reign of Charlemagne, but was neglected by his ſucceſſors. The firſt monarchs of the third race, poſſeſſing but few maritime provinces, had no occaſion for naval forces; little attention, therefore, was paid to ſhip-building till the time of the cruſades. The almoſt inceſſant wars which afterwards broke out between France and England compelled the French to make efforts for diſputing the empire of the ſea. Numerous fleets iſſued from their ports; but they were chiefly trading veſſels, the owners of which lent them to the king in time of war, for a ſtipulated ſum. Beſides this reſource, the Caſtilians and Genoeſe, then deemed the moſt ſkilful mariners in Europe, were called to their aſſiſtance. The French and Engliſh courted the alliance of theſe powers; and the ſquadrons of Genoa fought alternately for both nations. Charles was the firſt French monarch of the third race who formed a plan for a fleet of his own. With this view, he ordered a great number of veſſels to be built in the ports of Normandy, ſolely for the purpoſe of war. They were larger than thoſe which were generally uſed; though not to be compared, either for ſize or convenience, with the ſhips of the preſent times. Indeed, a modern veſſel, of a middle ſize, could not have entered the beſt harbour the French then poſſeſſed*. The largeſt veſſels were called *gallies;* they were worked with oars and ſails†, and ſupplied with low towers, whence ſtones and other miſſile weapons were thrown on the enemy; they had alſo machines neceſſary for grappling and boarding. To the prow was fixed a long thick poſt, caſed with iron, for the purpoſe of cruſhing the ſides of the enemy's ſhips. Other veſſels, though ſmaller in bulk, ſtood higher in the water; theſe were never worked with oars unleſs when it was attempted to gain the wind in time of action; large ſhips were uſed for tranſporting the men at arms, called *huiſſiers*, from the *huys*, or door, through which the horſes were admitted.

An army aſſembled by the duke of Burgundy, on the frontiers of Picardy, formed the ſiege of Ardres, which capitulated after an obſtinate defence; as did the fortreſs of Ardiwich, and the caſtle of Vauclingun. The reduction of theſe three places reſtrained the depredations of the garriſons of Calais and Guines, which had been accuſtomed to extend their incurſions to the gates of Boulogne.

The duke of Anjou was equally ſucceſsful in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, where he reduced all the towns and fortreſſes which ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, except Bayonne and Bourdeaux; while Cliſſon completed the ſubjection of Brittany, leaving only to its lawful ſovereign the ſingle town of Breſt, which was likewiſe inveſted by the French. During theſe operations the king of France received in his capital the emperor Charles the Fourth, and his ſon Wenceſlaus, king of the Romans. The emperor created the dauphin vicar-general of Dauphiny, and ceded to him the caſtle of Pompet, in that province.

* Villaret. † Hiſt. de la Milice Francoiſe, t. 2.

Soon after the departure of his uncle, Charles loſt his queen, Jane of Bourbon, who, after giving birth to a princeſs, had the imprudence, contrary to the advice of her phyſicians, to bathe; ſhe had no ſooner entered the bath, than ſhe was ſeized with a diſorder that terminated her exiſtence in a few days. While the king was indulging his ſorrows for the death of this princeſs, he was alarmed by ſecret intelligence of a deſign againſt his own life. Suſpicions immediately fell upon Charles the Bad. On the apprehenſion of his chamberlain, who was then at the French court, the ſuſpicions were confirmed, and it appeared on the trial, that that monarch had endeavoured to bribe a Jewiſh phyſician, named *Angel* to poiſon the king; but the Jew, refuſing to be concerned in ſuch a plot, he cauſed him to be thrown into the ſea. He then ordered a ſubtle poiſon to be prepared, under his own inſpection, by a female Jew; and entruſted it to a valet-de-chambre, who was to gain acceſs to the palace, by means of a relation who held a poſt in the king's kitchen, and there to wait for a favourable opportunity to adminiſter it. On the diſcovery of this plot, Charles gave orders to ſeize all the places belonging to the king of Navarre, in Normandy; and, at the caſtle of Bernay, one of that monarch's ſecretaries was taken and brought to Paris. His name was Peter du Tertre; he underwent a cloſe examination, but though privy to all the political manœuvres of his maſter, he perſevered in declaring his total ignorance of the plot. As a priſoner of war, Charles could poſſibly have no other pretext for bringing him to trial; he was, however, condemned, together with the chamberlain, and they were beheaded in the market-place at Paris.

A. D. 1378.] While the duke of Anjou was depriving Charles the Bad of all the places he poſſeſſed in Languedoc, the duke of Burgundy and the conſtable du Gueſclin went to ſeize his Norman poſſeſſions; and, as the Navarreſe governors made an obſtinate reſiſtance, the king himſelf went to Rouen to ſuperintend and direct the military operations. All his towns and fortreſſes were reduced and diſmantled, except Cherbourg, which he delivered to the Engliſh, for a ſmall ſupply of troops which they agreed to furniſh him.

The Engliſh had not been long in poſſeſſion of Cherbourg before it was inveſted by du Gueſclin. But the ſtrength of its fortifications, and its numerous garriſon, reſiſted every attack. Though the ſiege was preſſed with all poſſible vigour, the conſtable was unable to make the ſmalleſt impreſſion. In a ſucceſsful ſally, the beſiegers took his brother, Oliver du Gueſclin, priſoner. He was compelled to conduct his troops into winter quarters.

During theſe tranſactions in Normandy, the duke of Lancaſter had fitted out a fleet, and ſailed with a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Brittany. He laid ſiege to Saint Malo, a place of great ſtrength, and, after remaining ſome time before the town, perpetually haraſſed by the garriſon on one ſide, and by the French on the other, he was forced to return to England. He was followed by the duke, who concluded a treaty with the court of London, and

obtained a promiſe of more effectual aſſiſtance, on condition of delivering Breſt to the Engliſh. They now poſſeſſed the four principal ports in the kingdom, Calais, Cherbourg, Breſt, and Bourdeaux.

For the reduction of this laſt place, the king had permitted the duke of Anjou to levy a general tax upon the inhabitants of Guienne. The duke received the produce of the tax, which he appropriated to his own uſe. The inhabitants of Montpellier, incenſed at this oppreſſion, revolted, ſeized the duke's officers, and put them to death. Eighty perſons are ſaid to have fallen victims to the rage of the populace. The duke, collecting a body of troops, haſtened to quell the inſurrection; but the tumult had ſubſided before he reached the town, and the citizens implored his mercy. He condemned them to loſe their privileges, their univerſity, their archives, and municipal juriſdiction; to forfeit one half of all their property; to pay a fine of one hundred and twenty thouſand livres; to found a church; and to demoliſh the gates, walls, and fortifications of the town. Two hundred citizens were condemned to be beheaded; two hundred to be hanged; two hundred to be burnt; and their poſterity was doomed to ſervitude and perpetual infamy. From the execution of this inhuman ſentence the duke was diſſuaded, though with great difficulty, by the cardinal d'Albani, and a Dominican friar. All the puniſhments were remitted except the pecuniary fine, and a farther exaction of ſix thouſand livres, for expences.

Towards the end of this year, the king ſent a reinforcement of troops to all the fortreſſes in the vicinity of Cherbourg, and ordered William de Bordes to enter the Cotentin, and keep the garriſon in awe. Des Bordes, fixed his quarters at Montbourg, and ſcoured the neighbouring country. About the ſame time, ſir John Harleſton ſailed from Southampton, with three hundred men at arms, and the ſame number of archers, and landed at Cherbourg, where, being joined by a part of the garriſon, he took the field, and meeting with des Bordes a deſperate action enſued. The two commanders, each armed with his battle-axe, diſplayed equal bravery; victory long remained doubtful; Harleſton was once thrown to the ground, but, having recovered his arms, he obtained, after an obſtinate conqueſt, a complete victory: every one of the French was either killed or taken. Des Bordes was among the priſoners.

The king, when informed of this diſaſter, ſent a freſh body of troops to take poſſeſſion of Montbourg. But the Engliſh maintained the ſuperiority they had acquired; and, as Charles had another project in view, he ſoon ordered his troops to evacuate the Cotentin; the inhabitants expoſed, by this means, to the mercy of the Engliſh, left their houſes, and, taking their families with them, fixed their reſidence in ſome other part of the kingdom. The Cotentin, one of the moſt fertile diſtricts in the province, became wholly depopulated. Charles, had long been anxious to obtain Brittany, and the enmity of the duke, whom he had conſtantly perſecuted, was deemed a ſufficient plea for that meaſure. The treaty of Guerrande was as little reſpected as that of Bretigny; having

ſecured, as he imagined, the attachment of the Breton nobility, he thought that the mere ſignification of his intent was ſufficient to annex that duchy to his crown. On the twentieth of June, 1378, Montfort was cited to appear before the court of peers, to anſwer againſt the charge of rebellion. The forms of juſtice were neglected; the citation was not ſerved upon the duke, nor even ſent to Breſt, the only town that ſtill acknowledged his authority.

The fourth of December was the day appointed for the trial; and, on the ninth of the ſame month, the king held a bed of juſtice, at which all the peers of France were ſummoned to attend. Charles pleaded his own cauſe; and, after ſtating the accuſations againſt Montfort, he propoſed that that prince ſhould be declared guilty of leſe-majeſty and incur the puniſhment due to ſuch a crime; and that, in conſequence thereof, the duchy of Brittany, and all other territories which he poſſeſſed in France, ſhould be confiſcated and annexed to the crown. The peers, who aſſiſted at this bed of juſtice, pretended that they ought to be the ſole judges in a cauſe in which one of their body was the defendant, and not the king, who was a party in the cauſe; and they required, in caſe they proceeded to condemn the duke of Brittany, that Charles ſhould grant them letters-patent, declaring that this trial ſhould never be conſidered as a precedent prejudicial to their ancient rights. The king promiſed the letters, but never kept his word.

As Charles had ſome reaſon to miſtruſt the zeal of his ſubjects in the proſecution of a war which was generally conſidered as unjuſt, he ſtrengthened himſelf by forming connections with foreign princes and noblemen. To moſt of theſe he granted annual penſions, for which they were to perform military ſervice, and to furniſh a ſtipulated number of men. In the treaſury of the chartres at Paris, there are an infinite number of written obligations of this nature, ſigned by warriors of all ranks from crowned heads down to ſimple knights, who were allured, by the gold of France, from the frontiers of Flanders, from Brabant, from the banks of the Rhine, and from the interior parts of Germany. This cuſtom, which had long obtained, offered but a feeble and precarious reſource to the ſtate, while the penſions occaſioned a heavy and certain expence. Thoſe whoſe penſions were made chargeable on the treaſury did homage for them; but little reliance could be placed on theſe vaſſals. The introduction of pecuniary fiefs could only be uſeful when confined within the limits of the kingdom. William, duke of Julliers and Gueldres, acknowledged himſelf vaſſal of the king, to whom he did homage, ſwearing to ſerve him againſt all men, in conſideration of a perpetual penſion of ſeven thouſand livres; and his two ſons followed the example of their father, for an annual gratification of two thouſand livres*.

The news of the proceedings againſt the duke was not received by the Bretons ſo favourably as the court had imaginedt. The people had begun to mur-

* Tréſor des Chartres; Comtés de Gueldres and de Julliers, No. 87. † Argentré. Lobineau.

mur, when Charles, who had never loſt ſight of his project, ſent orders to the conſtable, de Cliſſon, Rohan and Laval, to repair to Paris. When they arrived, the king explained his conduct as to Montfort, ordered the ſentence by which he was condemned and the duchy confiſcated, to be read in their preſence, and declared his intention of ſending an army into Brittany. All this the Breton noblemen had expected, but the king told them, that he hoped they would ſurrender the fortified places in Brittany which they had in their poſſeſſion, that he might defend them from the Engliſh. They replied, "*that they would do all which was* "*poſſible to ſerve him.*" Cliſſon was the only one of the four, who could be prevailed on to ſecond the intentions of the king. His implacable hatred to Montfort overcame every other conſideration, and induced him to make the promiſe required of him.

A few days after this conference, Laval convened an aſſembly of the Breton nobility at his own houſe, when, after expreſſing his ſurpriſe at the king's propoſals, he proteſted that it was his intention to oppoſe the deſign to the utmoſt of his power, and that neither he nor any that belonged to him ſhould incur the reproach of having betrayed his country, his kinſman, or his lord. This ſpeech was applauded by the company. Du Gueſclin had not been invited to attend, not becauſe they doubted his fidelity, but the office of conſtable which he held was deemed ſufficient to exclude him from ſuch an aſſociation. Having taken a vow to remain true to their country, they ſeperated, with a determination to retire from court, leſt an attempt might be made to ſecure their perſons. They left Paris the next day, and repaired to Brittany.

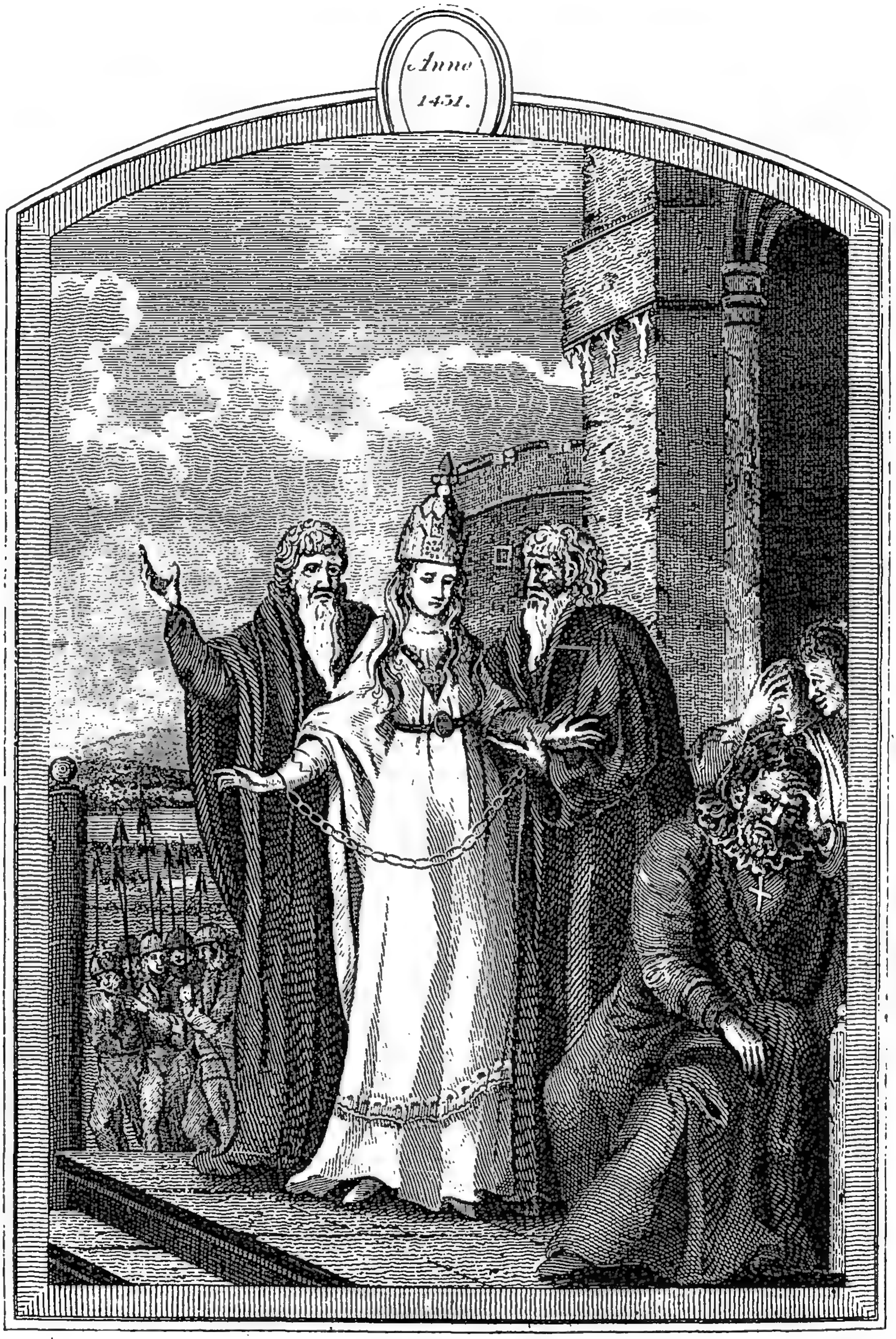
After the failure of this firſt attempt, it was eaſy to perceive that if the court of France could not engage ſuch of the nobles of Brittany as had been moſt favoured by the king, to ſecond their views, thoſe who had no ſuch motives for attachment would be ſtill leſs favourably diſpoſed. In fact, the king's reſolution was no ſooner made public, than confederacies were formed in all quarters, as well of the people, as of the nobility; the members of which bound themſelves by an oath to preſerve inviolate *the ducal right*, againſt all who ſhould attempt to take poſſeſſion of the duchy, without any other exception of perſons, than of him who was, by birth, the lawful ſovereign thereof. Meaſures were taken for a vigorous reſiſtance, in caſe of attack; a tribute of twenty ſols upon every hearth was levied to pay the troops; and general officers were appointed to command them. The public revenue was ſequeſtered in the hands of adminiſtrators; and the Bretons, not contented with providing for the ſafety of the province, reſolved to recal their duke. It was with concern they obſerved, that thoſe of the nobility who had engaged to ſupport the intereſts of the king againſt Montfort, had, at the ſame time, deprived the province of the preſence of its ſovereign. Thus Charles, by an ambitious deſire of extending his domains, loſt, in a moment, the friendſhip of moſt of the partiſans which his policy or munificence had acquired; and this defection effectually deprived him of

thoſe ſervices, which, on other occaſions, he had a right to expect from them. Even the counteſs of Penthievre herſelf, though ſhe was attached to France by the firmeſt ties; though ſhe had the moſt powerful reaſons for hating Montfort, who had ſupplanted her family; though ſhe was mother-in-law to the duke of Anjou, and was ſtill more connected with that prince by friendſhip than affinity; exerted her utmoſt efforts to diſconcert the projects of Charles.

Three envoys were appointed to wait on the duke, and engage him to return to his dominions. Montfort did not place an implicit reliance on theſe firſt aſſurances of repentance and fidelity. He received the deputies with thoſe marks of kindneſs and diſtinction which the news of a change ſo happy and unexpected deſerved; but, taught by experience, he declared, that notwithſtanding the confidence he repoſed in the affection of his ſubjects, which he conſidered as an infallible ſecurity for his ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment, and his conviction of the ſincerity of their promiſes, he was nevertheleſs determined to await till he ſaw a greater degree of certainty in the execution of ſo laudable a project. He charged them at their departure to exhort his ſubjects to perſevere in their good intentions; adding, that by their future conduct alone he ſhould judge of the ſincerity of their attachment; and that he flattered himſelf, if their return to their duty was as ſincere as they wiſhed to perſuade him it was, they would be anxious to make their actions correſpond to their profeſſions.

The deputies returned to Brittany with this anſwer; and found the people already in motion in different parts of the duchy. The king had deferred the execution of his project till the ſpring; and the court, in the mean time, were ignorant of what was paſſing in Brittany; they had only received information that various meetings were held, the reſult of which was kept a profound ſecret.

A. D. 1379.] The lord of Bourbon, in the mean time, with the mareſchal de Sancerre, John de Vienne, and la Riviere, had, in obedience to the king's orders, joined the duke of Anjou, to whom the chief management of the enterpriſe was committed. The king's favourites exerted their influence to prevent the conſtable from being appointed commander in chief, a poſt which, in this inſtance, he evinced no anxiety to obtain. He was ſent therefore into Brittany, with a very ſmall body of troops, to guard thoſe towns which had embraced the party of France; he accordingly fortified Saint-Malo, where he remained during the commencement of the campaign. Whether Charles imagined that he ſhould meet with but little reſiſtance, or whether he wiſhed to ſound the diſpoſition of the people before he ſeriouſly embarked in an enterpriſe which he, probably, began to conſider as hazardous; his efforts were greatly diſproportioned to the importance of the undertaking. He muſt certainly at this period, have been under the influence of infatuation; for, inſtead of attempting to conciliate the affections of the Bretons, by a mild and moderate conduct, he already treated them as a conquered people, by ſubjecting their country to the ſalt-gabelle, and other onerous exactions, from which Brittany was wholly ex-



Town of Ire, reproaching the Bishop of Beauvais at the place of Execution.

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empted. Theſe exactions, the attempt to impoſe which, had been one of the principal cauſes of Montfort's diſgrace, were juſtly conſidered as ſtill more intolerable, on the part of a prince, whom the people regarded as a foreigner.

The Bretons being determined to reſiſt theſe efforts, new aſſociations were daily formed; troops were levied on all ſides; and deputies were again ſent to Montfort, from the nobility and principal towns, to preſs his immediate return to Brittany. Montfort, therefore, took leave of the Engliſh court, and embarked at Southampton, accompanied by ſir Robert Knolles, ſir Hugh Caverly, ſir Thomas Percy, and ſome other knights, with one hundred men at arms and two hundred archers. With this trifling force, but with the promiſe of more effectual aſſiſtance, he ſailed from England, and entered the mouth of the river Rance, near St. Malo, on the third of Auguſt, 1379.

As ſoon as the news of his intended return was made public, an immenſe crowd of people, from all parts of Brittany, flocked to the banks of the Rance, and even plunged into the water, as if anxious to haſten the moment that was to reſtore to them a prince whom they cheriſhed and eſteemed. He aſſured the people of his affection, exhorted them to perſiſt in the ſame ſentiments, and told them they would ſoon find the difference between the mild government of a lawful prince, and the oppreſſive ſway of an uſurper.

Every thing now ſeemed to combine in favour of Montfort; he had ſcarcely entered the Rance, when a part of the Spaniſh fleet appeared off St. Malo. The Caſtilians endeavoured to intercept the tranſports, on board of which was a conſiderable ſupply of proviſions and ammunition, beſides the duke's treaſure; and they were on the point of accompliſhing their object, when ſir Hugh Calverly, having firſt ſeen the prince in ſafety, compelled the pilot of his own ſhip to turn her head towards the enemy. The Spaniards, ſurpriſed at an attack they had ſo little reaſon to expect, were thrown into confuſion, and ſoon abandoned the purſuit of the tranſports, which took that opportunity of haſtening into port, while the Engliſh archers engaged the attention of the enemy, by pouring in upon them a ſhower of arrows. As ſoon as Calverly ſaw his little fleet in ſafety he retreated in good order, and went to receive the thanks and congratulations of Montfort, who never forgot this important ſervice.

The duke repaired to Dinan, where he received offers of ſervice, from the principal nobility of the duchy. The conſtable of Rennes joined him with a body of troops. The viſcount of Rohan, formerly one of the moſt zealous partiſans of Charles of Blois, haſtened to his aſſiſtance, at the head of four hundred lances. The counteſs of Penthievre had an interview with Montfort, whom, till then, ſhe had regarded as an uſurper; they conferred frequently together; and ſhe partook in the joy which his return had occaſioned. Theſe favourable ſymptoms engaged the duke to declare, at the firſt aſſembly that was held at Dinan, his intention of anticipating the French, by attacking them firſt; a declaration received with unanimous applauſe. The nobles then ſepa-

rated, to make the neceſſary preparations. Vannes was fixed upon for the rendezvous of the troops.

Charles now perceived that he had alienated the affections of the Bretons, whom nothing but force could reduce to acknowledge his authority; but pride continued the conteſt which ambition had begun; and the duke of Anjou received orders to approach the frontiers of Brittany, while the conſtable returned from St. Malo to Pontorſon, where he endeavoured to collect a body of troops. But the duke of Anjou was more intent on a reconciliation than on hoſtilities. Du Gueſclin felt a ſecret repugnance in diſcharging the duties of his office, as conſtable of France. He obeyed, however, the orders he had received, though the king ſoon put it out of his power to ſerve him with effect. The good fortune of du Gueſclin in attaining to the firſt dignity of the realm, had allured to his ſervice a prodigious number of noblemen, moſt of whom were his relations or friends, and all of them his countrymen. Many of theſe, as ſoon as war was declared againſt their ſovereign, reſigned their commiſſions in the French army, and haſtened to join their native ſtandard. The king, piqued at their deſertion, publiſhed an ordonnance enjoining all the Bretons, who would not eſpouſe his cauſe, and take up arms againſt Montfort, immediately to quit his dominions. The conſtable, by this means, found himſelf abandoned by a great number of brave warriors, and officers of merit. Cliſſon, indeed, remained; but he himſelf was forſaken by thoſe partiſans whom he imagined moſt firmly attached to him. The firſt proof of this defection he experienced, on a ſecond attempt which he made to get poſſeſſion of Nantes. Cliſſon, having been refuſed admittance into Guerrande, and finding the whole province in arms, went to join the conſtable at Pontorſon, where the French troops, that were deſtined for the invaſion of Brittany, had aſſembled, with the dukes of Anjou and Bourbon at their head.

The rendezvous of the Breton army had been appointed at Vannes. When the troops had aſſembled, they advanced to meet the enemy at Pontorſon. But, on the news of their approach, the French army diſbanded, and the duke of Anjou propoſed a truce for a month, which was accepted by Montfort. It was agreed that this interval of peace ſhould be employed in bringing about an accommodation, the terms of which were left to the arbitration of the duke of Anjou, the count of Flanders, the lords of Laval, Rohan, Montafilant, and Beaumanoir. This compromiſe was ſigned by the counteſs of Penthievre, her ſon Henry, and the Breton lords*. The duke of Anjou engaged to procure the king's conſent to ſubmit to the deciſion of the arbitrators. His promiſe was guaranteed by Charles of Navarre, the duke of Bourbon, and the conſtable, but the king thought proper to diſavow it.

La Riviere accuſed the conſtable of having ſecretly favoured the duke of

* Chambre des Comptes de Nantes, Armoir. L. Layette D. No. 52.

Brittany; Charles gave credit to the accuſation, and wrote an inſulting letter to du Gueſclin, reproaching him with infidelity; on the receipt of which that nobleman reſigned his ſword of office. His diſgrace was no ſooner known, than a murmur of indignation was heard throughout the kingdom; the nation appeared ſenſible that to his ſervices France had been indebted for her preſervation and glory. The princes of the blood, and all the principal nobility, who had witneſſed his military exploits, remonſtrated with the king on the loſs which the ſtate was about to ſuſtain. Charles, convinced of his error, haſtened to repair it; he diſpatched the dukes of Anjou and Bourbon to Pontorſon: and thoſe princes, with great difficulty, prevailed upon du Gueſclin to reſume his dignity.

The conſtable was now recalled from Brittany, and ſent with a body of troops into the ſouthern parts of France, which were much harraſſed by the incurſions of the Engliſh.

Du Gueſclin entered Guienne, and reduced ſeveral places. At the commencement of the enſuing campaign he croſſed the Bourbonnois, and, entering Auvergne, laid ſiege to a ſmall fortreſs ſituated a few leagues from Mende. The conſtable preſſed the ſiege with extraordinary vigour, when he was attacked with a diſorder that was judged to be mortal. He beheld the approach of death with that firmneſs and intrepidity, which never forſook him. On the news of his death, a general affliction prevailed throughout the camp; both officers and men deplored the loſs of their leader, their father, and companion; even the enemy, who admired his courage, did juſtice to his memory. The garriſon had promiſed to ſurrender the place to the conſtable, if not relieved within a ſpecific time. The Engliſh governor, followed by the whole garriſon, repaired to the tent of du Gueſclin, and bending before the coffin, laid the keys of the fortreſs at the feet of the dead warrior.

During this time the war had been renewed in Brittany, and though Charles had, at length, conſented to ſubmit to the deciſion of the count of Flanders, he took advantage of a treaty which Montfort had concluded with the Engliſh, to excite, once more, a ſpirit of revolt among his ſubjects. He alſo inſtigated pope Urban to threaten with excommunication ſuch of the Bretons as ſhould admit the Engliſh forces into their towns or fortreſſes; and the people, thus awed by a prieſt, conſented to violate the oath of allegiance they had ſo recently confirmed.

A. D. 1380.] At length the ſuccours from England arrived at Calais, under the command of the duke of Buckingham, who began his march about the end of July, and proceeded through the Boulonnois to the river Somme, which he paſſed at Clery: then traverſing the Vermandois, the Laonnois, and the Soiſſonnois, the Engliſh entered the fertile province of Champagne, and committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations in the environs of Rheims; where, in one week, they are ſaid to have reduced to aſhes *ſixty* villages. But theſe ravages did not

induce Charles to deviate from that cautious policy which ever led him to avoid a decisive action. The town of Vertus was next burned, and the enemy pursuing their march, forded the Seine, and presented themselves in order of battle before the city of Troyes, where the duke of Burgundy awaited their arrival with two thousand knights. This prince, however, refused to accept a challenge sent him by the duke of Buckingham, who continued his route through the Gatinois and la Beausse, with the intention of crossing the province of Maine to Brittany. The English were pursued by a superior army, under the command of the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who daily dispatched couriers to Charles to entreat his permission to bring them to action. Irritated, at length, by the repeated refusals of that monarch to grant their request, they determined to disobey his orders, and to engage the English before they had passed the river Sartre, which seperates Anjou from Maine; but the news of the king's illness diverted them from their plan, by calling their attention to objects more interesting to their ambition.

The last advice of Charles to the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon was, to proceed to the coronation of his son; to strengthen the alliance with Germany, by uniting him in marriage to a princess of that country; to terminate the war with Brittany, and to conciliate the affections of the Bretons, from whom he acknowledged to have received the most essential services; and lastly to abolish the imposts, for the more speedy accomplishment of which he ordered an edict to be drawn up, which he signed the very day of his death*.

As a friend to the arts, as a patron of the sciences, as the promoter of many useful regulations of internal police, Charles is entitled to praise; at his death, his treasure amounted to seventeen millions of livres, equal in value to one hundred and seventy millions of the present money†, and in effect, to eight hundred and fifty; or, upwards of thirty-five millions sterling! When we consider that, on his accession to the throne, the kingdom was greatly impoverished, and that this enormous sum was saved during a long and expensive war, we may conclude, that the necessity of consulting the happiness of the people formed no part of his political creed.

Charles left three children, by Jane of Bourbon: Charles, the dauphin, who succeeded him in the throne; Lewis, duke of Orleans; and Catharine of France, married to John of Berry, count of Montpensiere, second son to the duke of Berry. The funeral obsequies of Charles were not performed till the fourth of October.

Besides the territorial acquisitions already noticed during this reign, the king acquired the isles of Oberon and Re, which he annexed for ever to the crown‡: he obtained from the count of Savoy, for sixteen thousand florins of gold, the

* Chambre des Comptes, Mem. E. Recueil des Ordonnances. † Villaret, tom. xi. p. 102.
‡ Chamb. des Comp. de Paris, Mém. D. fol. 135.

ceſſion of all the caſtles and domains in his poſſeſſion, on the French ſide of the river Iſere. That river was thenceforth conſidered as the limit which ſeparated Savoy from Dauphiny.

The times were unfavourable for the encouragement of commerce, yet it was not wholly neglected. There were ſeveral manufactures in France, which, had not luxury introduced a taſte for foreign productions, might have ſufficed for the conſumption of the kingdom. Coarſe cloths were fabricated at Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Tournay, Rheims, Carcaſſonne, Marvejols, Saint Omer, Dourlens, Chalons, Terouane, Beauvais, Louviers, and at ſeveral other places. The mode of preparing wool, indeed, as practiſed in Flanders was unknown; and all the fine cloths, worn by the nobility and gentry, were brought from Bruſſels. Fine ſilks were imported from Italy, though ſilk-worms had been long introduced into the ſouthern provinces of France.

The tradeſmen and artiſans in the great towns had long been united in communities, diſtinguiſhed from each other by their particular privileges, cuſtoms, and ſtatutes. The ſingularity of ſome of theſe cuſtoms is a ſure proof of their antiquity. In the laws of the draper's company at Paris, is a clauſe, by which it is ordained, that a diſh ſhall be provided for the king, at all public feaſts*; whence it is probable that the French monarchs uſed formerly to attend theſe meetings.

The metropolis continued almoſt daily to encreaſe in ſize. As the king, the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility, had made it their principal reſidence, the number of its inhabitants experienced a prodigious augmentation, which induced Charles to extend its limits. But, as the people were ſtill crowded together in houſes ill conſtructed, and of a great height, while the ſtreets were extremely narrow, Paris became very unwholeſome; and the air was farther corrupted by the uncleanlineſs of the inhabitants. An attempt was made to remedy this laſt evil by ſubjecting to a ſmall fine ſuch citizens as neglected to clear the filth from before their doors once a week; but the ſeverity of the edict was loudly complained of, and as much pains were taken to elude it, as to avoid the payment of an oppreſſive tax, ſo that the ſtreets were frequently impaſſable. To this muſt be aſcribed moſt of thoſe epidemic diſorders which were ſo prevalent in thoſe times. Inſtead of deſtroying the ſource of the diſorder, the people were accuſtomed to apply for relief to ſome particular ſaint, who thenceforth became the patron of that contagion he was ſupplicated to remove. Hence "the Divine, or Sacred fire," "the fire of the Holy Virgin," "the fire of St. Ambroiſe," &c.—St. Anthony's fire had long been known. In the eleventh century a gentleman of Dauphigny, named Gaſton, founded an order of perſons deſtined to attend on thoſe who were afflicted with it; the diſtinctive mark of this order was a T, affixed to the dreſs.

* Tréſor des Char. Reg. 94. Livre Rouge du Châtelet, p. 78, Recueil des Ordonnances.

As Charles was fond of literature, he extended his protection to all who cultivated the ſciences. The taſte for ſtudy, which had been encouraged by Charlemagne, ceaſed under his deſcendants, and was but juſt revived. The literary monuments of that age, which are ſtill extant, give us no very favourable idea of the *wiſdom of the clerks*, ſo highly eſteemed by Charles; they only appear to advantage when compared with the more ſtupid productions of preceeding ages. The king had ſpared no expence to procure the beſt collection of books that could be had; and, as the art of printing was not yet invented, not only a very great expence, but great trouble alſo, muſt have been incurred in collecting even a ſmall library. In fact, a manuſcript was a precious thing; and often bequeathed as a conſiderable part of the ſucceſſion. Margaret of Sicily left a breviary to her father, the king of Sicily*. It was common to ſee a breviary carefully preſerved in the churches, in an iron cage, for the convenience of prieſts who had no books of their own: it was placed in a part of the church where there was moſt light, that ſeveral prieſts might recite their office at the ſame time.

The preſident Henaut ſays, that Charles may be juſtly conſidered as the true founder of the royal library†. John had not more than twenty volumes; but his ſon encreaſed them to nine hundred; a collection then juſtly conſidered as immenſe. Under the regency of the duke of Bedford, the nine hundred volumes were valued at two thouſand three hundred and twenty-three livres, four ſols; but that prince bought them for twelve hundred livres, and ſent them to London. Some of theſe volumes, however, are ſtill to be ſeen in the king's library at Paris; theſe muſt either have been at ſome of the royal manſions, at the time of the purchaſe, or elſe have been ſince bought up in England, and ſent over to France. Such was the commencement of the royal library, which was conſiderably augmented by Lewis the Twelfth and Francis the Firſt; but it was principally indebted to Lewis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth for that degree of magnificence, which renders it one of the moſt extenſive and valuable collections in Europe.

Among the books collected by Charles was a number of treatiſes on judicial aſtrology, which, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was regarded as the climax of human knowledge. Charles cauſed all the books which had any relation to it to be tranſlated. This ſcience was held in ſuch high eſtimation, that every phyſician became an aſtrologer. The father of the king's phyſician had a wonderful knowledge of the influence of the ſtars on the diſeaſes of the human body, and on all the affairs of this world. "*A learned maſter-aſ-*
"*tronomer*" had foretold that the dauphin "*would have much to do in his youth,*
"*and would eſcape great dangers and adventures:*" a prediction which made the king very uneaſy on his death-bed. Charles founded a college for the ſtudy of

* Regiſt. des Chart. Lay. *Teſtamenta regum*, 269. † Abregé Chronol. de l'Hiſt. de France.

phyſic and aſtrology, in favour of Gervaſe Chretien, who was a great adept in theſe ſciences. The college was plentifully provided with aſtrolabes, quadrants, ſpheres, and other neceſſary inſtruments.

Had Charles confined his encouragement of the ſciences to the protection of judicial aſtrology, the nation would have been little indebted to his taſte; but, following the example of his father, he cauſed ſeveral of the ancient claſſics to be tranſlated into French. The chief of theſe were Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, and Joſephus; with a new and more correct tranſlation of Livy. The ethics and politics of Ariſtotle were tranſlated by Nicholas Oreſmus, and his problems by Evrard de Contis, phyſician to the king. John of Antioch tranſlated Cicero's Rhetoric, and the biſhop of Meaux undertook the Metamorphoſes of Ovid, at the requeſt of Jane of Bourbon, wife to Charles. St. Auguſtine's "City of God" was alſo tranſlated during his reign; as were the bible, the homilies and dialogues of pope Gregory, the decretals of the popes, and the inſtitutes of Juſtinian. The ſtatutes of different monaſteries were "done into French verſe," for the convenience of monks who did not underſtand Latin, though that language was taught not only in the univerſities, but even in ſome monaſteries. Elizabeth, daughter to Charles count of Valois, taught Latin in the convent of Dominican nuns at Poiſſey*.

Moſt of theſe tranſlations were faithleſs and incorrect. A contemporary writer repreſents the original authors as complaining of the ignorance of their tranſlators, who made them ſay things which they had never thought of. He then adds, "Oh, "how happy would have been the fate of books, had there been no tower of "Babel; for then there would have been but one language on the earth, and "no word would have ſtood in need of tranſlation†!"

The library of Charles contained many geographical charts‡, illuminated with different colours, according to the taſte of the times. The knowledge of the loadſtone had enabled French navigators to undertake long voyages. The inhabitants of Dieppe traded on the coaſt of Guinea, ſo early as the fourteenth century. A Dominican miſſionary, who had paſſed the line, addreſſed his diſcoveries to Philip of Valois; but, the ignorance in which the nations of Europe were then plunged, prevented this firſt diſcovery of a new world from attracting attention. The monk affirmed that the chriſtians did not form a twentieth part of the inhabitants of the globe, and alſo the exiſtence of the antipodes. The contrary opinion ſtill continued to prevail, and thoſe were treated as heritics, who believed that the globe could be equally peopled. Although geographical knowledge would have been of great utility to Charles in his aſtronomical reſearches, it made but little progreſs during his reign. Such a diſpoſition then prevailed to confound moral with phyſical objects, that the univer[illegible] of Paris, in ſome remonſtrances they made to the pope, obſerved that [illegible] ſhould not be conſidered as a part of Europe, becauſe it was a *ſchiſm*[illegible]

* Bibl. Chart. Mém. de Litt. † Richard de Bury, Philobibl [illegible]

The multitude of chronicles compoſed in this century, moſt of which are ſtill extant in the libraries of France, prove, that the ſtudy of hiſtory was not neglected, though it does not appear that the hiſtorians of thoſe times profited from the examples afforded them by the writers of Greece and Rome. Froiſſard was the only one whoſe works were at once pleaſing and inſtructive; notwithſtanding their barbarous ſtyle, they are ſtill intereſting. They contain numerous miſtakes and miſrepreſentations. Froiſſard was a poet as well as an hiſtorian. He compoſed ſeveral poems on ſubjects that but ill-accorded with his profeſſion as a prieſt; ſuch as—"The Paradiſe of Love;" "The Temple of "Honour;" "The Daiſy;" "The Priſon of Love;" "The Roſe and the Vio-"let;" and a variety of amourous paſtorals, ballads, and roundelays. But the poems of Froiſſard, like all ſimilar productions of that age, were deſtitute of genius, taſte, and invention. Chronicles and private hiſtories in verſe were much in vogue; but reaſon was ſo entirely ſacrificed to rhime, that they had neither ſenſe, decency, nor truth, to recommend them. The ſacred poems were, if poſſible, ſtill more diſguſting, as they were more ſtrongly tinctured with the ignorance and vulgarity of the age in which they were written*.

The painters of this age were not more ſkilful than the poets; their chief merit conſiſted in repreſenting birds, inſects, trees, and flowers, in ſo brilliant colours, as ſtill to retain their original luſtre. When they painted human figures they exerted all their ſkill in preſerving, with the utmoſt preciſion, the dreſs, and the form of the hair; but they had no idea of expreſſing the paſſions, or, in ſhort, of giving the ſmalleſt degree of animation to the perſon or countenance. That their meaning, however, might not be ſubject to miſtake or miſrepreſentation, they had recourſe to written deſcriptions, explanatory of the ſubject. This curious expedient, which was long in vogue in France, originated in the following circumſtance: a friend of Bufamaleo, a painter of Florence, conſulting him on the beſt mode of giving expreſſion to his pictures, was adviſed to put words in the mouths of his figures, by means of labels, on which might be written what he wiſhed them to ſay. The ignorant artiſt followed his advice; he met with admirers as ignorant as himſelf, and his example was ſoon imitated. This ridiculous invention, being introduced into France, was adopted with avidity by the French painters. Nothing was then ſeen but pictures by queſtion and anſwer, and, for greater ſafety, they were careful to inſcribe on every figure the name of the perſon whom it was intended to repreſent. Some of theſe performances are ſtill extant; particularly in old tapeſtry. Water-colours alone were in uſe at this period; painting in oils was not introduced till the following century.

Villaret aſſerts† that the ſculptors of this period were equally ignorant with the painters; and that, except in ſome few of their baſſo relievos, and other

* Villaret. † Tom. xi. p. 140.

decorations of the churches, they diſplayed a total want of taſte, intelligence, and order; that their productions were neither marked by ſimplicity, nor diſtinguiſhed for elegance; and that they were entirely ignorant of that connection which ſhould ever be preſerved between the different objects of repreſentation. Father Montfaucon is of a different opinion; he declares that the art of ſculpture had made a rapid progreſs; and that the ſculptors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries greatly excelled their predeceſſors*. The few ſtatues and ſculptures which ſtill remain in England, of thoſe that were executed in France at this period, tend to confirm the truth of this declaration†.

The Gothic ſtyle of architecture was ſtill in uſe in France, as in other parts of Europe; and it ſeems to have been particularly calculated for religious buildings. The majeſty and magnificence of the Gothic ſtructures impreſs the mind with enthuſiaſtic awe; and what modern churches gain on the compariſon by neatneſs and elegance, they loſe in grandeur and ſublimity. With regard to other edifices, in their conſtruction neither comfort nor convenience appears to have been conſulted. In moſt private houſes, light was admitted through an aperture, defended only from the weather by a wooden ſhutter, a few ſheets of paper, or by canvas. Glaſs was an object of luxury reſerved for the habitations of the rich, the manſions of the nobility, and the palaces of kings. Theſe laſt were buildings of great extent, conſiſting of a ground-floor, a firſt-floor, divided into apartments of an immenſe ſize, and low garrets above. The furniture was as plain as the edifice. The king, and all the royal family, except the queen, ſat on wooden benches or joint-ſtools; the queen had chairs made of ſome pliant wood, embelliſhed with red leather, ſilk fringe, and gilt nails‡. Though there were chimnies to the palaces, a kind of ſtove was frequently uſed. The beams were decorated with fleurs-de-lys, made of gilt tin. There were two ſorts of beds, the one, called *couchette*, were not more than ſix feet ſquare: the other, called *couches*, were ſometimes twelve feet in length and eleven in breadth. The ſtate-apartments were richly decorated; the beds and alcoves were adorned with cloth of gold and ſilver, velvet, damaſk, ſatin, and tapeſtry. Glaſs mirrors were very ſcarce at this period; thoſe of poliſhed metal were generally uſed. The apartments occupied by the royal family were covered with tiles or ſlates; all the other parts of the building were thatched.

The favourite reſidence of Charles was the Hotel de St. Paul, which he built himſelf. The garden belonging to it covered twenty acres of ground; it extended along the banks of the Seine, from the ſpot were St. Paul's church now ſtands, to the *Port au Platre*‖. It contained a variety of plants, flowers, and vegetables, indiſcriminately mixed with yews and limes; and ſhady bowers. There were fruit-trees of almoſt every ſpecies; but they were all ſtandards;

* Monumens de la Monarchie Francoiſe, tom. i.
† Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 369. col. i.
‡ Recherches des Antiquit. de Paris, Sauval, t. ii. l. vii. p. 279.
‖ La Mare Traité de la Police, tom. iii. p. 381.

dwarfs and eſpaliers were not yet known. The king ordered one hundred pear-trees, one hundred and fifteen apple-trees, eleven hundred and twenty-five cherry-trees, and one hundred and fifty plumb-trees*, to be planted at one time. Theſe fruits were deſtined for the different tables of the royal family, and the great officers of the crown; the inferior officers were only allowed nuts. There was alſo a great number of fiſh-ponds in the garden well ſtocked for the twofold purpoſe of uſe and pleaſure. Adjoining to the palace was a menagerie, in which lions and wild boars were kept; and aviaries filled with birds of all kinds.

Moſt officers of the houſhold, who were very numerous, had apartments in the palace while on duty. In the kitchen, beſides the cooks and their aſſiſtants, were four pages, whoſe buſineſs it was to blow the fire conſtantly "that the king's ſoup might not be ſuffered to cool." A clerk was kept for buying cloth for the king and queen; which the taylor cut out in the preſence of witneſſes. The king's fool was one of the moſt important perſonages of the houſhold. Charles had two fools. There is a monument ſtill extant, which was raiſed to the memory of one of them, who is repreſented in marble and alabaſter, arrayed in the habit, and decorated with the attributes of folly, extended on a ſuperb mauſoleum†.

Whenever the king left home he was attended by a guard, compoſed of two *huiſſiers*, and eight ſerjeants-at-arms, with quivers. His carriage, as well as the queen's, was a waggon, drawn by five horſes; but he moſt commonly rode on horſeback; ſometimes, indeed, he walked from one palace to another‡.

The king's children were attended by the officers of the houſhold, till ſuch time as they received their appanage. The princeſſes were allowed a *chevalier d'honneur*, two female attendants, and a clerk to teach them to read.

The little progreſs which ſcience had hitherto made muſt not be aſcribed to any want of the neceſſary eſtabliſhments for cultivating it with ſucceſs. Several French monarchs, and Charles in particular, had been anxious to promote it. Many towns, ſuch as Montpelier, Orleans, and Poitiers, had univerſities endowed with valuable privileges. The univerſity of Paris was frequented by men of all nations. On the deciſion of a queſtion relative to the extinction of ſchiſms in the papacy, ten thouſand of its members voted; and, as graduates alone were admitted to that privilege, the number of ſtudents muſt have been great indeed‖. On this univerſity alone upwards of twenty colleges depended, in different parts of the kingdom.

* Villaret. † This mauſoleum is to be ſeen at the church of Saint Maurice, at Senlis, with this inſcription: "*Here lies Thevenin de Saint Leger, fool to our lord the king, who died on the eleventh of July, in the year of grace, 1375.*" Hiſtoire des Antiq. t. ii.

‡ The ferryman at Paris received two ſols every time the king croſſed the Seine to go to any of his palaces, of which he had ſeveral in the metropolis. Villaret.

‖ Hiſtoire de l'Univ. t. iii. l. 5.

Such was the eſtimation in which Ariſtotle was held, that, if any author ventured to deviate, in the ſmalleſt degree, from his ſyſtem, he took care to inform the public, that he did not mean to contradict the Grecian philoſopher, but only to comment on his works*.

Judicial aſtrology formed an obſtacle to the progreſs of medicine, by the falſe opinions with which it embarraſſed that ſcience. We learn from the capitularies of Charlemagne, that the ſtudy of medicine was cultivated in the reign of that emperor: it even appears that there was a part of the palace, appropriated to the reception of medical ſtudents; though there is no evidence that it ſubſiſted under his ſucceſſors. No public ſchools of medicine were eſtabliſhed till near the end of the twelfth century: thoſe of Salernum and Montpelier are regarded as the moſt ancient. The inſtitution of the faculty of medicine at Paris is placed under the reign of Philip Auguſtus. The ſtudents were, at firſt, compelled to undergo a courſe of ſtudy, which laſted nine years, before they were ſuffered to practiſe. The deſire of acquiring an art ſo eſſential to life, induced people of all profeſſions to engage in the ſtudy of phyſic. The monks and ſecular prieſts were forbidden to frequent the ſchools; but they tranſgreſſed the prohibition, or elſe obtained a diſpenſation; ſince it appears that numbers of the clergy paid a regular attendance. Celibacy was preſcribed to the agents of the faculty, and this reſtraint continued till the fifteenth century. The faculty had frequent diſputes with the ſurgeons, whoſe encroachments they endeavoured to repreſs, while theſe laſt were as often at war with the privileged barbers†, who practiſed to their prejudice. The apothecaries were, at this time, ſubject to the viſits of the faculty, before whom they were ſworn. They were obliged to keep a book, in which the quality of their medicines was marked. But the celebrity of their own ſchools did not prevent the French from giving a preference to foreign phyſicians; the Jews, in particular, were held in high eſtimation, nor did their credit diminiſh till the ſixteenth century. Francis the Firſt, being attacked by a diſorder which is ſaid to have baffled all the efforts of his own phyſicians, requeſted Charles the Fifth to ſend him a Jew of that profeſſion; the emperor accordingly diſpatched a converted Iſraelite to the court of France: but, when the king found that he had been converted to chriſtianity, he diſmiſſed him, not believing it poſſible that his cure could be effected by a chriſtian phyſician. An *orthodox* Jew was then ſent for, from Conſtantinople, who reſtored Francis by the uſe of aſſes' milk.

The rapidity with which the knowledge and ſtudy of the Roman law ſpread over Europe is amazing. The copy of the pandects of Juſtinian was found at Amalphi, in the year 1137. Irnerius opened a college of civil law at Bologna, a few years after‡. It began to be taught as a part of accademical learning in

*Mém. de Litt.

† There were two different claſſes of ſurgeons at this period; the graduates of the univerſity, who were called *ſurgeons of the long robe*, and the community of barbers, or, *ſurgeons of the ſhort robe*. Hiſt. de la Ville de Paris, tom. i. l. 9.

‡ Gian. Hiſt. l. 11. c. 2.

different parts of France before the middle of the century. Vaccarius gave lectures on the civil law at Oxford, ſo early as the year 1147. A regular ſyſtem of feudal law, evidently formed in imitation of the Roman code, was compoſed by two Milaneſe lawyers, about the year 1150. Peter de Fontains, who tells us that he was the firſt who had attempted ſuch a work in France, compoſed his *Conſeil*, which contains an account of the cuſtoms of the country of Vermandois, in the reign of St. Lewis. Beaumanoir, author of the *Couſtumes de Beuvoiſois*, lived about the ſame period. The "Eſtabliſhments" of St. Lewis were publiſhed by the authority of that monarch. As ſoon as men became acquainted with the advantages of having written cuſtoms and laws to which they could have recourſe on every occaſion, the method of collecting them became common*.

The civil law was taught in all the ſchools throughout the kingdom, till the commencement of the thirteenth century, when pope Honorius forbade lectures on the civil law to be read in the univerſity of Paris. This interdiction aroſe from the apprehenſion that the ſtudy of the law might ſuperſede that of divinity. Notwithſtanding the efforts that were made to renew thoſe lectures, the utility of which had been experienced, the prohibition continued to operate for upwards of three centuries. Thoſe who wiſhed to gain inſtruction in the civil juriſprudence, were obliged to have recourſe to other univerſities. The liberty of teaching it was not fully reſtored to that of Paris, till the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, who publiſhed an ordonnance for that purpoſe, in the year 1679.

The eſtabliſhment of the various impoſts which the wants of the ſtate had rendered indiſpenſable, required the publication of edicts, either to explain the nature, or to regulate the collection of them. Theſe edicts required to be interpreted, to facilitate their execution, to prevent miſtakes, and to correct abuſes. The interpretation and collection of the different regulations with regard to the finances began to form a new ſpecies of juriſprudence, which might have been denominated the revenue-code. The adminiſtration of the public revenue has, in all times, determined the actual force of a nation; it therefore forms one of the moſt eſſential objects of government; a truth, of which Charles fully convinced himſelf; but, the meaſures he was led to adopt were not attended with all the ſucceſs he had reaſon to expect from them. The inſatiate avarice of thoſe who took the taxes to farm, was diſplayed in a thouſand plans for ruining both prince and people. The exertions of the ſovereign and his council to fruſtrate their machinations proved ineffectual; no ſooner was one abuſe corrected than another ſprang up to replace it. A part of the myſteries, to which the induſtry of avarice gave birth, may be diſcovered from a peruſal of the ordonnances paſſed at this period: men, equally deſtitute of

* Robertſon.

property and principle, were ſuffered to farm the taxes, the produce of which was frequently received and not accounted for; ſometimes it was appropriated to other purpoſes than thoſe for which it was deſtined; imaginary expences were charged for the conveyance of money which had never quitted the hands of the perſon who received it; falſe receipts were given, and delays in payments obtained on faiſe pretences. In ſhort, nothing was omitted which intereſted ingenuity could ſuggeſt for defrauding the prince; though theſe frauds were trivial, when compared to thoſe which were committed on the people. It ſeemed as if theſe ſubaltern tyrants, united by intereſt, had agreed to divide between them the ſpoils of the kingdom. Adjudicators, receivers, comptrollers, viſitors, all, in ſhort, who had any concern with the revenue, had their fixed ſhare of the general plunder. They made the people pay the ſame tax twice. They uſed the moſt rigourous means for enforcing the payment before it was due, in the view of profiting by the exaction of uſurious intereſt; they had the audacity to levy impoſts invented by themſelves. Such as were unable immediately to ſatisfy their demands, were compelled to abandon their habitations to theſe rapacious vultures. Even the loweſt officers of the revenue thought themſelves authoriſed to oppreſs the public. Wherever this privileged banditti appeared, deſolation attended their ſteps. They always found ſome pretence for entering private houſes; and, ſuch was the terror which their preſence inſpired, that the inhabitants paid them for retiring; even thoſe who had paid the taxes with the utmoſt punctuality were equally ſubject to their viſits, nor had they any means of defence againſt men who were at once plaintiffs, judges, and executioners: in vain did they produce their receipts, they were obliged to ſatisfy the arbitrary demands of theſe wretches. Ordonnance was paſſed after ordonnance, and the moſt ſevere injunctions were iſſued, but they were ſcarely ſufficient to remove a ſmall part of theſe flagrant abuſes, while the culprits were ſcreened from puniſhment by the protection of thoſe in power.

The oppreſſors of the people purchaſed impunity by ſupplying their powerful patrons with the means of ſupporting their extravagance. The apologiſts for luxury have vainly aſſerted that it is a ſure proof of wealth in a great kingdom, though it may accelerate the ruin of a ſmall one. Neceſſarily productive of effeminacy, confuſion of ranks and conditions, neglect of duty, and corruption of manners, it is equally deſtructive to both, with this difference only, that the ruin of a ſmall republic is more rapid than that of a vaſt empire; as the flames conſume a buſh ſooner than a foreſt. The government had long been conſtrained to prohibit the citizens from uſing *Cars*; to regulate the price of ſtuffs according to the rank of thoſe who wore them; to fix the difference of furs uſed in dreſs, by the ſame ſtandard; to prevent, as much as poſſible, the introduction of foreign cloths, in order to encourage the manufactures; in ſhort, to attempt the reſtoration of plenty by the eſtabliſhment of moderation. The vigilance of the laws was eluded by the invention of vanity: as ſoon as

one faſhion was ſuppreſſed another was adopted, perpetual variations occurred, and the ingenuity of the people ſurpaſſed the rigour of government.

Gaming was one of the prevailing vices of the age; and though it had been proſcribed by the ſevereſt edicts, it ſtill continued to thrive with undiminiſhed vigour. Games of dice appear to have been moſt in vogue; and the nobility gave themſelves up ſo completely to this deſtructive paſſion, that many of them were reduced to a ſtate of poverty the moſt degrading. It was the only amuſement to which military men, devoted their leiſure hours; ignorant and unlettered, their minds were not ſuſceptible of more rational recreation. Even the princes of the blood were not uninfected by the general diſorder. James, count of la Marche, having received from Charles the Sixth conſiderable ſums, for defraying the expenſes of a projected invaſion of England, diſſipated them all, and returned without accompliſhing the object he had in view. "He ſpent all "he had received," ſays an ancient chronicle*, "in ſtupid prodigality, on wo-"men and dice." On his return through Orleans, from this curious expedition, the ſcholars aſſembled in a body on the road, and ſaluted him by ſinging *Mare videt et fugit*.—He ſaw the ſea, and fled.

Muſic and dancing have always formed the *characteriſtic* amuſements of the French nation. At this time they were held in high eſteem, and all who taught them experienced encouragement. Charles was paſſionately fond of muſic. In Paris, as in moſt great towns, the muſicians formed a company under the direction of a chief, who was called the "*The King of the Fidlers;*" and whoſe buſineſs it was to keep the corps in order, and to enforce the obſervance of the laws by which they were governed. Theſe laws were framed by themſelves, and not unfrequently confirmed by the king. The muſicians were invited to all feaſts, and the poets often aſſociated with them, in order that their productions might derive additional luſtre from the accompaniment of muſic. When the actors, muſicians, and rhymers united, they were diſtinguiſhed by the general denomination of *jugglers*. They frequented the palaces of the great, and the private habitations of the wealthy. They often exhibited their performances on ſcaffolds erected in the market-places, and endeavoured to attract the attention of the vulgar by the repreſentation of indecent farces. The government, wiſhing to repreſs this licentiouſneſs, publiſhed an ordonnance, forbidding the *jugglers*, under pain of impriſonment and an arbitrary fine, to recite, repreſent, or ſing, in the public ſtreets, or elſewhere, any thing offenſive to modeſty. Such was the rude commencement of theatrical exhibitions, which, under the ſucceeding reign, began to aſſume that form which they ſtill retain.

One of the moſt uſeful diſcoveries of the fourteenth century was the invention of ſpectacles: but the name of the inventor has not been preſerved. It appears that he was anxious to keep the ſecret to himſelf, but, that it was divulged, not-

* Chron. MS. B. R. No. 10297. p. 72, verſo. † Recher. d'Antiq. de Spon. p. 213. Mém. de Litt.

withſtanding his care to conceal it; for an ancient chronicle relates that a monk, named Alexandro de Spina, made ſpectacles and gave them away, while the perſon who invented them refuſed to let the public partake of the advantage of his diſcovery*. This invention facilitated the progreſs of aſtronomy; and, by the introduction of teleſcopes, gave the aſtronomers of that age an advantage over the ancients.

This period is farther remarkable for the introduction of paper-manufactories, into France, at a time, when they were peculiarly acceptable; ſince men, having recently emerged from a ſtate of ignorance the moſt profound, were ſeized with a rage for writing. The Romans wrote their books either on parchment, or on paper made of the Egyptian papyrus. The latter, being the cheapeſt, was the moſt commonly uſed. But, after the Saracens conquered Egypt, in the ſeventh century, the communication between that country and the people ſettled in Italy, or in other parts of Europe, was almoſt entirely broken off, and the papyrus was no longer in uſe among them. They were obliged, on that account, to write all their books upon parchment; and, as the price of that was high, books became extremely rare, and of great value. We may judge of the ſcarcity of the materials for writing them from one circumſtance. There ſtill remain many manuſcripts of the eighth, ninth, and following centuries, written on parchment, from which ſome former writing had been eraſed, in order to ſubſtitute a new compoſition in its place. In this manner, it is probable, that ſeveral works of the ancients periſhed. A book of Livy or of Tacitus might be eraſed, to make room for the tale of a ſaint, or the prayer of a miſſal†. P. de Montfaucon affirms, that the greater part of the manuſcripts on parchment which he has ſeen, thoſe of an ancient date excepted, are written on parchment from which ſome former book had been eraſed. As the want of materials for writing, is one reaſon why ſo many of the works of the ancients have periſhed, it accounts likewiſe for the ſmall number of manuſcripts of any kind, previous to the eleventh century, when the means for encreaſing them were ſupplied. Many circumſtances prove the ſcarcity of books during theſe ages. Private perſons ſeldom poſſeſſed any books whatever. Even monaſteries, of conſiderable note, had only one miſſal. Lupus, abbot of Ferriers, in a letter to the pope, A. D. 855, beſeeches him to lend him a copy of Cicero de Oratore, and Quintilian's inſtitutions; "for," ſays he, "although "we have part of thoſe books, there is no complete copy of them in all France." The price of books became ſo high, that perſons of a moderate fortune could not afford to purchaſe them. The counteſs of Anjou paid, for a copy of the homilies of Haimon, biſhop of Halberſtadt, two hundred ſheep, five quarters of wheat, and the ſame quantity of rye and millet. Even ſo late as the year 1471, when Lewis the Eleventh, borrowed the works of Raſis, the Arabian

* Recher. d'Antiq. de Spon. p. 213. Mém. de Litt. † Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. iii. p. 833.

phyſician, from the faculty of medicine in Paris, he not only depoſited in pledge a conſiderable quantity of plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as ſurety in a deed, binding himſelf under a great forfeiture to reſtore it. When any perſon made a preſent of a book to a church or a monaſtery, in which were the only libraries during theſe ages, it was deemed a donative of ſuch value, that he offered it on the altar *pro remedio animæ ſuæ*, in order to obtain the forgiveneſs of his ſins. In the eleventh century, the art of making paper from rags was invented; by means of which not only the number of manuſcripts encreaſed, but the ſtudy of the ſciences was wonderfully facilitated*. But, whether the art was but imperfectly underſtood, or whether this new invention did not meet with the encouragement it deſerved, no veſtige of it is to be met with in France earlier than the reign of Saint Lewis; even after that time it was but little uſed, and it was, moreover, brought from Lombardy, till the fourteenth century, when ſeveral manufactories of paper were eſtabliſhed in the kingdom; the firſt of which were thoſe of Eſſonne and Troyes†.

The art of clock-making had been greatly neglected ſince the famous Gerbert had, about the tenth century, invented clocks that moved by wheels. This neglect ſuffices to prove with how little ardour the diſcoveries of genius were purſued. During the day the ſun, or elſe an hour-glaſs, ſerved for a clock; and in the night a wax-light, marked at different diſtances to indicate the hours anſwered the ſame purpoſe: the firſt large clock that was introduced into France, was the work of a German, named *Henry de Vic*, who was invited to Paris by Charles. This clock, which ſtruck the hours, was placed in the tower of the king's palace. Some years after another was put up at the cathedral of Sens, when the king paid one half of the expence of a wooden caſe in which it was encloſed. The town of Dijon is ſtill in poſſeſſion of a clock made at this period, which the duke of Burgundy brought from Courtrai, when that town was taken by the French, at the commencement of the reign of Charles the Sixth.

The ingredients of gunpowder, and the art of making it, were known to the celebrated Roger Bacon‡, an Engliſh monk, who was born near Ilcheſter in the year 1214. But that capricious philoſopher, ſo tranſpoſed the letters of the Latin words which ſignify charcoal, as to render the whole obſcure and unintelligible.—"Sed tamen ſalis petræ, *luru mope can ubre*, (carbonum pulvere,) et "ſulphuris; et ſic facies tonitrum et corruſcationem, ſi ſcias artificium." By this means he rendered it difficult for any one to diſcover the fatal ſecret by the peruſal of his works, and ſecured to himſelf the honour of the invention, if it ſhould be diſcovered by any other perſon. This accordingly happened not long after Bacon's death, which occurred in 1292; Barthold Schwartz, otherwiſe cal-

* Murat. vol. iii. p. 871. Robertſon's View of the State of Europe, prefixed to his Hiſtory of Charles the Fifth, p. 280, 281, 282. † Villaret, tom. xi. p. 200. ‡ Baconi Epiſtola, de ſecretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, c. xi.

led the *Black Monk*, or *Conſtantine Ancklitzen*, a native of Fribourg in Germany, having put ſome ſaltpetre, ſulphur, and charcoal into a mortar, for ſome chymical preparation*, a ſpark of fire accidently flew into it; when the mortar was rent aſunder by the ſudden exploſion. The monk, who, eſcaped with his life, had no ſooner recovered from his fright, than he began to make experiments, which, by moderating the effects of this dreadful compoſition, taught him how to uſe it as a ſure engine of deſtruction.

The exact period when gunpowder and fire-arms were firſt employed by the French is not aſcertained with preciſion. The following article appears in the accounts of the treaſurer of war, in the year 1338—"To Henry de Faumichan, "for gunpowder and other things neceſſary for the cannon at the ſiege of Puy-"Guillaume†." In 1340, the Engliſh were compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Eu, at which artillery was employed by the garriſon: this artillery conſiſted of two large "iron boxes," which they loaded with round pebbles. It was conſidered as a remarkable inſtance of good fortune, that theſe pieces had ſuſtained no damage; which proves, that the art of managing them with effect was then unknown, and this was probably one of the reaſons which ſo long prevented them from being generally uſed‡. But we are told by Froiſſard‖, that when the Engliſh laid ſiege to St. Malo, in 1373, they had four hundred cannon with them, which they muſt have known how to manage, or they would never have encumbered themſelves with ſo many. It is evident, indeed, that moſt of theſe muſt have been a ſmaller kind of fire-arms, called *hand-cannons*, one of which was carried by two men, and fired from a reſt fixed in the ground§. Theſe portable fire-arms were not introduced into France till the reign of Charles the Sixth. Their introduction gave a fatal blow to chivalry, and effected a total alteration in the art of war. The braveſt warrior could no longer rely on his perſonal proweſs, or the excellence of his arms, as means of defence againſt an adverſary, who, though deſtitute of courage, might, with ſucceſs attack him at a diſtance. A tranquil intrepidity, accuſtomed to give and to receive death without deſign as without fear, was now ſubſtituted in the room of that active valour which had hitherto been deemed the chief ſupport of hoſtile armies. By this new mode of fighting every man was rendered fit for the purpoſes of war. Armies were more numerous, and nations exhauſted their reſources in augmenting their military forces.

From this ſhort ſketch of the laws and cuſtoms of the French in the fourteenth century, it muſt appear that there was nothing in their general knowledge, in their arts, nor in their pleaſures, worthy of imitation or regret.—But do their virtues form a juſt object of envy to their poſterity? The recital of their actions, and the events they produced, will afford the beſt ſolution of the problem.

* Du Cange Gloſſ. ad verbum Bombarda. † Ibid. ‡ Liv. Rouge de la Ville d'Eu. Mém. de Litt. Villaret mentions the exiſtence of a piece of artillery ſo early as the year 1308. Tom. xi. p. 205.
‖ Tom. ii. p. 34. § P. Daniel, t. i. l. vi. p. 321.

CHARLES THE SIXTH.

A. D. 1380.] THE funeral of Charles had been retarded by the miſunderſtanding which prevailed between the princes of the blood. They had ſurrounded the bed of the dying monarch, with the ſemblance of affection; but he no ſooner breathed his laſt than his body was abandoned to the care of his attendants. The dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Bourbon, haſtened to ſecure the perſons of the young princes, who were then at Melun, while the duke of Anjou hurried to Paris, to ſeize ſuch treaſures of the late king as were there depoſited. The gold and ſilver coin, amaſſed by the economy of Charles, had been melted, formed into ingots, and lodged in a ſtrong room in the palace. The exact amount of this property has never been aſcertained; whatever it was, the duke of Anjou ſeized it all, and never accounted for it to the ſtate. This theft proved the ſource of moſt calamities with which the kingdom was, in the ſequel, afflicted.

The princes, who had hitherto been reſtrained by reſpect for their deceaſed ſovereign, now began to purſue without diſguiſe their projects of ambition. Each aſſembled his friends and dependants, and exerted every effort to augment their number. The court was divided; and military men haſted to range themſelves under the ſtandards of the different parties. Already various bodies of troops approached the metropolis; Paris was inveſted, and the commencement of hoſtilities was announced by the depredations committed on the ſurrounding country. The people rejoiced at this appearance of confuſion, and reſolved to encreaſe the general anarchy, without reflecting, that it was their *intereſt* to adopt that line of conduct which muſt tend to the preſervation of peace and order.

Of the brothers of the late king, the duke of Anjou had the leaſt claim to reſpect; though adorned with every grace of perſon, endued with wit, eloquence, and courage, his accompliſhments were greatly over-balanced by his vices; he was ambitious, inflexible, avaricious and cruel. The duke of Berry was equally deſtitute of virtue, and would have poſſeſſed all the glaring defects of his brother, had they not been tempered and modified by his exceſſive indolence; in one point, however, they eſſentially differed; the latter was a cautious miſer, the former an undiſcerning ſpendthrift. The duke of Burgundy was endowed with qualities to excite admiration and to command eſteem; in youth he had given unequivocal proofs of his courage, and it never forſook him at the lateſt period of his life; though his mind was not ſhut againſt ambition,

it was open to generoſity; his affability, his inſinuating manners, and liberal ſoul, ſecured the affections of all who approached him. He would have been juſtly eſteemed the moſt accompliſhed prince of the age, had he not been ſurpaſſed in merit by the duke of Bourbon, maternal uncle to the youthful monarch, who joined to all the advantages which reſult from the beſt qualifications of head and heart, the ſplendour of virtue. But he was, unfortunately, placed by his birth in a ſubordinate ſtation, where his talents and integrity had leſs room for exertion. Such were the four arbiters of the fate of France.

Though the late king had, when he ſettled the buſineſs of the regency, entruſted the care of his children to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, the duke of Anjou, inſiſted that the government of the kingdom, and the care of the princes, ſhould alike veſt in himſelf. Theſe pretenſions were of courſe reſiſted by his brothers, and a civil war was on the point of breaking out, when the four dukes agreed to refer the deciſion of the matter to arbitration; four arbiters were accordingly appointed, whoſe names have not been preſerved in hiſtory.

The umpires took a ſolemn oath, to be guided only by a ſtrict regard for the welfare of the king and kingdom*. After ſome deliberation, they ſubmitted their judgment to the princes, by whom it was ſolemnly confirmed, at a bed of juſtice convened for the purpoſe; at which were preſent, the duke of Anjou, as regent; the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon; Meaux and Chartres, beſides many of the nobility, prelates, and barons. The reſult of the arbitration was, that the king, though he had not yet attained the age required by the laws, ſhould be crowned at Rheims, and take upon himſelf the government of the realm, under the guidance and direction of his uncles. It was farther privately agreed between the princes, that the education of the young monarch and his brother ſhould be entruſted to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who were appointed ſuperintendants of the royal houſhold; and that the duke of Anjou ſhould keep the regency till the king's coronation, which was fixed for the end of October. This laſt prince was induced to withdraw thoſe ambitious claims which he had at firſt advanced, on being permitted to appropriate to his own uſe all the furniture, plate, and jewels belonging to his deceaſed brother, except ſuch as were immediately neceſſary for his ſon and ſucceſſor. A private fund was ſet apart for the ſupport of the young princes, ariſing from the revenues of particular provinces; and the remainder of the public revenue, after all expences had been paid, was to be placed in the royal treaſury, there to remain till the king ſhould have attained the age of majority, and hence have acquired the right to diſpoſe of it.

Paris was ſtill ſurrounded by troops, who laid waſte the neighbouring country; expelled the inhabitants of the villages from their habitations, and forced

* Regiſt. du Parlement.

them to take refuge in the walled towns. They infeſted the public roads, and ſtripped the paſſengers, in order, they ſaid, to procure payment of their wages, which they were unable to obtain from the regent. Theſe diſorders occaſioned continual diſputes in the council, where the duke of Burgundy preſſed his brother to pay the troops, moſt of whom were under his own command, with the money which he had ſeized. But, inſtead of complying with this requeſt, the regent determined to diſband all the regular companies which had been embodied by Charles, except thoſe of the count of Sancerre and Oliver de Cliſſon. He was unable to put this expedient in execution, and the attempt multiplied the cauſes of diſcontent.

The people, who had waited with impatience for the abolition of the taxes, as ordered by the late king, began to murmur at the delay. Their complaints grew louder, when, inſtead of finding their burdens removed, they ſaw themſelves more haraſſed than before; not only by an augmentation of the impoſts, but, by the oppreſſive manner in which the receivers, who were themſelves preſſed by the regent, urged them to pay their arrears. They, at firſt, threatened; and then proceeded to open inſurrection. The officers for receiving the taxes were plundered at Compiegne, and ſeveral towns in Picardy. The contagion, ſpreading by degrees, ſoon reached the capital. About two hundred of the populace aſſembling, compelled John Culdoe, provoſt of the merchants, to place himſelf at their head, and conduct them to the palace. He led them to the regent, to whom he preſented their requeſt; the inſurgents exclaimed with one voice, that they would no longer pay any taxes, and that they would ſooner die than ſubmit to ſo many exactions. The duke of Anjou had neither equity to examine the demands of the people, nor firmneſs to repreſs their firſt efforts. He in vain endeavoured to appeaſe them by vague promiſes; all he could obtain was an aſſurance that they would proceed no farther till the king's return to the capital. They retired with the reſolution of perſiſting in their pretenſions, and proud of having made the authority of the regent bend before them. This ſucceſs increaſed their inſolence, and cemented their union; their numbers daily augmented.

The duke of Anjou was leſs anxious to avert the threatened attack on the ſovereign power, than to profit by his own ſtation, which he was ſo ſhortly deſtined to reſign. For a valuable conſideration he confirmed the privileges which the Jews had obtained during the preceding reign; prolonged the time of their reſidence in the kingdom, by adding five years to the term preſcribed by Charles; exempted ſeveral of the moſt opulent from the neceſſity of wearing a badge of diſtinction; and gave them a general abſolution for all the crimes which they had committed againſt the ſtate or the king.

Meanwhile the neceſſary preparations for the coronation were carried on; and the court were actually on the road to Rheims, when the apparent calm that ſubſiſted between the princes was ſuddenly interrupted. The ſeizure of

the treaſure, the furniture, plate, and jewels of the late king, had not ſatisfied the avidity of the duke of Anjou. Informed, by the officers of the guard, that Charles had depoſited a treaſure in the caſtle of Melun, he queſtioned Philip de Savoiſy, one of his chamberlains, on the ſubject; and that nobleman, eluding his queſtions, and deſpiſing his threats, the regent ſent for the executioner, who was ordered to put him inſtantly to death, unleſs he revealed the ſecret. By this means he diſcovered the object of his ſearch, conſiſting of a quantity of ingots of gold and ſilver, which Charles had carefully concealed in the walls, and which his brother now carried off.

The confuſion occaſioned by this violent exertion delayed the coronation for ſome days; ſo that the young monarch did not make his public entry into Rheims, till the third of November. The ceremony was performed in preſence of the king's uncles; and moſt of the principal nobility of France. At the feaſt which ſucceeded the coronation, the diſhes were placed on the table, and the gueſts were waited on by Oliver de Cliſſon, and ſome other nobles arrayed in cloth of gold, and *mounted on ſuperb courſers*.

When the court returned to the capital, care was taken to avoid all the towns on the road, that the people might have no opportunity of applying for a repeal of the taxes. The king entered Paris amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. His acceſſion to the throne was celebrated by public rejoicings.

But the Pariſians, emboldened by the ſucceſs of their laſt application to the duke of Anjou, thought themſelves ſufficiently formidable to enforce any requeſt they might be induced to prefer. Moſt of the reputable citizens, however, condemned the ſeditious commotions; the tumult was excited by men in deſperate circumſtances, with which every great city abounds. John Culdoe, provoſt of the merchants, endeavoured to avert the impending ſtorm, by calling a meeting of the principal citizens; but the populace repaired in crowds to the appointed place, and baffled all attempts to enforce obedience to the laws. A cobler acted as orator for the people; in his ſpeech he attacked not only the princes and nobility, but even many reſpectable citizens, whom he accuſed of forſaking the popular cauſe. The people drew their ſwords and ſurrounding the provoſt, compelled him to lead them to the palace. When they arrived, they called for the duke of Anjou. That prince appeared. The provoſt of the merchants had a difficult part to ſupport; ſince he was equally fearful of offending the duke, and of irritating the people: while he expatiated on the public miſery, and the neceſſity of immediate relief, he inſinuated, in cautious terms, the inability of the people to pay the taxes, and their reſolution to ſacrifice every thing to obtain a repeal. The duke of Anjou was equally circumſpect in his reply; and, when he had ſomewhat calmed the minds of the populace, the chancellor addreſſed them, and adviſed them to return peaceably home, promiſing that their requeſt ſhould be taken into immediate conſideration, and a deciſive anſwer given on the morrow. The inſurgents retired.

The queſtion was diſcuſſed in the council; where the neceſſity of appearing to yield to the inſolence of an infatuated populace, was enforced. The demands of the people were juſt, but the mode of preferring them was culpable. Thoſe who held the reins of government had neither penetration to diſcover, nor courage to adopt ſuch meaſures as were moſt conformable to reaſon, and to the majeſty of the throne. While the chief members of the council were involved in a ſtate of uncertainty, the inſurgents aſſembled, and the revolt becoming general, the court was intimidated. By this indeciſion the princes had loſt the opportunity of granting as a favour, what they were now compelled to accord through fear. The chancellor was ordered to announce the abolition of the impoſts, and the neceſſary letters for that purpoſe were publiſhed the next day*.

It was imagined that this act of condeſcenſion would reſtore tranquillity; but the chancellor had no ſooner finiſhed his ſpeech, than a general clamour was heard. The people inſiſted on the expulſion of the Jews; the chancellor replied, that he would ſpeak to the king on the ſubject, who, he doubted not, would give them the ſatisfaction they required. The council did not ſuppoſe that this new demand would be productive of any ſerious conſequences; but the inſurgents, aſſembled the next day, at the inſtigation, it is ſaid, of certain noblemen who had borrowed conſiderable ſums from the Jews. The houſes of the public receivers, moſt of whom were Jews or Lombards, were broken open, the cheſts in which the money was depoſited were ſeized upon, and their contents emptied in the ſtreets; while the regiſters and all other papers, not forgetting bonds and other ſecurities for money lent, were deſtroyed. In one ſtreet alone thirty houſes were pillaged, and the furniture became the prey of the populace. The Jews endeavoured to preſerve their lives by flight; but moſt of them were intercepted and maſſacred, while the few that eſcaped fled for refuge to the dungeons of the Chatelet. Their wives, in deſpair, attempted to follow their huſbands, with their children in their arms; but the mob forced the children from them, and carried them to be baptized†. The government was too weak to inflict on the inſurgents the puniſhment which they deſerved; the council, indeed, re-eſtabliſhed the Jews in their habitations, and iſſued an order for every one to reſtore, under pain of death, whatever he had taken from them; but the order was treated with contempt. The Jews, after being deſpoiled of their property, were expoſed to proſecution from thoſe who had placed pledges in their hands; but an ordonnance was paſſed to exempt them from the conſequences, on taking an oath that the property, which was the object of the action, had been taken from them during the tumult.

The harmony between the princes was inceſſantly on the point of being in-

* Tréſor des Chartres, reg. 118, piéce 56, et ſuiv; Recueil des Ordonnances, t. iv. † "This act of violence," ſays Villaret, "would have deſerved commendation, had not *its ſanctity* been polluted "by avarice and rage."—The infatuated mind of a bigot, ſurely, never engendered a more prepoſterous idea.

terrupted, by the intervention of ſome new ſubject for diſpute. The duke of Berry, who had hitherto evinced no ambitious deſires, ſuddenly awoke from his lethargy, and demanded the government of Languedoc, which was granted him, and with ſuch extenſive powers, that he was rather ſovereign than governor of the province*. The duke of Burgundy obtained the government of Normandy on the ſame conditions. By continuing thus to diſmember the kingdom, it would ſoon have been reduced to the ſame ſtate in which it was under the laſt kings of the ſecond race.

In November, Oliver de Cliſſon was promoted to the dignity of conſtable, which had remained vacant ever ſince the death of du Gueſclin, and at the ſame time the ſtates of the Langue d'oyl aſſembled at Paris, to ſettle the form of government. It was probably at this aſſembly of the ſtates, that the dukes of Anjou, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, agreed between themſelves, that, in future, every thing ſhould be decided in the council, by them, or two or three of them; that they ſhould chuſe twelve perſons to compoſe the council; that they ſhould diſpoſe of all places whatever; that the adminiſtration of the finances ſhould be ſubject to their controul; that the demeſnes of the crown ſhould only be alienated for life; that a regular account of the produce of the revenue ſhould be kept, to be delivered to the young king, when of age; and that the care of the king and his brother ſhould ſtill be entruſted to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon.

The princes, far from obtaining, from the ſtates, the re-eſtabliſhment of the taxes which had been recently aboliſhed, were obliged to confirm the letters of ſuppreſſion†. Nor were the deputies contented with the ſimple abolition of the impoſts; feeling their ſuperiority they went farther. In times of trouble and confuſion the ſame conduct was invariably obſerved; the nation inſiſted that the ancient form of government ſhould be reſtored, without reflecting that circumſtances being changed, and a material alteration effected in the political ſyſtem, the ſame rule of adminiſtration could no longer be followed. Thoſe who were able to enforce theſe objections, wanted the neceſſary credit to procure them a favourable reception; while thoſe who were at the head of affairs were too much occupied in conſulting their own intereſts to attend to thoſe of the king or people. The ſtates, therefore, obtained their demand. In conſequence of the complaints preferred by the three orders a declaration was drawn up, by which the king aboliſhed all innovations introduced into the government ſince the reign of Philip the Fourth, and reſtored to the nation its *franchiſes*, *liberties*, *privileges*, and *immunities*, renouncing for himſelf and ſucceſſors, all prerogatives hoſtile thereto. By this means the ſovereign found himſelf reduced to ſubſiſt on the produce of his own demeſnes, which was, indeed, ſufficient for his ſupport, had

* Mém. de la Chambre des Comptes, D. fol. 209, R.; Recueil des Ordonnances, tom. vi.
† Tréſor des Chartres, Rec. des Ordon. tom. vi.

not ſo many alienations been made, but which was no longer adequate to defray the additional expences of the ſtate, augmented by the number of regular troops kept in conſtant pay, and the ſenſible diminution, and inutility of feudal ſervice. This reform, adopted by the ſtates, and publiſhed in pompous terms, inſtead of a public good, which it profeſſed to have in view, was productive of evil. The impoſſibility of reducing it to practice ſupplied a freſh ſubject for diſcontent to the people, whom neither mildneſs could ſoothe nor ſeverity intimidate; and it proved an endleſs ſource of diviſion between the prince and his ſubjects. It is neceſſary to be circumſtantial in detailing the firſt events of this reign, as the revolutions by which they were ſucceeded were the conſequence of the imprudent conduct of thoſe who then exerciſed the ſovereign power.

The troubles which now began to appear in the capital alarmed government. The number of its inhabitants daily encreaſed. The licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, who committed devaſtations in the country, compelled the farmers and peaſants to quit their habitations, and take refuge in the walled towns. In Paris, all whom profligacy or idleneſs had reduced to a ſtate of poverty, all the refuſe of the nation, in ſhort, flocked together, and held nocturnal aſſemblies, in which they meditated the deſtruction of the wealthy citizens, whoſe opulence they envied; and of the government which they deteſted. Compelled to procure ſubſiſtence by unlawful means, they committed depredations which it was difficult to repreſs.

The government of Paris, which conferred the title of *Captain* on the perſon who poſſeſſed it, had, for a long time, been united to the *Provoſtſhip*. But it was now thought proper to divide theſe offices; and that of captain of the city of Paris, was accordingly conferred on Maurice de Treſiguidy. The duties of this magiſtrate nearly reſembled thoſe of an Engliſh juſtice of the peace. His ſalary was, at firſt, ſix hundred livres, but it was doubled a few days after his appointment.

A. D. 1381.] After the duke of Anjou had left the army, on the news of his brother's illneſs, the troops ranged themſelves along the banks of the Sartre, which the Engliſh were obliged to paſs. To obſtruct their paſſage, the French had ſtuck piles in the bottom of the river, the tops of which reached the ſurface of the water, and on the oppoſite ſide they had thrown up entrenchments. When the duke of Buckingham approached, he became ſenſible of the danger of his ſituation; and, had the French troops been careful to guard the paſſages of the river, it is probable that, encloſed as he was in an enemy's country, he would ſoon have been reduced, by famine, to the neceſſity of capitulating. But the death of Charles threw the whole army into confuſion; the paſſages were left unguarded; and the duke, diſmounting his men at arms, made them enter the water and remove the piles: this they were ſuffered to do with-

out oppoſition; the Engliſh then forded the river, and, after a tedious march, arrived ſafe in Brittany.

The duke of Brittany, who at this time reſided at Hennebonne, was wholly at a loſs how to act. The defection of a great part of the duchy, ſince he had determined to have recourſe to England, had at length convinced him that he would never enjoy his dominions in tranquillity, ſo long as he had the enmity of France to encounter. The Bretons were averſe from the French, but they deteſted the Engliſh. Beſides, Charles who had perſecuted the duke, was now dead; and he might hope to obtain, by a treaty with the new government, an advantage which the chance of war rendered uncertain. But as he had invited the Engliſh to his aſſiſtance, he found it neceſſary to treat them with ſome degree of civility; he therefore ſent the biſhop of Laon, and ſome other of the nobility, to congratulate the duke of Buckingham on his arrival, and to aſſure him that he would join him without delay.

The Engliſh general, though ſurpriſed at this coolneſs, continued his march; but, when he arrived at Vannes, the inhabitants ſhut the gates of the city againſt him, and he was compelled to lodge his troops in the ſuburbs. After waiting there a fortnight, without receiving any intelligence of the duke, he moved onwards, ſending before him a detachment of one thouſand men, under the conduct of ſir Thomas Percy, ſir Thomas Trivet, and ſir Robert Knolles. Montfort, informed of their approach, went to meet them; and, it was agreed that the Engliſh ſhould lay ſiege to Nantes, and that Montfort ſhould join them in a fortnight. But, when he attempted to collect his troops for that purpoſe, the officers, almoſt unanimouſly, refuſed to obey his orders.

Thus abandoned by his ſubjects, the duke of Brittany was, at length, compelled to treat with France; but before he opened the negociation, he privately ſent for an apoſtolical notary, in whoſe preſence he diſavowed all treaties which he might conclude with the new king of France, as far as they ſhould be inconſiſtent with the engagements that he had previouſly contracted with the Engliſh. The negociations were ſoon brought to a concluſion, and a peace was ſigned on the fifteenth of January, 1381, by which the duke engaged to renounce his alliance with England; to ſend home the Engliſh army; and to hold his duchy of the crown of France.

The duke of Buckingham had, in the mean time, been compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Nantes, and to retire into winter-quarters at Vannes, and the neighbouring towns. Nothing could exceed his indignation when he heard of this treaty; Montfort, however, pleaded in his defence the ſupreme law of neceſſity, and endeavoured to appeaſe the duke by promiſing that he would never join the French againſt the Engliſh, a promiſe which he procured to be ſigned by the principal nobility of Brittany; he then produced the ſecret proteſt, which he had made before the notary, previous to the treaty. The duke was

obliged to acknowledge the validity of his reaſons; and with his troops ſoon after, returned to England.

The war in Brittany was thus brought to a happy termination; the ſucceſs of the French arms in Guienne; the inability of England to repair the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained; and the new alliance which had been recently concluded with the king of Caſtille; ſeemed to promiſe a happy and a proſperous reign. But ambition, avarice, and a reſtleſs ſpirit of independence, prevented both the nobles and people from profiting by theſe advantages. The kingdom was farther haraſſed by the ſchiſm which prevailed in the papacy, and the manuvres of the rival pontiffs. Urban and Clement appeared to have attached the fate of Chriſtendom to the validity of their election. Whoever acknowledged their authority diſcharged every obligation, human and divine; but oppoſition, or doubt, was the height of ſacrilege and impiety. The property of the church was appropriated to the purpoſe of venal attachment. France was particularly affected by theſe ſhameful proceedings, ſince it was almoſt the only reſource left to Clement. He laid claim to half the revenues of the clergy, to ſupport himſelf and his court. An abbot at Rheims, was appointed to levy this contribution, and to threaten the poſſeſſors of livings with depoſition, in caſe they refuſed to comply with the will of his holineſs. The ſacred college of Avignon then conſiſted of three and thirty cardinals, whoſe agents and emiſſaries, armed with *proviſions*, were ſpread over the different provinces, hunting after vacant livings. Cathedrals, collegiate churches, conventual priories, *commanderies*, in ſhort, any kind of preferment, was eagerly graſped at: the only thing they enquired into was the amount of the net revenue it produced; and that the inevitable expence attending the performance of duty, the collection of rents, &c. might be diminiſhed as much as poſſible, they let theſe benefices to farm, and the leaſes were ſometimes let at ſo high a price, that the leſſees found themſelves obliged to give them up. On the death of a biſhop, the collectors of the apoſtolic chamber ſeized, in the pope's name, all his effects and poſſeſſions, without reſerving the ſmalleſt part, either for repairing the church, or for paying the debts of the deceaſed*.

Conduct like this could not fail to excite complaints. The univerſity, which had well-founded pretenſions to a ſhare in the patrimony of the church, took no pains to diſſemble its indignation. Several conſultations were held, and it was finally determined that the only mode of repreſſing this ſpirit of plunder, was by convening a general council, in which the rights of the two popes might be decided†. *John de Ronce*, doctor of divinity, having been appointed to preſent to the king the reſolutions adopted by the univerſity, was arreſted during the night, and confined in a cloſe priſon, till he promiſed to acknowledge Clement. All thoſe who maintained the neceſſity of calling a general council were de-

* Paſquier, l. iii. c. 23. † Chron. MS. Le Laboureur.

clared guilty of *leſe-majeſty*, and treated with the utmoſt rigour. The perſecution became ſo violent, that the ſchools were deſerted by moſt of the profeſſors and ſtudents.

The protection afforded to Clement, by the duke of Anjou, made it dangerous to advance any thing to his prejudice. He had inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the duke by the gratification of his avarice; he had granted him a tenth part of the revenues of the French clergy, and of all other eccleſiaſtics who acknowledged his authority, under the pretence of enabling that prince to arm againſt Urban and his adherents. Clement had alſo deſtined for the duke of Anjou, a part of the Italian provinces, which depended on the holy ſee, to be held, as a fief, of the ſovereign pontiffs, under the appellation of the *Adriatic kingdom*. This new monarchy was meant to comprehend the March of Ancona, Romandiola, the duchy of Spoleto, Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna and Perouſe*. When the duke was adopted for her ſucceſſor by Joan, queen of Naples, the pontiff, not only confirmed the adoption, but augmented his privileges, and enabled him to double the taxes on the clergy; he was alſo the firſt to ſolicit the inhabitants of Provence to declare in his favour. Theſe ſervices the duke could not forget.

The provoſt of Paris had attracted the enmity of the univerſity, which occaſioned his ruin†. Hugh Aubriot was born in Burgundy, of obſcure parents; but he had found means to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of the duke of Anjou. Being a man of ſenſe and extenſive knowledge, he was ſoon noticed by Charles. Raiſed to the dignity of provoſt of Paris, he proved himſelf worthy of that important office. He was ſtudious to promote ſuch improvements as were calculated to contribute to the embelliſhment of the city, and to the convenience of its inhabitants. Paris ſtill contains numerous monuments of his zeal and ability. He was the firſt who contrived to purify the air, and to diſencumber the ſtreets of the metropolis, by the invention of common ſewers, for removing and carrying off the filth. All thoſe who had no viſible means of ſubſiſtence, found employment in the various works he undertook, ſo that he converted dangerous enemies of the ſtate into uſeful members of it.

Nothing which could diſturb the public tranquillity eſcaped the vigilance of this magiſtrate. The ſtudents of the univerſity, preſuming on their privileges, committed flagrant diſorders, and gave themſelves up to every kind of exceſs: the citizens were expoſed to continual inſults; tumults were daily excited in the ſtreets, and not unfrequently attended with bloodſhed; their inſolence had arrived at a pitch of extravagance, which called for effectual reſtraint and exemplary puniſhment. Aubriot accordingly ordered his ſerjeants to apprehend them, whenever they ſhould find them engaged in raiſing a riot, and to conduct them to the dungeons of the Petit Chatelet, which he had purpoſely prepared

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 746.

† Chron. MS. de la B. R. No. 10297. Chron de Saint Denis. Antiq. de Paris. Hiſtoire de Paris.

for their reception. This conduct rendered all the members of the univerſity his irreconcileable enemies. His ruin was reſolved, and no meaſures neglected which malice could deviſe to effect it. His public conduct was irreproachable: an enemy to perſecution, he had, indeed, opened the doors of the Chatelet to the oppreſſed Jews, and procured, by his ſolicitations, the reſtitution of their children; but this it was not thought prudent to urge as an object of public accuſation. They were therefore reduced to the neceſſity of inveſtigating, with malignant curioſity, his family concerns, and of ſelecting, from his private life, ſuch actions as they thought fitted to anſwer the purpoſe of oppreſſion. When the members of the univerſity had obtained or forged ſufficient proofs, they cited Aubriot to appear before the eccleſiaſtical tribunal. Secure in the protection of the court, he, at firſt, deſpiſed their threats; but the credit of his adverſaries proving more powerful than the favour of his patrons, he was arreſted and thrown into priſon. The ſame ſpirit of injuſtice which had commenced the proſecution, preſided at the trial, and dictated the ſentence; the witneſſes—*ſuch as they were* (ſays an ancient chronicle*)—were examined; and the provoſt was declared to be a bad catholic, a libertine, a debauchee, a keeper of bad women, particularly of Jeweſſes; and laſtly, a Jew and a heretic. Accuſations thus vague and indefinite could not eaſily be confuted, and, but for the interference of the court, he would have been conſigned to the flames. A ſcaffold was erected oppoſite to the cathedral; the provoſt was compelled to aſcend it, and, on his knees, to aſk pardon, in the preſence of a crowd of ſpectators, and to promiſe to ſubmit to the puniſhment that ſhould be inflicted on him. The biſhop of Paris, arrayed in his pontifical robes, expatiated on the criminality of his conduct; and finiſhed his harangue, by condemning the priſoner to paſs the remainder of his life in confinement, with no other nouriſhment than bread and water. But he was releaſed, the following year, by that ſame populace who now exulted in his diſgrace. It was from *Hugh Aubriot* that the appellation of *Hugonots* was given to the proteſtants of France.

A more certain mode of alienating the affections of the inhabitants of Languedoc could not have been adopted, than the appointment of the duke of Berry to the government of the province. The people highly reſented the nomination, and Gaſton, the former governor, conceiving himſelf injured, aſſembled the ſtates, who ſent a deputation to the duke to aſſure him that they would never ſubmit to part with their governor. It was determined in the council, that the ſpirit of revolt ſhould be immediately checked, and an army was accordingly aſſembled; but the duke of Burgundy, who had other projects in view, cauſed the enterpriſe to be laid aſide. The duke of Berry, however, reſolved to take poſſeſſion of his government, collected the troops belonging to his appanage, and being joined by the count of Armagnac, marched into Languedoc; engaging with

* Chron. MS. de la B. R. No. 10297. ſub. anno 1381.

Gaſton, he ſuſtained a total defeat ; but the count reſigned his government in the moment of victory, and, after he had concluded an advantageous treaty, returned to his own territories.

A. D. 1382.] The council were at this time ſolely employed in attempts to repeal the ſuppreſſion of the taxes. This was the only means which the duke of Anjou could now deviſe for augmenting his treaſures ; ſince he had already ſecured all the fruits of his brother's economy. The chancellor's journal, which is ſtill extant in the royal library at Paris, is a laſting monument of his avidity. Every day he formed ſome new demand : having ſeized a part of the late king's plate and jewels, he found means to obtain the reſt. Not content with having procured a grant of the produce of all the taxes that were levied in his appanage, he obtained an extenſion of that privilege to other parts of the kingdom, and thereby became intereſted in the re-eſtabliſhment of the impoſts. His efforts to induce the Pariſians to ſecond his ſchemes proved fruitleſs. The people declared that they ſhould conſider as enemies to the ſtate all thoſe who attempted to renew the impoſts ; they flew to arms, fixed chains acroſs the ſtreets, and appointed officers, created by themſelves, to guard the different gates of the city*. The example of the Pariſians was followed by the inhabitants of ſeveral provincial towns. At Rouen, the populace choſe a mercer for their king. This monarch was conducted to a throne which his *ſubjects* had prepared for him. When ſeated a petition was preſented to his majeſty, beſeeching him to ſuppreſs the impoſts ; this being complied with, the collectors of the revenue were maſſacred and their houſes plundered. The abbey of St. Ouen, having juſt gained a law-ſuit againſt the town, the inſurgents broke open the monaſtery, and, entering the tower where the archives were depoſited, tore them all into pieces. After committing a thouſand acts of violence, they made a formal attack upon the old palace, a fortreſs which greatly incommoded them ; but the garriſon eaſily repelled their attacks.

The court removed to Rouen to chaſtiſe the rebels ; the king ordered the gates to be thrown down, and entered the town through the breach, accompanied by his uncles, and a ſtrong body of troops. The citizens were diſarmed, the leaders of the inſurrection executed, and the taxes re-eſtabliſhed.

This inſtance of well-timed ſeverity inſtead of intimidating the Pariſians increaſed their inſolence. An impropriety of conduct on the part of the council, tended to produce the diſorders which now occurred. The duke of Anjou, cauſed the produce of the taxes to be expoſed to ſale in a private houſe, and ſeveral purchaſers attended. But it was ſtill neceſſary to publiſh the renewal of the ſuppreſſed impoſts ; the man who undertook this commiſſion, repaired, on horſeback, to the market-place, where the people aſſembled round him in crowds. He began by giving notice that a quantity of plate had been ſtolen

* Recueil des Ordon, Chron, MS. ; Hiſtoire de Paris,

from the king; and ſeized the opportunity when but few could hear him, to announce that the next day the taxes would be levied in the ſame manner as before the publication of the edict by which they were ſuppreſſed. The moment he had given this notice he clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and gallopped off at full ſpeed. News immediately ſpread through the town; and the people flying to arms, ſwore that they would maſſacre all who ſhould make the attempt.

Next day the collectors went to market, when one of them, having demanded payment of a poor woman, was inſtantly ſeized by the populace, and torn to pieces*. This was the ſignal of revolt. A body of five hundred men, armed with ſticks, forks, and whatever weapons they could lay hold of, attacked the collectors, compelled them to fly, and maſſacred ſuch as they were able to overtake. The ſtreets were preſently filled with inſurgents, and the cry of, "*To arms!*" "*Liberty!*" was heard from either extremity of the metropolis. The collectors and other officers of the revenue were all put to death wherever they were found. The number of inſurgents hourly encreaſing, they burſt open the doors of the town-houſe, where a large ſupply of arms had been depoſited in the preceding reigns, and proceeded to pillage and demoliſh the houſes of thoſe whom they had murdered. The doors of the priſons being forced, the inſurgents gained a freſh acceſſion of ſtrength, by the junction of their inhabitants. Perceiving they wanted a chief, they releaſed Hugh Aubriot from confinement, and compelled him to place himſelf at their head. They mounted him on a mule, and conducted him to the houſe which he had occupied previous to his impriſonment. He took advantage of this event to retire ſecretly from the capital, which he left that very night; and, paſſing the Seine, fled to Burgundy, his native country, where he paſſed the reſt of his days in tranquil obſcurity.

Paris, in the mean time, was reduced to the ſituation of a town taken by aſſault. Theft, rapine, and murder, marked the progreſs of a deſperate rabble. They ran from houſe to houſe, taking away whatever was portable, and deſtroying what they were unable to carry off. They broke open the cellars, drank as much wine as they could, and threw the reſt into the ſtreets. Being informed that ſeveral of the Jews and financiers had taken refuge in the abbey of Saint Germain-des-Pres, they haſted to attack it; but it was able to reſiſt their efforts. The reſpectable citizens trembled for their lives and property; ten thouſand of them were embodied by the municipal officers; and the town was now divided into two parties, both ſeemingly reſolved to proceed to extremities.

During the night, the inſurgents only ſuſpended their rage to riot in intemperance. At dawn of day, they repaired to Aubriot's houſe, and were ſurpriſed to find that he had eſcaped. They then left the town, with a view of deſtroying the bridge at Charenton; but the fear of being intercepted by the regular troops which were ſtationed in the neighbouring country, induced them

* Le Laboureur; Juvenal des Urſins; Grande Chron.

to return with precipitation. Every effort that could tend to the reſtoration of tranquillity, was employed by the inhabitants; but no one exerted himſelf ſo ſucceſsfully as the advocate general, Deſmarets. At the commencement of the riots, the biſhop of Paris, the magiſtrates, and moſt of the people of diſtinction, had left the town; Deſmarets alone had the courage to remain; and his preſence ſerved to appeaſe the ſtorm. His eloquence was admired; his virtues were reſpected; he had grown grey in the ſervice of four ſucceſſive ſovereigns; and he enjoyed that eſteem which was due to his talents and integrity. He now exerted his influence to calm the minds of the people.

The news of this revolt being carried to Rouen, where the king ſtill reſided, the council immediately diſpatched a body of troops towards the capital, with the reſolution to make the Pariſians undergo the ſame puniſhment which the inhabitants of Rouen had juſt experienced. But this was a taſk not eaſy of accompliſhment: although the ſedition was apparently quelled, the principle which had occaſioned it ſtill ſubſiſted. The Pariſian inſurgents, inſtructed by the example of thoſe at Rouen, were determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, and to reject every propoſal for an accommodation, of which the renewal of the impoſts ſhould form the baſis; with this view they had ſtationed guards in all the principal parts of the town, and at the different gates*. The citizens of Paris endeavoured to avert the ſtorm which threatened them; the univerſity went forth in a body to meet the king. They preſented to him the petition of the Pariſians, the prince was affected on peruſing it. He confirmed the ſuppreſſion of the impoſts, and granted a general amneſty. This indulgence was publiſhed, the ſame day, at Paris. John Deſmarets, though ſo far oppreſſed with age and ſickneſs as to be unable to walk, was carried on a litter to the place where the people had aſſembled; but he had the mortification to find them inſenſible to the proffered indulgence, and more inclined to renew the revolt than return to their duty. The provoſt of Paris having ſeized ſeveral of their leaders, was conveying them to the place of execution, when he was openly oppoſed by the populace. Their puniſhment was ſuſpended by order of the court, and the moſt criminal were put into ſacks, and thrown into the river, in the night.

Twice had the council been compelled to aboliſh the impoſts, though the neceſſity of renewing them continued. Prayers, threats, and negociations had been alternately employed for the purpoſe of procuring money. Except ſome trifling hoſtilities in Guienne, the kingdom had no war to ſuſtain. The expences of the king's houſhold, though conſiderably reduced during his minority, were not paid with regularity. At an aſſembly of the ſtates-general, where the young monarch was preſent, the firſt preſident, repreſented to the members, that the king, finding it impoſſible to effect any greater diminution of the expences, to

* Tréſor des Chartres, Reg. 122, p. 217. Rec. des Ord, t. vii.

which the revenue was inadequate, it was neceſſary that the people ſhould pay the ſame ſubſidies as in the preceding reign. The deputies retired without making any poſitive promiſe. The members for the province of Sens alone conſented to renew the impoſts, and they were diſavowed by their conſtituents*.

This oppoſition from the provinces was fomented by the reſiſtance of the Pariſians. But all rational and moderate men deplored the dangerous miſunderſtanding which ſubſiſted between the prince and the people; and hoping that the preſence of the ſovereign would tend to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity, they appointed a deputation of the principal citizens to wait on him, and requeſt he would return to the capital. The council agreed, on condition that the Pariſians ſhould not come to meet him in arms; that he ſhould enter the town accompanied by his troops; that the gates ſhould remain open during his reſidence in the metropolis; that the chains ſhould not be placed acroſs the ſtreets in the night; and, that none ſhould bear arms except the native inhabitants of Paris, and ſuch as had *property to loſe*. Three days were allowed for conſidering theſe propoſals; but the populace became furious, and threatened to maſſacre the principal families, if they dared to accept them. Six citizens who were ſent to appriſe the king, met with a cool reception, as it was believed that they exaggerated, in order to extort more favourable terms from Charles. The lord of Villiers was diſpatched to Paris for the purpoſe of verifying the fact; and he had orders, in caſe he ſhould find it impoſſible to obtain the renewal of all the taxes, to propoſe that a part of them ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. Villiers, unable to fulfil his commiſſion, haſted back to the king, and informed him that the rage and obſtinacy of the people even exceeded the repreſentation of the citizens.

The duke of Anjou, who was impatient to commence his projected expedition to Italy, and reſolved, at all events, to procure money from the Pariſians, determined to have recourſe to the moſt violent meaſures. He collected a powerful body of troops, which he ſtationed in the environs of Paris, and there ſuffered them to live at diſcretion. Every kind of exceſs was allowed; the only reſtraint impoſed on their conduct, was a prohibition from ſetting fire to the houſes, and murdering the inhabitants. The people were but little moved at an evil which only affected the opulent citizens, who ſaw their lands laid waſte, and their property expoſed to pillage. The conferences were renewed, and an accommodation terminated. It was agreed that a general amneſty ſhould be paſſed, and that the city ſhould make the king a preſent of one hundred thouſand livres. The day after this agreement was ſigned, the young monarch made his entry into Paris, amidſt the acclamations of the people. When the

* Villaret, tom. xi. p. 293. This circumſtance tends to eſtabliſh a fact of ſome importance in the *parliamentary* hiſtory of France, viz. that the members of the ſtates-general were always conſidered as the mere organs of the people, whoſe mandates they were bound to receive, and to whoſe inſtructions it was their duty literally to adhere.

time came for paying the money, ſome diſputes aroſe on the ſubject between the inhabitants and the clergy; the former inſiſting that the latter ought to pay their part. The greateſt part of this ſum was ſeized by the duke of Anjou; it was, however, the laſt of his exactions, as he ſet out for Provence immediately after, to prepare for his expedition to Naples.

By the departure of the duke of Anjou, the principal ſhare in the government became veſted in the duke of Burgundy. This prince, beſides the duchy of Burgundy, was in poſſeſſion of the lordſhips of Bethel and Nevers, on which the duke of Brittany had ſome claims; but the matter having been left to arbitration, it was decided in favour of the former. He enjoyed the county of Burgundy as a gift from the emperor, Charles the fourth*; and he had purchaſed the town and territory of Verdun, for one and twenty thouſand florins. He was on the point of joining to thoſe extenſive poſſeſſions, the dominions of Lewis de Male, count of Flanders, his father-in-law; who, being engaged in a war with his ſubjects, entreated the duke of Burgundy to perſuade the French to aſſiſt him in reducing the rebels to ſubmiſſion.

In a prior revolt, in the year 1378, the duke had with great difficulty effected an accommodation between the Flemings and their prince, but the mutual animoſity made either party anxious to ſeize every opportunity for renewing the diſpute. An abuſe of power on the one ſide, and a licentious ſpirit of independence on the other, proved an invincible bar to a ſincere reconciliation. The artiſans of Ghent, having formed themſelves into companies, diſtinguiſhed by particular badges, the count repaired to that city with the view of compelling them to lay aſide thoſe marks; but, failing in the attempt, he retired†. His revenge was cruel and unmanly; he cauſed ſeveral tradeſmen of Ghent to be ſtopped on the Scheld, and, after putting out their eyes, permitted them to purſue their voyage. In this ſituation they arrived at the town, where their preſence inſpired their fellow-citizens with horror and indignation. They immediately flew to arms, appointed officers to command them, and, marching out of the city, attacked Oudenarde, took it by aſſault, and demoliſhed the fortifications. The nobility having joined the count, their houſes were pillaged and deſtroyed. A new treaty put a ſtop to theſe hoſtilities; and Oudenarde was reſtored. But the conteſt was ſoon renewed, and moſt of the towns of Flanders evinced a diſpoſition to join the inhabitants of Ghent. A general inſurrection was on the point of breaking out. The Flemings, apprehenſive that the count muſt apply for aſſiſtance to the court of France, had addreſſed themſelves to the council; and their remonſtrances, ſeconded by the duke of Anjou and pope Clement, were favourably received; the count therefore was, for ſome time, left to bear the whole burden of the war, with no ſupport but his own nobility.

The moſt horrid cruelties were committed during this conteſt. Bruges was

* Inventaire des Chartres, B. R. No. 6765. † Froiſſard. Annales de Flandres. Chron. MS.

was divided into two factions; that which favoured the count proving moſt powerful, Lewis took poſſeſſion of the city, and put to death five hundred of the inhabitants. At Ypres, where he met with no oppoſition, he ordered ſeven hundred of the citizens to be beheaded. This conduct, far from depreſſing the ſpirits of the people, encreaſed their fury. Having ſuſtained a defeat at the gates of Ypres, which they aſcribed to the miſconduct of their leader, John Boule, they retired to Courtray, and literally tore him in pieces. From thence they returned to Ghent, which the count haſted to inveſt. This city was then deemed the ſtrongeſt place in Europe; it was defended by eighty thouſand combatants; and two hundred thouſand were requiſite to inveſt it completely. During the ſiege, ſix thouſand of the inhabitants ſallied from the town, and taking Aloſt by ſurpriſe, firſt pillaged and then reduced it to aſhes. This ſucceſs gave freſh ſpirits to the inſurgents, who ſucceſsfully repelled every attack on the place, ſo that the count was unable, during the whole campaign, to obtain any advantage over them. But, at the commencement of the following year, they ſuſtained a defeat, and loſt two of their leaders; one of them, John de Lannoy, had taken refuge in the ſteeple of a church to which the troops had ſet fire; he called out aloud—"*Ranſom, ranſom!*"—ſhewing his garment, which was full of florins; his cries were diſregarded; he threw himſelf into the midſt of the enemy, who tore him in pieces, and caſt his body into the flames.

The citizens of Ghent, finding that the war was likely to continue, perceived the neceſſity of chuſing a leader, who ſhould be able to keep the multitude in awe. Peter Dubois, with whom this idea originated, fixed his choice on Philip d'Artevelle, ſon to that James d'Artevelle, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf during the former commotions. The Flemings haſted in crowds to the reſidence of Philip, whom they conducted to the market-place, and took the oath of fealty and allegiance to him, as to their ſovereign. He commenced his reign by executing twelve of the men who had been concerned in the death of his father. The inſurgents under their new leader, believed themſelves invincible. The count inveſted Ghent a ſecond time, and was again conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege. An accommodation was talked of, and deputies from the principal towns were appointed to confer on the ſubject with the agents of the count. The envoys from Ghent conſented to certain articles, which they communicated to their fellow-citizens. One condition was, that two hundred of the principal inhabitants ſhould be delivered to the count. Artevelle and Dubois, convinced that they muſt infallibly be compriſed in the number, maſſacred the envoys in preſence of the people, who now rejected all hopes of peace.

The ſiege of Ghent was formed, for the third time, by the count; who, by the reduction of Grammont, and moſt neighbouring places, cut off their ſupplies, and reduced the inhabitants to the laſt extremity. As they evinced a diſpoſition to ſurrender, the duke and ducheſs of Brabant, the count of Hainault, with

the inhabitants of Tournay, and ſeveral of the nobility, employed their intereſts with the count to procure them favourable terms; but Lewis refuſed to liſten to any propoſals, unleſs all the inhabitants, between the ages of fifteen and ſixty, would conſent to preſent themſelves before him, without ſhoes, ſtockings, or any outward garments, in the ſupplicating poſture of criminals, ſubmiſſive to the ſentence which he might pleaſe to pronounce.

Theſe conditions were rejected with ſcorn; and the inhabitants of Ghent reſolved on ſome act of deſperation. Five thouſand, under the command of Artevelle, offered to march to Bruges, where the count then held his court. The count informed of their arrival, ſallied forth from the town, with forty thouſand men; but he was attacked with irreſiſtible fury. In a ſhort time his troops ſuſtained a total defeat, and the count was compelled to re-enter the town with precipitation, cloſely followed by the inhabitants of Ghent. He threw aſide his arms, and, changing his dreſs, ſought refuge in the cottage of a poor woman, to whoſe loyalty he was indebted for a ſafe protection till night, when he eſcaped to Lille. The day after this event, Artevelle and his followers, began to plunder the houſes, and inflict vengeance on their enemies. They conducted themſelvs with a degree of regularity and order, which could ſcarcely have been expected. All the foreign merchants, great numbers of whom were then at Bruges, were treated with reſpect; even a part of the citizens was exempted from the effects of their reſentment, which was confined to the companies of tradeſmen and artiſans, who had ſignalized, in a particular manner, their enmity to the inſurgents. Twelve hundred of theſe were conducted to the market-place, and maſſacred in cool blood; their families were deſtroyed, and their property was ſeized. The ſpoils of Bruges were carried to Ghent, with the news of the victory. All Flanders, except Terremonde and Oudenarde, affected by this event, embraced, either from choice or compulſion, the party of the inſurgents. Oudenarde was ſoon inveſted by an hundred thouſand Flemings.

Artevelle, inflated with the victory he had obtained, aſſumed all the power and ſplendour of a ſovereign prince. Endued with the courage, but not the genius of his father, he became intoxicated with ſucceſs, and loſt the ability to profit by the revolution which his arms had effected.

The count, expelled from his dominions, applied for protection and aſſiſtance to the duke of Burgundy, his ſon-in-law, and intended ſucceſſor. At an interview which took place at Bapaumes, it was agreed that all the forces of France ſhould be employed in reducing the Flemings to ſubjection. The authority poſſeſſed by the duke at this time was almoſt abſolute; and the propoſal he made to his nephew for waging war againſt the Flemings, was eagerly embraced. The council was aſſembled. In vain did ſome of the members attempt to diſſuade Charles from taking the field in perſon; and repreſented to him the lateneſs of the ſeaſon for the commencement of ſuch an enterpriſe.

Artevelle and the other leaders of the Flemings ſought to avert the ſtorm which threatened them, by ſending an envoy to the court of France; but he was treated with contempt, and, for ſome time, confined in priſon. Their application to England was not more ſucceſsful, for the unſettled ſtate of the Engliſh government rendered it highly imprudent to engage in a foreign war.

Every preparation was now made in France for aſſiſting the count of Flanders. As apprehenſions were entertained, that, during the abſence of the court, ſedition would again break out in the capital, the duke of Burgundy aſſembled the principal inhabitants, and exhorted them to perſiſt in the fidelity which they owed to their ſovereign.

The troops having aſſembled on the frontiers of Picardy and Artois, directed their march towards Lille. The approach of the French army did not deter the Flemings from purſuing the ſiege of Oudenarde, as they deemed themſelves ſufficiently ſecure from attack, in being maſters of the paſſages of the Lys. They had juſt driven the count's troops from the bridge of Comines, and had ſtationed ten thouſand men to defend it. This was the very paſſage which the conſtable Cliſſon, who led the van-guard, undertook to force. Four hundred men at arms forded the river above the bridge. The Flemings, thus attacked on both ſides, defended themſelves for ſome time; but Cliſſon, having repaired that part of the bridge which they had broken down, obliged them to retreat; the defeat was general, and four thouſand of them were left dead on the field.

Next day the whole army paſſed the Lys; and, continuing their march, reduced ſeveral towns. Ypres was the firſt to open its gates to the French, who levied a contribution of forty thouſand florins on the inhabitants. Flanders was, at this time, the centre of commerce. Its numerous manufactories gave eaſe and opulence to an active and induſtrious people. The ſoldiers, laden with the ſpoils of this fertile province, diſdained all inferior booty, and would only content themſelves with rich furniture, coſtly trinkets, and ſtuffs of gold. The inhabitants of the towns, alarmed at the approach of the troops, haſtened to avert their rage by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion. Gravelines, Furnes, Dunkirk, and others, ſent deputies to meet them, accompanied by their governors in chains. Theſe men, who had been entruſted by Artevelle with the care of thoſe places, were beheaded, and the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants was accepted, on paying a ſmall contribution.

When Artevelle was informed of theſe diſaſters, he left his camp before Oudenarde, and repaired to Ghent, where, having embodied all ſuch as were able to bear arms, he joined them to a part of the troops that were employed in the ſiege, and determined to hazard a battle. It was now the month of November; the weather was very ſevere, and, had they contented themſelves with acting on the defenſive, the French would have been obliged to quit the field. But the Flemings, and their leader, inflated with the eaſy victory they had obtained at Bruges, were confident of ſucceſs. They had ſworn to give no quarter, but to

maſſacre all except the king. This exceſs of confidence proved their deſtruction. The French were not leſs imprudent in expoſing an infant ſovereign, the flower of the nobility, and the hopes of the ſtate, to the uncertain event of a campaign, begun at the opening of winter, without even ſecuring a retreat in caſe of misfortune; for they neglected to fortify the bridge of Comines, which gives us no very favourable idea of the military talents of the conſtable.

During the abſence of the court, the Pariſians again revolted, and were on the point of demoliſhing the royal palaces*; but they were diverted from the accompliſhment of their ſchemes, by Nicholas Flamand, a citizen, who perſuaded them to wait the event of the war in Flanders. "If the people of "Ghent," ſaid he, "ſucceed, as we truſt they will, it will be then time "enough to do this; let us not begin a thing which we may afterwards have "cauſe to repent." The Pariſians, in the mean time, prepared for war; they ſent for arms from all quarters, and ſet all the workmen in the town to make helmets and cuiraſſes. This epidemic ſedition ſpread over the provinces; Chalons, Rheims, Orleans, and Blois, evinced the ſame rebellious diſpoſition with the capital. The inhabitants of the country threatened to renew the diſorders which prevailed in the time of the *Jacquerie*. The kingdom appeared on the eve of a general revolution. On the event of the war in Flanders the ſafety of the ſtate depended.

It was in the plain between Roſbec and Courtray that the rival armies met. That of the Flemings, almoſt wholly compoſed of artiſans, was drawn up in order of battle, according to their different trades, the ſymbols of which were diſplayed on their banners. The conſtable divided the French into three bodies; the firſt of which he commanded himſelf, aſſiſted by the mareſchals of Sancerre and Blainville, and the admiral John de Vienne. Before the battle began, the king created four hundred and ſixty knights.

The Flemings were encamped between a deep ravine and a thick wood, with a ditch in front ſtrengthened by an intrenchment; a poſt which it was almoſt impoſſible to force. But they were ſo imprudent as to give up this advantage, in order to take poſſeſſion of a ſmall hill, called *The Golden Mount*, whence they imagined they could attack the French with greater impetuoſity. As ſoon as the conſtable perceived this motion, he made ſure of the victory. The battle commenced by the ſecond diviſion where the king was poſted, which by that means became the centre diviſion, while the two other diviſions, forming the wings, attacked the enemy in flank, who preſerved no other order than that of keeping cloſe together, that they might occupy leſs ground. The Flemings, at firſt, fought with a degree of fury that balanced the ſuperior diſcipline of their adverſaries, and rendered victory doubtful; but the latter at length recovered its uſual advantage, and turned the tide of ſucceſs. Far,

* Chron. MS.; Froiſſard; Le Laboureur; Juvenal des Urſins.

however, from ſeeking to retreat, they continued to preſs forward, ſo that, in the end, they were ſo encumbered with the dead bodies, that they could not poſſibly act. The victory was complete, and the ſlaughter dreadful; five-and-twenty thouſand*, or, according to ſome writers, forty thouſand† of the Flemings, periſhed in the action, while the French are ſaid not to have loſt a hundred men. Froiſſard tells us, on the authority of a gentleman who was preſent, that the battle was won in leſs than half an hour. The body of Artevelle, being found among the dead, was ſuſpended on a tree. Such was the fate of the battle of Roſbec, where the Flemings were guilty of the ſame error which had proved ſo fatal to the French at Crecy and Poictiers: in this caſe, indeed, the error was more glaring, ſince they had not the ſame temptation for attacking their adverſaries, their army only conſiſting of fifty thouſand undiſciplined troops, whereas that of the French was compoſed of twenty thouſand men at arms, and ſixty thouſand infantry‡. The king wrote from the field of battle to the parliament of Paris, to inform them of his ſucceſs. They immediately ſent for the principal citizens, to whom they read the letter, and, at the ſame time, ordered them to communicate its contents to the people, that they might evince their zeal by public rejoicings:—but, no appearance of joy was to be ſeen.

The news of this defeat ſpread ſuch a conſternation through the province, that had the French marched directly to Ghent, the gates of that city would have been opened to them, and the war finiſhed by the total ſubjection of Flanders. But, inſtead of improving the advantage they had acquired, they repaired to Courtray, which had ſurrendered immediately after the battle of Roſbec. There the king paſſed ſome days, during which time he received deputies from the inhabitants of Bruges, who reſcued their city from pillage by a contribution of one hundred and twenty thouſand florins. It was hoped that this example would be followed by the people of Ghent, but, having recovered from their firſt alarm, and being encouraged by the preſence and exhortations of Peter Dubois, they refuſed to ſubmit. Such was the inveteracy of their hatred to the count, that they offered to acknowledge the authority of the king of France, on condition that he would annex the city of Ghent to the demeſnes of the crown; but the fear of offending the duke of Burgundy, prevented the council from accepting their propoſals.

The Flemings had, in the mean time, raiſed the ſiege of Oudenarde; and the ſeaſon was too far advanced to permit the French to form that of Ghent. The king and his uncles only thought of returning to France with their troops, who were laden with the ſpoils of that province which they came to reſtore to its lawful prince: no ſooner had the king left Courtray, than, in return for its voluntary ſubmiſſion, the ſoldiers began to maſſacre the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex; with cruelty inſatiate as their avarice, they did not ceaſe

* Villaret. † Le Gendre. ‡ Idem, tom. ii. p. 512.

to pillage and murder, till neither people nor property remained; they then ſet fire to the town, and reduced it to a heap of aſhes. Froiſſard, who lived at the time, expreſsly affirms, that the maſſacre took place in conſequence of the king's orders, who rejected all the entreaties of the count of Flanders to ſpare the town and its inhabitants. Some hiſtorians have affirmed, that ſeveral letters were found at Courtray, from the Pariſians, which proved that a ſecret intelligence ſubſiſted between the inſurgents of the capital, and thoſe of Flanders. This diſcovery, whether real or pretended, was uſed as a pretext for inflicting vengeance on thoſe ſeditious inhabitants of Paris, whoſe conduct had long merited puniſhment.

Not only the towns which had revolted were affected by the preſence of the troops; the inhabitants of many places which had preſerved their allegiance to the count were impriſoned, under pretence that they had embraced the party of pope Urban, and were compelled to purchaſe their liberty by levying contributions. The king paſſed his Chriſtmas at Tournay, and from thence went to Arras, which place the ſoldiers evinced a ſtrong diſpoſition to pillage. But the conſtable and the mareſchals deterred them from their purpoſe, by promiſing that all their wages ſhould be paid on their arrival at Paris. The towns of Picardy teſtified their zeal by public rejoicings, and by ſending preſents to the king, who repaired to Compiegne.

The troops would have been immediately diſbanded, but for the reſolution which had been adopted of inflicting an exemplary chaſtiſement on the Pariſians. This, however, appeared no eaſy matter, when the extent of the city, and the numbers and diſpoſition of its inhabitants, were conſidered. The court had advanced as far as Louvres, undetermined how to accompliſh the object they had in view. For the purpoſe of ſounding the minds of the people, the princes and nobility had ſent their ſervants before them to prepare their houſes, and to circulate the report that the king might be daily expected. The Pariſians, on receiving this intelligence, reſolved to meet their ſovereign on the road; and they accordingly diſpatched twenty thouſand citizens completely armed, who arranged themſelves in order of battle, on the plains of Saint Denis. The king was at Bourget, when he heard of their approach; the nobles who attended him exclaimed, "Had this inſolent rabble been thus forward to ſerve the "king when he was going to Flanders, they would have done well; but they "were then employed in praying to God that not a ſoul of us might ever re-"turn."

As this armed multitude ſtill kept their ſtation, it became neceſſary to adopt ſome deciſive meaſure. The conſtable, the lords of Albret, Coucy, and Tremoille, and the admiral, John de Vienne, determined to remonſtrate with them, in order to perſuade them to return to Paris. With this view, they ſent to aſk for a ſafe conduct, but the Pariſians aſſured the heralds that they might ſafely approach them, ſince they had only armed themſelves for the purpoſe of

obeying the king's orders, and of ſhewing him what forces the city of Paris could muſter, whenever their ſervices were required in defence of the ſtate. On receiving this aſſurance, the noblemen went to them and ordered them, in the king's name, to retire, which they immediately did. The ſtorm, which had excited their apprehenſions, being thus averted, the court prepared to make their entry into the metropolis.

The king, however, firſt viſited the church of Saint Denis, at this place he received a deputation from the city of Paris, conſiſting of the provoſt of the merchants, and ſome of the principal citizens, who attempted to moderate his anger; but he refuſed to explain his intentions, and would only tell them what day he meant to enter the metropolis. At the appointed time the troops were under arms, and advanced in three diviſions*. The conſtable and the mareſchal de Sancerre, at the head of the firſt diviſion, advanced towards the gate of Saint Denis, which they ordered to be pulled down. All the men at arms were diſmounted, and the troops entered the town in the ſame order as if they were taking poſſeſſion of a conquered place. The young monarch, ſurrounded by his uncles, the princes of the blood, and his courtiers, repaired to the cathedral, without deigning to liſten to a freſh deputation, and from thence to the palace.

An univerſal alarm prevailed through the city: the people, accuſtomed to paſs, from inſolence to deſpair, waited in ſilent conſternation, the puniſhment of their faults. The ſtrict orders that were iſſued to commit no violence, under pain of death, ſomewhat revived their ſpirits. The ſoldiers haſtened to the quarters aſſigned them; and the only interruption of the general tranquillity proceeded from the execution of two of the inhabitants, who were hanged at their own windows, for making uſe of ſome ſeditious language.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy paraded the city at the head of their men at arms. The chains were taken from the ends of the ſtreets and carried to Vincennes; the inhabitants delivered up their arms which were depoſited at the Louvre, and were found to be ſufficient to equip a hundred thouſand men. When the city was thus deprived of all means of defence, the executions began. The priſons were filled with criminals, many of whom put an end to their exiſtence in order to avoid a more cruel death. The ducheſs of Orleans interceded for the people, and her humane interference was ſeconded by the univerſity, who carried their ſupplications to the foot of the throne†. The univerſity would probably have ſucceeded in their attempts, had not the duke of Berry been preſent at the audience. The execution of Nicholas le Flamand was, doubtleſs, an act of neceſſary ſeverity. But one of a far different deſcription ſoon followed; twelve priſoners were brought forth and chained together in

* Chron. MS. de la B. R.

† Froiſſard; Chron. de Saint Denis; Le Laboureur; Hiſtoire de la Ville de Paris.

one cart, to be conveyed to the place of execution. Seated upon a plank, placed in an elevated ſituation, appeared the advocate-general, John Deſmarets; that venerable magiſtrate had paſſed his ſeventieth year; the organ of the laws, honoured and beloved by his fellow-citizens, he had incurred no other reproach than that of having rendered innumerable ſervices to his country. Far from being an accomplice in the diſorders which had prevailed in the metropolis, he had ever loudly condemned ſuch violent proceedings, and had exerted his utmoſt efforts to remedy or prevent them. The people, the nobility, even thoſe who promoted his deſtruction, were convinced of his innocence. Condemned without a trial, he was led to the ſcaffold. He uttered no complaints againſt his perſecutors, but pronounced, in a firm voice, theſe words of David, "Judge me, O God, and diſtinguiſh my cauſe from that of the ungodly." When he arrived at the place of execution, he was preſſed to aſk pardon of the king. "Maſter John," exclaimed the officers of juſtice, "cry for mercy to the king, "in order that he may pardon you." But he replied, "I have ſerved his "great grandfather, king Philip; his grandfather, king John; and his father, "king Charles; neither of the three would have aſked me to cry mercy; nor "would this, had he attained to the age and knowledge of a man; to God alone "will I apply for mercy." He received the fatal blow with a firmneſs which did not belie the integrity of his life. The true cauſe of his death was the hatred which the dukes of Berry and Burgundy bore him.

The court began to be aſhamed of theſe numerous executions; numbers, whom they had marked for deſtruction, were, therefore, tied up in ſacks, and thrown into the Seine, during the night. Some were permitted to purchaſe their lives, and the money they raiſed amounted to four hundred thouſand livres, which was chiefly appropriated to the uſe of the king's uncles, and miniſters.

This, however, only ſerved as a prelude to the meaſures which thoſe princes had in contemplation. On the ſteps of the palace a throne was erected, on which the young monarch took his ſeat, accompanied by his uncles, the noblemen who compoſed his court, and the members of his council. A crowd of people attended. Peter D'Orgemont, the chancellor, made a violent ſpeech, in which (addreſſing himſelf to the inhabitants) he expatiated on their paſt faults, omitting no circumſtance which could render them more deſerving of puniſhment. He next adverted to the executions which had already taken place, and obſerved that there were more to come, there being a great number of criminals yet to puniſh. He then turned to the king, and aſked him if he had not rightly explained his intentions; Charles anſwered *yes*. He had no ſooner pronounced this fatal affirmative, than his uncles fell at his feet, and beſought him to have pity on his people; the women of Paris with diſhevelled hair and ſtreaming eyes, enforced the ſame petition, while the men proſtrated themſelves before him, and called aloud for mercy. The king then ſaid, that he pardoned the Pariſians, and converted the puniſhment of death, which was due to their

crimes, into a pecuniary fine. This degrading commutation had been imagined by thoſe in power, who, to gratify their own avarice, did not ſcruple to expoſe their ſovereign to the deteſtation of his ſubjects.

The fines were exceſſive; thoſe who experienced the moſt favourable treatment were compelled to pay one half of their property. Somewhat leſs than a third of theſe immenſe ſums was paid into the royal treaſury; the reſt was divided among the nobility. The conſtable and the mareſchals claimed a part for the payment of their troops, whom they engaged to diſband, without ſuffering them to commit any act of violence or outrage. But they kept the money, and left the ſoldiers to pay themſelves by depredations on the country through which they paſſed, on their return home. John de Vienne went to Rouen, where the inhabitants experienced the ſame treatment as the Pariſians. Several other towns were ſubjected to ſimilar oppreſſion.

As the privileges and authority enjoyed by the magiſtrates of Paris had frequently been rendered ſubſervient to the purpoſes of faction, it was now reſolved by the government, to aboliſh all municipal offices. By the ſame edict*, the king ſuppreſſed the office of provoſt of the merchants, the duties whereof were united to thoſe of the provoſt of Paris. The ſpirit of the people was ſo humbled by theſe repeated ſeverities, that all the taxes which had been aboliſhed, were now renewed without the ſmalleſt oppoſition.

A. D. 1383.] The victory of Roſbec, and the rapid progreſs of the French arms, had, at length, opened the eyes of the Engliſh council, who began to repent their refuſal of aſſiſtance to the inhabitants of Ghent. As the popular commotions which had prevailed in that kingdom, immediately after the acceſſion of Richard the Second, were now ſuppreſſed; the parliament, which met in the month of February, determined to ſend over a body of troops, to cooperate with the Flemings, under the command of the biſhop of Norwich, a martial prelate, who had ſignaliſed his courage during the late inſurrections. This politic general found means to intereſt religion in his cauſe, by procuring the appointment of leader for pope Urban, who had publiſhed a cruſade againſt all ſuch as acknowledged the authority of his rival. This laſt character was of great advantage to the biſhop, as it furniſhed him with the means of raiſing and paying his troops. The military men flew to his ſtandard in order to gain the pardon of their ſins, which was promiſed to all who engaged in this pious enterpriſe; even the ladies of England, who eſpouſed the cauſe of Urban, contributed liberally, both in money and jewels, to the expence of the expedition†. The biſhop ſailed for Calais, with his army, in the month of May, and, after refreſhing his troops, marched to attack Gravelines, which he took by aſſault. He next engaged and defeated an army of thirty thouſand French and Flemings, under the command of the count of Flanders, near Dunkirk, and made him-

* Mém. de la Chambre des Comptes, reg. E.

† Knyghton, p. 2671; Walſingham, p. 197.

ſelf maſter of that place; after which he continued his ſucceſsful progreſs through great part of Flanders, taking Nieuport, and other places. He next laid ſiege to Ypres, but there his career was ſtopped.

On the firſt news of this irruption, the king aſſembled an army of ſixteen thouſand men at arms, beſides a numerous infantry. The duke of Brittany joined him, in perſon, with two thouſand lances. It was on this occaſion that *ſtate-letters* were firſt uſed, which ſuſpended all actions commenced againſt military men, during the campaign. The *arriere-ban* having been publiſhed, all gentlemen and ſuch as poſſeſſed *noble* fiefs, were obliged to take arms. The king exempted from military ſervice, ſeveral officers of the ſuperior courts, and, among others, all the magiſtrates belonging to the chamber of accompts. Before the troops marched, the French miniſtry had recourſe to an expedient which had never before been adopted; they contracted with a citizen of Paris, to ſupply corn for a hundred thouſand men for four months. As ſoon as the French army approached, the Engliſh raiſed the ſiege of Ypres, and retired with precipitation. One part of them marched to Bourbourg, under the command of ſir Thomas Trivet, and the remainder retreated with the biſhop of Norwich, to Gravelines. The French immediately inveſted Bourbourg, and obliged the Engliſh to ſurrender the place, on condition of being allowed to march, with their arms, horſes and baggage (including all the ſpoils they had taken in the courſe of their incurſions) to Calais*. They then laid ſiege to Gravelines; and, the biſhop of Norwich, having no proſpect of relief from England, was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating; after which he embarked the ſhattered remains of his army, and returned to England.

A. D. 1384.] The campaign was terminated by conferences which were opened at Lelinghen, between the plenipotentiaries of the two courts. The French inſiſting on the reſtitution of Calais, Cherbourg, and Breſt, theſe negociations were only productive of a truce, from January the twenty-ſixth, 1384, to Michaelmas†, in which the inhabitants of Ghent were included. But the Engliſh are ſaid to have violated the truce, by reducing ſeveral places in Guienne, and attacking the mareſchal de Sancerre, whom they compelled to retire from that province‡. During the negociations, died Lewis, count of Flanders. He was ſucceeded by Philip, duke of Burgundy, who, by uniting his own appanage to the dominions of his father-in-law, became one of the moſt powerful princes of Europe. The duke of Berry retired to his government of Languedoc, where he ſoon rendered himſelf odious to the people by his tyrannical and oppreſſive conduct. The reſources of that province proved inſufficient to ſupport his prodigality. At Beziers, the inhabitants flew to arms, but they were ſoon defeated and diſperſed by the troops that were ſent

* Froiſſard, l. ii. c. 142, 145.

† Rymer, t. 7. p. 419, 423; Froiſſard, l. ii. c. 147.

‡ Le Laboureur.

to oppoſe them; ſuch as fell into the hands of the conquerors were executed, and obedience was once more reſtored by the dread of puniſhment.

Theſe commotions in Languedoc were but the prelude to a more dangerous revolution, with which Auvergne and Poitou were threatened at the ſame time*. Theſe provinces alſo belonged to the duke of Berry. Almoſt all the peaſants and farmers forſook their work, and aſſembled in bodies, with the avowed reſolution of "delivering the country from the burden of taxes, and "of reſtoring its ancient liberty." Gentlemen, eccleſiaſtics, tradeſmen, opulent citizens, all, in ſhort, who were exempted from their poverty, were expoſed to their rage. Slaughter and conflagration marked their deſtructive progreſs. Thoſe who wiſhed to eſcape their fury were obliged to aſſume the dreſs of a peaſant, but ſeveral who had recourſe to this ſtratagem were diſcovered; for the inſurgents examined the hands of all they met, and if they diſcovered no ſymptoms of ruſtic labour, they maſſacred them. The duke of Berry collected all his forces, and marched againſt the inſurgents, who immediately diſperſed; but being purſued by the troops a dreadfnl ſlaughter enſued; the greater part of them either periſhed by the ſword, or were thrown into the rivers; while the few that eſcaped returned to their uſual occupations.

The military men, being left without employment, by the concluſion of the truce, undertook a cruſade againſt the infidels on the coaſt of Africa. The duke of Bourbon was at the head of them, accompanied by the count of Harcourt, the lord of Tremoille, and ſeveral other knights and noblemen, compoſing a body of eight hundred men at arms. The chriſtians landed in Africa, and fought ſome few battles; but, deſtitute of proviſions, and perpetually harraſſed by the moors, they were ſoon compelled to regain their ſhips, and return to France, after an abſence of ſix weeks.

The ſame year in which this inconſiderate expedition to Africa was undertaken, intelligence was received in France of the failure of another enterpriſe, more important in its object. The duke of Anjou, who, for ſome time, had appeared wholly engroſſed with the gratification of his avarice, at length prepared to execute his projects of ambition. He left Paris, laden with the ſpoils of the kingdom. He took the road to Provence, the inhabitants whereof he wiſhed to ſecure in his intereſt before he entered Italy. But the people refuſed to acknowledge him for their ſovereign till ſuch time as he had proved himſelf worthy of that title. He was therefore compelled to renounce the title of king of Naples which he had imprudently aſſumed, and content himſelf with that of duke of Calabria, and heir to the kingdom of Naples. While he was waſting his time in preparatory meaſures and fruitleſs negociations, a rival appeared to diſpute that crown which he was ſo anxious to obtain. Charles di Durazzo, *miſ*-named *The Peaceable*, having been called to the throne of Naples, by pope Urban, had marched

* Chron. de St. Denis; Juvenal des Urſins; Hiſt. Anonyme; Le Laboureur.

from Hungary at the head of a powerful army. Beſides the ſupport of this pontiff, and the more effectual aſſiſtance of his troops, he had a right of inheritance, which the adoption of the queen was incompetent to annihilate. Like her, he was deſcended from the firſt houſe of Anjou, to which the throne of Sicily had been given, with an unlimited right of ſucceſſion, to the lateſt poſterity of the brother of St. Lewis. Charles entered Italy, and after being crowned at Rome, by Urban, advanced towards the territories of which he had juſt received the inveſtiture. As ſoon as he approached, a part of the kingdom declared in his favour; Naples opened her gates to him; in vain did Otho of Brunſwick, huſband to Joan, attempt to impede the progreſs of his arms; he was taken priſoner in a ſkirmiſh, and his defeat proved the ruin of his party. The queen, who had taken refuge in a fortreſs which was deemed impregnable, was ſo imprudent as to ſurrender herſelf to the diſcretion of her enemy, after having long waited in anxious expectation, for the promiſed ſuccours of her adopted ſon, the duke of Anjou. The Genoeſe ſent ambaſſadors to Naples to effect an accommodation between Joan and Charles, but the captivity of this princeſs deprived her of every reſource, and left her wholly expoſed to the mercy of her conqueror.

It was the duty of Charles to treat his illuſtrious priſoner with reſpect. She had taken care of him in his infancy; ſhe had adopted him for her ſon, in happier times; ſhe was his relation and his ſovereign. But the dictates of gratitude, juſtice and humanity were ſilenced by the calls of ambition. The unfortunate princeſs was ſtrangled in the caſtle of Averſa. The profligacy of her youth had been expiated by the virtues ſhe diſplayed in the latter part of her life, by the mildneſs of her government, and by the love which ſhe bore to her ſubjects.

Clement, the pope, who reſided at Avignon, had, in the mean time, pronounced, in a full conſiſtory, a ſentence of excommunication againſt his competitor, Urban, and againſt Charles di Durazzo; a ſentence which the new duke of Calabria promiſed to enforce by arms. At Rome, a ſimilar ſentence was iſſued by Urban, againſt Clement and his adherents. The duke embarked at Marſeilles, amidſt the acclamations of the people, who made the ſhores reſound with the cries of "Long live pope Clement!—Long live queen Joan!—Long "live the duke of Calabria!" The count of Geneva, brother to the pope, accompanied the duke; the count of Savoye, in return for the ceſſion of Piedmont, ſupplied him with two thouſand men at arms; and, by a treaty with Bernardo Viſconti, he ſecured a paſſage through the duchy of Milan. His army conſiſted of ſixty thouſand of the beſt troops in Europe, who were attended by three hundred mules, and an infinite number of carts laden with money.

After paſſing the Alps, the duke entered Lombardy, and traverſed with rapidity the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuſcany, and the eccleſiaſtical territories. Had he preſented himſelf before Rome, that city would have opened her gates to him; but as he was more anxious to gain poſſeſſion of the kingdom

of Naples, than to ſupport the intereſts of Clement, he continued his march. When he came to the province of Abruzzo, he was informed of Joan's death, and immediately aſſuming the title of king of Sicily, was crowned at Aquila. Although this invaſion had been expected, all the provinces he attacked made but little reſiſtance; Charles, indeed, had adopted the wiſe policy of ſtanding wholly on the defenſive, in the hope that this formidable army would ſoon be reduced to the neceſſity of quitting the field.

In fact, the duke, on his entrance into Italy, had loſt ſeveral of his troops in ſucceſſive ſkirmiſhes, and a part of his money had been ſeized by the mountaineers. The only means of keeping the troops in his ſervice, was by liberal donations to their leaders, which ſoon exhauſted the immenſe treaſure he had collected from the ſpoils of France. In this emergency he diſpatched Craon to the ducheſs of Anjou, who paid him conſiderable ſums, but that nobleman betrayed the confidence that was repoſed in him, and ſpent the whole in debauchery at Venice. This treachery reduced the duke to the laſt extremity; he had parted with his equipages, his plate, and even his crown, to purchaſe proviſions; and was at laſt obliged to content himſelf with a daily meal of barley-bread, procured with difficulty. His cavalry were all diſmounted; and his troops, reduced by famine and ſickneſs, daily periſhed without fighting. Surrounded by enemies, ſtriving in vain againſt the intemperance of the climate, the inconſtancy or perfidy of the inhabitants, and the moſt wretched indigence, his difficulties every moment encreaſed. Urged by deſpair he preſſed forward to Barletta, where his rival was ſtationed, and dared him to battle. Charles, however, prudently refuſed to engage an enemy whom he could reduce without the danger of an action; enraged at his diſappointment the duke decamped, and, at ſome diſtance from Barletta, meeting with a body of troops advantageouſly poſted, he endeavoured to force their entrenchments; but his attack was ſucceſsfully repelled, and being wounded in the attempt, he was conveyed to the caſtle of Biſeglia, near Bari, where he expired. After his death, the army diſperſed; and ſcarcely a tenth part of the troops returned to France. The noblemen and knights, who had engaged in this unfortunate expedition, were ſeen, almoſt naked, on the public roads of Italy, with no other defence than a ſtick, begging the means of returning to their native country. The lord of Coucy had juſt entered Italy with a body of twelve thouſand men; but when he heard of the duke's death, he was ſo fortunate as to effect his retreat without oppoſition or loſs. Such was the ſucceſs of the ambitious projects of the duke of Anjou; to ſupport which the kingdom had been drained of its wealth. But unfortunately the calamities which reſulted to the nation from this enterpriſe did not terminate with the life of that prince; it was productive of future diſgrace and misfortunes, which, in the courſe of this hiſtory, will frequently render it neceſſary to advert to its origin. The faithleſs Craon returned to France, and had the audacity to appear at court in a moſt ſplendid equipage,

The duke of Berry, ſeeing him enter the council-chamber, could not reſtrain his indignation—"Ah, falſe and diſloyal traitor!" exclaimed the prince, in a tranſport of rage, "you were the cauſe of my brother's death; let him be "ſeized, and led to puniſhment." No one appearing to execute this order, Craon retired with precipitation: he was afterwards ſentenced to pay a hundred thouſand livres to the ducheſs of Anjou; a puniſhment greatly inadequate to his crime.

At the time when intelligence of the duke of Anjou's death was received in France, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were engaged in a conference with the duke of Lancaſter, at Boulogne. But this conference, at which plenipotentiaries from the kings of Caſtile and Scotland aſſiſted, proved as inefficacious as the laſt; it terminated in a prolongation of the truce, till the firſt of May, 1385.

As the treaſury had been exhauſted to gratify the avarice, or ſupport the ambition of the duke of Anjou, the government determining to recruit it, had recourſe to the deſtructive means of a new coinage, preceded by a proſcription of the old. This proſcription was ſo rigorouſly enforced, that a total ſtop was put to commerce, all payments were ſuſpended, and a general murmur of indignation was heard throughout the kingdom. It then became neceſſary tacitly to acknowledge the error they had committed, by renewing the circulation of the ancient coin. The value of ſilver experienced ſeveral variations in the courſe of this year, which tended to augment the price of this metal, one ſixth. The object of this augmentation which was enforced by government, was to favour the new coin, which was much leſs pure than the old; thus ſeeking to remedy one abuſe by the eſtabliſhment of another, equally prejudicial to the fortunes of individuals, and the confidence of the public. The duke of Burgundy tried a ſimilar expedient in Flanders, but with no better ſucceſs. The commercial intercourſe which ſubſiſted between the Flemings and Engliſh, rendered the conſent of the latter neceſſary before any alteration in the coin could take place. Thus, when the duke neglected this precaution, the new coinage no ſooner made its appearance, than it was proſcribed by the Engliſh miniſtry.

The court of England had particular reaſons for wiſhing to thwart all the ſchemes of the duke of Burgundy. The marriage of the count of Nevers, ſon to the duke, with Margaret of Hainault, had juſt been concluded. The duke of Lancaſter, who had expected to procure the hand of this princeſs for his ſon, ſent ambaſſadors to the count of Hainault, to know whether it was true that he had promiſed his daughter to the count of Nevers. The count, very properly, replied, that if the duke was about to marry his own children, he ſhould not preſume to interfere, and therefore he had no right to enquire into the affairs of his family, nor to aſk when, or to whom, he meant to marry his daughter. The nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Cambray.

A. D. 1385.] While the court reſided at Cambray, meaſures were taken by the miniſtry for procuring a ſuitable alliance for the king himſelf, who had

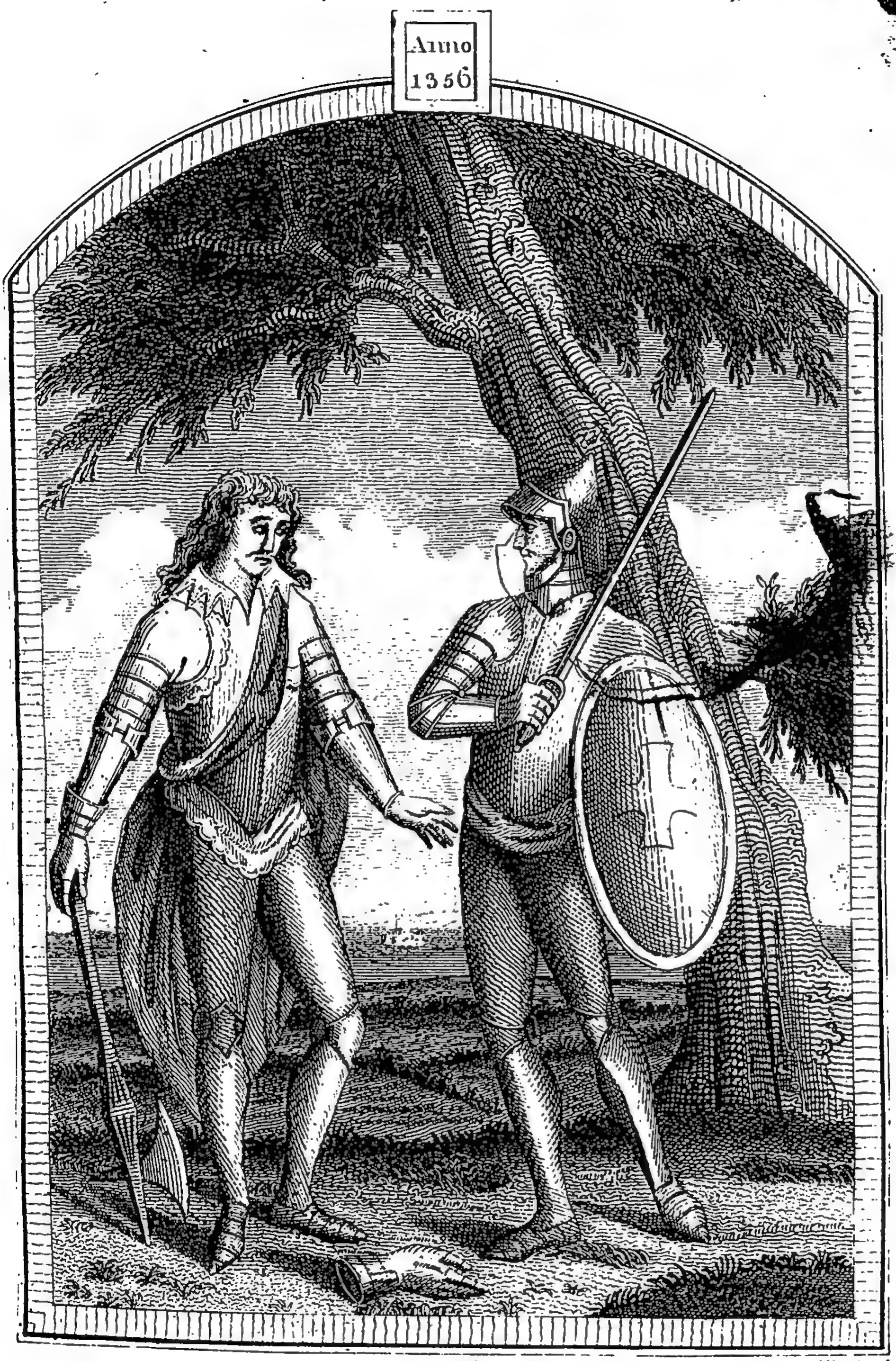
juſt entered his ſeventeenth year. It was ſome time before they could fix their choice, which, at length, fell upon Iſabella, daughter to Stephen, duke of Bavaria, a princeſs of fourteen, who was eſteemed one of the greateſt beauties of the age. The princeſs was taken to France, under the pretext of performing a pilgrimage. Amiens was the place appointed for the interview. As ſoon as Iſabella appeared, her charms excited ſuch powerful emotions in the boſom of the king, that he aſſured the duke of Burgundy, *he could not ſleep till he had married her*. The duke informed the ducheſs of Brabant, and the other ladies, who had accompanied the princeſs, of the monarch's impatience, adding, "*To-morrow we will find a remedy for his diſorder.*" Next day the young couple received the nuptial benediction at the cathedral of Amiens; when Iſabella, with the crown upon her head, was conducted to the church in a covered waggon, richly decorated.

The rejoicings occaſioned by the marriage of the king, were interrupted by the news of an advantage obtained in Flanders by the inhabitants of Ghent*. Francis Attremen, one of their leaders, had left the town, at the head of ſeven thouſand men, with a reſolution to achieve ſome enterpriſe of importance. While he was meditating on the means of accompliſhing his deſigns, he received intelligence from his ſpies, that the governor of Dam, had imprudently left that town, relying for its defence on the valour and vigilance of the inhabitants. Attremen immediately reſolved to take advantage of his abſence, and marching to Dam, he *eſcaladed the walls* in the night, and took poſſeſſion of the place while the inhabitants were in their beds. Beſides the property belonging to the town which was conſiderable, he found immenſe riches belonging to the principal citizens of Bruges, who, dreading an inſurrection of the populace, had brought them to Dam, as to a place of ſafety. Attremen conducted himſelf, on this occaſion, with a generoſity that did him honour. In the midſt of theſe tumults and horrors, which inevitably occur where a town is taken by aſſault, he ordered the women to be reſpected. To this precaution were ſeveral ladies of diſtinction, who had repaired to Dam, according to the cuſtom of the times, to attend the governor's wife in her lying-in, indebted for the preſervation of their lives and honour.

About this time ambaſſadors arrived at Paris, from the nobles of Hungary, to propoſe the marriage of the daughter of their late king with the young count of Valois. The propoſal being accepted, envoys were ſent to Hungary, who married the princeſs in the count's name. "John de la Perſonne," one of the envoys, "laid himſelf down on the bed, by the ſide of the princeſs," and returned with the marriage-contract properly authenticated†. Soon after, Charles the Peaceable entered Hungary, and ſeized the crown, but being aſſaſſinated at

* Froiſſard; Grande Chron.; Chron. MS. de la B. R.; Juvenal des Urſins; Le Laboureur; Hiſt. Anon.

† Froiſſard; Chron. MS. de la B. R.; Tréſor des Chartres Du Tillet.



John the 2.d Surrendering to Louis de Mortai

Philad.a Publish'd by Ja.s Stewart & Co. Mar. 27.th 1797

a feſtival, it returned to the lawful heir, the princeſs Mary, whom the Hungarians, from the vigour of her mind, diſtinguiſhed by the appellatiou of *king* Mary. Towards the concluſion of this year the count of Valois prepared to join his intended bride; but juſt as he had taken leave of his brother, he was prevented from purſuing his journey, by the news that Sigiſmond, ſecond ſon to the emperor, Charles the Fourth, had entered Hungary with a powerful army, and compelled the queen to give him her hand. The count therefore was deprived of all hopes of a crown, and was compelled to reſign the title of king of Hungary, which he had prematurely aſſumed.

As all attempts to eſtabliſh a ſolid peace between the rival powers of France and England had proved fruitleſs, a vigorous renewal of hoſtilities was reſolved on by the former. The duke of Burgundy propoſed, in the council, to make a deſcent upon England; and, as the ſcheme was highly pleaſing to the martial diſpoſition of Charles, his propoſal was inſtantly adopted, and the neceſſary preparations were ordered to be made. The general rendezvous of the troops was appointed in Artois, while a prodigious fleet was collected in the harbour of Sluys. To defray the expence of this armament, recourſe was had to loans from the people and clergy; for the repayment of the ſums thus borrowed the king's word was pledged*. A liſt of the opulent citizens, and an account of the ſums which each of them were able to advance, were preſented to the council, and by them delivered to the perſon who was entruſted with the collection of the loans. A term was then fixed for the repayment of the money, but without intereſt. At the ſame time, all the taxes were doubled, and levied with the utmoſt rigour. During theſe preparations, the Scots having made application to the court for aſſiſtance, John de Vienne, the admiral, was ſent with fifteen hundred men at arms to ſupport them in their incurſions on the Engliſh territories.

The Engliſh, appriſed of the intentions of the French court, were kept in a ſtate of continual alarm, and their preparations for defence were, of courſe adequate to the magnitude of their apprehenſions: but the diviſions which prevailed in the French councils reſcued them from the impending danger. The troops were aſſembled, and on the point of embarking, when an incident, which ought to have haſtened the execution of the enterpriſe, was employed as a pretext for laying it aſide. Francis Attremen, who had reduced the town of Dam, conceived the bold deſign of burning the French fleet, in the harbour of Sluys; and, with a view to forward his plan, he had engaged ſome of the inhabitants of Sluys in his intereſt, who promiſed to admit him into the place; but the plot was diſcovered, and his accomplices were ſeized and executed. The duke of Burgundy, who wiſhed to employ the troops in the reduction of Flanders, urged this as a ſufficient reaſon for deferring the expedition till the enſuing ſeaſon. The king accordingly formed the ſiege of Dam, which, after a vigorous reſiſtance, was taken by

* Extrait des Comptes de la Recette des Finances de la Ville de Paris.

aſſault, pillaged, and reduced to aſhes. The troops then extended their incurſions to the very gates of Ghent, laying waſte the country with fire and ſword. The priſoners that were taken were maſſacred in cool blood.

As ſoon as the campaign was finiſhed, the king diſmiſſed his troops and returned to Paris. Before he left Flanders, the duke of Burgundy had obtained from him the ſovereignty of the town of Sluys. He farther ſought to profit by the terror with which the French arms had inſpired the inhabitants of Flanders, for whoſe reduction he threatened to employ more powerful efforts, at the commencement of the enſuing campaign. The citizens of Ghent were exhauſted by the expences of the war, which fell entirely upon themſelves. The Engliſh, contented with acting on the defenſive, appeared to be wholly occupied in making proviſion for their own ſafety. The duke of Lancaſter, intent on aſſerting his claims to the throne of Caſtile, was preparing to embark for Portugal; and, in ſhort, the intereſts of either kingdom ſeem to have been ſacrificed to the private views of thoſe who were entruſted with the reins of government.

All the Flemiſh towns were anxious to put an end to the war, which tended to ruin their commerce; and ſeveral of them ſent deputies to the king to requeſt that he would effect an accommodation. Even the citizens of Ghent began to be aware that, without foreign aſſiſtance, they would be unable to reſiſt the united forces of their ſovereign, and his nephew, the king of France; and that, conſequently, their ruin muſt be inevitable, unleſs averted by a treaty*. The duke of Burgundy was equally deſirous of putting a ſtop to the deſolation of an opulent province, which had become the patrimony of his houſe. When both parties were thus favourably diſpoſed, conferences were opened at Tournay, at which the duke and ducheſs of Burgundy aſſiſted in perſon. Peace was ſoon concluded; the citizens of Ghent ſubmitted to the duke, and that prince had, at length, the ſatisfaction of being acknowledged for count of Flanders by all the towns in his dominions. The citizens of Ghent renounced the alliance they had contracted with the Engliſh, and took the oath of allegiance to their ſovereigns†.

When the duke of Burgundy found that tranquillity was re-eſtabliſhed in his new dominions, he thought he ſhould meet with no difficulty in perſuading his ſubjects to renounce pope Urban, and acknowledge his rival Clement; but he was miſtaken, the Flemings had fixed their choice, and were neither to be moved by threats nor entreaties. Indeed, the ſhameful exactions of Clement daily augmented the number of his enemies. In France, the people were loud in their complaints of the pontiff and his partiſans; and the evils encreaſed ſo rapidly, that the interference of government became neceſſary to avert their effects.

For almoſt nine years had Clement exacted a tenth of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues in the kingdom; but even the immenſe ſums that were collected by

* Chron. de St. Denis. Anon. † Regiſt. des anciennes Ordonnances du Parlement, fol. 105.

this means proved insufficient to gratify his avidity. The rapacious ingenuity of his ministers was exerted in the invention of new taxes, in the creation of unknown rights*. Disdaining all *subaltern* means of extortion, Clement imposed a general impost upon all ecclesiastical benefices. The abbot of St. Nicaise was appointed to levy this tax. Threats, seizures, censures, and excommunications were all employed. The provinces were over-run with the collectors of the apostolical chamber. The holders of benefices, in order to raise the sum required, were frequently obliged to sell the books, the sacred vases, and the ornaments of the churches: the collectors even constrained them to unroof the churches, that the tiles and other materials might be exposed to sale. For giving greater authority to their exactions, they had obtained letters from the king, the dangerous abuse whereof the council had not foreseen. Their eyes, however, were at length, opened by the general complaints of the people, which induced the king to revoke the permission he had granted, to distrain the goods of the clergy, in consequence of actions commenced against them by the collectors and sub-collectors of the pope. This revocation was soon followed by a second ordonnance, providing for the security of ecclesiastical property, the support and repairs of churches, and the validity and execution of wills made by abbots and prelates, against the pursuits of the agents employed by the pope and cardinals. The abbot of St. Nicaise, was ordered to quit the kingdom in three days. Arnaud de Corbie, first president of the parliament, was sent to Avignon, to apprise the pope of these regulations. Clement acknowledged the justice of them, and promised to conform to the intentions of the king and his council. The university of Paris had been chiefly instrumental in persuading the council to repress the depredations of the court of Avignon.

A. D. 1386.] Though the people were burdened with taxes, the king determined to renew his preparations for an invasion of England. The port of Sluys was again fixed on as the general rendezvous of the fleet and army. Fifteen hundred vessels were accordingly collected, destined for the embarkation of a hundred thousand men, to be headed by the king in person, accompanied by the princes of the blood, and all the nobility of the kingdom. The expence of the fleet amounted to three millions of livres. Independent of the ships collected by the king, many of which had been purchased in the ports of Holland and Zealand; the constable de Cliffon had equipped seventy-two sail at his own expence. He had also caused a singular edifice to be constructed of prodigious magnitude: this was a town of wood, three thousand paces in diameter, fortified with towers and entrenchments, and capable of containing a whole army. It was intended to serve as a secure retreat for the troops after they had landed in England; and was so constructed that the different parts of it might be united

* Regist. A. du Parlem. fol. 112. verso. Ibid. fol. 113. R. Rec. des. Ordon. t. vi. Juvenal des Ursins. Chron de France. Le Laboureur.

in a very ſhort ſpace of time. It was embarked on board a ſecond fleet, which the conſtable had prepared for the purpoſe in the ports of Brittany. The French regarded the conqueſt of England as a matter of certainty.

It is extraordinary, that while the Engliſh were expoſed to ſuch danger, the duke of Lancaſter ſhould leave the kingdom with twenty thouſand of the beſt troops it contained. That prince ſailed from Portſmouth in the month of May, in order to join the Portugueze, who were at war with the Caſtilians; and having, in his paſſage, raiſed the ſiege of Breſt, which was beſieged by the duke of Brittany, he arrived at Corunna in the month of Auguſt.

The troops in the mean time repaired to Sluys, and its environs, from all parts of France. The diſorders they committed on their march, are thus deſcribed by Froiſſard, who was then on the ſpot. "The poor farmers, who "had got in their corn, were only ſuffered to keep the ſtraw for their labour; "if they ventured to remonſtrate on the violence they ſuſtained, they were ei-"ther beaten or killed; the fiſh-ponds were let dry; and the houſes pulled "down to ſupply the ſoldiers with fuel: had the Engliſh entered France, they "could not have made greater deſtruction than the French troops. After rob-"bing people of their property, they ſaid—We have no money now, but we "ſhall have plenty on our return, and then we will pay you!"

At length the king arrived at Sluys, attended by a ſplendid train of nobles. His preſence encreaſed the ardour of the men; in a ſhort time every thing was ready for the embarkation; and the troops only waited the arrival of the duke of Berry and the fleet from Brittany. The conſtable had ſet ſail, but meeting with a ſtorm in the channel, his ſhips were diſperſed, and many of them were wrecked on the Engliſh coaſt; among theſe were ſeveral which had part of his *wooden town* on board. Cliſſon, after the ſtorm was over, collected the ſhattered remains of his fleet, and directed his courſe to Sluys, where they haſtened to repair the damages it had ſuſtained. The king impatient to embark, daily ſent meſſengers to the duke of Berry to haſten his departure, but the anſwers he received were evaſive. In the mean time the ſeaſon was far advanced; the troops had conſumed the proviſions and forage; the ſurrounding country was laid waſte by their excurſions; a ſcarcity prevailed; and, ſuch was the dreadful depredations which had taken place in the finances, the troops were not paid; of two months' pay that were due to them, they could with difficulty obtain one week's. Yet had immenſe ſums been levied on the people: ſo oppreſſive, indeed, were the burdens impoſed on them, that no man paid leſs than one-fourth of his income; and many, from inability to ſatisfy the demands of the collector, were compelled to quit their habitations, and abandon their property to his diſcretion.

The duke of Berry did not arrive at Sluys till the ſeaſon was too far advanced for engaging in an expedition of ſuch importance. A council was held; at which it was determined to defer the invaſion of England till the following

year: and the troops were accordingly diſmiſſed. A great part of the fleet was deſtroyed by a ſtorm. The court returned to Paris, to form new plans for the enſuing campaign. Towards the end of this year, Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, finiſhed a life, which had exhibited one continued ſeries of criminal actions. He had juſt ordered a contribution of two hundred thouſand florins to be levied on his ſubjects; and deputies from the principal towns of Navarre had waited on him to procure the ſuppreſſion or diminution of this impoſt; enraged at their preſumption, Charles is ſaid to have harboured the deſign of putting them to death*. Soon after the death of the king of Navarre, Charles inſtituted a ſuit againſt him, with the view to the confiſcation of his poſſeſſions in Normandy. He was ſummoned to appear in court, as if he had been alive, and the ſame forms were obſerved as if the party accuſed had been preſent. Sentence was pronounced againſt the dead culprit, and it remained with Charles to enforce it when he ſhould think proper.

A. D. 1387.] Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of the two laſt armaments, the court were ſtill determined to render England the theatre of war; preparations were, for the third time, ordered to be made. The management of the expedition was entruſted to Cliſſon; and the admiral, the count of Saint Paul, and the lord of Coucy, aſſembled troops and veſſels, in the ports of Normandy, to join the forces which the conſtable was collecting in Brittany. The quarrel in England, at this period, between the king and parliament, ſeemed to afford flattering hopes of ſucceſs to Charles. But his projects were again thwarted by an unforeſeen obſtacle.

The duke of Brittany had, for the ſecond time, formed the ſiege of Breſt, which the Engliſh again compelled him to raiſe†. But his eagerneſs to obtain poſſeſſion of this place, could not remove the ſuſpicions of the people, who made no ſcruple to affirm, that he was ſecretly attached to the Engliſh; their ſuſpicions acquired freſh force from an incident that occurred at this time. Of the two ſons of Charles of Blois, who had ſo long been kept priſoners in England, the youngeſt had recently died; while John, the eldeſt, hoped, in vain, to procure his liberty by the interpoſition of his family, or the generoſity of the enemy. By the laſt treaty of Guerrande, the duke of Brittany had engaged to obtain the liberation of theſe princes, but when preſſed to perform his engagement, he replied that he could afford them no farther aſſiſtance than his recommendation. But when John of Blois began to think himſelf doomed to perpetual captivity, ambition came to his relief. The conſtable caſt his eyes on this prince as a huſband for the youngeſt of his two daughters, the eldeſt being already married to the viſcount of Rohan. This alliance being accepted by John of Blois, Cliſſon applied to the duke of Ireland, the favourite of Richard, who obtained from his ſovereign the diſpoſal of the priſoner. The conſtable agreed to

* Villaret. † Hiſt. de Bretagne.

pay the duke for his ranſom one hundred and twenty thouſand livres, half of which ſum was to be advanced immediately, and the remainder as ſoon as the prince ſhould arrive at Boulogne. When this negociation was communicated to the duke of Brittany, it revived his animoſity againſt the conſtable; but he concealed his reſentment the more effectually to ſecure its gratification.

The duke, for the accompliſhment of his project, convened the ſtates at Vannes, where the nobility of the province attended. He carried his diſſimulation ſo far, as to be preſent at a feaſt given by Cliſſon. As he knew that the conſtable was about to leave the place, to forward preparations for the invaſion of England, he entered into converſation with him on the ſubject of the expedition, and invited him to viſit the caſtle of l'Hermine. Cliſſon accepted the invitation; and, when arrived at the caſtle, the duke conducted him to the principal tower, requeſting his opinion of it; he made ſome difficulty in aſcending the ſtair-caſe before the prince, till Montfort told him that he wanted to ſpeak with the lord of Laval. The conſtable then proceeded to the ſecond ſtory, without perceiving that the door was ſhut upon him, when ſeveral men ruſhed out, loaded him with irons, and conveyed him to a dungeon. The place in which they confined him was ſo cold, that he was almoſt frozen, though it was in the midſt of ſummer; and, but for the compaſſion of a poor eſquire, who threw his robe to him, he muſt probably have periſhed. The lord of Laval, who was engaged in converſation with the duke, ſeeing him turn pale, the moment the door of the tower was ſhut, began to ſuſpect the truth. Beaumanoir coming up, in the mean time, aſked for the conſtable; "Do you wiſh to experience the ſame "fate?" ſaid the duke, and that noblemen replying in the affirmative, he drew his dagger, and exclaimed, in a tranſport of rage, "Since you wiſh it, I'll put "out one of your eyes, and then you'll be like him!" He was deterred from executing his threat; but Beaumanoir was ſeized, and conducted to the tower.

Laval in vain had recourſe to prayers and remonſtrances, to awake the duke to a ſenſe of honour. As ſoon as he had left him, Montfort called the governor of the caſtle, John de Bavalan, and ordered him to encloſe the conſtable in a ſack, and, in the night, to throw him into the ſea. This officer threw himſelf at the feet of his maſter, and entreated him to forego a deſign ſo pregnant with diſhonour; the duke was reſolute; he told the governor that he had received his orders, and that his head ſhould pay the forfeit of his diſobedience.

In the middle of the night the duke awoke; and began to reflect on his conduct; he deplored his error, and lamented the impoſſibility of repairing it. The entrance of Bavalan into his chamber, at the dawn of day, with the news that his orders had been executed, converted his ſorrow into deſpair. He ſhut himſelf up in his apartment, ordered that no one ſhould be admitted to his preſence and refuſed all ſuſtenance. Bavalan was reproached for having executed the commands impoſed on him, but he pleaded the preciſion of the duke's orders, as an excuſe for obeying them. At night, however, he again entered Montfort's

apartment, and relieved him from his diſtreſs, by an aſſurance that Cliſſon was ſtill alive. The duke was unable to contain the tranſports of joy and gratitude with which his boſom was agitated. He ſeized the knight in his arms, extolled his fidelity, and called him the guardian of his honour.

The duke, however, refuſed to releaſe the conſtable, till he had engaged to purchaſe his liberty by the payment of one hundred thouſand livres, and the ſurrender of four fortified places in his poſſeſſion. But the moment Cliſſon was releaſed, he haſtened to Paris, where he threw himſelf at the king's feet and demanded juſtice for the violence he had ſuſtained; while the noblemen attached to his ſervice, retook the places which he had been compelled to cede. The king was enraged at the affront offered to the firſt officer of the crown; and his indignation was encreaſed when he reflected that, by this means, his project of a deſcent upon England had, for the third time, been rendered abortive. Charles reſolved to make the duke of Brittany feel the weight of his reſentment, but the dukes of Berry and Burgundy induced him to forego his deſign.

Charles reſolved to procure ſome ſatisfaction for the affront offered to his favourite, and with that view diſpatched ambaſſadors to the court of Brittany. The duke, in the mean time, had ſtrengthened the fortifications of his principal towns and fortreſſes, and had perſuaded ſeveral of the former to receive Engliſh garriſons. The earl of Arundel, with an Engliſh fleet, was cruiſing off the coaſt of Brittany; and by puſhing Montfort to extremities there was reaſon to apprehend that he would open his ports to the public enemy. The new king of Navarre, whoſe ſiſter the duke had lately eſpouſed, might, it was feared, take advantage of this conjuncture, to aſſert his claim to his father's poſſeſſions in Normandy. The duke of Brittany was aware of theſe motives of forbearance, and, therefore, refuſed to give any ſatisfactory anſwer to the French ambaſſadors. At length by the perſuaſions of the lord of Montbourcher, he repaired to the French court, where he engaged to repay, by inſtalments, the money extorted from Cliſſon.

Charles was now at leiſure to ſatisfy his reſentment againſt the duke of Gueldres, one of the vaſſals whoſe military ſervices Charles the Wiſe had purchaſed, towards the concluſion of his reign. This prince, having received more advantageous offers from the Engliſh court, had withdrawn his homage, and ſent a formal defiance to the king*. The neceſſary preparations being completed, Charles placed himſelf at the head of his troops; but as he was about to enter the imperial territories, it was neceſſary to ſend ambaſſadors to Winceſlaus, to explain the motives of his conduct and the object of his expedition. The emperor replied, that he was acquainted with the intentions of his couſin, the king of France, but he could not conceive it neceſſary that ſo powerful a monarch ſhould aſſemble all his forces, and incur ſo great an expence, for an enterpriſe of

* Tréſor des Chartres; Du Tillet; Froiſſard.

ſuch little importance; he added, that had he been ſooner appriſed of the circumſtance, he would have ſaved the king the trouble of ſo long a journey, by compelling the duke of Gueldres to liſten to reaſon. The ambaſſadors returned thanks to the emperor, and aſſured him that the king of France, when his honour was concerned, neither regarded trouble nor expence. When the ambaſſadors returned with this anſwer, the army were already on their march; application had been made to the ducheſs of Brabant to allow them to paſs through her territories; but, although her ſubjects were at war with the duke of Gueldres, the nobility requeſted ſhe would deſire the king to take another road, as they were not leſs afraid of the troops of their allies, than of thoſe of their enemies. It became neceſſary to take a circuit; and the army, having traverſed Champagne, the Ardennes, and Luxembourg, preceded by three thouſand workmen, who were employed in levelling the roads, arrived on the frontiers of Juliers, after a long and toilſome march. The duke of Juliers, whoſe territories lay open to the depredations of the troops, threw himſelf at the king's feet, and beſought him to pardon his ſon. He experienced a favourable reception from Charles, whoſe troops extended their incurſions into the duchy of Gueldres. The duke of Gueldres then ſued for peace, and obtained it*, on condition that he ſhould ſubmit his diſpute with the ducheſs of Brabant to the deciſion of the king; that if, in future, he ſhould find occaſion to ſend a defiance, it ſhould be couched in terms of greater politeneſs than the laſt, and preceded by a warning given a year before.

To ſupport theſe extraordinary expences, recourſe was had to the uſual means of raiſing money in thoſe ages. Conſiderable ſums were exacted from the Jews, either for the new privileges they obtained, or for the renewal of ſuch as they had before enjoyed. Among the infinite number of conceſſions†, all contrary to exiſting laws, that were now granted to this people, one of the moſt ſingular, was the permiſſion to exact from their debtors compound intereſt.

The authority enjoyed by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy had long excited the jealouſy of the courtiers; and, on the violence offered to the conſtable by the duke of Brittany, that jealouſy had manifeſted itſelf in a peculiar manner. The expedition of Gueldres had ſuſpended the effects of this miſunderſtanding; but thoſe who wiſhed to deprive the princes of any ſhare in the government, had not ceaſed to inſtil into the mind of the king, ſuſpicions of their fidelity, which their conduct was calculated to confirm. Charles now began to regard his uncles as troubleſome tutors, to whoſe authority he was reſolved no longer to ſubmit. He had attained to an age impatient of reſtraint; and nothing could pleaſe him better than to take the government into his own hands. On his return from Gueldres, he convened an aſſembly at Rheims, which was attended by the princes of the blood, many of the nobility and dignified clergy, and by

* Tréſor des Chartres. † Tréſor des Chartres, Reg. 132. p. 215.

all the members of the council. It was here ſubmitted to the aſſembly, whether it was not time for the king to reign alone, as his underſtanding appeared to be fully developed; and as he ſaw his uncles, and their agents, more intent on their own private intereſt, than on the promotion of the public good? The dukes of Burgundy and Berry were preſent while the queſtion was diſcuſſed. The chancellor called upon the cardinal de Laon for his opinion. That prelate declined ſpeaking firſt; but, the king inſiſting, he was forced to obey. After obſerving that the king was old enough to ſway the ſceptre, ſince he had completed his twentieth year, he ſaid, that the good of the ſtate required that he ſhould immediately take the government into his own hands, to remove all cauſe for envy and diſcontent between the nobles of the realm; whence great inconveniences had ariſen, and ſtill greater might be reaſonably expected. The cardinal, who at firſt had ſeemed fearful of entering into an open explanation of his ſentiments, grew bolder, as he advanced in his ſpeech, and expatiated largely on the abuſes which had crept into the government. Although the two princes were greatly diſſatisfied with the conduct of their nephew, they did not venture to expreſs their diſcontent at his reſolution.

Some days after the diſſolution of this aſſembly, the cardinal de Laon fell dangerouſly ill; and, from the ſymptoms of his diſorder, he was convinced that ſome ſecret enemy had haſtened the period of his exiſtence. He died, with ſentiments truly chriſtian; his laſt breath ſpoke the language of forgiveneſs, and he earneſtly requeſted that no attempt might be made to diſcover the author of his death*. The king was extremely afflicted at his loſs: he ordered the body to be opened, and the diſcovery of poiſon, then reduced to a certainty, what before was but doubt. The prelate's laſt requeſt, however, was complied with, and the puniſhment of the atrocious deed was left to the ſevereſt of all judges, a guilty conſcience.

A. D. 1388.] The dukes of Berry and Burgundy now retired to their reſpective appanages, while the king entered on the duties of his ſtation. He found the finances in dreadful diſorder. The royal houſhold, inſtead of the ſplendour of royalty, exhibited an appearance of want. The king, at the time the dukes took leave of him, had few jewels, and little plate, tapeſtry, and furniture, while his uncles diſplayed a degree of pomp that eclipſed the luſtre of the throne.

A total change took place at court; where thoſe who had been connected with the princes were diſmiſſed, and replaced by the creatures of the new miniſtry. The government was entruſted to Le Begue de Vilaines; the lord of la Riviere; John de Mercier, lord of Noviant; and John de Montagu: theſe noblemen were ſupported by the credit and authority of the conſtable. The duke of Bourbon ſtill preſerved, with the king and council, that influence and power, to the poſſeſſion of which he had every claim that illuſtrious birth, magnani-

* Le Laboureur.

mity of mind, and unſhaken integrity could confer. Charles, when he diſmiſſed his paternal uncles, particularly requeſted that this prince would continue to aſſiſt him with his advice. His virtues were known to every one; he loved the king for himſelf; and all his views were directed to the good of the ſtate. He was equally eſteemed by the ſovereign, the nobility, and the people, and contemporary writers unite in giving him the beſt of characters.

The people flattered themſelves that their new governors would ſignaliſe the commencement of their adminiſtration by diminiſhing the weight of impoſts*: but the only relief which they obtained was a repeal of the additional tax, which had been levied for defraying the expences of the war. All the other taxes and ſubſidies continued to be levied as before. Six *generals of the finances* were appointed, who conſtituted *the court of aids*, which regulated all matters of finance, and took cognizance of all cauſes relating to the public revenue. A new council of ſtate was formed at the ſame time, conſiſting of the conſtable, the two mareſchals, and nine other members.

After enforcing ſome regulations for promoting cleanlineſs in the metropolis, and for reducing the number of judges in parliament, the miniſtry applied themſelves to the concluſion of a peace with England: and, though no immediate accommodation was the reſult of their negociations, a tacit ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities took place till the following year, when a truce was ſigned, for three years, in which all the allies of both crowns were included†.

The marriage of the duke of Touraine with Valentina of Milan, daughter to Galeazzo Viſconti by Iſabella of France, ſiſter to Charles the Wiſe, was celebrated about this time at Melun, in preſence of the king and his whole court. The rejoicings laſted ſeveral days. Beſides the county of Aſt, and an eſtate of thirty thouſand livres per annum, the princeſs of Milan brought her huſband a conſiderable ſum of money, amounting, according to Froiſſard, to more than a million of livres, equal, in value, to four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling of our preſent money, and, in effects to upwards of two millions. A part of this money was employed in the purchaſe of eſtates, which produced a conſiderable augmentation of the prince's appanage.

The next ſubject of rejoicing which occurred, was the queen's public entry into Paris, which had been deferred till the preſent year. The king, wiſhing to be preſent (incognito) at the proceſſion, mounted behind one of his courtiers; they both paraded the ſtreets in diſguiſe, and were beaten by the ſerjeants, who were ſtationed to keep off the mob; an incident which amuſed Charles. Next day the queen was crowned in the chapel belonging to the palace. The preſents made, on this occaſion, by the citizens of Paris to the queen, were carried to her apartment by two men, one of whom was diſguiſed as a bear, and

* Cour des Aydes; Recueil des Ordonnances; Regiſtres de la Cour des Aydes; Tréſor des Chartres.

† Rymer, vol. vii. p. 623.

the other as an unicorn. The plate preſented to the ducheſs of Touraine, on her marriage, was likewiſe carried by two men, with their faces blacked, and dreſſed like Moors. Theſe preſents coſt the city ſixty thouſand crowns of gold. The Pariſians had flattered themſelves with the hopes that this teſtimony of their zeal would be the means of affecting ſome diminution of the taxes; but, on the departure of the court, their hopes all vaniſhed. The duty on ſalt was encreaſed; and an alteration of the coin gave them freſh ſubject of diſcontent. People were forbidden to receive the old coin under pain of death; and, as this prohibition extended to every ſpecies of money, it produced the greateſt inconvenience to the public. As the kingdom was now at peace, the truce with England being concluded, there could be no excuſe for ſuch oppreſſive exactions.

About this time the king undertook a journey to Avignon, to confer with Clement, who exhorted him to profit by the troubles which prevailed in Italy, to ſecure to Lewis of Anjou the crown of Naples. The pontiff received the king with the honours due to his rank, and was prodigal in ſuch favours as were beſt fitted to pleaſe Charles and his court. Among other proofs of liberality, he granted him the diſpoſal of four biſhopricks and ſeven hundred and fifty benefices. Two days after the arrival of the court, Lewis of Anjou received the crown of Naples and Sicily from the hands of his holineſs.

While the king was at Avignon, intelligence arrived of the death of Urban competitor of Clement. It was at firſt hoped that his death would put an end to the ſchiſm in the church; but thoſe hopes vaniſhed. The prelates who had been attached to the pontiff of Rome filled the pontifical chair. The conclave, compoſed of fourteen cardinals, elected Boniface the Ninth*.

When Charles left Avignon he repaired to Beziers. The inhabitants of Languedoc, oppreſſed by the government of the duke of Berry, carried their complaints to the throne. A Bernardine monk, had undertaken to repreſent to the king the deplorable ſtate of the province. The people experienced every ſpecies of oppreſſion. The towns and villages were equally expoſed to exactions the moſt unjuſt: impoſitions innumerable had been levied on them, and repeated five or ſix times in one year. When unable to pay, their goods were ſeized, their perſons arreſted, and the ſmalleſt reſiſtance experienced rigorous puniſhment. Such were theſe depredations, that upwards of forty thouſand families were compelled to abandon their country and take refuge in Arragon, or ſome of the neighbouring provinces; this abuſe of power converted one of the fineſt countries in France almoſt into a deſart.

Betizac the chief miniſter of the duke of Berry, had acquired an abſolute aſcendancy over the mind of his maſter. He had a fertility of invention, in expedients pregnant with deſtruction. In other reſpects, his ignorance was extreme, and could only be exceeded by his vices. The king, moved by the repreſenta-

* Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 98.

tions of the monk, which were made in preſence of the duke of Berry, promiſed to remedy the evils of which the province complained. The duke imagined that this promiſe would ſoon be forgotten, and that the king would be contented with the orders which he ſent to his miniſter to moderate the taxes in Languedoc. But the reſolution was taken not only to deprive him of the government, but to inflict exemplary puniſhment on ſuch of his miniſters as had made improper uſe of authority. Moſt of the duke's officers were diſmiſſed. Betizac was thrown into priſon, and preparations were made for his trial that ſoon cauſed him to tremble for his life. Commiſſioners were appointed to examine him, who aſked him by what means he had amaſſed the immenſe treaſures found in his poſſeſſion? To which he replied, "My lord of Berry wiſhes his ſervants to be rich." This defence was rejected as unſatisfactory; but the proceedings of the commiſſioners were ſtopped by the arrival of two knights, with letters from the duke of Berry, who acknowledged that Betizac, in his adminiſtration, had done nothing without his expreſs orders. Such a juſtification ought to have procured the immediate releaſe of the priſoner; but the council reſolved to accompliſh by ſtratagem what could not be effected by law. A perſon was ſent to viſit Betizac in priſon, under the maſk of friendſhip, who informed him that his execution was fixed for the next day, and that the only means of averting the fate which awaited him, was by acknowledging the commiſſion of ſome crime cognizable only by the eccleſiaſtical judge, in which caſe he would be conducted to Avignon, where the duke of Berry had ſufficient influence to procure his abſolution. Betizac gave credit to this intelligence; and, next day ſending for his judges, he confeſſed to them that he neither believed in the doctrine of the Trinity, nor in the incarnation. This was ſufficient for their purpoſe; they haſtened to the king and informed him of what they had heard. Charles exclaimed, that Betizac was a wretch who deſerved to periſh, and that all the remonſtrances of the duke of Berry ſhould not ſave him from the flames.

When brought before the eccleſiaſtical judges, Betizac perſiſted in the declarations he had previouſly made. He was then delivered up to the civil juriſdiction, and conducted, without delay, to the place of execution. The duke of Berry vowed to revenge the death of his favourite on the conſtable and his aſſociates, by whoſe means it had been promoted. Though this rapacious miniſter was, doubtleſs, deſerving of the ſevereſt puniſhment, yet the artifice, by which his deſtruction was effected, reflected the higheſt diſgrace on the council. The nation ſeems to have derived little advantage from the change of its governors. Cliſſon, indeed, had ever diſplayed a ferocious and ſanguinary diſpoſition; any act of cruelty in him, therefore, cannot excite ſurpriſe. La Riviere and other miniſters were, on this occaſion, wholly influenced by the conſtable. Farther, to irritate the duke of Berry, they not only deprived him of the government of Languedoc, but John Harpedenne, nephew to Cliſſon, was choſen to carry to the prince the order of his diſmiſſion.

A. D. 1390, 1391.] Although the duke of Bourbon had been requeſted by the king to remain at court, and aſſiſt him with his advice, that prince had a very ſmall ſhare in the government. His advice was too diſintereſted to be followed by a monarch deſtitute of experience, and ſurrounded by rapacious courtiers, who barred all acceſs to the throne. Every body murmured at the conduct of the preſent adminiſtration, and the people were almoſt tempted to regret the diſmiſſion of Berry and Burgundy. Bourbon, and the few noblemen truly zealous to promote the welfare of the ſtate, deplored, in ſecret, the preſent diſorders, and the fatal conſequences of thoſe diviſions which already began to appear. They were ſilent; and their ſilence tended to augment the audacity of thoſe who directed the government. Cliſſon, la Riviere, Noviant and Montagu had become arbiters of the kingdom.

The duke of Bourbon ſeized the firſt opportunity that occurred for abſenting himſelf with honour at leaſt for a time. The arrival of ambaſſadors from the republic of Geneva, who came to implore the aſſiſtance of France againſt the African corſairs, furniſhed him with a pretence*. Being declared chief of the expedition, he repaired to Genoa, with fifteen hundred men at arms, where he was joined by the earl of Derby, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, a prince of the greateſt courage. Theſe troops, joined to the Genoeſe, landed on the coaſt of Africa, in ſight of the infidels, who were drawn up on the ſhore, but who, on the approach of the chriſtians, fled with precipitation. The chriſtians laid ſiege to Carthage, and made ſeveral fruitleſs efforts to take that city by aſſault; foiled in this attempt they made a furious attack on the enemy, who were entrenched in a fortified camp; they forced the entrenchments, and routed the infidels with great ſlaughter. Their army, in the mean time, diminiſhed from the intemperance of the climate. They were on the point of re-embarking, when the king of Tunis propoſed an accommodation. A treaty was concluded, by which that monarch agreed to reſtore all the chriſtian ſlaves in his dominions; to pay ten thouſand ducats of gold towards defraying the expences of the war; and engaged, in future, to impoſe no reſtraint on the freedom of commerce. This laſt article was but ill-obſerved. The chriſtian merchants were expoſed, more than ever, to the exactions of the infidels. All the commerce of the Levant was monopolized by the Venetians, the Neapolitans, and the Genoeſe, but principally by the latter. Genoa was then conſidered as the emporium of the eaſt and weſt, and the intereſt of that republic had been alone conſulted in the expedition to Africa. The Genoeſe flattered themſelves, that, by obtaining poſſeſſion of Carthage, they would exempt their veſſels from paying the tribute exacted by the mahometans, on their approach to the coaſt of Barbary. But, after this expedition, the Africans made them pay ſuch heavy duties, that, for a long time, all the commodities of the eaſt, and particularly ſpices, ſold at a moſt enormous price.

* Chron. MS. No. 10279; Juvenal des Urſins; Le Laboureur; Chron. de St. Denis.

The noblemen and knights who accompanied the duke of Bourbon, made themſelves amends for the failure of their enterpriſe by the recital of their adventures. The king, heated by the deſcription of theſe martial achievements, formed the project of attacking the infidels, either by repairing to the coaſt of Africa, or by marching againſt Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, who had juſt ſucceeded his father, Amurath the Firſt. Charles accuſtomed himſelf to give way to his inclinations. His miniſters had recourſe to a ſtratagem, to make him abandon, or at leaſt ſuſpend the execution of this project; they gave him to underſtand that he could not render a greater ſervice to religion, than by effecting the extinction of the ſchiſm which prevailed in the papacy; that it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh harmony in the church, before he took up arms in her defence. The king reliſhed this advice. He determined to march into Italy, and compel the Romans to ſubmit to the authority of Clement. He recollected that, on his departure from Avignon, he had promiſed that pontiff to eſpouſe his cauſe with effect.

This expedition being reſolved on, an account was drawn up of the number of troops deſtined to paſs the Alps. The king was to lead four thouſand lances; the dukes of Berry and Burgundy each of them two thouſand; the duke of Bourbon, one thouſand; the conſtable, two thouſand; and the lords of Coucy and Saint Paul one thouſand. The duke of Brittany was appriſed of the king's departure for Italy, and invited to accompany him, but he laughed at the idea; obſerving, that Charles would ſoon have other buſiueſs to occupy his attention. In fact, a party was already formed againſt the government. The king was blind to every thing; the weakneſs of his mind began to diſplay itſelf; and his miniſters, elated with the favour they enjoyed, took no pains to avert the ſtorm which hovered over their heads. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy ſeemed to approve the king's reſolution, from the conviction that they could deter him from carrying it into execution.

Although the conſtable was protected by the king, he had not been able to conſtrain the duke of Brittany to fulfil the terms of the laſt accommodation; wherefore he exerted his influence with the council to make the nation a party in his private diſputes*. The duke had plauſible grounds of recrimination againſt Cliſſon and his ſon-in-law, the count of Penthievre, who had hitherto refuſed to pay him that homage to which he was bound by the treaty of Guerrande. Hoſtilities had commenced, and ſeveral places been reduced. Deputies were ſent by the court of France into Brittany, for ſettling new terms of pacification. When they had concluded a treaty; they returned; but they had no ſooner left the province, than the duke took poſſeſſion of Chantonceaux, a place belonging to the conſtable. This incident rekindled the flames of diſcord. The duke ſent ambaſſadoas to France, for whom he was under the neceſſity of apply-

* Hiſtoire de Bretagne; Froiſſard.

ing for ſafe-conducts, in the apprehenſion that they would be ſtopped by Penthievre and Cliſſon.

To engage the duke of Brittany in a quarrel with France, the conſtable accuſed him of invading the prerogatives of the crown, by coining money in his own dominions; and of being guilty of rebellion, by prohibiting the officers of his courts of juſtice from receiving the citations of the parliament of Paris. The ſovereigns of Brittany had, at all times, enjoyed the privilege of coining money. It was recorded in all the ancient regiſters, and had never been given up. With regard to the citations, the duke properly obſerved that they could not have effect in Brittany, unleſs in thoſe particular cauſes, in which the feudal laws admitted of appeals to the ſuperior lord, and in the caſe of a refuſal of juſtice. He juſtified himſelf from the complaints preferred againſt him for receiving the oath of fealty from his vaſſals, accompanied by a promiſe to ſerve him againſt all men whatever, without any exception of perſons; ſuch being the form of the oath which had, for time immemorial, been exacted. The ſchiſm in the papacy afforded another ground of complaint. The duke, on the death of Urban, had declared in favour of Clement, merely in hope of ſeeing tranquillity reſtored to the church; but, on the election of Boniface, he adhered to the ſyſtem he had formerly adopted, and obſerved a ſtrict neutrality. The king diſapproved of his conduct; but the duke, in his defence, alledged that this was a queſtion merely ſpiritual, which could have no poſſible relation to his feudal duties; and that he thought himſelf obliged, in ſo delicate an affair, to be guided by the dictates of his conſcience, in preference to all human conſiderations.

Such were the principal ſubjects of diſcontent, which the conſtable and his partiſans were inceſſantly repeating to the king; while the princes, who favoured the duke of Brittany, threw all their influence into the oppoſite ſcale. At length it was reſolved that the king, the conſtable, and his ſon-in-law, ſhould repair to Tours, and that the duke ſhould meet them there, to bring about a final accommodation. The duke of Berry went to Brittany to prepare Montfort for the interview, and he was accompanied by envoys diſpatched by the council for the ſame purpoſe. Theſe ambaſſadors, in fulfilling their commiſſion, diſplayed ſo much pride, and ſo little regard to decency, that the duke would have thrown them into priſon, but for the intervention of his wife. He therefore diſmiſſed them, with a promiſe to attend the conference at Tours.

While theſe proceedings kept the minds of the public in ſuſpence, a court intrigue, which, at the time, excited but little attention, firſt ſet in motion thoſe ſecret ſprings which produced the greateſt calamities to the kingdom*. Amongſt the crowd of idle people who frequented the court was Peter de Craon, whoſe criminal neglect haſtened the diſgrace of the duke of Anjou. Supported by the

* Froiſſard; Chron. de St. Denis; Chron. MS.

protection of the young duke of Touraine, he braved the reproaches which his conduct had merited; while the ſplendour of his birth, and his immenſe riches, encreaſed that conſideration which the friendſhip of the prince had procured for him. Craon had, for ſome time, carried on a ſecret correſpondence with the duke of Brittany, to whom he was related, but his imprudence ſoon deprived him of the means of ſupporting it. He had the indeſcretion to reveal to the ducheſs of Touraine, an affair of gallantry, which the duke had imparted to him in confidence. The ducheſs immediately ſent for the lady, and threatened her with inſtant death, unleſs ſhe renounced all future connections with her huſband: ſhe then informed the duke of the perfidy of his confident; and he immediately prefered a complaint to the king againſt Craon, who was baniſhed from the court, without being informed of the cauſe of his diſgrace. He had retired to Brittany ſome time before the interview at Tours. The duke perſuaded him that Cliſſon was the author of his diſgrace; Craon reſolved to be revenged on his enemy, and waited a favourable opportunity to gratify his reſentment.

The court, in the mean time, arrived at Tours, whither the duke of Brittany repaired, attended by a retinue of fifteen hundred perſons, and by five veſſels manned and armed. Notwithſtanding the eagerneſs with which this interview had been promoted, the duke was compelled to wait a long time before he could procure an audience. The miniſters, indeed, ſeem to have ſtudied every means which they thought could induce him to break off the conferences. His people were inſulted, and his arms, which he had placed over the door of his manſion, were covered with mud. The king informed of theſe inſults, doubled the guards, and attempted to appeaſe the duke. At this juncture, when an open rupture was hourly expected, the conſtable arrived with the duke de Penthievre. Cliſſon's retinue, in numbers and magnificence, exceeded thoſe of the princes of the blood. The aſcendancy which this miniſter had acquired over his maſter deſtroyed all hopes of reconciliation. He adviſed him to return to Paris, and from thence to march into Brittany, at the head of a powerful army; this advice Charles had actually adopted, but the ſpirited interference of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, prevented him from putting it in execution, and induced him to renew the negociations with the duke of Brittany, by propoſing a double marriage between the infant ſon of that prince, and a daughter of Charles; and a ſon of the count of Penthievre, with a daughter of the duke. This project, by which the duchy of Brittany would be enſured to a princeſs of France, diſconcerted Cliſſon and his partiſans. Montfort was prevailed on to accept this propoſal. The count of Penthievre accordingly paid homage to the duke, ratified the treaty of Guerrande, and promiſed to lay down the arms and ducal title of Brittany, which he had aſſumed. The diſpute between the duke and the conſtable was ſettled with equal facility. The court then returned to the capital, and Montfort to his duchy, with the full reſolution of evading what he had, in a manner, been compelled to ſign. He had no ſooner arrived at Ren-

nes, than he ſet a new enquiry on foot, the reſult of which was a complete confirmation of thoſe claims which he had been obliged to relinquiſh, their validity having been conteſted by the council.

Immediately after the king's return from Tours, the queen gave birth to a prince. This event proved a ſource of infinite ſatisfaction, as his two firſt children had died in infancy; and as a hermit had, three years before, predicted that he would be the laſt of his race, unleſs he aboliſhed the taxes. The hermit's prediction had a great effect upon Charles, but the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, being leſs credulous, and more avaricious than their nephew, diſſuaded him from enforcing the reſolution he had adopted, to ſuppreſs thoſe impoſts.

A. D. 1392.] At the commencement of this year, the dukes of York and Lancaſter repaired to Amiens. They were received by the king with every mark of attention. The object of their embaſſy was, a renewal of the negociations for a peace between France and England; but all they could effect was a prolongation of a truce for a year.

Soon after the departure of the Engliſh princes, the king was attacked by a dangerous diſorder, during which the firſt ſymptoms appeared of that delirium which embittered the remainder of his days. As he was in the bloom of youth, the ſtrength of his conſtitution might, with the aſſiſtance of a proper regimen, have, probably, enabled him to have ſtopped this infirmity in its origin; but thoſe faithleſs miniſters, by whom he was ſurrounded, tended to promote the growth of an evil, which it was their duty to eradicate. The queen was addicted to pleaſureable purſuits; and it muſt be ſuppoſed that her conduct had an irreſiſtible influence over that of the court.

But amidſt the pleaſures of the table, the princes of the blood were not deaf to the calls of ambition or intereſt. The duke of Touraine obtained from the king, his brother, the duchy of Orleans, in exchange for that of Touraine; with a penſion of four thouſand livers*. He made a farther acquiſition of territory, by the purchaſe of the county of Bloist, much againſt the will of the duke of Berry, whoſe daughter, widow to the only ſon of Guy, count of Blois, had a part of her dower payable from the revenues of that county. The price of the county was fixed at two hundred thouſand livres, which the duke of Orleans paid out of his wife's fortune.

During theſe tranſactions, Craon had eſtabliſhed his reſidence in Brittany, where he had been employed in deviſing means of revenge againſt Cliſſon. He ſecretly ſent arms to his houſe in Paris, and aſſembled about forty of his dependents. He repaired to the metropolis himſelf, where he lay concealed till the time arrived for putting his ſcheme in execution. On the feſtival of the holy ſacrament, Cliſſon had ſtaid at the Hotel de Saint Paul till night was far advan-

*Tréſor des Chartres, reg. 143. † Froiſſard,

ced; on his return home, with only eight attendants, all of whom were unarmed, he was ſuddenly attacked by a body of ruffians, with Craon at their head. So ſure was that nobleman of effecting his purpoſe, that he called out to Cliſſon to let him know whom he had to encounter, and what he had to expect. The conſtable defended himſelf; but, being overpowered by numbers, he was diſmounted, and left motionleſs on the ground. Craon, thinking that he was dead, retired with precipitation, and moſt of his accomplices effected their eſcape. But the wounds which Cliſſon had received, though numerous, proved to be ſlight; and the ſurgeons aſſured the king, on the firſt dreſſing, that he would be able to mount his horſe in a fortnight.

The king, who had haſted to the ſpot where the affair happened, expreſſed the greateſt ſorrow and indignation. The provoſt of Paris had orders to diſpatch meſſengers after Craon, but he had too much the ſtart to be overtaken. Two men at arms, however, and a page, who were found in the road, ſome leagues from Paris, were beheaded three days after they were taken; as was alſo the porter of Craon's hotel, though ignorant of his maſter's deſigns. A canon of Chartres, at whoſe houſe Craon had ſtopped to refreſh himſelf, was conducted to Paris, and, though a man of unimpeached integrity, he was treated as a criminal, deprived of his livings, and condemned to paſs the remainder of his days in a dungeon. Craon, in the mean time, arrived at Sable, a ſtrong forteſs of his own, on the confines of Maine and Brittany. He there learned that Cliſſon was not dead. Not thinking himſelf ſafe at Sable, he purſued his journey to Brittany. Though abſent, he was tried for the crime he had committed, and his manſion at Paris was levelled with the ground. His property was confiſcated, and divided among the king's favourites. The duke of Orleans had a conſiderable part of it. Almoſt all the houſes he had inhabited were demoliſhed; and moſt of the courtiers, from a ſervile attention to the king, aſſiſted at the demolition. The admiral, John de Vienne, was ordered to take poſſeſſion of the lordſhip of Ferte-Bernard, which belonged to Craon; not content with ſecuring the immenſe riches he found there, he turned Joan of Chaſtillon, wife to Craon, out of doors, with ſcarcely cloaths ſufficient to conceal her nakedneſs.

Charles, when informed that Craon had taken refuge in Brittany, ſent ambaſſadors to the duke to demand the criminal. Montfort aſſured them that he was ignorant of his retreat; and obſerved, that he could have nothing to do with a private quarrel between Craon and Cliſſon. This anſwer was deemed equivocal, and war was immediately reſolved on by the council. The duke of Berry was at Paris at this time; and it is pretended that he had been informed of the conſpiracy againſt Cliſſon, by Craon's ſecretary. This prince and the duke of Burgundy, were enemies to the conſtable, whom they accuſed of having acquired a perfect aſcendancy over the king, in order to obtain a degree of authority which he daily abuſed, and to appropriate the revenue of the ſtate to his own private uſe. When Cliſſon was wounded by Craon and his accomplices,

he believed his life to be in danger; he therefore, made his will; after diſpoſing of his real property, he bequeathed ſeventeen hundred thouſand livres, in money and jewels, equal in value to about ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, and, in efficacy, to upwards of three millions and an half ſterling! Beſides the marriage portions of his two daughters, as conſiderable as if they had been princeſſes of the blood, he had diſcharged the ranſom of one of his ſons-in-law; had recently paid a hundred thouſand livres to the duke of Brittany; had purchaſed ſeveral eſtates; and diſplayed in his houſe all the pomp and ſplendour of a ſovereign prince. As his father had left his children but trifling fortunes, this immenſe wealth muſt have been acquired at the expence of honeſty.

Bent on revenging the projected aſſaſſination of his favourite, Charles would liſten to nothing that was foreign from his plan. Orders were iſſued for levying troops throughout the kingdom; every man was anxious to diſplay his loyalty by obedience, and ſuch as diſapproved an enterpriſe which tended to make a private quarrel the object of a national war, were compelled to conceal their real ſentiments; for the king had declared that any remonſtrance on this ſubject would incur his diſpleaſure. Cliſſon and his aſſociates were aware that the eyes of the nation were fixed on their conduct. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, they courted popularity, and ſought to conciliate favour by condeſcenſion. The univerſity had long ſolicited in vain, for an audience of the king; their wiſhes were now complied with, and a promiſe was obtained that the object of their complaints ſhould be immediately removed, and the preſervation of their privileges enforced. The enmity of the duke of Berry they ſought to avert, by reſtoring to him the government of Languedoc; while Charles endeavoured to ſecure the compliance of the duke of Burgundy, by profeſſions of favour and affection. But the enlightened part of the nation viewed the enterpriſe in a proper light, while the princes, leſs cautious and circumſpect, openly expreſſed their diſapprobation of the miniſter's conduct. The duke of Burgundy, in particular, was loud in his cenſures; and denounced threats againſt all ſuch as ſhould confirm his nephew in the reſolution of carrying the war into Brittany. The council would have yielded to his opinion, but Cliſſon, was too proud to relax, where intereſt and revenge urged him to be firm.

Some private meetings were held, at which different means for ſetting aſide the enterpriſe were propoſed. Many difficulties were ſtarted, and embarraſſments promoted, which retarded the departure of the troops. One reaſon appeared unanſwerable; the king's phyſicians proteſted that Charles was not in a condition to purſue the journey. Since his laſt illneſs, his conſtitution had been impaired; an internal heat preyed upon his health; and his mental faculties had ſuſtained ſtill greater injury than his bodily powers. His converſation continually betrayed ſymptoms of derangement. Alternately choleric and lethargic, his ideas ſeemed only to be clear and regular on the execution of the project he had in view. Letters were preſented him, from the queen of

Arragon, who informed him that a knight, whom ſhe ſuſpected to be Craon, had been ſtopped at Barcelona, on the point of embarking for Naples. It is pretended that the duke of Brittany had actually compelled Craon to retire into Arragon.

The king refuſed to liſten to the information*; and, when the duke of Burgundy preſſed him to verify the fact, by ſending meſſengers to Barcelona, he replied, that he might ſend when he pleaſed, but that Craon was certainly in Brittany, and there alone would he ſeek him. The refuſal of the governor of Sable to ſurrender that place confirmed Charles in this opinion. In vain did the duke renew his proteſtations that he had no ſhare in the crime committed by Craon, and that he was wholly ignorant of his retreat; it was determined to give no credit to this aſſertion, but immediately to proceed to the gratification of Cliſſon's reſentment. The departure of the troops was accordingly fixed for the fifth day of Auguſt, in the year 1392.

The whole nation, excepting only the miniſters and their immediate partiſans, were highly diſcontented with the war. There was no proof that the duke of Brittany protected the criminal who was claimed by the French council. The formal diſavowal of the duke was all that the moſt rigid juſtice could require. Cliſſon triumphed over all his opponents: the army moved forward. As the troops purſued their march, they were in hourly expectation of ſome event which would cauſe them to return. There is every inducement to believe that ſecret meaſures were taken to ſet aſide the expedition. From an exact relation of circumſtances, our readers will be enabled to form an opinion on the ſubject, and to diſcover, at leaſt, a part of the truth.

The day on which the king left Mans, his ſpirits were more than uſually depreſſed†; before he mounted his horſe, he ſate down to a repaſt, but ſcarcely taſted any thing that was offered him; he appeared gloomy and ſtupid. Although the weather was exceſſively hot, he threw a *ſurtout* of black velvet over his armour. On his head he wore a hat decorated with pearls, over a ſcarlet hood. As he croſſed the foreſt of Mans, on the road to Angiers, he had but few attendants near his perſon, for the troops kept at a diſtance, that they might not incommode him with the duſt. He had not long entered the wood, when a ſtrange figure, clad in a white robe, ſprung from between two trees, and, ſeizing his horſe's bridle, exclaimed, "*King advance no farther, but return, for you are betrayed!*" Some men at arms, who were near the king, ruſhed forward, and, ſtriking the hands of this living apparition, obliged him to let looſe the bridle. He then retired, while no one either thought of ſtopping him or of enquiring who or what he was. The king purſued his journey; and, on quitting the foreſt entered on a ſandy plain, where the heat was almoſt inſupportable, from the ſcorhing rays of the ſun. Two pages were immediately behind

* Chron. MS. B. R. No. 10297. † Villaret.

the king, one of whom carried his lance, which he let fall on his comrade's helmet. At this noiſe the king, rouſed, as it were, from a deep lethargy, imagined the prediction of the apparition was on the point of accompliſhment; impreſſed with this idea, he attacked the pages, ſword in hand, and, having diſmounted them, preſſed onwards. Every one fled at his approach; the duke of Orleans, hearing the tumult, rode up to his brother, who inſtantly attacked him with ſuch fury, that he had ſcarcely time to provide for his ſafety by a precipitate flight. The duke of Burgundy called out "*let him be ſeized!*" No one, however, durſt approach him. The king, in the mean time, flew through the ranks, aiming his blows at all that came in his way. The troops, at length, formed a circle round the monarch, and one of his chamberlains, a gentleman of Normandy, named William Martel, jumped up behind him, and, ſeizing his arms, ſecured him from the commiſſion of farther violence. When his uncles and the duke of Orleans approached, they found him ſenſeleſs. The troops immediately faced about, and the king was put into a cart and carried to Mans. It was, at firſt, ſuppoſed he was poiſoned; and the wine of which he had drank in the morning was analyſed; but, on conſulting the phyſicians, they declared that the king had long borne within him the dangerous principles of this diſorder, which exceſs of labour and fatigue had only ſerved to develope.

The princes who were called by their birth to the government of the kingdom on ſuch an occaſion as the preſent, immediately began to exerciſe their authority. The care of the king's perſon was entruſted to four knights, who were entirely devoted to their ſervice; next day the king's diſorder encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that it was found neceſſary to chain him. He was conveyed to Creil, a country-ſeat on the banks of the Oiſe. It was not thought prudent to take him to Paris, as the queen was then pregnant, and it was intended to conceal from her, as far as poſſible, the real ſituation of her huſband. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, after they had diſbanded the army, haſtened to the capital. The news of the king's illneſs ſpread a general conſternation throughout the kingdom, for Charles was beloved by his ſubjects. The people flocked to the churches, and ſought to conciliate the favour of the Deity and to enſure his protection to their afflicted ſovereign. But, while the aid of the Divinity was implored, human aſſiſtance was not neglected. A phyſician of Laon, was called in, and, by a proper regimen, he calmed the violence of the diſorder, and reſtored the king to his ſenſes. Charles was then permitted to ſee the queen, who had juſt given birth to a daughter.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy had, at firſt, evinced a diſpoſition to admit the duke of Orleans to a ſhare in the government; but their conduct ſoon ſhewed that this was foreign from their intentions. The excluſion of that prince incapacitated him from preventing the diſgrace of his friends. Cliſſon, la Riviere, le Mercier, and Vilaines, had ſpared no pains to conciliate his favour; and their endeavours had been attended with ſucceſs. But his patronage and pro-

tection proved insufficient to secure them from the resentment of the royal brothers. The ruin of Cliffon had been previoufly refolved on, and it was the intention of the princes to bring him to trial before the parliament. Cliffon reflected on the danger of his fituation; and, croffing the Seine, haftened to Montlhery, a place which belonged to him.

The dukes were informed of the conftable's evafion; they repented that they had not ordered him to be arrefted, but it was now too late. Cliffon having received information that the lord of Coucy, and others, had orders to invest him in his retreat, did not think it prudent to wait their arrival; he repaired to Brittany, where the fortified towns in his poffeffion could afford him a fafe afylum. Montagu likewife effected his efcape; but la Riviere and le Mercier were arrefted and thrown into prifon; and it is probable they would have been brought to the fcaffold, but the ducheff of Berry threw herfelf at the feet of her hufband, and obtained their releafe.

Commiffioners were fent to Brittany to fummon the conftable to appear before the parliament, but they returned without having been able to find him*. They proceeded, however, with his trial; and, being declared a *falfe, wicked,* and *difloyal traitor to the crown of France*, he was fentenced to pay a fine of an hundred thoufand marks of filver, to be deprived of the dignity of conftable, and to be banifhed the kingdom. Philip of Artois, fon-in-law to the duke of Berry, was appointed to fucceed him; and entered on the duties of his office, though Cliffon could not be prevailed on to refign the conftable's fword. Secretly affifted by the duke of Orleans, he commenced hoftilities againft the duke of Brittany, and once more involved his native country in civil war.

As the king's conftitution was impaired, and his faculties injured, it was deemed neceffary to provide for the fafety of the kingdom, in cafe of his death†. The firft meafure adopted by the council, was, a confirmation of the edict of Charles the Wife, which fixed the majority of the French kings at the completion of their fourteenth year. For this purpofe the king held a bed of juftice. The different courts of juftice were affembled, and a multitude of people attended to hear the publication of the ordonnance. The king fettled the guardianfhip of his children; which was entrufted to the queen, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and Lewis of Bavaria, the queen's brother. The revenues of the duchy of Normandy, the town and vifcounty of Paris, and of the bailiwicks of Senlis and Melun, were affigned for the fupport of the dauphin and his brothers. A council, conffting of three prelates, fix noblemen, and three clerks, was appointed to affift the queen and the four princes. By the fame ordonnance, the form of the oath to be taken by the guardians and the counfellors, was prefcribed. If the queen contracted a fecond marriage, after the king's death, fhe forfeited her right to the guardianfhip.

* Froiffard; Hift. de Bretagne.

† Tréfor des Chartres, Layette, *Regences et Majorites des Rois*, No. 9; Régift. du Parlement.

Although the dukes of Berry and Burgundy appeared, from their age, and from their quality of uncles to the king, to have a kind of ſuperiority over the duke of Orleans, yet this laſt, as firſt prince of the blood, had an inconteſtible right to the ſupreme authority; wherefore he was appointed, by letters patent, regent of the kingdom, without any ſort of reſtriction; he was not even obliged to have the aſſiſtance of a council of regency. As the king lived thirty years after theſe regulations, they were never enforced; but they tend to ſhew that the ſame principle, which had been eſtabliſhed by the ancient laws of the realm, ſtill prevailed, in the ſeparation of the offices of guardian and regent.

A. D. 1393.] After the king's health was reſtored, his phyſician requeſted, that he might experience no contradiction, nor be ſuffered to attend to buſineſs, that his mind might acquire ſtrength. In compliance with this requeſt, his inclinations were ſtudied, and every recreation which could amuſe him was promoted. The diverſions of the carnival were more than uſually brilliant; and, during that ſeaſon of relaxation and gaiety, the marriage of one of the queen's female attendants with a gentleman of Vermandois, was celebrated by a ſplendid feaſt, followed by a maſquerade. The king entered the apartment, in the diſguiſe of a ſavage, leading five other maſks, who were all chained together, and arrayed in a ſimilar dreſs; the ſix dreſſes were made of linen, covered with pitch, and while warm, powdered with down. Before the ball began, an order had been iſſued to extinguiſh all the torches; but the duke of Orleans, who was ignorant of the order, took a lighted torch from an attendant, and, careleſsly approaching it to the face of one of the ſavages, whom he wiſhed to recogniſe, ſet his dreſs on fire; the combuſtible matter of which it was compoſed cauſed the flames to ſpread with rapidity, and, in an inſtant, they were communicated to his four companions. The king had left them ſome time before, and was engaged in converſation with the ducheſs of Berry. This accident threw the company into ſuch confuſion, that, each individual being intent on providing for his own perſonal ſafety, no one thought of attempting to extinguiſh the flames. When Charles heard the noiſe, he made an effort to leave the ducheſs of Berry, but that princeſs, though ſhe knew not with whom ſhe had been converſing, prudently detained him, and warned him of the danger he would incur by mingling with the crowd. The king then made himſelf known, and the ducheſs wrapped him in her cloak, and reſcued him from deſtruction. Four of the five maſks, periſhed: the fifth, John de Nantouillet, broke the chain which faſtened him to his companions, and, running into an adjoining apartment, jumped into a ciſtern of water, and extinguiſhed the flame. The queen fainted away, and had been conveyed to her chamber; when ſhe recovered, and ſaw the king ſtanding at her ſide, her joy was ſo great that ſhe could ſcarcely credit the teſtimony of her ſenſes. Next day the king ſhewed himſelf to the people, who diſplayed an eagerneſs to ſee him. He went to the cathedral of Notre Dame, attended by the princes of the blood, and ſuch of the nobility

as were then at Paris. The duke of Orleans, to expiate his imprudence, founded a chapel, which he endowed with the lordſhip of Perche-Fontaine, a part of the confiſcated property of Craon.

The terror of the king at this diſaſter, produced a return of his diſorder*. William Martel, one of his chamberlains, was the firſt who perceived its approach, of which he appriſed the duke of Orleans. During this ſecond attack, which laſted nearly ſeven months, there was ſufficient time to examine minutely all the ſymptoms of the diſorder, which began by a depreſſion of ſpirits, and, by degrees, degenerated into a total alienation of mind; when he neither knew himſelf nor any one that approached him. He denied he was the king, and, wherever he met with his name or arms, he inſtantly eraſed them.

The phyſician who cured the king in the preceding year, had died in the interval of his convaleſcence; and the faculty now exhauſted all the reſources of the medical art in fruitleſs attempts to diſcover an effectual remedy for his diſorder. All human modes of cure having been found ineffectual, recourſe was next had to ſupernatural aid. In Guienne lived a pretended magician, who had boaſted, that, he would reſtore the king to his ſenſes. This man was accordingly ſent for; and, neither the wretchedneſs of his appearance, the ignorance he betrayed in his converſation, nor the groſs vulgarity of his manners and addreſs, could, for a conſiderable time, open the eyes of a ſuperſtitious and credulous court.

The king was conveyed from one country ſeat to another, in the hope that the change of air might produce what the faculty had failed to effect. But his mind had loſt its force; and, at thoſe lucid intervals which ſometimes occurred, he was encouraged, by thoſe who ſurrounded him, to plunge into debauchery, which produced an almoſt immediate relapſe. For the laſt thirty years of this reign, therefore, the reader muſt not expect to ſee a king on the throne of France. Charles can only be conſidered as a phantom of ſovereignty, ſucceſſively in the poſſeſſion of different miniſters, who proſtituted his name to ſanction the violence of the great, and the oppreſſion of the people.

The duke of Orleans, was unable to purſue, with conſiſtency, the projects of ambition, amidſt that tumult by which his boſom was agitated. Supreme power would have flattered his vanity, but the plan for ſeizing the reins of government, and for keeping them when obtained, required application and ſteadineſs of conduct, of which, at that time, he was incapable. Beſides, though he was only brother to the monarch, his credit ſeemed to be eclipſed by that of his uncles, who had the advantage of years and experience. The duke of Burgundy had acquired a ſuperiority which nothing could ſhake. Every thing appeared to concur to the elevation of this prince; the extent of his domains; the number of his dependants; his genius, fortune, and ſplendour; his abilities

* Froiſſard.

in the cabinet and the field. The duke of Berry yielded to this all-powerful brother, who exerciſed the principal authority, at his diſcretion, and only employed his power for the purpoſe of his greatneſs.

The late king, had prohibited all his officers, as well as nobility, from having any concern in the collection of the taxes; but a new ordonnance was now paſſed, which permitted the nobility to take the taxes to farm, provided there were no other bidders. This was a ſure and eaſy road for the gratification of their avarice; they took advantage of this permiſſion, to deter all others from attending the ſales, which produced greater inconvenience than that which the firſt edict was calculated to prevent; thoſe who were at the head of affairs were not ignorant of the evil effects of ſuch a proceeding, but they ſacrificed the intereſt of the ſovereign, and the welfare of the people, to the acquiſition of partiſans.

Charles, in his firſt ſhort interval of convaleſcence, received a deputation from the univerſity of Paris, who entreated him to exert his authority for the extinction of the ſchiſm in the papacy. As the rival pontiff's had recently made an application to him for the ſame purpoſe, this object was ſuppoſed to be nearly attained. The univerſity received orders from the court to give their advice on the ſubject. Fifty-four doctors were accordingly appointed to examine and collect the ſuffrages, which amounted to ten thouſand, and Nicholas de Cemengis, was commiſſioned to draw up a memorial, containing the opinions of the members. Theſe were reduced to three, the voluntary ceſſion of the papal dignity by the rival pontiffs; the ſubmiſſion of their reſpective rights to the diſcuſſion and deciſion of umpires appointed by either party; and, the aſſembly of a general council. The death of Clement, in the following year, put an end to, or rather changed the nature of the diſpute.

A. D. 1394.] About this time, the commotions which had prevailed in Brittany, between the duke and Cliſſon, were terminated by a reconciliation. Montfort was induced to ſue for an accommodation from his own advanced age, and the tender age of his ſons, the eldeſt of whom was but in his eighth year, and the youngeſt was in his cradle. The reſtoration of tranquillity to his dominions was an object peculiarly deſirable, and it could not be too dearly purchaſed by the ſacrifice of reſentment, and the forgiveneſs of injuries.

A. D. 1395, 1396.] The truce between England and France had been recently renewed, for four years; and Richard ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to Paris, to demand Iſabella, eldeſt daughter to Charles, who had not yet completed her eighth year. His offers being accepted by the French court, the princeſs was married, by the Engliſh ambaſſadors, who repreſented their ſovereign, in the chapel belonging to the palace: the actual celebration of the nuptials was deferred till next year. The king's malady continued to encreaſe; his intervals of convaleſcence became ſhorter, and his relapſes more frequent; in one

year he had ſeven. His ſituation excited the compaſſion of all who approached him*.

Genoa was a republic diſtinguiſhed for its extenſive commerce, its numerous fleets, and the wealth of its citizens; but, being more opulent than martial, it was convulſed by inteſtine factions, and was now on the eve of a revolution†. Threatened by Galeazzo Viſconti, whoſe power daily acquired freſh force, the Genoeſe had recourſe to the protection of France, preferring ſubjection to a lawful prince, to becoming a prey to an uſurper. Galeazzo, appriſed of a project which tended to thwart his ambitious deſigns, exerted every effort he could deviſe to render it abortive: but, the negociations were continued at Genoa, and a treaty was, in a ſhort time, concluded, by which the Genoeſe formally transferred the ſovereignty of their republic to the king of France. The convention was ratified by all the orders of the ſtate, and the French ambaſſadors took poſſeſſion of the country in the name of their ſovereign. The doge reſigned his ſword, with the other enſigns of royalty, and, at the ſame time, received the title of governor of the State of Genoa, under the authority of the French king.

When the marriage-contract was ſigned between Richard and Iſabella, a truce for twenty-five years was concluded‡. It had been underſtood that the young queen of England was to remain at the court of France till ſhe attained to a proper age for the conſummation of the marriage; but this delay by no means accorded with the impatience of the Engliſh monarch, who was earneſt in his ſolicitations to Charles, to have his youthful conſort ſent to England, that ſhe might accuſtom herſelf betimes to the habits and manners of the country. He expreſſed his intentions of paſſing over to Calais, in the hope of inducing the king to comply with his requeſt. Richard, accordingly, repaired thither, accompanied by his uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, and by the principal nobility of the kingdom. The king of England's expences were eſtimated at three hundred thouſand marks of ſilver; a ſum, that greatly exceeded the marriage portion of his wife, which only amounted to eight hundred thouſand livres. The moment it was known in France that Richard had landed, the count de Saint-Paul was ſent to receive him. This nobleman was followed by the duke of Burgundy; and the king himſelf, accompanied by the princeſs Iſabella, and the whole court, took the road to St. Omer. The duke of Brittany, who had come to Paris, was of the party§. Previous to his departure, he had appointed Cliſſon regent of his dominions, and had entruſted him with the care of his wife and children. Montfort's principal object, in accompanying the king on this excurſion, was, to procure the reſtitution of Breſt from the Engliſh, which, with the aſſiſtance of Charles, he at length accompliſhed, on paying Richard one hundred and twenty thouſand livres of gold.

The nuptials of Richard and Iſabella were celebrated, on the firſt of Novem-

* Froiſſard. † Ibid. ‡ Rymer's Fœdera, t. vii. p. 21, &c. § Hiſtoire de Bretagne.

ber, with great pomp at Calais, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury*. On the ſixth of the ſame month, Richard embarked for England, while Charles returned to the capital. Before they ſeparated, they agreed to meet again, to convert the late truce into a ſolid peace.

Sigiſmond, king of Hungary, had implored the aſſiſtance of France, to check the rapid progreſs of Bajazet, the ſultan of the Ottomans, who had already ſwept away whatever adhered to the Greek empire, in Thrace, Macedonia, and Theſſaly. It was accordingly determined to ſend a body of troops to his relief, under the conduct of the count of Nevers, ſon to the duke of Burgundy. In this army, which conſiſted of ten thouſand men at arms, there were upwards of a thouſand knights, and as many eſquires. During their march they were anxious to enjoy every ſpecies of luxury and diſſipation. But, in the plains of Nicopolis, it was decreed, that their vices and preſumption ſhould experience the puniſhment they deſerved. The Hungarians being engaged in the ſiege of that city, Bajazet haſted to its relief, with two hundred thouſand men. Rejecting with diſdain the ſage councils of de Coucy, and of Sigiſmond, the French nobility, whoſe troops formed the van-guard of the Hungarian army, attacked the enemy, before the main body could ſupport them. Surrounded by myriads of infidels, their courage, though deſperate, was ineffectual; and the only honour they acquired was that of having ſold their lives dearly. Only three hundred ſurvived to become the captives of Bajazet; all of whom, except the count of Nevers, and twenty-four other lords, whoſe birth promiſed the advantage of a ſplendid ranſom, were put to death by order of the ſultan, in retaliation of a ſimilar inſtance of cruelty practiſed by the French on a body of infidels immediately before the battle. The ſurvivors were a long time confined at Bourſa, the reſidence of the victor, and were at length ranſomed for two hundred thouſand ducats.

A. D. 1397, 1398.] The death of Philip of Artois, occaſioned by a wound he had received in the battle of Nicopolis, having rendered the office of conſtable vacant, it was conferred on the mareſchal de Sancerre†. The relapſes of Charles became every day more violent; and the alienation of his mental faculties was attended with extreme bodily pain. Though viewed with tender compaſſion by his people and domeſtics, he had become an object of diſguſt to the queen. About this time ſhe contracted a criminal intercourſe with her brother-in-law, the duke of Orleans, which rendered them both objects of public indignation.

The king's frequent relapſes began to occaſion diſorders in the government, which the jealouſy that prevailed between the princes of the blood contributed to encreaſe. Each of them, during the illneſs of Charles, laid claim to the ſovereign authority, and they often iſſued contradictory orders, which it was im-

* Rymer Fœd. t. vii. p. 846; Walſingham, p. 353. † Chron. MS. B. R. No. 10297.

poſſible to fulfil. The king, in his moments of convaleſcence, ſometimes coincided with one, and ſometimes with another. This miſunderſtanding occaſioned diviſions among the nobility, and men began to perceive that the diſputes between the princes would end in the deſtruction of one of them, if not in the ruin of the ſtate. The duke of Orleans, ſupported by the queen, endeavoured to deſtroy that influence which his uncle, the duke of Burgundy, had hitherto preſerved. He procured the diſmiſſion of Arnaud de Corbie, a dependant of that prince's, from the office of chancellor, which was beſtowed on the biſhop of Bayeux. Montagu, who had been diſgraced at the commencement of the preſent reign, was recalled through the intereſt of the duke of Orleans, and appointed ſuperintendant of the king's and of the queen's houſhold.

A. D. 1399.] While theſe diviſions prevailed in the French court, England exhibited a more turbulent ſcene. The weakneſs of Richard the Second nouriſhed the ambition of his nobles; the duke of Hereford, ſon of the duke of Lancaſter, and couſin of the king, was diſtinguiſhed above the reſt by courage, prudence, and addreſs. Baniſhed by the king for his intrigues, he had taken refuge at the court of France, and, was countenanced by the princes of the blood; he was, during his reſidence in France, maintained at the king's expence, who aſſigned him a weekly ſtipend of five hundred crowns of gold. During his abſence from England, the title of Lancaſter devolved on him by the death of his father. The profuſion of the king rendered it neceſſary for him to repleniſh his coffers by means incompatible with juſtice; and he ſeized the inheritance of his exiled kinſman. Henry of Lancaſter was connected with the principal nobility in blood, alliance, or friendſhip; theſe conſidered the injury as likely to affect them all; the common people were gained by his courteous manners; and the ſpirit of faction, which pervaded the kingdom rendered this a favourable conjuncture to effect a revolution in the government.

Richard had embarked for Ireland, to chaſtiſe the revolt of the natives; and left his kingdom open to his enemy; the duke of Lancaſter landed at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, on the fourth of July, 1399, with ſixty perſons, among whom were the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the earl of Arundel. He was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland*. He took a ſolemn oath that his expedition was only to recover the duchy of Lancaſter, and he invited all the friends to his family, to aſſiſt him in the execution of his plan. Multitudes flocked to his ſtandard. In a few days he found himſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand men.

The duke of York had been left regent of the kingdom, during the abſence of Richard; but his abilities were inadequate to direct government in the ſtorm of rebellion. His connections, too, with Lancaſter, rendered him unfit for the diſcharge of his office at ſo critical a juncture. The king, on the news of this invaſion, haſtened from Ireland. At Milford-Haven he diſembarked an army

* Froiſſard, tom. iv. ch. 106; Walſingham, p. 358.

of twenty thouſand men ; but theſe ſoon caught the general contagion, and deſerted their ſovereign. Richard ſurrendered himſelf to the earl of Northumberland, was conveyed to London, and depoſed. Lancaſter then, in violation of his oath, preferred his claim to the vacant throne ; and, though he had not even the ſhadow of a right, his claim was allowed by the ſame proſtituted parliament ; and the uſurper, by the aſſaſſination of his ſovereign, quieted his apprehenſions from the compaſſion of a fickle people.

About this time, died John, duke of Brittany. His death was aſcribed to the malice of enchanters. The prior of Joſſelin and a prieſt of Nantes, were accuſed of having abridged his days by magic or poiſon. The people required they ſhould be applied to the rack ; but the prieſt died in priſon, and the prior was enlarged. The conduct of Cliſſon made the ſuſpicions of the public fall upon him ; Montfort had no ſooner breathed his laſt, than he diſpatched a meſſenger to the duke of Orleans, adviſing him to enter Brittany with an army, in order to take poſſeſſion of the duchy, and of the perſon of John the Fifth. That prince accordingly came to Pontorſon, but the attachment of the Bretons, and the ſupport of the duke of Burgundy, compelled him to forego his deſigns. Whatever unfavourable impreſſions the conduct of Cliſſon, on this occaſion, was calculated to excite, were ſpeedily removed by a ſubſequent trait of generoſity. His daughter, the counteſs of Penthievre, on the death of the duke, propoſed to her father to ſeize the favourable moment, and to reſtore the duchy to her huſband, by privately putting to death the children of Montfort, before the arrival of the duke of Burgundy. Cliſſon, forgot, for a moment, the feelings of a parent, and, ſeizing a javelin, darted it at his daughter. The counteſs, in endeavouring to eſcape, fell down ſtairs ; her thigh was broken, and her lameneſs ever after atteſted her own diſgrace, and the fidelity of her father.

On the acceſſion of the fourth Henry to the throne of England, the court of France truſted the French ambaſſador at London to negociate a confirmation of the truce concluded during the late reign, while they endeavoured to take advantage of the confuſion inſeparable from a revolution in the government, to get poſſeſſion of that part of Aquitaine, which was ſtill in the power of the Engliſh. The Gaſcons, affectionate to the memory of Richard, who was born among them, refuſed to ſwear allegiance to a prince, who had dethroned and murdered him. The French court, informed of their diſpoſition, thought the time was arrived for the recovery of a province which they had long conſidered as a part of the monarchy. The duke of Bourbon accordingly repaired to Agen, where he held a conference with the deputies from the diſcontented towns, to whom he promiſed, in the king's name, a renewal and confirmation of all their privileges. The king of England, who was well acquainted with the ſpirit of the French government, did not ſeem alarmed at the plans of the court ; he relied on the diviſions which prevailed among the princes and the nobles, and on the intereſt of the province to give a preference to the Engliſh government. The event juſtified his opinion ; on the return of the deputies to Bayonne, Dax, and

Bourdeaux, ſuch of the inhabitants as had evinced the ſtrongeſt diſpoſition to acknowledge the authority of Charles, ſuddenly changed their minds, and declared their reſolution to remain as they were.

Henry was threatened with an attack from the Scots, who were ſecretly encouraged by the promiſe of aſſiſtance from France. The French, too, concluded a treaty* with Owen Glendour, who had excited an inſurrection in Wales by which they agreed to furniſh him with a ſupply of troops, ammunition, and money; while the channel was filled with French ſhips, which threatened the Engliſh coaſts. When affairs were in this ſituation, Henry ſent a ſtrong body of troops into Guienne; and, at the ſame time, endeavoured to ſecure the attachment of the Gaſcon nobility, by a confirmation of the privileges formerly granted to the chiefs of the moſt illuſtrious families, and by freſh tokens of his liberality and favour. Gaillard de Durfort, lord of Duras, was created grand ſeneſchal of Aquitaine. Henry could not give a more unequivocal proof of the confidence he repoſed in the fidelity of the inhabitants, than by the appointment of a native to a poſt on which the preſervation of Guienne, in a great meaſure, depended. But, while the Engliſh monarch complied with the ſuggeſtions of prudence, he maintained an appearance of friendſhip with the French, and received their ambaſſadors with peculiar marks of attention. In a ſhort time, plenipotentiaries were appointed, by either power, who confirmed the truce of twenty-five years. A negociation was entered into, at the ſame time, the object of which was the return of Iſabella, widow of Richard, and the reſtitution of her dower and jewels. The anſwers which Henry made to the requiſitions of the French court, on this ſubject, were evaſive; and they were, at laſt, obliged to content themſelves with the perſon of the queen, and to reſign her fortune. Henry would fain have obtained her hand for his eldeſt ſon, but his propoſals were rejected.

The credit of the duke of Orleans had daily encreaſed ſince he had been admitted to a ſhare in the government. Placed at the head of the finances, he exerciſed an independent juriſdiction, by means of which he brought into his own coffers that wealth deſtined to ſupport the ſplendour of the throne. He diſmiſſed the *Generals of the Finances*, and appointed officers to ſucceed them who were devoted to his ſervice†. Notwithſtanding the burdenſome impoſts levied on the people, the royal palaces wore an appearance of poverty; and the king himſelf was often in want of neceſſaries, while Orleans, maſter of the revenues of the crown, diſplayed a degree of pomp and magnificence, that rivalled the ſplendour of an eaſtern monarch. But, as the power of the duke of Orleans encreaſed, his popularity diminiſhed; the people had expected that as the kingdom was in tranquillity, ſome of the taxes would be repealed; and the diſappointment they experienced in this reſpect, led them to prefer accuſations

* Tréſor des Chartres.

† Chambre des Comptes, Mém. F. fol. 64.

againſt thoſe at the head of affairs, of paying a greater attention to their own private intereſt, than to the public welfare.

A. D. 1400, 1401.] At this period, Manuel Paleologus, emperor of Conſtantinople, came to Paris, again to animate the French to the encounter of Bajazet and the defence of the imperial city. But the rapid progreſs of that tyrant was checked by Tamerlane, the Mogul emperor, who, at the head of ſix hundred thouſand horſe, defeated his rival, on the plains of Angouri. Paleologus, therefore, was left at liberty to return and occupy Conſtantinople. After the victory, Tamerlane and his ſon Mirauxa wrote to the king of France, to propoſe a treaty of alliance againſt their common enemy, the Turk; and a plan for eſtabliſhing a commercial intercourſe between their ſubjects. Theſe letters are ſtill extant*; they were not anſwered by Charles till the concluſion of the year 1403, and the envoys, appointed to deliver his anſwer to Tamerlane, did not arrive at the place of their deſtination till a ſhort time before the death of that emperor.

The contending parties of the two dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, were now growing apace into invetérate factions. The former took advantage of the abſence of the latter, who had viſited his Flemiſh dominions, to be preſent at the marriage of his eldeſt ſon, Anthony of Burgundy, with the daughter of the count of Saint Paul, to ſeize the abſolute government of the kingdom. The duke of Burgundy, appriſed by his emiſſaries of what was paſſing at court, returned as far as Senlis; but, having there learned that the king had had a freſh relapſe, he proceeded no father, contenting himſelf with writing to the parliament on the ſubject of his complaints, and exhorting them to correct the vices which had crept into the government.

The duke of Orleans, in the mean time, diſdained to keep up thoſe appearances of moderation which his intereſt had, hitherto, urged him to preſerve. He impoſed a new tax on the whole kingdom, from which not even eccleſiaſtics were exempted. The people expreſſed their indignation at this new inſtance of oppreſſion; while the clergy refuſed to ſubmit to it. By this imprudence, the duke of Orleans forfeited the eſteem and protection of the greater part of the nation, and found himſelf obliged to ſuppreſs the impoſt. The duke of Burgundy, enraged at the aſſertion that he had conſented to a meaſure ſo univerſally reprobated, juſtified himſelf by a public denial, proteſting that he had refuſed his approbation, although he had been offered a hundred thouſand livres to grant it. He wrote to the parliament, to the ſame effect, and prepared, by his preſence, to thwart the efforts of his enemies. War was thus declared between the rival princes, and troops were levied on either ſide. The duke of Gueldres, having concluded a treaty with the duke of Orleans, marched to his aſſiſtance with eight hundred men at arms. The duke of Burgundy's forces

* Tréſor des Chartres.

were ſtill more numerous; he was accompanied by John *the Pitileſs*, biſhop of Liege, who ſupplied him with ſeven thouſand men. The environs of Paris were crowded with troops, while the two princes fortified themſelves in the heart of the capital, and the nation ſeemed to be threatened with civil war. The queen, and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, promoted an apparent reconciliation between the parties, and prevailed on them to diſmiſs their troops. As ſoon as the king recovered his ſenſes, he convened the council, and ſubmitted the rival claims of his brother and uncle to their deciſion. Though the duke of Orleans was ſupported by the friendſhip of Charles, and the intereſt of the queen, yet, the bad uſe he had made of the power entruſted to him, cauſed his pretenſions to be rejected. The duke of Burgundy's age, his long experience, his reputation, and ſtill more the extent of his poſſeſſions, and the number of forces he could raiſe, tended to juſtify the deciſion of the council in his favour; it was, accordingly, determined that, whenever the king, from a return of his diſorder, ſhould be incapacitated from holding the reins of government, they ſhould be confided to the hands of his uncle. The duke of Orleans was compelled to conform to this decree, but he ſecretly nouriſhed a ſpirit of reſentment at the preference given to the duke of Burgundy.

The internal commotions of the kingdom did not prevent the government from enforcing ſuch meaſures as were beſt calculated to preſerve that degree of reſpect which it had long been accuſtomed to command from its neighbours and vaſſals. Since the acquiſition of the republic of Genoa, three governors had been compelled to quit their ſtation, from their inability to effect the reſtoration of order. The count of Saint Paul, had forfeited the confidence of the Genoeſe, from his diſpoſition to gallantry. He was ſucceeded by the biſhop of Meaux, a wiſe and virtuous miniſter who had alternate recourſe to indulgence and ſeverity, but both proved alike ineffectual. The city was torn by the factions of Guelfs and Ghibelines, nobility and citizens. The biſhop of Meaux, reduced, from inability, to the neceſſity of remaining a paſſive ſpectator of their quarrels, at length left this turbulent people to complete, without interruption, the ruin of their country. Soon after his departure, the rival parties appeared to be reconciled, and a ſhort calm enſued; though, on the arrival of Calville, the new governor, freſh diſorders began to prevail. An exertion of ſeverity, on his part, united the two factions, in oppoſition to his government; and the office of Doge was reſtored in the perſon of John Baptiſta Boccanegra. The governor applied, but in vain, for protection to Galleazzo Viſconti, duke of Milan; Calville, therefore, was compelled to retire for ſafety to the citadel. The Genoeſe being once more left to themſelves, their diviſions were renewed, and their animoſities revived. Every quarter of the city exhibited a ſcene of riot and confuſion; the effects of party-rage were viſible in every ſtreet, in the plunder and demolition of houſes, and the maſſacre of their inhabitants. Such was the ſtate of Genoa, when the mareſchal de Boucicaut was ſent thither, as governor,

with six thousand troops. His reputation, and his forces, procured him respect; he took possession of all the fortresses, disarmed the people, and put the doge, Boccanegra, with some of his associates, to death. A proposed reformation in the government met with no resistance; the dread of punishment produced a temporary calm; but the Genoese, though restrained for a while by Boucicaut, soon returned to their old habits of anarchy.

A. D. 1402 to 1404.] About this period, Henry the Fourth of England contracted a marriage with Jane, duchess of Brittany, to strengthen his interest in that important province; but the effects of this alliance, which might have proved highly prejudicial to France, by encreasingthe power of her rival, were averted by the duke of Burgundy, who secured the sons of Montfort and conveyed them to Paris.

The king, in his short intervals of convalescence, had the mortification to see his people oppressed by his turbulent kinsmen. To prevent the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans from again abusing a power which it was dangerous to entrust, wholly, to either of them, he formed a new state-council, consisting of the queen, the princes of the blood, the constable, the chancellor, and all the members of the privy council. As it was settled that all matters of importance should be decided by a majority of votes, Charles was induced to flatter himself, that the public good would no longer be sacrificed to private interest.

In these different arrangements for the administration of the kingdom, the queen was not forgetful of her own interests. Apprehensive that the same influence which had excluded the duke of Orleans from the government, might operate still farther in favour of his rival, she thought to avert the blow she dreaded, by procuring a declaration from her husband, that, in case of his death, his son should be immediately proclaimed king, the regency should be abolished, and the sole care of the royal children entrusted to herself*: so that, in this case, she would have enjoyed all the authority of a regent, without assuming the title. The queen farther obtained from Charles, a new means of encreasing the number of her dependents; the monarch granted her the power of annulling, at her pleasure, any donations which he either had made or might, in future, make. Charles was incapable of foreseeing the consequences of this permission, which tended to his own degradation, and to deliver him wholly to the discretion of a wife who was unworthy his confidence. From this moment Isabella appears to have forgotten the duties of a wife and a mother. The king was abandoned to the care of attendants, who had no other stimulus than interest to incite their attention; and her own children were left destitute of every thing, while she dissipated the revenues of the crown, and the produce of the imposts levied on the people. Charles was reduced to such a state of depression as to be incapable of exertion. When apprised of the situation of his children, he sent for their

* Trésor des Chartres, ubi supra.

governor, who confeſſed, with tears, *that they had often neither food nor cloaths!* "*Alas!*" ſaid the wretched monarch, "*I am no better treated myſelf!*"

But neither the queen's authority, nor the credit of the duke of Orleans, could prevent the concluſion of a projected alliance between the grand children of the duke of Burgundy, and the offspring of his royal nephew. The dauphin, who had completed his ſeventh year, and his brother the duke of Touraine, were betrothed to the two eldeſt daughters of the count of Nevers, while madame Michelle, the king's eldeſt daughter, was contracted to the count of Charolois. The youth of the parties, indeed, rendered the conſummation of theſe marriages a matter of uncertainty; but they tended to ſtrengthen the influence of the duke of Burgundy, who had already acquired the favour of the people, by his oppoſition to thoſe impoſts, which the avarice of Orleans had led him to exact.

Protected by the queen, the duke of Orleans propoſed a new tax to the council to be levied, indiſcriminately, on the whole kingdom. The proſpect of a war with England, and the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury, were the pretexts on which this propoſal was founded. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the duke of Burgundy, the edict paſſed, and was rigidly enforced. The produce of the tax was eſtimated at eighteen hundred thouſand livres, and, whoever evaded payment, was declared guilty of *leſe-majeſty*. This prodigious ſum, as ſoon as collected, was depoſited in the tower of the Louvre; but the duke of Orleans forced the gates, and ſeized all he could find.

At this period, the count of Saint Paul made a deſcent on the Engliſh coaſt, whence he was obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs; while the garriſon of Calais, extended their incurſions to the frontiers of Artois and Picardy, and ravaged the county of St. Paul. Theſe attempts of the count, who was allied to the houſe of Burgundy, excited the reſentment of the Engliſh againſt the duke. They, accordingly, attacked the Flemiſh veſſels, and the hoſtilities which enſued between the two people, put a total ſtop to their commercial intercourſe. The inhabitants of the principal towns of Flanders, murmured at an interruption, which ruined their manufactories. The duke of Burgundy left the court, with the view of ſtifling the firſt ſparks of diſcontent. But, being ſuddenly attacked by a violent diſorder, he was compelled to ſtop at Halle, where he ſoon expired, in the ſixty-third year of his age. He died inſolvent; his goods were inſtantly ſeized by his creditors, and expoſed to public ſale; while it was found neceſſary to have recourſe to a loan, to defray the expences of his funeral. The ducheſs of Burgundy died ſoon after her huſband.

On the death of the duke of Burgundy, every thing appeared to wear a new face. The duke of Orleans thought himſelf ſure of holding the reins of government, in future, without contradiction; but he ſoon found that he had now a more formidable rival to encounter. Not leſs ambitious than his father, but more vain and enterpriſing; paſſionate and impetuous; implacable in his hatred;

hypocritical and perfidious; devoid of all ſcruples, exempt from all remorſe, and making a jeſt of religion, in an age when incredulity was not yet in vogue; ſuch was *John the Fearleſs*. He arrived at court, ſoon after the death of his father, to do homage for his dominions; and he was accompanied by his two brothers, Anthony duke of Limbourg and count of Bethel; and Philip count of Artois, who alſo did homage for their reſpective appanages*.

A. D. 1405.] Meanwhile the queen and the duke of Orleans exerted unlimited authority. Princes, generals, and miniſters, yielded to their united power. The people, diſtinguiſhed the queen by the appellation of *la grande gaure*. Such was the wretched ſtate of the kingdom, when the new duke of Burgundy, demanded a ſeat in the council, a privilege to which he was entitled by his birth. He haſtened to celebrate the marriage of his eldeſt daughter Margaret with the dauphin; and that of his ſon, the count of Charolois, with the princeſs Michelle. This double alliance encreaſed his influence: father-in-law to the preſumptive heir to the throne, he found himſelf in a ſituation to diſpute the government with Orleans, and divide with him the ſuffrages of the court.

The jealouſy of theſe princes only waited for a fit opportunity to diſplay itſelf; and it ſpeedily occured. The duke of Orleans propoſed in the council to levy a general tax, ſuch as had been impoſed in the preceding year; the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury, and the proſpect of a war with England, were again urged as motives for this burden. The members of the council, gave a tacit approbation; but the duke of Burgundy expatiated on the miſery of the people, the vices of the preſent adminiſtration, and the miſapplication of public money. He aſked for an account of the immenſe ſums which were daily levied; he offered his perſon, his troops, and his nobility, to defend the ſtate againſt the attacks of the enemy; and proteſted, that, if the council ſhould perſiſt in their reſolution to publiſh the edict, his dominions, at leaſt, ſhould be exempt from it. The young duke of Brittany made the ſame offers as the duke of Burgundy, and aſſured the miniſters that he would willingly wait for the payment of the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns that were due, as the portion of his wife. The edict, however, paſſed. The duke of Burgundy was careful to promulgate the remonſtrances he had urged in favour of the people, whoſe idol he inſtantly became; and this advantage, which he had the art to maintain, gave him a real ſuperiority.

While the kingdom was reduced to wretchedneſs, the queen and Orleans rioted in luxury. Moſt of the nobility followed this example, and, after a life of diſſipation, died inſolvent. The duke of Orleans ſeized for himſelf the government of Normandy; but the Normans refuſed to ſubmit to his authority, and told him they would acknowledge no other ſovereign than the king. The duke, however, applied to Charles, in a lucid interval, to confirm his appointment,

* Tréſor des Ch. Burgund. Lay. viii, No. 4.

The affair was ſubmitted to the council; ſome of the members ventured to object the oppoſition of the province, and the conſequences to be dreaded from the diſcontent of the people; they told the king that the power of his brother was already too extenſive, and that it would be highly imprudent to confer on him the government of the moſt important province in the kingdom. Charles ſeemed to open his eyes; he was moved at the deſcription of the diſorders which pervaded every part of the adminiſtration. The duke of Burgundy had partiſans in the council, who only waited for this opportunity to declare themſelves. The king acknowledged the neceſſity of a reform in the government; the princes of the blood were conſulted; the duke of Burgundy was ſent for to attend the conference; and the public were waiting with impatience for the effect of the projected change in the miniſtry; but all their hopes were ſuddenly fruſtrated; Charles had a relapſe; and the queen and the duke of Orleans again ſeized the adminiſtration.

The duke of Burgundy was on the point of leaving Paris, and the king's illneſs had not made him alter his intentions. But, as he had reſolved to appear in a ſituation to enforce reſpect, he aſſembled a body of troops, under pretence of repreſſing the incurſions of the Engliſh, who had landed at Sluys, under the earl of Pembroke. To deceive the queen and the duke of Orleans, he made application to them for a ſupply of men and money, to enable him to undertake the ſiege of Calais. In the mean time he had collected eight hundred men at arms, and the biſhop of Liege joined him with ſix thouſand men. The rendezvous of the troops was appointed at Arras. The duke of Burgundy had advanced to within two days' march of the capital, before the court were appriſed of his motions. His arrival aſtoniſhed the duke of Orleans, who found himſelf at the mercy of his enemy. He had no troops to oppoſe him; he was conſcious that a ſtrong party was formed in his favour in the council, and that the princes of the blood were diſpoſed to join him. The Pariſians only waited for the appearance of his competitor to eſpouſe his cauſe. In this emergency, the duke determined to ſeek for ſafety in flight: and, withdrawing from Paris, he haſtened to Melun; the queen followed him. Before ſhe left Paris, ſhe ordered Lewis of Bavaria, her brother, to bring the dauphin to her. She went to Corbeil to wait their arrival, and was there joined by the duke of Orleans.

The duke of Burgundy had advanced as far as Louvres, before he heard of the haſty retreat of Iſabella and Orleans; at the ſame time, he was informed of their intentions to carry off the dauphin. To prevent the accompliſhment of this ſcheme, he haſtened to the hotel de Saint Paul, where he learned that the young prince and his conſort had, notwithſtanding their own entreaties, been compelled, early in the morning, to get into a covered boat, which was to convey them to a certain diſtance, where a litter waited for them. The duke purſued the fugitives, whom he overtook at Juviſy. After ſaluting the dauphin,

he aſked him whither he was going, and whether he would not return to Paris* ? The young prince having anſwered in the affirmative, the duke, conveyed him back to the city. When the duke of Orleans was informed of this circumſtance, he fled, with the queen, from Corbeil to Melun: whence they iſſued orders to all the provinces to levy troops.

The dauphin was received at the entrance of Paris by the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the count of la Marche, and moſt of the nobility. The people made the ſtreets reſound with acclamations. The duke of Burgundy was hailed as the deliverer of the royal family. He took up his abode in the Louvre, in an apartment over that in which the dauphin reſided, that he might better preſerve him from the attempts of his mother. He received the thanks of the city, and was entreated to continue his good offices. That ſame day the parliament received letters from the duke of Orleans, who repreſented the conduct of his rival as an inſult to the king; and prohibited the entrance of foreign troops into the metropolis. The magiſtrates were at a loſs how to act. The regiſters of the court, which are ſtill extant, demonſtrate that the views of the rival princes were underſtood by the enlightened part of the public†.

Every neceſſary meaſure was adopted for the defence of the capital. The chains which had been taken from the Pariſians, during the former commotions, were reſtored and placed at the end of the ſtreets. The government of the Louvre was entruſted to Regnaut d'Angennes, and that of the Baſtile to Montagu. The care of the daupin the duke of Berry took upon himſelf. Freſh troops daily arrived at Paris, which ſoon contained a body of five-and-twenty thouſand men, independent of the different corps which were poſted in the neighbouring villages, where they committed dreadful diſorders.

A council having been convened, the duke of Burgundy explained the motives of his conduct, and, proteſting that he did not wiſh for a ſhare in the government, offered his perſon, his fortune, and his friends, to aſſiſt in removing the calamities with which the kingdom was afflicted; he declared, that he would never ceaſe to inſiſt on a reform in the government, till he had accompliſhed that object. This declaration proved the inſincerity of his previous proteſtation, and ſhewed that he conſidered himſelf as arbiter of the ſtate. The attachment of the Pariſians gave him a decided advantage over his rival; which the number of troops that he had introduced into the capital enabled him to maintain.

The duke of Orleans was employed in ſtrengthening the fortifications of Melun, whither troops flocked to him from the different provinces, ſo that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand men. The king, in his ſhort intervals of reaſon, endeavoured to allay the fury of either party; but they were too much enraged to ſubmit to conſtraint. The duke of Orleans ap-

* Regiſtres du Parlement; Monſtrelet. † Ibid. An. 1405.

proached Paris; a detachment of his army took poſſeſſion of Charenton, and every preparation was made for a general action. The princes of the blood were aware of the danger, and ſpared no pains to prevent it. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, with the kings of Sicily and Navarre, were accepted as mediators. After a delay of two months, paſſed in continual alarm, peace was, at laſt, concluded at Vincennes, where the queen was preſent. The two princes conſented to diſmiſs their troops, and the duke of Burgundy was admitted to an equal participation, with the duke of Orleans, in the authority of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. This laſt prince reſerved for himſelf the department of the finances, which was not the ſmalleſt object of his ambition.

Peace was proclaimed; and the people, tired of theſe diſputes, rejoiced at the reſtoration of harmony. The duke of Berry invited his two nephews to meet at the hotel de Neſle, his uſual reſidence, where they exchanged embraces, and promiſes of friendſhip. They carried their confidence ſo far, as to ſleep in the ſame bed; a cuſtom then in vogue, and regarded as the moſt infallible proof of eſteem.

During theſe tranſactions, Charles was reduced to a ſituation the moſt deplorable, from the neglect of his attendants. The princes, buſied in projects of ambition, had become callous to the common feelings of humanity. At length, his ſituation was ſuch that his firſt phyſician appriſed the council of his danger. Aſhamed of their conduct, they prepared to remedy it. The care afterwards taken of him, by degrees, reſtored him to bodily health, though his mental faculties continued in the ſame derangement.

While the palace exhibited miſery and want, the queen made her public entry into the capital, and diſplayed all the pomp and luxury which the age could afford. The arts of gallantry and magnificence had been exhauſted in the dreſs of the profligate Iſabella; on either ſide of whoſe carriage walked the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, followed by the princes and nobles of the court. This proceeded, through immenſe crowds of people, to the cathedral, and from thence to the Louvre. The Pariſians vainly flattered themſelves that the accommodation which had taken place between the rival dukes muſt prove beneficial to the kingdom. They placed an implicit faith in the profeſſions of the duke of Burgundy. By the new arrangement the government of Picardy was conferred on that prince, and he divided with the duke of Orleans the produce of the ſubſidies, which continued on the ſame footing as before.

At this period Oliver de Cliſſon breathed his laſt, in his caſtle of Joſſelin, in Brittany; he left an immenſe fortune, to the acquiſition of which he had ſacrificed his honour; he had but few qualities to conciliate eſteem, and many to extort reprobation; his intrepidity in the field gained him admirers in a martial age, when valour was an adequate ſubſtitute for virtue: but his avarice and cruelty enlarged the number of his enemies, and left an indelible ſtain on his memory.

A. D. 1407.] Though the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, veiled their mutual animoſity, it was eaſy to perceive that their hatred was too violent to ſubſiſt in this ſtate of conſtraint. We are now coming to a grand epoch in the hiſtory of France. The revolutions which enſued, effected a total change in the people, their manners and cuſtoms. Blot out forty years from the annals of the country, and the ſudden alteration muſt excite aſtoniſhment. The civil and political adminiſtration; the government; the laws, the intereſts of the ſtate, the cuſtoms, the ſpirit of the people, were no longer the ſame; in ſhort, ſays Villaret*, it was no longer the ſame nation.

The duke of Burgundy, beſides a vaſt domain, had the ſupport of his two brothers, whoſe property was conſiderable, and whoſe power extenſive. To one of them he had recently enſured the ſucceſſion of the united duchy of Brabant and Limbourg. He was father-in-law to the heir-apparent, and had contracted his eldeſt ſon, the count of Charolois, to a daughter of the king; to ſtrengthen his connection with the reigning family, he had concluded a marriage between the duke of Touraine, ſecond ſon to Charles, and his own niece, Jaqueline of Bavaria. With the princes, and in the council, he enjoyed a degree of conſideration which the vigour of his conduct had acquired. By his oppoſition to the projected impoſts, at a time when he had no ſhare in the adminiſtration, he had gained the favour of the people. His mind was unimproved by ſtudy, and, as he had an aukward delivery, forebore, as much as poſſible, to ſpeak in public. The duke of Orleans poſſeſſed all the graces of perſon, with a mind embelliſhed by wit, and adorned with all the literary knowledge of the age. His eloquence is ſpoken of in terms of admiration. Liberal, or prodigal; trifling, frivolous, and inconſtant; he wiſhed to unite buſineſs with pleaſure. Born with the happieſt diſpoſition, but left to his own guidance, at an age when reaſon had ſcarcely begun to aſſert her empire over the mind, he indulged in the gratification of his paſſions, which ſoon corrupted his manners, and depraved his heart. He ſet an example of licentiouſneſs to the whole court.

Opportunities of diſpute could not be wanting between princes who were actuated by mutual hatred. The king, notwithſtanding a determination to remove his brother from government, ſuffered affection to overcome his reſentment. He granted to his eldeſt ſon, the count of Angouleme, who had juſt married the young queen of England, widow to Richard the Second, the duchy of Guienne. This grant diſpleaſed the duke of Burgundy, who openly expreſſed his diſcontent. Pope Benedict, too, who was a friend to the duke of Orleans, afforded him another ſubject of diſpleaſure, by depoſing, at the ſolicitation of the people, the biſhop of Liege, a martial prelate, the friend and ally of the duke of Burgundy. Every day gave riſe to ſome new complaint. Whenever they met at the council, it was for the purpoſe of contradiction; whatever was propoſed by one being

* Tom. xii. p. 469.

diſapproved by the other; their diſputes became more and more violent, and it was every moment apprehended that ſome pointed inſult would be offered.

The deſtruction of the duke of Orleans had long been reſolved on. Six months before the preſent period, the duke of Burgundy had employed agents to ſeek a proper place for the execution of his deſign*: in November, 1407, he purchaſed the hotel de Notre Dame, which was ſituated in the *vicille Rue du Temple*. Here he ſtationed eighteen ruffians, under the conduct of Ralph d'Octonville. The ſecret was ſo well kept, that the prince againſt whom theſe machinations were levelled, had not the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of danger.

The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, cōntinued his diſſimulation; and affected to meet the advances of the duke of Berry, who again offered himſelf as a mediator between the rival princes. On Sunday, the twentieth of November, 1407, the duke conducted his two nephews to the church of the Auguſtines, where they confirmed their oaths of reconciliation. They attended a feaſt given at the hotel de Neſle, where they renewed their promiſes of friendſhip. They ſigned an act of confraternity, accepted the order of knighthood from each other, and, before they parted, made proteſtations of the ſtricteſt harmony and concord. Two days after, they again met at the council, and reiterated their profeſſions. The duke of Orleans invited the duke of Burgundy to dinner on the Sunday following; the invitation was accepted; they embraced and parted.

The day after this laſt interview, the duke of Orleans, having paſſed part of the day at the hotel de St. Paul, went, in the afternoon, to the hotel Barbette, a houſe which the queen had purchaſed of Montagu, the grand maitre-d'hotel, and which was called the queen's private reſidence. Iſabella had juſt given birth to a child, which died ſoon after. The duke ſupped with her; and, about eight in the evening, Schas de Courte-Heuſe, one of the conſpirators, came to tell him that his brother wanted to ſpeak to him immediately, on buſineſs which would not admit of delay. The duke ordered his mule to be ſaddled, ſet out for the hotel de Saint Paul, followed only by two eſquires, mounted on the ſame horſe, and preceded by four or five footmen with torches. Such of his attendants as had accompanied him to the queen's, were in no haſte to follow him. Though he ſeldom went out without an eſcort of ſix hundred gentlemen, he had that day, but a ſmall retinue. The duke paſſed the conſpirators, who were drawn up in the front of a houſe above the hotel de Notre-Dame. The horſes, on which his two eſquires were mounted, took fright, and run away with their riders. At that inſtant the duke was ſurrounded by the aſſaſſins, who exclaimed, "*Kill him! kill him!*" "*I am the duke of Orleans!*" ſaid the prince. "*So much the better,*" replied one of the ruffians; "*you are the very man I want!*" and with the blow of a battle-axe, he cut off the duke's left hand, which reſted

* Mém. de Litt. Regiſt. du Parlem.

on the pommel of the ſaddle. A repetition of blows brought him to the ground; though weltering in blood, he had ſtill ſufficient ſtrength to riſe on his knees, and parry the blows with his arm; but a blow from a club, filled with iron points, broke his arm above the elbow. At length he fell on the pavement; when two freſh wounds put an end to his exiſtence. As ſoon as he ceaſed to move, the aſſaſſins held a torch to his face to ſee if he was dead. At that moment, a man, whoſe face was concealed beneath a hood, iſſued from the hotel de Notre-Dame, and ſaid to his aſſociates, "*Put out the lights, and let us be off; for he is dead.*" This, moſt probably, was the duke of Burgundy himſelf. The footmen who carried the torches had all fled on the firſt attack, except one, whoſe name was *Jacob*. This faithful domeſtic threw himſelf on the body, received many of the blows that were aimed at the prince, and fell a victim to his fidelity. Such are the chief circumſtances of this murder, as extracted from the depoſitions of eye-witneſſes, who underwent an immediate examination*.

The aſſaſſins ſet fire to the hotel, which had ſerved them for a retreat, in the hope that the alarm of the conflagration, would favour their eſcape. In the mean time, the duke's two eſquires returned; and the attendants, who had been left at the hotel Barbette, having arrived, the prince's body was conveyed to a houſe, oppoſite to the place where the murder was committed. The news ſoon ſpread through the town. The queen was immediately carried to the hotel de Saint Paul. At break of day the princes aſſembled at the hotel d'Anjou, where the duke of Burgundy attended. The gates of the town were ordered to be ſhut, and corps-de-garde were placed in the ſtreets. The body was conveyed to a neighbouring church, where the princes went to ſee it. Suſpicions, at firſt, fell upon the lord of Cany, whoſe wife the duke of Orleans had ſeduced; but on enquiry, he had been abſent from Paris more than a year. The laſt duties were paid to the duke of Orleans, who was buried at the church belonging to the convent of the Celeſtines. The pall was ſupported by the king of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and *Burgundy*; the laſt of whom appeared, and he had reaſon to be ſo, more deeply afflicted than the reſt. Lewis, duke of Orleans, left three ſons by his wife, Valentina, of Milan. By his will, he left to his eldeſt ſon, Charles, the duchy of Orleans; the counties of Valois, Blois, and Beaumont; and the county of Aſt and Luxembourg. In this deed, which contains a prodigious number of legacies and bequeſts for charitable uſes, the duke ſtyles himſelf, *Lewis, ſon to a king of France, unworthy duke of Orleans.*

Many enquiries had been made, and ſeveral perſons examined, on the ſubject of this murder. The provoſt of Paris, at length, received information that one of the aſſaſſins had taken refuge in the duke of Burgundy's palace. He immediately reported this circumſtance to the council, and applied for an order from the king, to authoriſe him to ſearch a palace of a prince of the blood. The duke of Burgundy was confounded when he heard of the diſcovery which had been

* Villaret, tom. xii. p. 477, 478, 479, 480, 481.

made. Diſconcerted by the provoſt's report, pale and trembling, he led the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry to one extremity of the council-chamber, where he confeſſed his crime, ſaying, *that the devil had taken him by ſurpriſe, and tempted him to it*. The duke of Berry burſt into tears, and exclaimed, "*Now "have I loſt both my nephews!*"

The council aſſembled again the next day, when the duke of Burgundy preſented himſelf at the door, but the duke of Berry refuſed him admiſſion. The duke of Bourbon, who arrived ſoon after he was gone, complained loudly of the council's neglect in not having ſecured his perſon. On his return home his fears increaſed; and while the council were loſing time in deliberating, he mounted his horſe, and left Paris, accompanied only by ſix attendants. He was fortunate enough to find freſh horſes on the road, which enabled him to reach Bapaumes in ſix hours.

The duke of Bourbon was the only one of the council who had the ſpirit to propoſe that he ſhould be immediately purſued, and brought to juſtice; but the other members were too weak to follow this advice. The moſt faithful ſervants of the duke of Orleans, enraged at their timidity, aſſembled to the number of one hundred and twenty men at arms, to revenge the death of their prince. This troop had ſcarcely left the city, when they received peremptory orders from the king of Sicily to return. It is probable, their purſuit would have been fruitleſs, as the duke had ſo much the ſtart of them. But it is aſtoniſhing that none of his accomplices ſhould have been ſecured; and that, notwithſtanding there were corps-de-garde placed in every part of the town, and all the gates were ſhut, they ſhould have found means to leave the houſe in which they were known to have taken refuge, and to effect their eſcape. The Pariſians, attached to the duke of Burgundy, openly rejoiced at the death of the duke of Orleans, and converted his murder into ridicule.

In other parts of the kingdom, this event was viewed in a proper light; it inſpired with horror and alarm all thoſe who ſtill preſerved in their hearts any ſentiments of affection for their country. The ducheſs of Orleans was at Chateau-Thierry, when ſhe received the news of her huſband's death. Moſt of the nobility and gentry who were attached to her family haſtened to join her; and, while the princeſs indulged the firſt tranſports of grief, they prudently provided for the ſafety of her children. Two of the princes were conducted to the caſtle of Blois; and the youngeſt, the count of Angouleme, was left to conſole his mother.

Valentina repaired to Paris, accompanied by the count of Angouleme, and the queen dowager of England, wife to her eldeſt ſon, Charles of Orleans. The king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, met her without the walls of the city. The ducheſs and her attendants were dreſſed in black: her car was entirely covered with black cloth, and drawn by ſix white horſes. She alighted at the hotel de St. Paul, where ſhe had an audience of the king. When ſhe

threw herſelf at his feet, Charles, who then enjoyed an interval of reaſon, raiſed her up, and promiſed her all the ſatisfaction which ſhe was entitled to expect from his affection and equity. He ſwore to revenge the death of a brother whom he had never ceaſed to love. This oath was renewed, and theſe promiſes were confirmed, at a public audience which the ducheſs obtained ſome days after; and the time was fixed for inſtituting a criminal ſuit againſt the murderer of her huſband.

The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, was preparing to avert the gathering ſtorm, by juſtifying the crime he could no longer deny. His firſt care was to aſſemble the ſtates-general of Flanders, at Ghent, and to ſecure the forces of that province. He publiſhed a manifeſto, in which, after explaining his motives for the aſſaſſination, he exhorted his vaſſals to afford him thoſe ſuccours which the urgency of the caſe required. The deputies of the different towns, promiſed to grant him effectual aſſiſtance againſt all perſons, *except the king of France and his children*. He iſſued orders, at the ſame time, to levy troops, in the duchy of Burgundy, which were deſtined to join the Flemings.

The princes of the council, informed of theſe preparations, were thrown into embarraſſment. They found themſelves unprepared to oppoſe the ſmalleſt obſtacle to the invaſions with which he ſeemed to threaten them. They had no troops, and moſt of the towns, diſcontented with the preſent miniſters, ſecretly favoured the duke of Burgundy, who had flattered them with the proſpect of a happy change, in caſe he ſhould get poſſeſſion of the government; the capital avowed its partiality to that prince. It appeared neceſſary to negociate with a criminal, whom they wanted the power to puniſh. The count of St. Paul undertook to make the firſt overtures for an accommodation thus humiliating. To preſerve the king's honour, at leaſt in appearance, the duke was required, by an open confeſſion, to acknowledge a crime, which it was previouſly reſolved to pardon; but even this ſatisfaction, he refuſed to grant. The king of Sicily and the duke of Berry held a ſecond conference with him at Amiens, but were not more ſucceſsful in their negociations than the count of Saint-Paul: the duke of Burgundy remained inflexible, and refuſed to repair to court on any other condition than that of obtaining from the king an approbation of his conduct; the two princes delivered the duke's anſwer to the council, but were afraid of rendering it public, leſt it ſhould encreaſe the inſolence of the Pariſians.

The embarraſſment of the court every moment encreaſed; and, to add to the confuſion, Charles relapſed into inſanity. But he had previouſly holden a bed of juſtice, in the grand chamber of the parliament. The principle object of this aſſembly was to provide for the government of the kingdom. In the preſent ſituation of affairs it appeared too dangerous to entruſt the exerciſe of the ſovereign authority to any one perſon. It was therefore decreed that, in caſe of the king's death or illneſs, the regency ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and the kingdom be governed under the authority of the lawful heir, though a minor;

that all the public acts ſhould be paſſed in his name; and that all ſtate affairs ſhould be tranſacted by the queen, if alive, and by the princes of the blood, aſſiſted by the conſtable, the chancellor, and the *wiſeſt* member of the council. This ordonnance, by multiplying governors, only ſerved, to multiply pretenſions and jealouſies. Authority, thus divided, loſt half its force.

The duke of Burgundy, had returned to Arras, where he aſſembled freſh troops, and advanced towards the capital. In vain did the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry renew their entreaty, that he would reſpect the laws of the kingdom, and duty to his ſovereign; in vain did they forbid him, in the king's name, to enter Paris; he even rejected, with diſdain, the propoſal, that was made him, to appear at court with a ſmall retinue. This aſſaſſin repaired to Saint-Denis, to *perform his devotions*. The ducheſs of Orleans, on the news of the duke of Burgundy's approach, retired from court. As the king was taken ill immediately after her departure, the enemies of her family aſcribed his relapſe to her: ſhe, therefore, haſtened to Blois, and cauſed the fortifications of that town to be repaired. Bourbon, juſtly enraged at the indignity of negociating with an aſſaſſin, refuſed to attend the conferences, and retired to his appanage.

A. D. 1408.] The duke of Burgundy entered Paris, as if taking poſſeſſion of a conquered town; a thouſand men at arms, in three bodies, attended his perſon, and the reſt of his troops were diſperſed in the environs of the capital. The inhabitants received him with joy. He marched through the town amid the acclamations of the populace, who hailed him as a prince that came to reſcue them from oppreſſion. The troops that accompanied him ſurrounded his palace, which he converted into a kind of citadel. This guard, and the fortifications which he raiſed, not appearing ſufficient for his ſafety, he built, within his palace, a ſtone chamber, which had but one opening, where he always ſlept. The king, who, in ſome degree, recovered his ſenſes for a few days, yielded to the neceſſity of the times, and gave him a more favourable reception than he had any right to expect. But the duke of Burgundy reſolved to add to the triumph of crimes, a contempt and violation of the moſt ſacred laws. He required the liberty of juſtifying the aſſaſſination of the duke of Orleans, which he had only committed, he ſaid, for the good of the king and the welfare of the ſtate. The princes and the council ſhuddered at the propoſal; but it was thought dangerous to irritate a ruffian, who was in a ſituation to give laws to his ſovereign, and who might eaſily be provoked to the commiſſion of ſtill greater crimes.

The eighth of March was the day appointed for receiving this juſtification, at a public audience held, for the purpoſe, in the hotel de Saint-Paul. The dauphin repreſented the king, who had juſt had a dangerous relapſe. The aſſembly was compoſed of the princes of the blood, the prelates, nobility, chief magiſtrates, the univerſity, the provoſt of the merchants, and the principal citizens of Pa-

ris. The duke of Burgundy appeared armed, ſurrounded by a numerous guard, and followed by an immenſe croud of the loweſt rabble. John Petit, a monk of Normandy, undertook his defence, to which, in his exordium, he ſaid he was induced, by the pecuniary obligations he was under to the duke, who had raiſed him from penury to opulence.

He preferred many ſcandalous accuſations againſt the duke of Orleans; but all, as may be ſuppoſed, foreign from the purpoſe: that this prince, had merited the ſevereſt puniſhment, will not admit of diſpute; but the ſmalleſt palliation of his rival's infamy could not be collected, from any ſource whatever. As ſoon as the orator had finiſhed, he turned to the duke of Burgundy, deſiring his confirmation of what he had advanced, which the duke immediately gave; adding, that he had facts of ſtill greater importance to relate, which he reſerved for the king's private ear! ſilence prevailed throughout the aſſembly; and the members immediately retired. The duke of Burgundy was now complete maſter of the capital, and his troops kept the royal family in a ſtate of captivity. Every thing was to be apprehended from a prince, who had diſplayed a total contempt of all laws human and divine. The commiſſion of one other crime would have crowned his aſpiring hopes; and, in the accommodating doctrines he had adopted, he could have found no difficulty in juſtifying any deed, to which his intereſt urged him.

The queen fled with precipitation to Melun, taking with her the dauphin and the reſt of her children; ſhe was followed by the king of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry and Brittany. Charles, thus abandoned by his whole family, was left totally to the mercy of the duke of Burgundy, who extorted, from the feeble monarch, an approbation of his conduct. But it was requiſite, for the duke's purpoſe, that this approbation ſhould be made public; and, though it could not be done without committing a moſt daring outrage on nature, religion, humanity, and the laws, yet, ſuch an obſtacle was inſufficient to deter him from the accompliſhment of his wiſh. When the wretched monarch ſigned this deed of approbation, he had ſufficient preſence of mind to tell the duke, that it might, probably, not preſerve him from the reſentment of the parties concerned: to which the duke replied, that, ſo long as he poſſeſſed the good graces of his majeſty, he ſhould fear no one.

The duke, ſeized the revenues, in imitation of his predeceſſors, and made no better uſe of them. The taxes were all continued, under the ſpecious pretext of defraying the expences of the ſtate, and of diſcharging the king's debts, which were never ſo ill-paid. The officers of the houſhold continued to take corn, wine, and other neceſſaries for the king's uſe, on credit; and the venders were never ſuffered to claim their debts.

The queen, in the mean time, continued to ſtrengthen the fortifications of Melun; while the ducheſs of Orleans aſſembled the friends of her houſe at Blois. The duke of Brittany, who had followed the queen to Melun, left her,

for a ſhort time, in order to counteract the machinations of the counteſs of Penthievre; and, after reſtoring tranquillity to his dominions, he prepared to lead a formidable army to her aſſiſtance.

The duke of Burgundy, though maſter of the capital, had not troops ſufficient to oppoſe the confederacy that was forming againſt him. His brother-in-law, John of Bavaria, biſhop of Liege, having been juſt depoſed by his ſubjects; and the city of Maeſtricht, whither he retired, being actually inveſted by the new biſhop, the duke had an honourable pretext for leaving Paris. The queen's army daily increaſed; the troops from Brittany were advancing, by rapid marches, to join her; and theſe forces, united to thoſe which the ducheſs of Orleans and her ſons were raiſing, might render his ſituation dangerous. Reſolved on retreating, he exhorted the Pariſians to perſiſt in their attachment; and aſſured them that he would ſpeedily return, in a ſituation to give law to his enemies.

The duke of Burgundy had no ſooner left the capital, than preparations were made for the return of the queen and her children. The ſpeedy arrival of the ducheſs of Orleans was alſo announced, who had determined to apply to the king, to bring the murderer of her huſband to juſtice. Iſabella, accompanied by the princes, made her entry into the capital, under an eſcort of three thouſand men at arms, moſt of which were the troops of the duke of Brittany. The Pariſians murmured becauſe they marched through the ſtreets in order of battle, with colours flying, a privilege which none but their monarchs had ever aſſumed. Enraged at the duke of Brittany, they laid a plan for attacking him in the night, but their perfidy was detected, and that prince had time to aſſemble his troops, before the chains were placed acroſs the ſtreets. The provoſt of the merchants was then ſent by the citizens to make excuſes for their conduct, which the duke thought it prudent to accept; he was careful, however, to adopt ſuch precautions as were neceſſary to prevent any future ſurpriſe. The queen, on her arrival, had cauſed the keys of the city to be delivered to her: ſhe made the troops obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline. The next day arrived the ducheſs of Orleans; ſhe was accompanied by the young dowager of England, wife to Charles of Orleans, her eldeſt ſon; and a long file of black waggons, containing the ladies of her retinue, cloſed the proceſſion. The princes of Orleans repaired to Paris a few days after their mother, and their preſence revived, for a few moments, the general pity.

The abſence of the duke of Burgundy left the queen at liberty to re-aſſume the ſupreme power; but to render her authority more ſolid, her council deemed it prudent to procure the confirmation of it by a general aſſembly*. A meeting of that deſcription, was, accordingly, convened at the Louvre, where the parliament were invited to attend. The king's advocate, John Juvenal des Urſins,

* Tréſor des Chartres; du Tillet.

informed the aſſembly, *that the ſovereign power, and the abſolute government of the realm, were granted and committed to the queen, and to my lord of Guienne, during the king's abſence or illneſs.* The firſt act of ſovereignty performed by the queen and her ſon, was the convention of a bed of juſtice, conſiſting of the ſame perſons as had compoſed the general aſſembly, to hear the juſtification of the memory of the duke of Orleans. The widow of the deceaſed duke attended with her ſon, the chancellor of Orleans, and their counſel. The abbot of Cheſy made a long ſpeech, in which he refuted all the calumnious accuſations of John Petit; he was followed by Peter Couſinet, an advocate, who demanded that the duke of Burgundy ſhould aſk pardon of the ducheſs of Orleans and her children, in the preſence of the king, the princes, the council, and the people, on his knees, and with his head bare; that this ſatisfaction ſhould be repeated at the Louvre, in the court-yard of the palace, at the hotel de St. Paul, and on the ſpot where the murder was committed, that it ſhould be publiſhed throughout the kingdom by ſound of trumpet; that the different palaces of the duke, in the metropolis, ſhould be levelled with the ground, and croſſes raiſed on the ſite, with explanatory inſcriptions; that the duke ſhould found two collegiate churches, and two chapels, one at Rome, and the other at Jeruſalem; that he ſhould pay a fine of one million of gold; and that he ſhould be baniſhed beyond ſea for twenty years at leaſt, and be prohibited from ever approaching within a hundred leagues of the reſidence of the queen, or of the princes of Orleans. The dauphin, who repreſented the king, ordered the chancellor to aſſure the ducheſs, that ſhe might rely on having all the juſtice done her which ſhe was entitled to expect.

The court was loth to proceed to extremities againſt a powerful prince, who ſtill, though abſent, preſerved his influence in the capital, by the number of his partiſans, and whoſe emiſſaries even penetrated into the council; his wealth, and the extent and ſituation of his dominions, gave riſe to apprehenſions that he might join the enemies of the ſtate, with whom, it was known, he maintained a ſecret intelligence*. The truce between France and England, though yearly renewed, was ill-obſerved, and nothing but a favourable opportunity appeared to be wanting for an open violation of it. It was evidently the intereſt of thoſe in power to avoid a rupture, which would infallibly be imputed to them. Theſe conſiderations, however, important as they were, yielded to the ſolicitations of the ducheſs of Orleans, and to the reſentment of the queen.

The court and council were, indeed, more eaſily perſuaded to purſue the aſſaſſin with vigour, from the intelligence they received, at this period, that the people of Liege were advancing againſt him with forces ſo greatly ſuperior to his own, that it was thought they muſt inevitably cruſh him. The queen, under theſe circumſtances, conceived herſelf at liberty to give full ſcope to her reſent-

* Rymer's Fœdra.

ment; Guichard Dauphin, and Tignonville were ſent to the duke of Burgundy's army, to inform that prince that the king reſerved to himſelf the accommodation of the diſpute which ſubſiſted between the people of Liege and their biſhop; and to give him notice of the proceedings commenced againſt himſelf. The duke replied, that in aſſiſting John of Bavaria, his brother-in-law, he did but diſcharge the duties of a kinſman and ally; that, with regard to the ſuit inſtituted againſt him, he would not fail, as ſoon as he ſhould have completed his preſent enterpriſe, to repair to Paris, and juſtify his conduct to the king.

While the court were at a loſs how to act, intelligence was received that the duke of Burgundy had obtained a complete victory over the people of Liege. Thirty thouſand of the Liegois were left dead on the field, and John of Bavaria, being re-eſtabliſhed in his principality, conducted himſelf—ſays Le Gendre*—more like a tiger than a paſtor; for he cauſed upwards of three thouſand of his flock, among whom were many women, children, and eccleſiaſtics, to be either racked, hanged, or drowned. This unexpected event threw the court into a conſternation. The Pariſians, who idolized that prince, took no pains to conceal their ſentiments; and any one would have imagined that the victory of Tongres had been achieved by themſelves. The queen and her council had ſuffered the only opportunity of regaining their affections, by the abolition of the impoſts, to eſcape; and the means which ſhe now took of providing for her own ſafety, by the introduction of troops into the town, encreaſed their enmity and rage. A report was induſtriouſly propagated, by her enemies, that ſhe meant to take from them the chains which they were accuſtomed, in times of danger, to place acroſs the ſtreets, and which the duke of Burgundy had recently reſtored to them.

In vain had orders the moſt poſitive been repeatedly ſent to the duke of Burgundy, to prohibit him from approaching the metropolis, unleſs he came attended only by his uſual retinue; in vain, too, were injuctions iſſued to all the towns on his road to ſhut their gates againſt him; they were alike diſregarded: the duke no longer owned any authority ſuperior to his own: ſupported by a numerous army, flushed with victory, and by the wiſhes of the Pariſians, he reſolved to obey the dictates of ambition. The court, convinced he would deſpiſe the threats they were unable to execute, reſolved to ſave themſelves, by a precipitate flight, from the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the domination of a victorious rebel.

The queen had reſolved to take her huſband with her; for although, from the ſtate of his mind, he was reduced to a mere phantom, yet he was ſtill king; and that title ſufficed to juſtify the proceedings of a party, who acted under his name. Iſabella exerted her utmoſt addreſs to conceal her intentions from the Pariſians; and while ſhe amuſed them with exhortations and promiſes, ſhe had

* Hiſtoire de France en fol. tom. ii. p. 521.



Singleton Del.

Galland S.t

Charles, the Sixth arrested in the Forest of Mans by a Spectre!

Philadelphia Publishid by Ja.s Stewart & C.o Ap.l 20th 1797.

the king conveyed on board a covered boat, where ſhe ſpeedily joined him, with the dauphin and the reſt of the royal family. The duke of Brittany eſcorted the royal fugitives with fifteen hundred men at arms, a body ſufficiently numerous to keep the populace in awe; and they arrived ſafe at Gien, a town upon the Loire above Orleans.

The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, advanced, by rapid marches, towards the capital, though the king's evaſion diſconcerted his projects. The count of Haynaut, his brother-in-law, who accompanied him, adviſed him to open a negociation, and offered to go to Tours, where the king then was, and make the firſt overtures himſelf. He accordingly repaired thither, while the duke purſued his road to the metropolis, where he was received by the populace as a titular deity. The troops that were quartered in that city ſtill obſerved ſome degree of diſcipline; but the open country, over-run by a licentious ſoldiery, from the frontiers of Flanders to the banks of the Loire, experienced the complicated horrors of violence, pillage, and murder. The king enjoyed an interval of reaſon, when the count of Haynaut arrived at Tours. A deſign had long been entertained of uniting the ſecond ſon of Charles to a daughter of this prince, and the marriage had only been delayed on account of the tender years of the parties. The propoſals which the count now made, in the name of the duke of Burgundy, were favourably received; and Lewis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, and Montagu, were ordered to accompany him to Paris, to ſettle with the duke the preliminaries of the treaty, the particulars of which had been agreed on at Tours.

The death of the ducheſs-dowager of Orleans, at this period, tended greatly to facilitate the concluſion of the treaty. Valentina terminated, at Blois, a life whoſe latter end had been empoiſoned by exceſs of grief, and an impotent deſire of revenge. A ſhort time before ſhe reſigned her breath, ſhe ſent for her children, whom ſhe embraced with all the warmth of maternal affection; and, caſting her eyes on John, the natural ſon of her late huſband, afterward ſo celebrated under the title of count of Dunois*, ſhe told him that, of all the duke's children, there was not one ſo well calculated to revenge the death of his father as himſelf. The young princes of Orleans, the eldeſt of whom had ſcarcely completed his fifteenth year, experienced the ill-effects of their mother's death, in the diminution of the zeal and number of their partiſans.

The inhabitants of Paris had ſent deputies to the king, to invite him to return to the metropolis. Charles received them with kindneſs, accepted the invitation they brought, and ſent word to the Pariſians that he would ſpeedily relieve them from the deſtructive incurſions of the troops who infeſted the environs of Paris, and ravaged the neighbouring provinces. In fact, one of the firſt condi-

* This nobleman was the illegitimate offspring of an adulterous commerce between the duke of Orleans and Mariette d'Enghien, wife to Aubert de Cany.

tions of the accommodation concluded at Tours, impoſed on the duke of Burgundy the neceſſity of withdrawing his forces, and of retiring to his Flemiſh dominions, till the final conſummation of the treaty, which was poſtponed till the month of March in the enſuing year. It was agreed, by this treaty, that the duke ſhould aſk pardon of the king, and of the princes of Orleans; and that, in order to confirm the reconciliation, the count of Vertus, the youngeſt of thoſe princes, ſhould marry a daughter of the duke of Burgundy's, with a dower of one hundred and fifty thouſand livres, beſides an annual income of four thouſand.

A. D. 1409.] The ceremony of aſking pardon, for the murder committed, took place at Chartres, in the preſence of the king and queen, and of the whole court. When it was over, the duke of Burgundy repaired to Paris, whither he was ſoon followed by the king. The people, eager to enjoy the preſence of their ſovereign, ran in crowds to meet him: Monſtrelet tells us, that upwards of two hundred thouſand perſons iſſued from the gates of Paris, on this occaſion. His return was celebrated by extraordinary rejoicings; the Pariſians flattered themſelves that the reſtoration of tranquillity would, at length, procure them the long-expected abolition of the taxes, which the duke of Burgundy had given them reaſon to look for.

Soon after the king's return, the queen went to Melun, and took the dauphin with her, who had juſt entered into his fourteenth year. She appeared but ſeldom at court, while the king was in poſſeſſion of his reaſon; by which means the duke of Burgundy was left at liberty to extend his influence and his power. By a ſucceſsful exertion of his talents, he recovered the confidence of his uncle, the duke of Berry, and of the kings of Sicily and Navarre. The duke of Bourbon was the only prince whoſe virtue led him to reject all offers of friendſhip, and forced him to conſider the murderer of the duke of Orleans as the the enemy of his country. Theſe ſentiments might have proved prejudicial to any one but himſelf; but his ſafety conſiſted in the conſideration he enjoyed, more from his perſonal merit than from birth. The duke of Burgundy was careful, notwithſtanding, to pay thoſe external attentions which it would have been dangerous to refuſe to a prince who was an object of eſteem to his equals, and of reſpect to the public.

The ill ſucceſs of an enterpriſe, which appears to have been hazarded with a view to ſound the diſpoſition of the people, on this ſubject, impreſſed, with ſtill greater force, on the mind of the duke of Burgundy, the neceſſity of placing a reſtraint on his conduct to that prince. Ame, lord of Viry, a captain in the ſervice of the duke of Burgundy, having retired to his eſtate, on the borders of the Beaujolois, had the inſolence to ſend a challange to the duke of Burbon, and to ravage his domains. The duke immediately aſſembled a body of troops, and, accompanied by the counts of la Marche and Vendome, the conſtable, and Montagu, haſtend to repreſs the incurſions of this marauder. The preparations

he made were evidently more than ſufficient for this purpoſe, had he not expected that Ame would be ſupported. The lord of Viry did not ſtay to be overtaken by the ſtorm which threatened him, but, as ſoon as the troops approached, fled for refuge to the dominions of the count of Savoy, who immediately ſurrendered him to the duke, exacting only a promiſe that no corporal puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on him. He was impriſoned for a ſhort time, and then releaſed. The duke of Burgundy did not appear to have any concern in this affair, though, by the general opinion, it was undertaken at his inſtigation and requeſt. The miniſter, Montagu, by taking a part in this expedition, encreaſed the rage of the duke of Burgundy againſt him, which had been before excited by his ſteady attachment to the queen, and the concern he had in the evaſion of the king and dauphin. The duke, therefore, bent on his deſtruction, took advantage of the diſorders that prevailed in the finances, of which Montagu was ſuperintendant, to have him ſeized and thrown into priſon. His immenſe riches were conſidered as proofs of his maleverſation in office; and commiſſioners, appointed by the duke of Burgundy, condemned him to die, after extorting, by the means of torture, a confeſſion of ſuch crimes as they wiſhed to eſtabliſh againſt him: he was beheaded, and the duke of Burgundy is ſaid to have feaſted his eyes with the laſt ſtruggles of his victim.

The king was in a ſtate of inſanity at the time of Montagu's execution; on his recovery the news of his miniſter's death both grieved and aſtoniſhed him, but he was eaſily perſuaded that the good of the ſtate had rendered ſuch a ſacrifice neceſſary. Montagu's diſgrace was followed by a ſtrict inveſtigation into the other departments of the finances, when many of the officers were thrown into priſon, and exorbitant ſums extorted as the price of their releaſe. The next objects of the duke of Burgundy's vengeance, were thoſe who had taken advantage of the king's eaſy diſpoſition, to obtain grants of money and land: on the regiſters of the chamber of accompts at Paris, theſe grants were ſpecified—and oppoſite to them, is written—"*He has had too much, let him make reſtitution.*" Theſe inveſtigations, or rather *perſecutions*, were carried on with the utmoſt rigour. All the officers of the chamber of accompts were ſuſpended. The duke of Burgundy, anxious to court the favour of the Pariſians, depoſed the treaſurers of France, and appointed ſome of the principal citizens to perform the duties of their offices. All the franchiſes and immunities which had been taken from the city, during the former commotions, were now reſtored. It was ſettled, that, in future, the provoſt of the merchants, and all the municipal officers, ſhould be elected by ſuffrages, according to ancient cuſtom. The inhabitants were allowed the privilege of bearing arms, not only for the king's ſervice, but for the defence of the city; and the power of poſſeſſing *noble fiefs* was confirmed to the citizens of Paris. The Pariſians ſent the provoſt of the merchants and the al-

dermen to the king, with aſſurances of gratitude and fidelity, accompanied by a promiſe never to take up arms, but in obedience to the orders of their ſovereign.

About this time, the Genoeſe revolted, and renounced their allegiance to the French crown; mareſchal Boucicaut, the governor, was, therefore, compelled to return to France with his troops; as was the duke of Anjou, titular king of Sicily, after an unſucceſsful attempt to recover the dominions bequeathed him by his father.

The duke of Burgundy, ever attentive to the promotion of the projects he had in view, ſpared no pains to gain the confidence of the queen*. He affected to withhold his approbation from all meaſures of conſequence which were propoſed in the council, until he had previouſly made her acquainted with their deliberations; and it was, principally, through his means that a marriage was now concluded between her brother, Lewis of Bavaria, and a daughter of the king of Navarre.

The king, anxious to profit by an interval of health, much longer than he uſually enjoyed, in order to ſettle the government†, held a bed of juſtice, at which the queen, the dauphin, and the princes of the blood were preſent. The count of Tancarville addreſſed the aſſembly, by the king's command, and recalled to their minds every circumſtance which had occurred ſince the aſſaſſination of Richard the Second; the frequent violations of the ſubſiſting truce, committed by the Engliſh, as well againſt France, as againſt her allies, in Scotland and Wales; he repreſented the neceſſity and the juſtice of retaliation; and concluded his ſpeech by obſerving, that the king had convened the aſſembly for the purpoſe of conſultation on the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued, in revenging ſuch a repetition of inſults, which were equally injurious to the dignity of the throne, and the honour of the nation. Such a propoſal, at ſuch a period, might excite reaſonable apprehenſions that the king's interval of reaſon was only imaginary. To involve the kingdom in a foreign war, at a time when the treaſury was exhauſted, when the people were oppreſſed with taxes, and diſcord on the point of burſting into a flame, was ſurely an act that bore the features of inſanity.

As ſoon as Tancarville ſat down, the duke of Berry aroſe, and renounced, for himſelf and the other princes of the blood, all profit or emolument whatever, as miniſters and members of the council. The count of Tancarville then declared, that the king revoked all penſions and ſalaries whatever, and to whomſoever granted. Theſe retrenchments proved of no real advantage to the king; they only became a ſource of patronage to the princes who, being entruſted with the reins of government, ſought to arrogate to themſelves the diſtribution of favours. The laſt meaſure adopted by the aſſembly was a reſolution that,

* Monſtrelet; Chron. de France; Juvenal des Urſins. † Ibid, Tréſor des Char.; Du Tillet.

during the king's illneſs, the adminiſtration of the kingdom ſhould be veſted in the queen, and dauphin.

The dauphin, who had but juſt compleated his thirteenth year, had neither experience nor talents ſufficient to guide, with honour to himſelf or advantage to the nation, the helm of the ſtate. By appointing a council to aſſiſt him, it was imagined, that a competition for that enviable deſtinction would give riſe to jealouſies, cabals, and intrigues; it was, therefore, determined, that one of the princes of the blood ſhould be choſen to direct his conduct.

It appeared natural that the duke of Berry ſhould be ſelected for this purpoſe; his age, experience, and rank, ſeemed to give him a decided preference over the other princes. He flattered himſelf with the idea that theſe pretenſions would be deemed valid; but, when the majority of votes in the council appeared to favour his wiſhes, by a ridiculous affectation of modeſty, he urged his inability to fill the important ſtation they wiſhed to allot him, and adviſed them to chuſe the duke of Burgundy, whoſe eulogy he pronounced, though he was neither the object of his regard nor eſteem. He did not expect that the council would take him at his word, and his aſtoniſhment could only be equalled by his diſappointment, when he found they accepted his propoſal. In vain did he attempt to recall what he had ſaid; his offer of himſelf was now unanimouſly rejected; and he had the mortification to ſee the duke of Burgundy appointed, by the king, ſuperintendant of the dauphin's education; and the young prince himſelf, having been previouſly gained over by the duke, who was his father-in-law, expreſſed ſatisfaction at the choice which the council had made. The queen and the partiſans of the houſe of Orleans were the more deeply chagrined at the diſappointment produced by the miſconduct of the duke of Berry, as a fault ſo eſſential could not admit of reparation.

A. D. 1410.] The duke of Burgundy, having removed every obſtacle which ſtood in his way, no longer thought it neceſſary to keep up thoſe appearances which he had hitherto preſerved; and Iſabella, by her abſence from court, gave him an ample ſcope for the diſplay of his ambition. He preſided at the council, in the dauphin's name, and no meaſure was adopted but by his orders. Every perſon in office, who was ſuſpected of diſaffection to his party, had been diſmiſſed; the king's houſhold, as well as the dauphin's, was filled with his creatures; he drew immenſe ſums from the treaſury; the revenue of the ſtate was entirely in his power; and the war which had been determined on with England ſupplied him with a plauſive pretext for diſpoſing of the public money.

With a view to keep up this pretext, he renewed the ancient project of laying ſiege to Calais. A ſmall body of troops were accordingly ſent into Picardy, but they ſoon returned without achieving any other exploit, than that of plundering the inhabitants and laying waſte the province. The truce between the two crowns, was ſoon after prolonged, and all pretence for hoſtility, by that means, removed.

It was not poſſible that the duke of Burgundy could long enjoy this exceſſive authority without exciting the jealouſy of the princes who had an equal right with himſelf to a participation of the ſovereign power. The duke of Berry perceived his influence daily diminiſh. He therefore retired to his appanage, and his example was followed by the duke of Bourbon; though he ſoon after returned to court, for a ſhort time, on account of the diſputes which aroſe in Brittany between the rival houſes of Montfort and Blois.

At the town of Gyen, on the fifteenth of April, 1410, the firſt of thoſe confederacies which, in the ſequel, proved ſo fatal to the kingdom, was ſigned, by the dukes of Bourbon, Brittany, and Orleans, and the counts of Alencon, Clermont, and Armagnac. The object of this league was to reſcue the king and the nation from the hands of the duke of Burgundy. Each of the confederated princes was to ſupply his quota of troops towards the ſupport of the common cauſe. Their forces amounted to five thouſand men at arms, and ſix thouſand infantry. To oppoſe the deſigns of his enemies, the duke of Burgundy aſſembled an army; engaged the king of Navarre, and the counts of la Marche and Vendome, to eſpouſe his cauſe; formed an alliance with the king of Sicily, by giving to the eldeſt ſon of that monarch his daughter, the princeſs Catherine, who, by the treaty of Chartres, had been promiſed to the count of Vertus; called his brother-in-law, the count of Haynaut, to his aſſiſtance; and, in ſhort, took every precaution which prudence could ſuggeſt, for maintaining the power he had acquired by treachery and murder. With the view to detach the duke of Brittany from the league, he ſettled his diſputes with the houſe of Penthievre, by the concluſion of a treaty advantageous to Montfort. This conduct had the deſired effect.

A marriage was concluded between the duke of Orleans, who had recently buried his wife, and Bonne, daughter to the count of Armagnac. Of all the princes and nobility united in oppoſition to the duke of Burgundy, no one evinced greater zeal than the count. He ſoon became the ſoul of the party, and had even the honour to give his name to it. He was, after the royal family, the moſt opulent and powerful ſubject of France. Sprung from the blood of Clovis, his family might be traced to the earleſt period of the monarchy; from the princes of the blood to the leaſt diſtinguiſhed among the nobility, every one deemed it an honour to be united to it. Son-in-law to the duke of Berry, father-in-law to the duke of Orleans, he poſſeſſed the experience which was wanting to the latter, and the vigour which the former had loſt. Intelligent, active, and brave, he had every qualification requiſite to form the head of a party. But his virtues were tarniſhed by cruelty; in his hatred he was implacable; and in the purſuit of revenge he was neither reſtrained by ſcruples nor remorſe.

The ſtorm which threatened the duke of Burgundy was on the point of burſting on his head, when the duke of Berry, who had hitherto preſerved an apparent neutrality, ſuddenly withdrew from court, and repaired to Angers,

where all the leaders of the Armagnac party had aſſembled*. Never was inſurrection more prompt, nor more general. From the foot of the Pyrenees to the banks of the Scheld, the kingdom was in arms in leſs than a month. The troops of the confederated princes haſtened from the ſouthern provinces to the borders of the Loire, ravaging the intermediate country; for pillage always formed a conſiderable part of their pay. During the firſt fermentation, occaſioned by theſe commotions, the kingdom in general, and the confederated princes in particular, ſuſtained a heavy loſs, by the death of the duke of Bourbon. He deſerved the appellation of *Good*, which had been conferred on him by the unanimous voice of the nation. It was this prince who made the memorable reply to a *ſtate-informer*, who preſented him with a liſt of the faults committed by ſome of his ſubjects, "*Have you kept a regiſter of the ſervices "they have done me?*" He died at Mount-Lucon, in the ſeventy-third year of his age. The duke left one legitimate child, who ſucceeded to the title, under the appellation of John the Firſt.

Paris was ſoon ſurrounded by the Armagnacs, and the neighbouring villages were plundered by the troops. But, after a ſhort time paſſed in mutual depredations, both parties ſeemed equally diſpoſed to peace, though their wiſhes for an accommodation proceeded from different motives. Their forces were ſaid to amount to two hundred thouſand men.

The conditions of the treaty, dictated by the inability to injure, and the mutual deſire of deceiving each other, were theſe—that Peter of Naverre, count of Mortaing, ſhould, alone, of all the princes of the blood, be permitted to reſide at court; that the leaders of either party ſhould immediately retire, compelling their troops to obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline; that no one of them ſhould return to Paris without the king's expreſs permiſſion; that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy ſhould never be ſent for ſeparately; and that all the chiefs ſhould bind themſelves by oath, not to take the field again till after Eaſter, 1412. The treaty was ſigned by all the princes, who ſwore to obſerve it. The troops were diſmiſed, and, on their return, completed the deſolation of the provinces through which they paſſed.

A. D. 1411.] The people flattered themſelves that the tranquillity thus reſtored would be durable: but the proſpect was deluſive. The animoſity which prevailed between the contending factions was too fierce to admit of a ſincere reconciliation. The duke of Orleans, ſtill eager to revenge the death of his father, again applied to the council to bring his aſſaſſin to juſtice. This application being treated with neglect, he declared that he would have recourſe to arms, and would reject all offers of accommodation, ſo long as the king ſhould continue to be influenced by men, who were attached to the duke of Burgundy.

The duke farther complained that the late treaty had been violated by the

* Monſtrelet; Reg. du Parlement.

conduct obſerved towards des Eſſarts, who, immediately after his diſmiſſion, had received letters-patent from the king, reſtoring him to his office. Immediately after this declaration the duke flew to arms, and engaged ſome of the nobility, who had not yet declared themſelves, to eſpouſe his cauſe. The duke of Burgundy alſo aſſembled his troops, and, previous to the commencement of hoſtilities, manifeſtos were iſſued by either party, filled with the ſevereſt reproaches, and the moſt bitter invectives. The princes of Orleans reproached their rival with the murder of their father; while the duke of Burgundy openly exulted in the aſſaſſination of a man whom he repreſented as a *falſe, diſloyal, and cruel felon and traitor, who was unworthy to live;* and intimated that his ſons, as poſſeſſed of the ſame ſentiments, ſhould incur a ſimilar puniſhment. The prevalence of the Burgundian faction in the metropolis ſuperinduced the proſcription of the Armagnacs, and the beſtowal of the government of Paris on the count of Saint Paul. But this laſt expedient proved highly detrimental to the peace of the city. From the different claſſes of the people he ſelected thoſe who appeared beſt calculated to ſupport his newly eſtabliſhed tyranny; and he formed them into a company of five hundred men, on which he beſtowed the appellation of *the royal militia.* This corps was compoſed chiefly of butchers. They ſoon became the terror of the metropolis; long accuſtomed to ſhed the blood of animals, in the immolation of human victims, they only appeared to be exerciſing their daily occupation. All, who were ſo unfortunate as to incur their diſpleaſure, or to excite their avarice, felt the fatal effects of their rage. Under pretence of proſecuting the partiſans of the Armagnac party, they made no ſcruple to gratify their own private revenge. To beſtow on any man the appellation of *Armagnac* was to pronounce his ſentence of death. The municipal body, the magiſtrates, the council, and even the court, were intimidated by their conduct; they daily beſieged the palace of their ſovereign, and ſurrounded the courts of juſtice; not an edict could be iſſued, an ordonnance publiſhed, a law promulgated, nor a regulation enforced, without the previous approbation of theſe ruffians. The king's perſon not being deemed in ſafety at his cuſtomary reſidence, he was removed to the Louvre. Moſt of the great towns in the kingdom, influenced by the example of the capital, and oppreſſed by the tyranny of the prevailing faction, exhibited a ſcene of violence and confuſion almoſt equally dreadful.

To complete the deſolation of this devoted country, the chiefs of the oppoſite factions reſolved to call in the aſſiſtance of her ancient enemy. The duke of Burgundy, was the firſt who obtained the degrading advantage of a promiſe from the Engliſh court to ſupply him with ſix thouſand archers.

The king of England had made repeated applications to the French court for the concluſion of a marriage between a daughter of Charles, and his ſon, the prince of Wales, which had been conſtantly rejected. By an alteration in his ſyſtem of policy, he was now induced to lend a favourable ear to the propoſals

of the duke of Burgundy, who offered him one of his daughters for the prince; not that either of them, probably, was ſincere in his wiſhes for this alliance, which could only promote their mutual intereſt, ſo long as the union between them ſubſiſted, and that could be no longer than the want of reciprocal aſſiſtance continued. When the duke of Burgundy ſhould have once rendered himſelf maſter of the government through the means of his ally, he would naturally become the enemy of that monarch to whoſe aſſiſtance he had been indebted for his ſuperiority over the oppoſite faction, which would then be led to apply for aid to the ſame ſource. Henry had reſolved to afford alternate protection to either party, always favouring the weakeſt ſide, by that means to deſtroy them both, and to involve the nation in their ruin.

The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy having aſſembled their troops, the two armies came in ſight of each other, not far from the town of Mondidier. That of the Burgundians was infinitely ſuperior in numbers; it conſiſted of three thouſand knights, eighteen hundred men at arms, five thouſand archers, four thouſand pioneers, and, at leaſt, ſixty thouſand militia, from Flanders, Picardy, and Artois; whereas the Armagnacs had only twelve thouſand men at arms, their infantry having previouſly left them; but theſe were all choſen troops.

This grand quarrel now appeared on the point of being ſettled by one deciſive action, when the time preſcribed for the ſervice of the Flemiſh militia being expired, thoſe troops inſiſted on being immediately diſmiſſed*. By the deſertion of ſo conſiderable a part of his army, the duke found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of retreating while his rival, inſtead of ſeeking to profit by the confuſion into which the Burgundians were neceſſarily thrown by this unexpected occurrence, proceeded to the iſle of France, and inveſted the capital.

The populace, in the mean time, complained of being confined within Paris, while the Armagnacs were ſuffered to triumph at their very gates. Their ſolicitations to be led againſt the enemy were urged with ſuch vehemence, that the count de Saint Paul deemed it prudent to comply; he accordingly made a ſally, accompanied by des Eſſarts, the provoſt of Paris, with a ſtrong body of citizens, by the gate of Saint Denis; but, though more numerous than the party they attacked, in the proportion of ſix to one, they ſuſtained a total defeat, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

At length the capital was relieved by the duke of Burgundy, whoſe army had been ſtrengthened by the junction of the Engliſh troops. On his arrival at Paris, he publiſhed a new declaration, more expreſs and ſevere than any which had hitherto appeared, containing an *irrevocable* proſcription of the confederated princes and their adherents, and an injunction from the king to his ſubjects to take up arms againſt them and to purſue them as enemies of the ſtate and invaders of the dignity of the throne. This edict had a ſenſible effect on the Ar-

* Monſtrelet. Chron. de Flandres.

magnacs, many of whom only waited for a pretext to withdraw themſelves from the confederacy; and the duke of Orleans, finding his army diminiſh, and winter approaching, decamped in the night, and eluded the purſuit of his rival. The Burgundians, now maſters of the field, over-ran all the environs of Paris; committed the moſt dreadful diſorders; and diſplayed the moſt flagrant inhumanity in the treatment of their priſoners. The ſtreets were ſtrewed with dead bodies to which the rights of ſepulture were denied, becauſe they were Armagnacs, and lay under a ſentence of excommunication.

The Pariſians had flattered themſelves with the hopes of obtaining from the duke of Burgundy the ſuppreſſion of the impoſts, but, inſtead of gratifying their wiſhes, he impoſed a freſh tax upon the city, from which no perſon was exempt. He likewiſe ſeized the money which was deſtined for the payment of the officers of the different courts of juſtice, and which amounted to four thouſand crowns. Soon after this period, the earl of Arundel was recalled, with the forces under his command, which deprived the duke of Burgundy of ſix thouſand of his beſt troops, and reduced him to the neceſſity of ſuſpending hoſtilities till the enſuing ſpring.

A. D. 1412.] During theſe tranſactions, the Armagnacs had aſſembled at Bourges, and determined, as the beſt means of counteracting the projects of their enemies, to detach the king of England from the Burgundian intereſt, which they effected by an agreement to reſtore all the places in Guienne, which had been taken from the Engliſh, ſince the treaty of Brittany. On theſe conditions Henry agreed to ſend one thouſand men at arms, and three thouſand archers, to their aſſiſtance.

The duke of Burgundy, anxious to prevent the junction of the Engliſh troops with the Armagnacs, opened the campaign early in the ſpring; and, in order to enſure ſucceſs to his operations, he placed the king at the head of his army. After he had reduced ſeveral places of little importance, he inveſted the town of Bourges, which was ſo vigorouſly defended by the duke of Berry, that, after the ſiege had continued a month, not the ſmalleſt impreſſion was made on the place. But a want of proviſions, at length, induced that prince to propoſe terms of accommodation, which were rejected by the duke of Burgundy, who inſiſted, that he ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion. Some of the chiefs of the party intimated to the dauphin, that the duke of Burgundy, to gratify his rage and ambition, ſacrificed the welfare of the ſtate, expoſed the king's perſon, and ruined the fineſt provinces in the kingdom; that the province of Berry, which was now the theatre of war, muſt ſoon revert to the crown, by the death of the duke, who was advanced in years; and that, therefore, it might juſtly be ſaid, the king was laying waſte his own territories: that the army was daily diminiſhing from a dearth of proviſions; and that the diſpleaſure of heaven, at an unjuſt and barbarous war, appeared to be manifeſted in the prevalence of an

epidemic diſtemper, of which ſeveral noblemen, and upwards of twelve hundred knights, had already died.

Theſe repreſentations made a deep impreſſion on the young prince, who began to open his eyes to the conduct of his father-in-law. The firſt effect of this change in his ſentiments was a prohibition to the artillery-men to damage the buildings of the town, under pain of death. The duke of Burgundy, ſurpriſed at ſuch an order, attempted to remonſtrate with the dauphin; but that prince frankly told him, that he was reſolved to put an end to a war which tended to ruin and depopulate the kingdom. The duke, thus reduced to the neceſſity of diſſembling, acknowledged the juſtice of his remarks, and immediately renewed the negociations. After ſome altercation, the principal articles were ſettled. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy had an interview, at which they were both armed, though ſeparated by a barrier. "*Fair nephew*," ſaid the former, *when your father was alive there was no neceſſity for a barrier between* "*us!*" The latter replied, "*It is not placed here, my lord, on my account!*" As their attendants ſtood at ſome diſtance, the particulars of the conference did not tranſpire. The treaty was ſigned ſoon after, and Auxerre was the place appointed for a meeting of the princes in order to ratify it.

The treaty was no ſooner completed, than the promiſed ſuccours from England arrived at la Hogue, in Normandy. Some days elapſed before the Engliſh were appriſed of the pacification of Bourges; but, as ſoon as they heard of it, they ſpread deſolation over the whole country, till induced to deſiſt, by an offer from the duke of Orleans, who promiſed, on their retiring into Guienne, to pay them two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns* ; and he delivered his brother, the count of Angouleme, as an hoſtage for the performance of his promiſe. One half of the money was to be paid by the king.

Moſt of the princes, and the principal nobility of the kingdom, aſſembled at Auxerre, for the purpoſe of ratifying, by their oaths, the conditions of the treaty ſigned at Bourges. The duke of Orleans was accompanied by two thouſand men at arms: the neceſſity of ſo numerous a retinue is thus explained by contemporary hiſtorians†.

The duke of Burgundy, at a private conference with des Eſſarts and Jaqueville, had told thoſe miniſters, that he had fixed upon Auxerre for his interview with the princes, as a place well calculated for the accompliſhment of a ſcheme which he had formed for maſſacring the dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Bourbon, and the count of Vertus, in order to get rid of all his enemies at a ſingle blow. Des Eſſarts, was unable to conceal the horror he experienced at ſuch a propoſal. He ventured to repreſent to the prince the eternal diſgrace he muſt inevitably incur, if, after ſacrificing the father to his rage, he ſhould extend the fatal effects

* Villaret, t. xiii. p. 221—but the Engliſh hiſtorians differ as to the ſum, which they make amount to *three* hundred and twenty thouſand crowns. See Walſingham, p. 382, and Otterbourne, p. 271, 272.

† Juvenal des Urſins; Chron. de France; Chron. de St. Denis.

of his indignation to the children, and to the other princes of the blood. The duke was thus forced to abandon his deſign, and his reſentment againſt des Eſſarts was the more violent, as, by entruſting him with a ſecret of this nature, he had reduced himſelf to the neceſſity of being circumſpect in his conduct towards him. The provoſt, who knew him too well to be deceived by an appearance of cordiality, reſolved to be conſtantly on his guard againſt the machinations of a prince whoſe hatred was implacable, and he ſecretly appriſed the duke of Orleans, and the other princes of the blood, of the danger that threatened them.

The congreſs of Auxerre, at which the dauphin preſided, was numerouſly attended. The conditions of the late treaty were read, and all the parties took a ſolemn oath to enforce their obſervance. The project of a marriage between the count of Vertus and one of the daughters of the duke of Burgundy, which had been ſettled by the treaty of Chartres, was now renewed; a mutual promiſe to bury in oblivion all paſt animoſities was made; and both parties renounced all alliance or connection with England.

The duke of Burgundy had now become abſolute maſter of the government. But we have already obſerved, that the dauphin was diſcontented with his conduct, during the ſiege of Bourges. He was aware, that all thoſe meaſures which tended to affect the ſtability of the throne were aimed at himſelf. The duke of Burgundy, too, took no pains to conceal the natural pride and ſeverity of his temper ſince the ſucceſs of his plans had apparently eſtabliſhed his authority on a ſolid foundation.

Theſe firſt ſymptoms of coolneſs were perceived by the public ſoon after the reconciliation of the princes. The dauphin reſtored young Montagu to the office of chamberlain, and to a part of his father's property. The memory of that miniſter was, at the ſame time, cleared from the infamy which the laws extended to his poſterity. The dauphin publicly declared that the execution of Montagu had greatly diſpleaſed him.

Since the death of the duke of Orleans, no leſs than three treaties had been ſigned for the purpoſe of terminating thoſe fatal diſſentions which cauſed the deſolation of the kingdom; but theſe attempts all proved fruitleſs. The treaty of Bourges was no ſooner ſigned, than a thouſand difficulties occurred to impede its execution. The Armagnacs claimed, agreeably to the terms of the treaty, all the offices of which they had been deprived, and all the property of which they had been robbed; but thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of their places and eſtates refuſed to reſign them. A thouſand pretences were invented to elude demands that were founded in juſtice. Even the king's orders were diſobeyed; and the claimants, tired out with fruitleſs applications and unſucceſsful purſuits, were, at length, conſtrained to give up thoſe advantages which they had expected to reap from the treaty. The king, at the ſolicitation of the duke of Burgundy convened a general aſſembly, for applying a remedy to the diſorders which prevailed in the adminiſtration. Every body agreed as to the neceſſity of a reform;

but thoſe who were loudeſt in calling for it, were not the moſt ſincere in their wiſhes to obtain it. The aſſembly was opened by a ſpeech from the chancellor of Guienne, in which he explained the actual ſituation of France. After dwelling, for ſome time, on the evils occaſioned by the civil war, he pointed out the neceſſity of an union between the princes and nobility, to repel the attacks of the Engliſh, who had recently ravaged the Boulenois, and extended their incurſions to the frontiers of Picardy. The chancellor concluded by calling upon the three orders to unite in defence of the kingdom by a general contribution.

A monk, named Euſtache de Pavilly, a doctor of divinity, was ordered to draw up a circumſtantial account of the vices in the adminiſtration, and of the means of removing them. The aſſembly was then adjourned to a future day, when the monk's memorial was publicly read. The exordium contained ſome indirect complaints againſt the abſent princes; but the chief object of the work was, to arraign, in the ſevereſt terms, the preſent adminiſtration, and to offer a new plan of economy, to be obſerved in future. To prove the truth of what he aſſerted, Pavilly required that a ſtrict inveſtigation might take place; that an enquiry ſhould be made as to what property the generals and the ſovereign maſter of the finances poſſeſſed, when they entered into office; what ſalaries they had received, what they had expended, what they were now worth; what eſtates they had purchaſed, and what houſes they had built.

Of all the miniſters who were noticed in this memorial, none were ſo highly cenſured as des Eſſarts; his name was mentioned in every page, and every ſpecies of peculation was imputed to him. A deficiency of four millions of livres appeared in his accounts, but it was generally believed that he had given the money to the duke of Burgundy, and that the dread of incurring the indignation of that prince prevented him from juſtifying himſelf. From this memorial it appeared, that the expences of the king's houſhould, which, under the preceding reign, had never exceeded ninety-four thouſand livres, amounted, under Charles the Sixth, to four hundred and fifty thouſand. The fact is, that the nation was ſo dreadfully oppreſſed by the multiplication of impoſts, that the people were reduced to a ſtate of wretchedneſs the moſt abject, while the king was kept almoſt without the neceſſaries of life; the collectors of the revenue, and the miniſters of the finances preſented falſe accounts, and contrived to ſwell the expences of the houſhold, paying nobody, and appropriating the money they received to their own uſe. The memorial finiſhed with a pompous eulogy on the zeal and ſervices of the duke of Burgundy.

Many of thoſe who were concerned in the adminiſtration of the finances were ſeized and thrown into priſon; ſome fled for refuge to the churches; but moſt of them agreed to purchaſe the forgiveneſs of their crimes, and the money they advanced for that purpoſe was ſeized by thoſe who procured their pardon. Des Eſſarts was compelled to quit Paris in diſgrace, and to repair to Cherbourg

of which he was governor. Le Baudran de la Heuſe was appointed to ſucceed him in the office of provoſt of Paris.

The dauphin, in the mean time, began to ſhow his diſpleaſure at the exceſſive authority aſſumed by the duke of Burgundy. John de Neele, chancellor to the dauphin, who had been promoted to that dignity by the duke, had a violent diſpute in the council with the king's chancellor, whom he inſulted very groſsly. The dauphin, happy in an opportunity of mortifying the duke, ſeized his chancellor by the ſhoulders and forced him out of the room, telling him he had no farther occaſion for the ſervices of a man who had dared to inſult the king's chancellor, in his preſence. The duke of Burgundy in vain endeavoured to reſtore John de Neele to his former dignity. The dauphin remained inexorable, and totally diſmiſſed him from his ſervice. The young prince's deſire of taking the government into his own hands daily encreaſed; and thoſe who were about his perſon, aware of his inclination, were careful to encourage it. The object of his attempts was generally the mortification of his father-in-law. The motives of his conduct were too evident to eſcape the penetration of the duke of Burgundy, but, more politic than the dauphin, he diſguiſed his ſentiments, and ſecretly adopted meaſures for maintaining that power which the prince was anxious to wreſt from his hands.

A. D. 1413.] During theſe tranſactions, des Eſſarts, ſecure in the protection of the dauphin, had returned to Paris, and taken poſſeſſion of the Baſtille*. A report was ſpread through the city, that a deſign was formed to carry off the dauphin, with his own conſent; that des Eſſarts had orders to wait for him, with ſix hundred men at arms, at Vincennes, whither he was to repair under pretence of aſſiſting at a tournament; that the princes of Orleans had troops in readineſs to enſure ſucceſs to the enterpriſe, and to bring back the prince to Paris in a ſituation that would enable him to give law to his enemies. The duke of Burgundy, thinking diſſimulation no longer neceſſary, threw off the maſk, aſſembled his partiſans, while the corps of butchers and other *men of blood* excited an inſurrection of the people, and, haſtening to the Baſtille, compelled des Eſſarts to ſurrender himſelf to the duke of Burgundy, who pledged his word that no inſult nor injury ſhould be offered him.

Inflated by the ſucceſs of their firſt attempt, this rabble next repaired to the dauphin's palace, and, breaking open the doors, forced a way into his apartment. The leaders of the rebels inſiſted that the traitors who ſurrounded the prince ſhould immediately be delivered into their hands; and they threatened, in caſe of a refuſal, to ſeize and maſſacre them in his preſence. The duke of Burgundy came in the midſt of the tumult, accompanied by the duke of Lorraine, to enjoy his triumph. Notwithſtanding the threats and reſiſtance of the prince,

* Monſtrelet; Juvenal des Urſins; Chron. de Saint Denis; Chron. MS.; Hiſtoire de la Ville de Paris; Regiſt. du Parlement.

this imperious rebel, and his profligate associates, seized the duke of Bar; John de Vailly, his new chancellor; the lords of la Riviere, Marcoignet, Boissay, and Rambouillet, and several other officers of his household, who were immediately conveyed to the duke of Burgundy's palace, and confined: some of them, indeed, were massacred on the road. The rebels next summoned the duke of Burgundy to give up des Essarts; and that minister was transferred to the Chatelet.

From this moment, the dauphin was kept a close prisoner in the hotel de Saint Paul, and, such was the vigilance of the mob, that it was not possible for him to effect his escape. In a few days after the first insurrection, the insurgents, under the conduct of their leaders, repaired to the palace, where the princes were assembled; and, after pointing out the numerous abuses in the government, the immediate correction of which they demanded, in a tone of authority, they presented a list of proscription, which they compelled the dauphin to receive. This list contained the names of sixty persons, twenty of whom, being present, were instantly arrested, and conveyed to prison. Those who were absent were cited to appear by sound of trumpet, and, in the mean time, the gates of the city were shut, and corps-de-garde posted in every street.

They returned, soon after, in great numbers, and, having secured the three towers of the palace, compelled the king to give them an audience. Pavilly pronounced a studied harrangue, taking for his text—*Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam.*—When he had finished his speech, the chancellor asked him, by whose orders he had dared to bring his representations to the foot of the throne. The orator immediately turned to the provost of the merchants and the aldermen, whom the people had forced to accompany them, as if to ask their approbation of his conduct; but these municipal officers, equally fearful of offending their sovereign, and of becoming victims of popular fury, spoke so low as to be wholly unintelligible. Some of the rebels then went down to the palace yard, which was filled with the mob, and desired their confirmation of all that Pavilly had advanced. A party of them immediately rushed into the royal presence, and told the king, that the monk had explained the real sentiments of the people, who were resolved not to disperse till a certain number of persons, whose names they presented in a new list, were delivered up to them.

The duke of Burgundy, affected to remonstrate with the people on the impropriety of their conduct. He represented to them that the king, having but lately recovered his health, the agitation of his mind, on such an occasion as the present, might, probably, cause a relapse. They replied, that they only came for the good of the king and his kingdom, and protested, that nothing should induce them to change their resolution. The duke returned with this answer, and desired that the list which the insurgents had presented, might be read. At the head of it was Lewis of Bavaria, the queen's brother; with the archbishop of

Bordeaux; the chancellor; the treaſurer of Aquitaine; the queen's confeſſor; ſeveral other noblemen and officers, and about twenty ladies in the ſervice of the queen and the dauphineſs. The objects of their proſcription were ſeized, and, without diſtinction of rank or ſex, chained two by two, and conducted to priſon. Moſt of theſe captives were conveyed to the *Conciergerie*; and the king was obliged not only to name twelve commiſſioners to try them, but to iſſue letters under the great ſeal, expreſſing his approbation of the rebellious conduct of the mob.

It is impoſſible for the human imagination to conceive diſorders more dreadful, and cruelties more horrid, than thoſe which were now daily committed in the metropolis of France. Numbers of men and women were hourly committed to priſon, under pretence of entertaining ſentiments inimical to the prevailing faction. No man's life was in ſafety, many of thoſe who had been ſeized by the mob, at the palace, were thrown into the river during the night, or elſe privately maſſacred in their dungeons.

The duke of Burgundy, the chief promoter of theſe troubles, was not himſelf exempt from inquietude. In the tumult and confuſion which prevailed in the city, every thing was to be feared from the mob; a blind monſter, capable of ſacrificing, in the height of its inſenſate rage, the man who lets it looſe and excites it to action. Having once ſet the machine in motion, he was ſoon convinced of his inability to direct it at his pleaſure. Every day the inſurgents compelled the council to aſſent to the abolition of old laws, or the adoption of new ones. Des Eſſarts was ſtill kept in confinement, though, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of a ſpeedy releaſe*. He ſuffered decapitation; his head was ſtuck on a lance.

The dauphin, reduced to deſpair, had applied to the leaders of the Armagnacs to releaſe him from the perilous ſituation in which he was now placed. He had made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to elude the vigilance of his guards, who never loſt ſight of him for a moment. The duke of Orleans and the leaders of his party received regular information of the proceedings at Paris, as well by letters from the dauphin, as by the means of the duke of Berry, who ſtill remained at court. After ſeveral conferences between themſelves, and after ſeveral meſſages received from the king and the dauphin, it was at length agreed, that ambaſſadors ſhould be appointed by either party, to terminate, by a definitive treaty, the objects of conteſtation which had occurred ſince the peace of Auxerre.

The plenipotentiaries accordingly met at Pontoiſe, and the duke of Burgundy was even obliged to ſend deputies in his own name, being unwilling to complete his diſhonour by openly oppoſing a reconciliation, which was meant to reſtore tranquillity to the kingdom; perhaps, too, he flattered himſelf with the hopes that the ſeditious populace of Paris would prevent the king and the dauphin

* Monſtrelet; Juneval des Urſins; Chron; MS. Reg. du Parlement; Antiquités de Paris: Hiſtoire de la Ville de Paris.

from accepting the propoſals, and by that means raiſe up an invincible obſtacle to the projected accommodation: in a few days the treaty was reduced into form, and contained, in ſubſtance, a promiſe, on the part of the princes, confirmed by their oaths, to preſerve a ſtrict harmony and good underſtanding with each other, and to live, in future, *like true relations and friends;* to put a ſtop to all hoſtilities; to diſmiſs their troops; to reſtore ſuch as had been deprived of their places; and to conſign to oblivion all paſt injuries.

This plan of accommodation was ſent by the king to the parliament, who were ordered to deliberate on the propriety of accepting it. The rebel chiefs now made a laſt effort, by repairing to the hôtel de Saint-Paul, and inſiſting, in a tone of inſolence, that the articles of the treaty ſhould be ſubmitted to their inſpection. Meeting with a refuſal, they re-aſſembled on the following day, and ſeized the town-houſe. But although they were formidable from their numbers, and had come to an unanimous determination, that the treaty ſhould be immediately diſcuſſed by *themſelves*, in order to fruſtrate every attempt at accommodation, yet they could not prevent the adoption of a more juſt and eligible mode of deciſion by a plurality of ſuffrages, to be collected by the officers of the different diſtricts. This was a fatal blow to the Burgundian faction. Three thouſand Burgundians had indeed aſſembled for the purpoſe of ſeizing the palace, but the prudence of the duke of Burgundy, who was conſcious that they muſt be ſoon overpowered, repreſſed their zeal; and peace was publicly proclaimed, at the town-houſe, amidſt the acclamations of the multitude. The government of Paris was reſtored to the duke of Berry; the dauphin reſerved the command of the Baſtille for himſelf, having appointed the duke of Bavaria his lieutenant; and the duke of Bar was made captain of the Louvre. It was publickly reported, and generally believed, that theſe two noblemen were to have been brought to the ſcaffold, the very next day. The brother of John de Troye, an active and dangerous rebel, was ſeized and executed. In his houſe was found a liſt of proſcriptions*, by which no leſs than fourteen hundred perſons, with their families were doomed to die.

Previous to the ratification of the treaty of Pontoiſe, it had been agreed, that none of the princes ſhould enter the metropolis; but the duke of Burgundy had no ſooner retired than the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, and Alençon, and the count of Auxerre, arrived at Paris. We muſt obſerve, however, that the recent conduct of the duke of Burgundy was ſuch, as fully authorized this apparent violation of the agreement. All the officers and miniſters,

† This ſanguinary liſt was divided into three parts. Such as were deſtined to be maſſacred, were diſignated by a T, (for *Tués*, killed) placed oppoſite to their names; thoſe who were to be baniſhed were marked with a B; while an R pointed out ſuch perſons as were to be ſuffered to eſcape on paying a ranſom. Juvenal des Urſins.

who had been indebted for their promotion to the protection of the duke of Burgundy, were now deprived of their places.

Charles d'Albret, on his return to Paris, was reſtored to the dignity of conſtable, though the count of Saint-Paul, by the advice of the duke of Burgundy, refuſed to give up the ſword of office. Clagnent de Brebant was alſo reinſtated in his poſt of admiral of France. The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, was preparing to repair the diſgrace he had recently ſuſtained. He had written ſeveral letters to the king, aſſuring him that his precipitate retreat was ſolely influenced by the ſituation of his domeſtic affairs, which required his immediate preſence in Flanders: he renewed his proteſtations of attachment to the monarch, and of zeal for the welfare of the ſtate; and farther expreſſed his fixed reſolution rigidly to abide by the conditions of the late treaty. But while he made theſe profeſſions, he was engaged in aſſembling all his forces, both in Burgundy and the Low Countries. The ſtates of Artois voted him a ſupply ſimilar to that which the king annually levied on his ſubjects; he had opened a negociation with the Engliſh court; and ſtill carried on a ſecret correſpondence with his partizans at Paris, many of whom, by diſguiſing their ſentiments, had eluded the vigilance of the oppoſite party. The court of France could not be ignorant of his intentions; indeed he took no pains to conceal them, for ambaſſadors having been ſent to him by the king, to demand the reſtitution of Cherbourg, Caen, and Crotoy, which he ſtill kept in violation of the late treaty, and to forbid him to form an alliance with England, he diſmiſſed them in a diſdainful manner; when they obtained an audience at Liſle, where the duke then was, he did not deign to give them an anſwer, but calling for his boots, immediately mounted his horſe, and ſet out for Oudenarde. Some time after, he ſent a herald to juſtify his conduct, but the king's miniſters very properly interfered, and prevented him from ſubmitting to the degradation of a reply.

A. D. 1414.] During theſe tranſactions, the dauphin evinced a ſtrong deſire to take the reins of government into his own hands; forgetful of the injuries he had ſuſtained and the inſults he had experienced from the duke of Burgundy and his adherents, he wrote to that prince in terms of affection, urging him to repair to Paris, with a ſufficient guard to ſecure his perſon from inſult. This letter was dated in the month of December, 1413. In the following month the queen, accompanied by the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Orleans, and other princes of the blood, went to the Louvre, where the dauphin then was, and, in his preſence, ſeized four noblemen belonging to his court*. The dauphin highly reſented this exertion of authority, and even attempted to call the people to his aſſiſtance, but he was prevented by the princes. Of the four captives, three, the lords of Moi, Brimeu, and Montauban, were releaſed, after a confinement of a

* Chron. MS. Juvenal des Urſins. Monſtrelet. Hiſtoire de Paris.

few days, on a promiſe never more to approach the perſon of the dauphin. John de Croi, the fourth, was reſcued from his guards.

The dauphin enraged at this detection of his duplicity, ſent letter after letter to the duke of Burgundy, requeſting he would haſten to releaſe him from the captivity in which he was holden. The duke ſpeedily collected a formidable body of troops; and advancing as far as Dammartin, extended his incurſions to the gates of the metropolis.

As ſoon as the princes and the council were apprized of his approach, they reviewed their troops, which conſiſted of eleven thouſand men, and divided them into three bodies. All the gates of the town, except two, were kept conſtantly ſhut. The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, continued his march to Saint-Denis, where he was received, on a promiſe, which he immediately broke, to do no injury to the inhabitants. His forces conſiſted of two thouſand men at arms, and three thouſand archers, a number wholly inſufficient to attempt the reduction of the capital; but he had greater dependence on the attachment of the Pariſians, than on his own ſtrength. He ſent a herald with letters to the king, the dauphin, and the citizens, who was immediately diſmiſſed by the count of Armagnac. The duke then advanced to the gate of Saint-Euſtache, where he drew up his men in order of battle, hoping the populace would make ſome diverſion in his favour; but the vigilance of the conſtable fruſtrated his plans. The duke ſtill perſiſted in his deſign: he found means, through his emiſſaries, to ſtick up a manifeſto on the cathedral, the palace, and other public edifices, containing proteſtations of his zeal for the welfare of the ſtate. He expreſſed his ſurpriſe that the citizens of Paris, and other loyal ſubjects, ſhould ſuffer their ſovereign to be treated with ſuch ſeverity. Under any other circumſtances theſe reproaches might have excited an inſurrection, but the princes had taken their precautions, with ſo much prudence and care, that not a ſingle individual durſt avow his ſentiments. Corps-de-garde were poſted in every part of the city, as well as on the ramparts. Day and night, bodies of armed men were continually marching through the ſtreets with colours flying. The duke of Berry, as governor of Paris, iſſued a prohibition to all tradeſmen, and artizans, to quit their ſhops and approach the ramparts, under pain of death. At length the duke of Burgundy, having made a laſt attempt to ſtimulate the zeal of his partizans, and finding the vigilance of his adverſaries not to be eluded, retired to his own dominions.

Lewis of Bavaria, the queen's brother, and the lord of Gaucourt, being informed of the duke's retreat, left Paris with a ſtrong detachment of the garriſon, in the hope of coming up with the rear of his army; but when they arrived at Senlis, they learned that he had fled with ſuch precipitation, that he had not even allowed his troops the uſual time for reſt.

Paris ſtill continued to preſerve the appearance of a town that was cloſely inveſted by a powerful enemy; the ramparts were coverſed with ſoldiers; corps-de-garde were poſted at all the gates, and the ſtreets filled with armed men, drawn up in order of battle, ready to act on the firſt ſignal of revolt. Heavy contributions were levied for the paying theſe troops. The chains were taken from the inhabitants, and depoſited in the Baſtille. All the citizens, without exception, had orders to deliver up their arms, and a general prohibition to wear a ſword, or any other offenſive weapon, was publiſhed; and death was proclaimed as the conſequence of diſobedience.

War having been reſolved on by the council, a general aſſembly was convened at the hôtel de Saint Paul, at which the queen, the princes of the blood, the chief nobility, the prelates, and the members of the council attended. The dauphin preſided in the abſence of the king, who was, at this time, indiſpoſed. All the ſubjects of complaint againſt the duke of Burgundy, were here detailed with preciſion and energy. Early in the ſpring the army, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand men, took the field, under the immediate command of the king, who had by this time recovered his health ſufficiently for that purpoſe. From the prince to the private ſoldier, every man wore the Armagnac ſaſh; which greatly diſpleaſed thoſe, whoſe attachment was confined to their ſovereign, independent of all party. It appeared ſtrange, indeed, that ſo powerful a prince as the king of France, ſhould, in his own dominions, and in a war undertaken for the purpoſe of enforcing reſpect to his authority, ſubmit to uſe the ſtandard of his vaſſal. The defence of the capital, during the king's abſence, was entruſted to the duke of Berry, with a body of twelve hundred men at arms.

The campaign was opened by the ſiege of Compiégne, which, after a ſhort reſiſtance, ſurrendered by capitulation. Noyon opened its gates on the firſt ſummons, but Soiſſons made a more obſtinate defence. The attack, however, was conducted with ſuch vigor and ſucceſs, that the garriſon, in a ſhort time, found themſelves reduced to extremities. A courier diſpatched by the governor, to the duke of Burgundy, being intercepted by the beſiegers, they became acquainted with the deſperate ſituation of the place. The offer to capitulate, therefore, was rejected, and the town taken by aſſault, the governor ſuffered decapitation; ſuch of the garriſon as had eſcaped the general maſſacre experienced a ſimilar fate.

While the royal army was in the Vermandois, intelligence was received that a body of Burgundians were on their march to join the duke. The duke of Bourbon, and the conſtable d'Albret, with a detachment of troops, immediately ſet out to meet them, and coming up with them near the banks of the Sambre, obtained a complete victory. The counteſs of Hainaut attempted to promote an accommodation, for which purpoſe ſhe waited on the king at Perronne, accompanied by the duke of Brabant, and by deputies from the different towns of Flanders. Charles replied, That, "if his couſin, the duke of Burgundy,

" would come to him, he ſhould experience ſuch treatment as would give him " content; if he wiſhed for juſtice, juſtice ſhould he have, and if mercy was " his object, he ſhould obtain as much of it as would anſwer his purpoſe*." This was the only anſwer they could procure. The army advanced to Bapaumes, which immediately ſurrendered; in this town ſeveral of the Burgundian faction were taken, and among the reſt *Caboche*, the butcher, who was immediately executed.

Arras was next inveſted. Being a place of importance, every precaution had been taken for enabling it to ſuſtain a long ſiege. It was divided into two parts, the *town* and the *city*, and had two governors. The garriſon amounted to twelve hundred men at arms, and ſix hundred croſs-bowmen. All the old men, women, and children, were ſent away; the ſuburbs were burned; new fortifications and freſh batteries were erected; and the walls and towers were ſupplied with cannon.

Notwithſtanding the number of troops employed in the ſiege, ſuch was the ignorance or infidelity of thoſe who conducted it, that two of the gates were left free of acceſs, by which means the garriſon had an opportunity of receiving ſupplies, and of making ſallies to advantage. A general miſtruſt prevailed in the royal army. Several private combats were fought before the walls; mines and counter-mines were ſprung; and the braveſt knights ſignalized their valour, in various encounters.

The artillery was badly ſerved, through the treachery of the perſon to whoſe care it was entruſted; a dearth of proviſions and forage began to be felt by the royal army, as well as by the garriſon; the ſeaſon was far advanced; and the troops were attacked by an epidemic diſorder, which proved fatal to numbers. The counteſs of Hainaut and the duke of Brabant, ſeized the opportunity to renew their propoſals for an accommodation. The king was diſpoſed to lend them a favourable ear, as well from inclination, as from the ſecret inſtigations of the dauphin, who was diſpleaſed with the aſcendency which the duke of Orleans daily acquired, and with the imperious conduct of the count of Armagnac. This diſpoſition of Charles to terminate the war was, it ſeems, well known to the confederated princes, who, of courſe, took great pains to effect a change in his ſentiments. Before the treaty could be finally ſettled, he had a relapſe; but the dauphin, on whom the command thendevolved, haſtened its concluſion. It was agreed, That the keys of Arras ſhould be delivered to the king, and the ſtandard of France hoiſted on the walls of the town; that the duke of Burgundy ſhould ſurrender Crotoi, and diſmiſs from his court ſuch perſons as had incurred the indignation of the king and dauphin; that whatever had been taken by either ſide, during the war, ſhould be reſtored; that all offenſive declarations which had been publiſhed to the prejudice of the duke's

* Villaret, t. xiii. p. 309.

honour ſhould be revoked, and that letters of juſtification ſhould be granted him; that he ſhould never go to Paris without permiſſion from the king and dauphin; and that he ſhould renounce his alliance with England. Peace was, accordingly, proclaimed; the troops were diſbanded; and the badges of party, for a while, diſappeared.

But this interval of tranquillity was ſhort: the duke of Burgundy put his troops into cantonments in the Cambreſis, where they lived at diſcretion. The count of Tonnere, one his vaſſals, having eſpouſed the oppoſite party, he marched into Burgundy, pillaged Tonnere, and raiſed the citadel. The Armagnacs, on the other hand, ſurpriſed, a party of Burgundians, and put to death two hundred. The count of Saint-Paul entered the province of Luxembourg, while the companies who had been diſmiſſed by their chiefs made war on their own account, and completed the general deſolation.

The duke of Burgundy had ſtill a powerful party at court. The dauphin, by the treaty of Arras which he had concluded in contradiction to the count of Armagnac, and the confederated princes*, evinced the preference which he gave him over the oppoſite party.

The dauphin intent on taking the government of the kingdom into his own hands, had recourſe to a ſtratagem for his purpoſe. He invited his mother and all the confederated princes to give him the meeting at Corbeil, on a day ſpecified in his letters; and while the whole court repaired to the appointed place, he made the beſt of his way to Paris; ordered the draw-bridge at Charenton to be drawn up the moment he had paſſed it; arrived at the Louvre at five in the afternoon, and commanded the gates of the town to be ſhut. Maſter of the capital, he ſent orders to the princes to retire to their eſtates; the duke of Berry only received permiſſion to return.

His firſt exertion of power was the ſeizure of his mother's treaſures, which Iſabella had placed in the hands of different citizens of Paris; he next compelled his wife to retire to the convent of St. Germain, that he might be at liberty to indulge his appetites, ſurrounded by courtiers, who ſtudied his paſſions at the expence of his honour, he repaid their treacherous ſervices with money appropriated to the ſervice of the ſtate. He undertook the management of the finances himſelf, the command of which was eſſential to ſupport his prodigality; he called an aſſembly of the citizens and municipal officers of Paris, whom he informed of his reſolution no longer to ſubmit to the authority of miniſters. About this time an ambaſſador arrived from the duke of Burgundy, the object of whoſe embaſſy was to requeſt that the dauphin would again take his wife to his bed, and diſmiſs a miſtreſs whom he had choſen to occupy her place. In caſe of a refuſal, he was ordered to tell the prince, that the duke would conſider the treaty of Arras as vir-

* Tréſor de Chartres, Regiſt. des Anciennes Ordonnances, fol. 29.

tually annulled, and that in caſe of a war with England, neither he nor his ſubjects would take up arms in defence of the kingdom. To this demand the dauphin returned an evaſive anſwer, rather calculated to ſoothe, than to ſatisfy the duke.

A. D. 1415.] While the kingdom was torn by inteſtine commotions, an enemy, not leſs powerful than ambitious, was ſecretly preparing to profit by this complication of misfortunes. Henry the Fifth had ſucceeded his father in the throne of England, and, he had long determined to profit by the diſſentions which prevailed in France for the gratification of his ambition, by the total ſubjection of the kingdom. The claim which he had to advance to France, was, abſurd; whether its validity be tried by the French or the Engliſh doctrine of ſucceſſion. By the former, which excluded all females from the crown, and denied their power of tranſmitting a title to their male poſterity, Henry could not claim a right; by the latter, as advanced by the third Edward, which admitted the excluſion of females, but eſtabliſhed their right of tranſmitting a title to their male poſterity, his pretenſions were not leſs abſurd; becauſe any right to be derived from thence was veſted in the earl of Marche, tranſmitted from queen Iſabella to her ſon, Edward the Third, and from him to that nobleman, by Phillippa, only child of Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John, duke of Lancaſter, from whom all the pretended rights of Henry were derived. It was not, however, an age in which princes were to be reſtrained from purſuing the projects of ambition by motives drawn from the ſources of reaſon and juſtice. Henry determined to enforce his pretenſions though he concealed his deſigns till they were ripe for execution. He had on his acceſſion opened negociations with the French miniſtry, confirming the truce concluded by the ſecond Richard; but he rendered them fruitleſs, by perpetually varying in his demands, according to the ſituation of the kingdom.

When it was determined to take up arms againſt the duke of Burgundy, Henry thought the national confuſion favourable for his attempts. He ſent ambaſſadors to make a formal demand of the French crown, in virtue of the rights which he derived from the third Edward; this ſtrange propoſal had ſuch an effect on the council that they remained ſilent for a time, as much from ſurpriſe as indignation. The ambaſſadors then declared that their maſter had authorized them to declare that he would content himſelf with the provinces which had been ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, adding only the immediate poſſeſſion and full ſovereignty of Normandy, Anjou and Maine, and ſuperiority of Brittany and Flanders. This laſt propoſal was, probably, the conſequence of a projected alliance, which Henry was then negociating with the duke of Burgundy, but which the treaty of Arras, for the preſent ſuſpended. The Engliſh ambaſſadors again varied in their propoſals; their laſt demand was that the treaty of Bretigny ſhould be ſtrictly fulfilled, one half of Provence, with the counties of Nogent and Beaufort, be ceded

to England; and the princeſs Catharine be given to Henry, with a portion of two millions of crowns. The duke of Berry, who preſided at the conferences, offered to reſtore a part of Guienne. The powers of the Engliſh envoys being limited, they left Paris without a deciſion. Neither Charles nor his council could believe that Henry was ſeriouſly bent on war. in the mean time he was occupied in preparations for his intended expedition. He obtained from parliament a ſupply of two-tenths and two fifteenths, and a grant of the lands of all the alien priories in the kingdom; he alſo received a free gift, from the clergy, of conſiderable amount*; after borrowing all the money he could, he pawned his jewels, and even his crown, to make up the neceſſary ſum†. Having aſſembled a great fleet, and a powerful army, he repaired to Southampton, in order to embark for France; but before he had got his troops on board the tranſports that were deſtined to receive them, he diſcovered a dangerous conſpiracy formed to deprive him of the throne. This was ſpeedily quelled, and having inflicted an exemplary puniſhment on the principal conſpirators, and appointed his brother, John duke of Bedford, regent of the kingdom, he ſailed from Southampton, on the 13th of Auguſt 1415, with ſix thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand archers, and landed ſafe on the coaſt of Normandy, about nine miles from Harfleur. He immediately inveſted that city.

The garriſon of Harfleur conſiſted only of four hundred men at arms. They made a vigorous reſiſtance, but ſo little precaution had been taken to put the fortified towns in a ſtate of defence, that when the place had been beſieged about a fortnight, the garriſon had expended all their powder, and a ſupply having been intercepted by the enemy, they were reduced to extremity. They opened the gates to the enemy on the twenty-ſecond of September. The garriſon were ſuffered to depart, without their arms, on a promiſe to ſurrender themſelves priſoners at Calais, unleſs the king of England ſhould be brought to action, and ſuſtain a defeat, previous to his arrival at that city. The opulent citizens were thrown into priſon, and confined till they paid their ranſom: ſuch as refuſed to abjure their country, and take an oath of fidelity to the conqueror, were ſent to England; and the reſt of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were all expelled the town; at the gate of which, a part of their cloaths were delivered to them, with five ſols to each perſon to defray the expences of their journey‡. Henry was led to the adoption of theſe rigorous meaſures by the deſign which he entertained of peopling the town entirely with Engliſh.

But though the acquiſition of Harfleur was an object of importance to the king of England, the great loſs which he ſuſtained made it a dear conqueſt. This loſs proceeded leſs from the ſiege, than from an epidemic diſorder which prevailed in the army. In this dilemma, the neceſſity of returning to England was mani-

* Parliament Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 137, &c. † Fym. Fœd. tom. ix. p 257, 263, 271, 284, 285, 286. ‡ Villaret, t. xiii. p, 347.

feſt to every one; the king ſummoned a council to deliberate on the ſubject. The duke of Clarence gave his opinion for an embarkation at Harfleur; but the Engliſh monarch refuſed to adopt it—as wearing the appearance of flight; and declared that he would rather make his way by land to Calais."* The latter mode was adopted, and every thing prepared for this expedition. †

While the Engliſh were thus engaged in ſettling the mode of retreat, it became a queſtion, at the court of France, whether the defence of the kingdom ſhould be entruſted to the Armagnacs or to the Burgundians. Had the dauphin followed his own inclinations, he, probably, would have delegated that truſt to the latter; but the change in the miniſtry made him give his voice in favour of the oppoſite party. The biſhop of Chartres, the new chancellor of Aquitaine, being an enemy to the duke of Burgundy, and ſtrongly attached to the duke of Berry, engaged the dauphin to ſend for the duke of Orleans and his principal adherents.

The conſtable d'Albret having received intelligence of Henry's deſign to proceed to Calais, formed a junction with the troops under the command of marſchal de Boucicaut, and haſtened to Abbeville, to guard the paſſes on the Somme, which Henry was obliged to paſs. Orders had been diſpatched to the different provinces for all who were able to bear arms, to repair to the royal ſtandard without delay. The duke of Burgundy offered to join the army in perſon, attended by all his forces. This offer, it was not thought prudent to accept.

Henry leaving Harfleur, advanced by ſlow marches, to the banks of the Somme, which he intended to croſs at the ſame place where Edward the Third, before the battle of Creçy, had eſcaped from Philip of Valois; but he found the paſſage ſtopped up by piles ſtuck in the bottom of the river, and defended by the nobles of Picardy, who were drawn up on the oppoſite bank. At Pont Remi

* Elmham, c. 42. p. 49.

† To reſcue Henry from the charge of imprudence in this particular, Mr. Hume has aſſerted, that having diſmiſſed his tranſports, "he lay under a *neceſſity* of marching by land to Calais, before he "could reach a place of ſafety." But this aſſertion is evidently abſurd: for, admitting that the tranſports had actually departed, it certainly would have been more adviſeable, in point of expedition, to ſend over to England for tranſports—the diſtance by ſea not exceeding thirty leagues—and wait their arrival; than to attempt a paſſage over a tract of country near two hundred miles in extent, unprovided with guides, unſupplied with proviſions, and purſued and haraſſed by an army which moſt hiſtorians make amount to ten times, and none to leſs than four times the number of his own. It will not be urged that there was no veſſel in the port to ſend over to England; as ſubſequent to the adoption of Henry's propoſal, the duke of Clarence, with the earl of Marche, and many other noblemen, who had ſuffered extremely from the diſorder which had proved ſo fatal to the Engliſh troops, embarked at Harfleur for England, where they went for the recovery of their health; nor will it ſcarcely be contended that Harfleur could not be deemed *a place of ſafety*, ſince, with ſo ſmall a garriſon, as four hundred men at arms, it had ſuſtained a long and vigorous ſiege; and, after its reduction, Henry had been careful to repair the damage which the fortifications had ſuſtained in the different attacks. This perilous enterprize, therefore, was not the reſult of neceſſity, but of enthuſiaſtic ambition and obſtinate temerity.

and ſeveral other places, where Henry attempted to croſs the river, he was equally unſucceſsful; every paſs was guarded, and every bridge was broken down. His difficulties hourly increaſed, and his ſituation daily became more deſperate. His troops were inceſſantly harraſſed by bodies of horſe which ſcoured the country, and prevented them from foraging; exhauſted by a toilſome march, by ſickneſs, and a dearth of proviſions, their ſpirits were only ſupported by the fortitude of their ſovereign. At length the Engliſh, after having paſſed three weeks on the banks of the Somme, diſcovered a paſs between Peronne and Saint Quentin, which the inhabitants had neglected either to guard or to render impracticable. Henry, after croſſing, purſued his march with celerity. He wiſhed to avoid an action, and neceſſity alone could have induced him to riſk one.

The different bodies of French troops had, by this time, formed a junction with each other; and amounted, by the beſt accounts, to fourteen thouſand men at arms, and forty thouſand infantry; the Engliſh did not exceed a fourth of that number. The two armies came in ſight of each other, in the county of Saint-Paul, not far from the village of Azincourt, where the Engliſh arrived on the twenty-fourth of October. The French generals had repeatedly offered them battle, but Henry contented himſelf with replying that, ſince he had begun his march to Calais, he had never refuſed to engage. On the twenty-ſecond of October a herald at arms was diſpatched to the Engliſh camp, to tell the king that in three days he might expect to be attacked. Henry accepted the challenge without heſitation.

The night before the battle, the Engliſh took up their quarters in the villages of Azincourt, Maiſoncelles, and the adjoining hamlets; when the brightneſs of the moon gave Henry an opportunity of examining the ground with attention, and of fixing on a ſpot for the enſuing engagement, which poſſeſſed local advantages to enable a handful of men to reſiſt a numerous army. This was a gentle declivity, on the ſummit of which ſtood the village of Azincourt, and which was flanked, on either ſide, by a wood. Having taken theſe precautions, he retired to reſt. With the French, all was riot and confuſion; the whole army paſſed the night in the open air, and both men and horſes were numbed with the cold rain which fell from the cloſe of the day to the enſuing morn.

On the morning of Friday, the twenty-fifth of October, 1415, both armies were drawn up in order of battle. The conſtable d'Albret was guilty of an error which nothing could palliate, by occupying the ground choſen for him by the enemy. This preventend him from profiting by that advantage which the ſuperiority of his numbers afforded. In the narrow plains, flanked by the woods, he could neither extend his front ſo as to encircle the enemy, nor employ his numerous cavalry. He drew up his army in three lines; the firſt was commanded by himſelf, and, conſiſted of a choſen band of eight thouſand men at arms, diſmounted, and four thouſand archers; the ſpace they occupied was

ſcarcely large enough to contain them; on each wing of this diviſion were poſted five hundred men at arms, who had orders to direct their efforts againſt the Engliſh archers.

Henry had alſo drawn up his army in three lines; the firſt, which was commanded by the duke of York, conſiſted wholly of archers, four deep; each of whom, beſides his bow and arrows, had a battle-axe, a ſword, and a ſtake pointed with iron at both ends, which he fixed before him in the ground, with the point inclining outwards, to protect him from the charge of the enemy's cavalry. The king himſelf headed the ſecond line, accompanied by his youngeſt brother, Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter, the earl mareſchal, and the earls of Oxford and Suffolk. The third line was commanded by the duke of Exeter, uncle to Henry.

The Engliſh monarch rode along the lines, mounted on a white courſer, with a golden crown, affixed to his helmet. Four royal banners were diſplayed before him: he was followed by ſeveral horſes, richly capariſoned, and ſurrounded by the chief officers of his court and army. He ſtrove to encourage his troops. He told them, that the French had determined to cut off three fingers of the right hand of every priſoner whom they ſhould make*; and he declared that every ſoldier in his army, who ſhould, on that day, conduct himſelf with gallantry, ſhould thenceforth be deemed a gentleman, and enjoy the privilege of wearing coat-armour†.

Before the battle began, the two armies ſtood gazing at each other, for a conſiderable time; but Henry, fearing that the French might diſcover the danger of their ſituation, gave the ſignal of attack about ten in the morning. The Engliſh archers let fly a ſhower of arrows among the crowded ranks of the enemy, which did infinite execution; and the French cavalry hemmed in by their own troops, and incommoded by the clayey ſoil, moiſtened by recent ſhowers, were unable to exert their force. A ſecond flight of arrows threw the firſt line of the French into ſome confuſion, which was increaſed by a diſcharge from the bows of two hundred archers, whom Henry, before the battle, had placed in ambuſh in their flank. The battle now became general; when the archers had expended their arrows, they flung their bows, and, ruſhing onwards, attacked the enemy with their ſwords and battle-axes. In vain did the French men at arms attempt to advance; they were effectually ſtopped by the pointed ſtakes which, piercing their horſes brought them to the ground, while the men, inſtead of retiring to the wings, preſſed back on the firſt line of the army, and, by that means, contributed to augment the diſorder which already prevailed in the front. The Engliſh, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, completely broke the firſt line, and forced it off the field.

* Thomas de Elmham p. 61. † Id. ib. Villaret, t. xiii. p. 364.

While the firſt line of the Engliſh were retiring to recover their breath, behind their ſecond line, where Henry commanded in perſon, the duke of Alençon advanced with the ſecond diviſion of the French, in hopes of reſtoring the battle. This ſecond ſhock was more bloody than the firſt; and victory long remained doubtful. Eighteen French knights, who had entered into a ſolemn compact to take the Engliſh monarch, either dead or alive, forced their way through the ranks, and approached his perſon. One of them aimed a blow at his head with a battle-axe, which, though it did not pierce his helmet, for a while deprived him of his ſenſes. He muſt probably have fallen a victim to theſe aſſociates, but for the generous ſpirit of David Gam, and two other Welch officers, who ruſhing between him and his aſſailants, ſacrificed their lives to the ſafety of Henry. When he recovered from the blow, perceiving the three gallant ſoldiers, to whom he was indebted for his preſervation, expiring at his feet, he knighted them as they lay on the field of battle. The French knights were all killed; and the Engliſh king, ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy, attended by his brother Glouceſter, who fought by his ſide. They continued to advance with rapidity, and were ſoon ſeparated from their troops. The duke of Glouceſter was felled to the ground by the ſtroke of a mace, and Henry, covering him with his ſhield, ſuſtained the ſhock of his numerous aſſailants, until the duke of York arrived to his relief. Glouceſter being conveyed from the field, the king renewed the attack, and his troops, bore down all before them.

The duke of Alençon, followed by a few faithful adherents, ruſhed into the midſt of the foe, and cutting his way through the ranks, arrived at the ſpot where Henry was fighting. He called out to the king of England to let him know that he was the duke Alençon; at the ſame inſtant he aimed a blow at his head, which cleft the crown on his helmet; he was on the point of repeating it—his arm was already uplifted, when a ſtroke from the battle-axe of Henry laid him at the feet of his adverſary; the king interpoſed to ſave his life, but in vain, the rage of the Engliſh troops rendered his interpoſition ineffectual. Diſcouraged by the loſs of their leader, the ſecond line made no farther reſiſtance; the third fled without ſtriking a blow.

While the king of England was receiving the congratulations of his nobles, news was brought him that his camp was attacked. He immediately aſcended an eminence whence he could plainly diſtinguiſh the cauſe of this alarm, which proceeded from a ſmall party of troops, who, under the command of Robert de Bournonville, had left the army in the heat of action, to plunder the baggage which the Engliſh had left in Azincourt. The king piqued at this inſult, ordered all his priſoners to be inſtantly put to death, except the princes of the blood and the nobility. The Engliſh troops, evincing a diſinclination to fulfil

theſe orders, Henry ſelected two hundred archers, who, running through the ranks, diſpatched the victims.*

The French never loſt, in any battle, ſo many perſons of diſtinction, as in that of Azincourt. Ten thouſand men were left dead on the field, beſides nine thouſand knights or gentlemen, and one hundred and twenty knights-bannerets.

There were ſcarcely a family in France of any diſtinction, that did not loſe ſome of its members. The priſoners, including thoſe who were maſſacred during the attack on the Engliſh camp, amounted to fourteen thouſand men, among whom were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon. The loſs of the Engliſh was inconſiderable; Villaret makes it amount to ſixteen hundred men. The only perſons of rank, who fell on their ſide, were the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk.

The want of a ſufficient number of troops, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, prevented the Engliſh monarch from reaping any immediate advantage from his victory, except that of being enabled to purſue, his march to Calais, whither he conducted his ſpoils and priſoners. He embarked for England on the ſixteenth of November, and arrived at Dover the ſame evening.

The duke of Brittany was advancing to join the army, at the head of ſix thouſand men, when he received intelligence of the defeat at Azincourt. To increaſe the general conſternation, the duke of Burgundy entered the province of Champagne, with a numerous army.

In the preſent critical ſituation of affairs, it appeared neceſſary to entruſt the government to ſome perſon of rank and experience, who poſſeſſed ſufficient influence and power to prop, by his own ſtrength, the falling fabric of the ſtate. The duke of Berry was too old, and the duke of Brittany too young, to bear ſo heavy a burden. It was reſolved to call the count of Armagnac to the defence of the kingdom. Two noblemen were accordingly deputed to offer him the dignity of conſtable, and the poſt of prime miniſter. He immediately ſettled a diſpute in which he was engaged with the count Foix, and ſet out for Paris, with a ſtrong body of troops. Meanwhile, theduke of Burgundy ſent ambaſſadors to Paris, with inſtructions to wait on the king and dauphin, and to make them a tender

* Such is Villaret's account of this tranſaction; but the Engliſh hiſtorians relate it in a different manner. They acknowledge the order to maſſacre the priſoners, but affirm that Henry believed the attack on his camp to be more formidable than it really was; that his order was influenced by ſerious apprehenſions of danger from the number of his priſoners; and that, as ſoon as he found his miſtake, he countermanded it, and put an immediate ſtop to the ſlaughter it had occaſioned. Between theſe different accounts, the reader muſt decide for himſelf. But candour compels us to obſerve, that Villaret attempts to obviate the difficulty with regard to the priſoners, by remarking that Henry might have releaſed them on their parole, with an injunction to join him at Calais. This mode of treating priſoners, he tells us, was very common in thoſe times, when any man who broke his parole was deemed infamous; and he adds, that Henry himſelf had actually releaſed all the priſoners he had brought with him from Harfleur, on the ſame condition, immediately before the battle.

of his ſervices. At the ſame time, he demanded permiſſion to repair to court, and to employ all his forces for the preſervation of the kingdom; the council forbade him to appear at court, unleſs he choſe to come with his uſual retinue; and all the towns on his road had orders to refuſe him admittance; but, that he might have no cauſe to complain of this prohibition, it was extended to all the other princes; the government of Picardy was alſo offered to this turbulent prince, on condition that he ſhould wage war againſt the Engliſh. But the government of a province was too trifling an object to a man who aſpired to the ſovereignty of a kingdom: the duke of Burgundy had determined to profit by the public calamities, to gratify his own private ambition; and this gratification he thought might be beſt promoted by a temporary alliance with England, in the formation of which he was actually engaged at the very time that he made offers of aſſiſtance to the king. If he had founded any hopes of a change in his favour, on the diſpoſition of the dauphin, thoſe hopes were not deſtroyed by the death of that prince, who expired at the Louvre, on the fifteenth of December, 1415. The Duke of Burgundy, ſoon after, ſent to demand his daughter, who was reſtored to him.

During this time, the count of Armagnac arrived at Paris, and received the conſtable's ſword from the king. Every thing now wore a new face. He was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of power, than he infuſed into every part of the government that inflexibility with which his own character was marked. The capital was kept in a ſtate of continual alarm; every one became an object of ſuſpicion, and the throne was inacceſſible to all but ſpies and informers. Threats and puniſhments, the diſmiſſion of placemen, and the impriſonment of citizens announced the ſeverity of the new adminiſtration. The iſle of France was over-run with troops, who completed the deſolation which the Burgundians had begun. The count confined the envoys of the duke of Burgundy, who, in return, impriſoned thoſe of the count.

The duke of Burgundy inſiſted on being received into Paris with his troops; while his proximity rouſed the zeal of his partiſans. Some of his ſpies were ſeized and executed, for having ſent him word that, in the metropolis, there were five thouſand men, ready to take up arms in his favour. All whoſe fidelity was ſuſpected were baniſhed the city; many, too, ſubmitted to a voluntarily exile, rather than encounter the dangers inſeparable from a revolution produced by violence; for it was univerſally believed that the duke of Burgundy would lay ſiege to Paris. This, however, does not appear to have been his intention, either becauſe he deemed his forces inſufficient for ſuch an enterprize, or becauſe he wiſhed before he made his attack, to ſee the effect of his negociations with England, and of the conſpiracies which his friends were ſecretly forming in the capital.

Ambaſſadors had been ſent to Hainaut to invite the new dauphin, who was

then at the court of his father-in-law, to return to the capital; and envoys from the duke of Burgundy arrived there at the ſame time to congratulate him on his acceſſion. The king's ambaſſadors could only obtain a public audience, at which the Burgundian envoys were preſent; while theſe laſt had ſeveral private conferences both with the dauphin and the count of Hainaut. The French miniſters had received orders, from the conſtable, to ſound the dauphin's inclinations, to convince him it was his intereſt to declare againſt the duke of Burgundy, and to intimate that his influence at the court would depend on the preference he ſhould give to the prevailing party. The count of Hainaut diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors without any poſitive anſwer; while the conſtable immediately began to ſtrengthen his party againſt the new dauphin, by oppoſing to him the count of Ponthieu, the king's next ſon, who was created governor of Paris, and duke of Touraine.

The duke of Burgundy ſtill remained with his army in Brie, but, convinced of his inability to make any effectual attempt on the capital, he only waited for an honourable pretext for withdrawing his troops: at his inſtigation, therefore, the dauphin ſent orders to both parties to diſarm without delay; the commands were of courſe obeyed by the duke of Burgundy, who returned to Artois, where he put his troops into cantonments.

The conſtable, who had recently obtained the office of ſuperintendant of the finances, and of governor-general of all the fortreſſes in the kingdom, enjoyed the authority of an abſolute monarch. The exhauſted ſtate of the finances, an inevitable conſequence of the confuſion which prevailed in every department of the government, required freſh reſources on every change in the miniſtry. A general impoſt was now eſtabliſhed from which no claſs of people were exempted. It was ſpecified in the edict, iſſued for this purpoſe, "That the king had, of his "own good will, hitherto exempted the clergy from the payment of all ſubſidies "or taxes; but that now it was his pleaſure, in conſequence of the important "objects he had in view, that no ſuch exemption ſhould obtain, and that no "complaints on the ſubject ſhould be allowed." All aſſemblies, for the purpoſe of remonſtrating againſt this edict, were forbidden. This prohibition was deemed neceſſary, as the prelates had a meeting at Bourges, juſt before the battle of Azincourt, when they remonſtrated with the king on the impropriety of taxing the church. The tax which gave riſe to this clamorous oppoſition was a duty of forty ſols on *every barrel of wine!*

A. D. 1416.] The emperor Sigiſmund, paid a viſit to the court of France, where he was received with a degree of magnificence that but ill accorded with the poverty of the ſtate; in return for which he undertook to mediate a peace with England. During his reſidence in the capital, a conſpiracy was diſcovered, ſo ſanguinary in its nature, ſo comprehenſively wicked in its extent, as none but ſuch a mind as the duke of Burgundy's could plan, and none but ſuch a heart as

his could execute. The partiſans of that prince were ſtill numerous in the metropolis, where they had ſeveral private meetings; and the duke, by means of his emiſſaries, continually incited them to adopt ſome deciſive meaſure. Different bodies of troops, diſperſed about the Iſle of France, had orders to aſſemble, on the firſt ſignal. The conjuncture was favorable, for the conſtable was then abſent in Normandy, employed in repreſſing the incurſions of the garriſon of Harfleur, while the court were lulled in ſecurity. The deſign of the conſpirators was to murder all the partiſans of the Armagnacs; to ſeize the king, the queen, and the chancellor; to load the duke of Berry and the king of Sicily with irons, to ſhave their heads, and, after leading them through the different ſtreets of the city, mounted on bulls, and expoſed to the deriſion of the populace, to maſſacre them, together with all the princes of the blood, and all the noblemen of the party; the ſcene was to be cloſed with the murder of the king. The duke of Burgundy had not only given a verbal approbation to the ſcheme, but had confirmed it by letters, under his own hand, to the leaders of the conſpiracy. After killing the chancellor, it was intended to give the ſeals to William d'Orgemont, who was, next to the duke of Burgundy, the ſoul of the conſpiracy.

This tragedy was to have been exhibited on the night of Eaſter-Sunday; every thing was prepared, and the conſpirators already exulted, by anticipation, in the ſucceſs of their ſchemes, when the hopes of the faction were ſuddenly blaſted, by the wife to a citizen of Paris, who diſcovered the plot. The queen, the princes, and the chancellor haſtened to the Louvre, the only one of the loyal palaces which was then in a ſtate of defence. Tannegui du Chaſtel, provoſt of Paris, immediately collected what troops he could find, and taking poſſeſſion of the market place and the neighbouring ſtreets, where the ſedition was deſtined to begin, burſt open the doors of ſeveral houſes, in which he ſeized the leaders of the conſpiracy, who were ready armed, and waiting for the appointed ſignal; having ſecured theſe villains, he viſited every part of the city, and examined with care all ſuſpected places. While the ſoldiers were employed in conveying to priſon ſuch criminals as they had ſeized, the reſt fled. Some were executed publicly, others were drowned in the night; but d'Orgemont, the moſt criminal of them all, eſcaped with the ſlighteſt puniſhment; as an eccleſiaſtic, he was claimed by the ſpiritual judge, who impoſed a fine of eighty thouſand crowns, and ſentenced him to perpetual impriſonment. He died in the fourth year of his confinement.

During theſe commotions, the conſtable had defeated a detachment of the garriſon of Harfleur, but the news which he received from Paris induced him to conclude a truce with the enemy, that he might haſten his return to court. His preſence inſpired the Pariſians with terror; the citizens were ordered to depoſit their arms at the Baſtille; all meetings of the people were forbidden under the

severest penalties; and the grand Butchery, which was considered as the cradle of sedition, was levelled with the ground. Four new butcheries were established in the different quarters of the town. As soon as the constable had restored tranquillity to the capital, he returned to Normandy, to renew the siege of Harfleur. He had engaged a number of Genoese vessels, and a body of Genoese cross-bow-men; the king of Castile likewise supplied him with another squadron; so that when these ships were added to the French they formed a powerful fleet, which, after scouring the English coasts, returned to block up the port of Harfleur, while the army besieged it by land. The news of this enterprize, which France, in her present situation, was supposed to be incapable of forming, astonished Henry, and rendered him less difficult with regard to the terms of the accommodation which the emperor had undertaken to negociate. He even consented to a truce for three years, during which time the foundations of a solid peace might be laid; and offered to deliver the town of Harfleur into the hands of the emperor and the count of Hainaut.

But these proposals were rejected by the constable, who thought himself sure of succeeding in his attempt upon Harfleur. The siege was carried on with incredible ardour, and the place must have been reduced but for the valour of the earl of Dorset. The king of England, finding his negociations ineffectual hastily assembled all the vessels he could collect from the different ports in his dominions, and formed a fleet, which he intrusted to the care of his brother, the duke of Bedford. That prince immediately sailed to Harfleur, where he attacked the French fleet under the command of the viscount of Narbonne. After a long and bloody action, he obtained a complete victory, threw a supply of troops and ammunition into the town, reinforced the garrison, and returned in triumph to Dover. A second victory obtained, some time after, by the earl of Huntingdon, over a French fleet compelled the constable to raise the siege of Harfleur. During these transactions, the duke of Berry died at Paris, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The emperor Sigismund still continued to support, in public, the character of a mediator, though he only used it as a veil to conceal his real designs. The advantages which the king of England had just obtained, and the animosity of the rival factions, made him consider the ruin of the monarchy as inevitable. He also flattered himself with obtaining some provinces, which formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Arles, and to which the emperors of the West had preferred some obsolete claims. These were his inducements to conclude an alliance with Henry, previous to his departure from London.

Notwithstanding this alliance Sigismund repaired to Paris, where he delivered to the court of France an account of his mediation, with the affected candour of an impartial umpire. After a short stay, he returned to Calais, where the English monarch was shortly expected.

The duke of Burgundy, ſtill maintained a correſpondence with Henry. He had forborne to form immediate connections with England, but he now adopted a different conduct; and an interview with Henry was appointed to take place at Calais, about the end of September. The court of France diſpatched ambaſſadors to Calais, to diſcover the object of the interview; and to propoſe a ceſſation of hoſtilities till February following, which was accepted by Henry. With regard to the duke of Burgundy, he privately ſigned a treaty of alliance with Henry, by which he acknowledged the validity of that monarch's claim to crown of France, engaged to aſſiſt him in obtaining the kingdom, and to do homage to him as his vaſſal*.

Sigiſmund, during the conferences at Calais, took every precaution for concealing from the French ambaſſadors his treaty with England; by which he had engaged to aſſiſt Henry, with all his forces, in the conqueſt of France, on condition of obtaining the reſtitution of thoſe provinces which had formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Arles. He then returned to Paris, where he again received the thanks of the court for his interpoſition; as ſoon as he had reached his own dominions, he publiſhed a declaration of war againſt France.

The imperious conductof the conſtable excited diſcontents throughout the kingdom; and the preſence of the dauphin, then at Valenciennes, was earneſtly wiſhed for, to counterbalance his authority†. The queen, forced to conceal the hatred which ſhe bore to the count of Armagnac, depended wholly, for the eſtabliſhment of her power, on the return of her ſon. The count of Hainaut was ſolicited to bring the young prince to court, but the negociations for this purpoſe had always failed, becauſe it was required, as a preliminary condition, that he ſhould renounce all alliance with the duke of Burgundy. At length the count was prevailed on to attend the dauphin to Conpiégne, where he had ſeveral conferences with the queen. In the mean time, an order was publiſhed, in the dauphin's name, to compel the different leaders to diſband their troops; but no attention was paid to it.

From Compiégne the court of Hainaut went to Paris, where, he declared, that the dauphin ſhould either repair to court accompanied by the duke of Burgundy, or return to Hainaut. This alternative deſtroying all hopes of a reconciliation, it was reſolved by the council to arreſt the count, but being apprized of their deſign he left the city with precipitation, and returned to Compiegne, where he found the dauphin expiring; ſome authors affirm that his death was occaſioned by an abſceſs in the head, while others aſcribe it to poiſon. Accuſations were retorted by all parties, but the real author is unknown.

A. D. 1417.] Every event which occurred, during this diſaſtrous reign, ſeemed to augment the calamities of the kingdom. The nobility, jealous of the

* Rymer. Fœdera, tom. ix. p. 304. † Juvenal des Urſins. Monſtrelet.

authority enjoyed by the conſtable, obeyed him with reluctance. The people, burdened with taxes, held him in deteſtation. He was aware of the danger of his ſituation, and conſcious that he occupied a poſt ſurrounded by foes. His moſt formidable enemy was the queen, who had retired from the metropolis. Vincennes was the uſual place of her reſidence; her court was chiefly frequented by men of pleaſure.

Charles was almoſt the only perſon in the kingdom ignorant of the depravity of his wife; the conſtable at length reſolved to undeceive the monarch. He had placed ſpies on the conduct of Iſabella, and their obſervations he communicated to the king. Charles haſtened to Vincennes, as he approached her reſidence he met her chief paramour, Lewis Bourdon. This nobleman had juſt left Iſabella, when he met the king, whom he haſtily ſaluted, while his looks betrayed confuſion, and a deſire of avoiding him. The provoſt of Paris conducted him to priſon. Charles inſtantly returned to Paris, without ſeeing the queen. That ſame evening Bourdon was put to the torture, confeſſed more than the king wiſhed to know, was encloſed in a leathern ſack, and thrown into the Seine. All the queen's officers were diſmiſſed, and ſhe herſelf was ſent to Tours, under the care of perſons who were made reſponſible for her conduct. All the treaſure ſhe had amaſſed, and depoſited in different convents, and in the hands of private citizens, were ſeized by a joint order from the dauphin and the conſtable, and appropriated to the public uſe.

New declarations were daily publiſhed againſt the duke of Burgundy and his adherents, in which they were repreſented as public enemies. The duke alſo cauſed manifeſtos to be ſtuck up in all the great towns, in which he threatened to purſue with fire and ſword all ſuch as ſhould ſupport the Armagnacs. The parliament ordered theſe publications to be publicly burnt; the ſentence was executed, but the miſchief was already done. Moſt of the towns in Ponthieu, Picardy, Vermandois, and the Beauvoiſis opened their gates to the Burgundian troops; many other places revolted, and expelled the collectors of the revenue. At Rouen, the populace maſſacred the lord of Gaucourt, the king's bailiff, and his lieutenant, and compelled the other officers to take refuge in the caſtle. The dauphin haſtened to Rouen with a body of troops. He was obliged to negociate with the rebels. The inhabitants admitted the dauphin into the town, and returned to their duty.

The court daily received intelligence of the defection of ſome town, whoſe inhabitants had been ſeduced by the intrigues of the Burgundian emiſſaries. Rheims, Châlons, Troyes and Auxerre opened their gates, and pillaged the offices belonging to the public-receivers, all of whom they maſſacred, without diſtinction or mercy.

While ſuch was the ſtate of France, the king of England landed, on the firſt.

of Auguſt, 1417, near Touques, in Normandy, with twenty-five thouſand men*, while the duke of Burgundy advanced from another quarter, with ſixty thouſand troops. Henry muſt have been well aſſured that his ally would fulfil the terms of the treaty between them, or he never would have ventured to attempt the reduction of ſuch a powerful kingdom, with a force ſo inadequate. Nor was he deceived by the event: his expedition had leſs the air of a conqueſt than of a peaceable excurſion. Tonque capitulated on the fourth day of the ſiege. From thence Henry ſent a manifeſto to the king, advancing his claims to the crown of France, and demanding the kingdom. After he had ſubdued the country between Harfleur and Caen, he laid ſiege to the latter, which was taken on the ninth of September.

The lord of Cany had been ſent, in the mean time, to Amiens, with an order from the king to the duke of Burgundy, immediately to retire from his dominions. The duke, gave him a written anſwer, in which he diſavowed his alliance with the Engliſh; and obſerved, that a command to diſarm, at a time when France was attacked, proved "*the damnable diſpoſition of the traitors who beſieged the throne*," who were unable, of themſelves, to reſiſt the enemy. The conſtable had recalled the few troops that were ſtationed in Normandy, as if he wiſhed to accelerate the loſs of that province. Plenipotentiaries had met at Bernouville, but the demands of the Engliſh were ſo exorbitant, that they were rejected. Henry required the hand of the princeſs Catharine, with the kingdom of France for her dower; though he was willing that Charles ſhould enjoy the title and authority of King during his life, on condition that, he ſhould be acknowledged as regent.

Meanwhile the Burgundian army approached the metropolis; all the intermediate towns, either bribed or intimidated, had made no attempt to impede their progreſs. The troops, paſſing the Seine, ſacked pillaged, and burned every place where they met with the ſmalleſt reſiſtance. At length the capital itſelf was inveſted; the duke of Burgundy eſtabliſhed his quarters firſt at Montrouge, and then at Meudon. Hoping to get poſſeſſion of the capital, by means of the ſecret correſpondence which he maintained with his partiſans, he did not preſs the ſiege. Content to confine the attention of the conſtable to the defence of the town, he took the opportunity to cut off all communication between Paris and the provinces.

During theſe tranſactions, the queen was intent on recovering that freedom which ſhe had ſo juſtly forfeited.† Her hatred to the duke of Burgundy had appeared irreconcileable; but it now ſunk beneath the tranſports of an indignation more recent in its date, and not leſs violent. She made no ſcruple to employ the

* Elmham, p. 92, 96, 97. Otterbourne, p. 278. † Reg du Par. Tréſor des Chartres.

aſſaſſin of the duke of Orleans as the inſtrument of her vengeance. She diſpatched a ſervant to the duke, with a letter, inviting him to releaſe her from captivity. He knew too well his own intereſt to neglect this opportunity; quitting the ſiege of Corbeil, he haſtened to Touraine with eight hundred men. On the duke of Burgundy's arrival, Iſabella, accompanied by her deliverer, took the road to Chartres. In that city ſhe performed the firſt acts of her new adminiſtration, by creating a parliament, which ſhe appointed to ſit at Amiens.

Having formed a plan for getting poſſeſſion of the capital, the duke thought it neceſſary to encourage his partiſans by advancing nearer to the ſcene of action. The conſpirators had engaged to ſecure one of the gates of the city; a furrier, who was privy to the ſcheme, revealed it to the provoſt of Paris. The conſpirators were ſeized, thrown into priſon, and executed.

The duke of Burgundy was within half a league of Paris, when he received the news of this affair. As the ſeaſon was too far advanced to permit him to keep the field with ſo numerous an army, he placed ſtrong garriſons in the towns he had reduced, diſbanded the militia of Artois and Picardy, and led the remainder of his troops to Troyes.

The king of England, in the mean time, continued his victorious progreſs; he ſoon became maſter of Lower Normandy, as far as the banks of the Sartre, which ſeparates that province from Maine, whither his troops extended their depredations. The people fled before them; upwards of twenty five thouſand families retired to Brittany, where they introduced the art of combing wool, and making cloth. The towns were equally deſerted with the villages. When the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of Lizieux, they found but one man and one old woman in the place, who were unable, through illneſs, to follow the reſt of the inhabitants. The duke of Brittany and the queen of Sicily, as guardian to her ſon, the duke of Anjou and count of Maine, concluded a truce with the enemy, in order to defend their dominions from inſult. While the Engliſh were thus advancing into the heart of the kingdom, the prince of Orange was ſent into Languedoc, where he reduced moſt of the towns, and having aſſembled the ſtates compelled them to acknowledge the authority of the queen and the duke of Burgundy. But the count of Foix, having been appointed, by the dauphin, to the government of that province, expelled the Burgundians.

A. D. 1418.] At Rouen the inhabitants again revolted, expelled the king's officers, and, corrupted by the Burgundian emiſſaries, hoiſted the ſignal of faction. The count of Aumale, governor of the town, took refuge in the caſtle, where the rebels compelled him to capitulate. Henry, having received a reinforcement of troops from England during the winter, almoſt completed the reduction of Normandy. Of the whole province, the only towns which remained to be ſubdued were Rouen and Cherbourg.

The news of ſuch repeated loſſes filled with conſternation all ſuch as had the real intereſt of their country at heart. The only means of preventing the total ruin of the kingdom appeared to be the union of the court with the queen and the duke of Burgundy. For effecting this deſirable purpoſe deputies from either party met at the village of La Tombe. The project of a pacification was drawn up, to which the queen and the duke of Burgundy conſented. It was alſo approved by the dauphin and the council. By this it was agreed that the queen ſhould repair to court, and that the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy ſhould be aſſociated in the government of the kingdom.

During theſe negociations the conſtable was engaged in the ſiege of Senlis, which he preſſed with ſuch vigor that the governor had agreed to ſurrender the place, unleſs relieved within a limited time. Having apprized the count of Charolois of his ſituation, that prince ſent John of Luxembourg, to his relief, who arrived within a league of Senlis, the night before the day appointed for the ſurrender of the place. On the enſuing morn, the conſtable ſummoned the governor to fulfil the terms of the capitulation, and on meeting with a refuſal, put to death ſix of the hoſtages who had been delivered to him to enſure its performance. The governor immediately maſſacred ſix-and-forty priſoners, whoſe heads he threw over the walls. The conſtable raiſed the ſiege, and haſtened to the capital, where his preſence had become neceſſary.

On his return, all hopes of accommodation vaniſhed; he perſuaded the dauphin of the impropriety of conſenting to a treaty which placed the duke of Burgundy on the ſame footing with himſelf. The treaty was rejected. He declared, that thoſe who could adviſe the dauphin to ſign ſuch an act, ought to be conſidered as traitors and enemies to the ſtate.

Perrinet le Clerc, the ſon of an ironmonger at Paris, reſolved to make the Burgundians maſter of the capital. He communicated his intentions to Liſle-Adam, who was then at Pontoiſe. This conſpiracy eſcaped the vigilance of the government. The father of Perrinet, being a municipal officer, was entruſted with the care of the gate Saint-Germain. In the night of the twenty eighth of May, Liſle-Adam arrived before the walls of Paris, with eight hundred men at arms; he was admitted into the city by le Clerc, who had taken the keys of the gate from under his father's pillow, while he was aſleep. As ſoon as Liſle-Adam had entered with his troops, he threw the keys over the ramparts, that none might eſcape his vengeance. He then advanced, in ſilence, to the Châtelet, where he was joined by five hundred citizens, who exclaimed—"*Peace, peace! Long live Burgundy!*"

The Burgundians ſpread over the different parts of the city. The populace following the troops, joined in the acclamations of—"*Peace, peace! Long live Burgundy!*—Liſle-Adam repaired to the palace, and having burſt open the gates,

forced way into the king's apartment, and compelled Charles to mount on horſe-back, in order to be exhibited to the people; while the other leaders of the rebels, ſeconded by the populace, ran to the houſes of the chancellor, the miniſters, and principal officers, all of whom were loaded with chains and thrown into priſon. Tanneguy du Chaſtel, provoſt of Paris, rouſed by the clamours of the mob, aroſe with precipitation, and putting on his armour, flew to the dauphin's reſidence; ſeizing that prince, who was ſcarcely awake, in his arms; he had the good fortune to reach the Baſtille, with his burden. During this time the conſtable had taken refuge in the houſe of a maſon, where, diſguiſed in the dreſs of a beggar, he had leiſure to reflect on the viciſſitudes of fortune.

When the day appeared, the ſtreets were filled with an immenſe crowd of people, bearing on their cloaths, the red croſs of Saint Andrew. The houſes were broken open, and expoſed to depredations. Guy de Bar, the new provoſt of Paris, at the head of an armed troop, authorized theſe proceedings. While ſome of the rabble were laden with the ſpoils of their fellow-citizens, others were conducting to priſon, the devoted victims of their malice or revenge. The ſtricteſt ſearch was made after the conſtable; the maſon was induced to give him up; he was inſtantly conveyed to the Châtelet, and from thence to the priſon of the Conciergerie.

The mareſchal de Rieux, Tanneguy du Châtel, Barbazan, and the other noblemen who had, at firſt, fled for ſhelter to the Baſtille, conveyed the dauphin from thence to Melun. Two days after their eſcape they returned to Paris with ſixteen hundred men, in the hope of taking the Burgundians by ſurpriſe and releaſing the conſtable. When they came to the Hotel de Saint-Paul they learnt that the king had been removed to the Louvre; a deſperate action, however, took place in the Rue Saint-Antoine, in which the Burgundian troops being joined by the ſeditious rabble, overpowered the Armagnacs, and compelled them to retire, after killing four hundred, and taking ſeveral priſoners, who were immediately maſſacred. A deputation was then ſent by the rebels to the dauphin to engage him to return to the capital, but he had left Melun before the meſſenger arrived there. The Baſtille was ſurrendered by capitulation.

The noblemen attached to the dauphin, collected a ſmall body of troops, and again appeared before Paris. At this time, a ſtrong party of the Paris militia, conſiſting chiefly of butchers, who had long been abſent on predatory excurſions, returned to the capital. They reported that the friends of the dauphin only waited for an opportunity to ſurprize the town, exterminate the Burgundians, and releaſe the conſtable with all the other priſoners. Theſe rumours, were encouraged by Liſle-Adam, and other leaders of the Burgundian faction. The queen, and the duke of Burgundy, who were then at Troyes, being informed of the ſucceſs of their plans, ſent a meſſage to their confidental friends, intimating

that the annihilation of the oppoſite party would be the only effectual method of eſtabliſhing their own authority; and that, without that, they durſt not venture to come to Paris.

On the twelfth of June, the populace, forced open the doors of the priſons, murdered the goalers and guards, made the priſoners walk out one by one, and maſſacred them as they paſſed, Armagnacs, *Burgundians*,* criminals, debtors, all were butchered without diſtinction of rank, age, or ſex. Not a priſon nor dungeon eſcaped the malignity of theſe ruffians. The grand Châtelet made a vigorous reſiſtance; its inhabitants aſcended the towers, and attempted to repel the attacks of the mob; for ſome time they exhibited the ſight of priſoners ſuſtaining a ſiege; at length, however, the building having been fired in different parts, they were compelled to ſurrender. The rabble then forced theſe victims to precipitate themſelves from the tops of the towers into the ſtreets below, on pikes which they held to receive them. In the court-yard of the palace, and in the environs of the gates of Paris, the mob ſtood "*up to their ancles in human blood!*"† When the barbarians had cleared the priſons, they ſpread over the different parts of the town; not a ſtreet but was the ſcene of numerous murders; whoever wiſhed to get rid of an enemy, a rival, or a creditor, had only to point him out as an *Armagnac*, and he was inſtantly diſpatched. The conſtable, the chancellor, and his ſon, the biſhop of Coutances, were faſtened together with a cord, and dragged round the city on three ſucceſſive days, expoſed to the inſults and deriſion of an inſolent rabble; leaders of the Burgundians, at the head of two thouſand men at arms, attended theſe executions, and encouraged the rabble. Revenge was ſharpened by intereſt; every chief of the faction gained more than an hundred thouſand crowns, by this revolution. Three thouſand five hundred men were maſſacred during the three firſt days of the tumult; among whom were the conſtable, the chancellor, ſeven prelates, a great number of the nobility, and many of the judges of the parliament. When all the miſchief was done, a prohibition to pillage was iſſued; the mob, however, paid little attention to an order, which they knew was given only to preſerve appearances.

The queen and the duke now made their triumphant entry into the capital. The ſtreets, ſtill ſtained with blood, ſhed in their quarrel and by their orders, were ſtrewed with flowers; and re-echoed with the ſounds of muſical inſtruments. Iſabella appeared in a car richly decorated. She alighted at the Hôtel de Saint-Paul, where her huſband awaited her arrival. The ſenſeleſs monarch received his conſort as a beloved wife, and his treacherous kinſman as an affectionate friend.

The object of the tumult being accompliſhed, it, at length, became neceſſary

* Villaret, tom. xiii. p. 467. † Villaret, ubi ſupra.

to reſtore order. Since the commencement of the revolution, the parliament, and other ſuperior courts, had diſcontinued their functions. Moſt of the judges had been maſſacred or compelled to fly the capital. By an order of the council, the different juriſdictions were ſuppreſſed, and the power of appointing new ones was veſted in the king. All the officers of the king's houſhold were changed. The queen and the duke were reſolved not to leave one of the oppoſite party in poſſeſſion of any place or power.

All perſons ſuſpected of entertaining ſentiments hoſtile to the prevailing faction were apprehended, ſo that the priſons, in a ſhort time, again overflowed with victims of party-rage. The troops who were ſtationed in the vicinity of the metropolis, by intercepting the proviſions, occaſioned a ſcarcity that revived the fury of the people. Means, were found to perſuade the multitude that the Armagnacs were the authors of the famine. The maſſacres were renewed, and the priſons were once more made to flow with blood. The ferocious rabble now headed by *Capeluche*, hangman of the town. He ordered and ſuperintended the executions; dictated laws, and compelled obedience. Having forced an entrance into the palace, the duke of Burgundy advanced to meet him, and after ſhaking hands, theſe worthy aſſociates conferred together for ſome time. The people having cleared the priſons, inſiſted that all the captives who were confined in the caſtle of Vincennes ſhould be delivered to them; and their requeſt was no ſooner complied with, than they put them all to death. In this ſecond maſſacre, fourteen thouſand perſons (of which five thouſand were women) were ſuppoſed to be ſlain.

The Pariſians had, by this time, become ſo ungovernable, that the duke of Burgundy began to be alarmed. His ſafety depended on putting a ſtop to diſorders which might finally be turned againſt himſelf. For this purpoſe he drew up his troops, and ſeized the principal leaders, who were publicly executed; even his *friend* Capeluche was not ſpared. He embodied ſix thouſand of the moſt turbulent, and ſent them to lay ſiege to Montlhery and Marcouſſy, whoſe garriſons extended their incurſions to the very gates of Paris. Captains were appointed to command them; but on the approach of Tanneguy du Châtel, with a body of regular troops, they fled with precipitation. When they attempted to return to Paris, the gates were ſhut againſt them.

The kingdom of France was now reduced to ſuch a ſituation that every change proved a new ſource of calamities.* Moſt of the principal towns opened their gates to the Burgundians. The chains were replaced at the ends of the ſtreets of Paris. The arms taken from the citizens by the count of Armagnac were reſtored. In ſhort, the duke of Burgundy ſpared no pains to conciliate the af-

* Monſtrelet. Juvenal des Urſins.

fection of the Pariſians. He was ſeconded by the pope's legates, who had conſiderable influence as well over the parliament as over the univerſity, from the favours which thoſe bodies hoped to obtain from the court of Rome. During theſe tranſactions, the dauphin had left Melun, and repaired to Bourges, where he was joined by a number of the nobility, who had reſolvdd to devote their lives and fortunes to his ſervice. Beſides thoſe officers who were perſonally attached to him, all ſuch as were uninfected by the ſpirit of party acknowledged in him the ſole heir to the crown, the rights of which were veſted in his perſon during the incapacity of the monarch. The dauphin now aſſumed the title of Regent. He appointed a chancellor and inſtituted a parliament, which was chiefly compoſed of the magiſtrates who had eſcaped the maſſacre of Paris. This court was ſoon after transferred to Poitiers. The chamber of accompts, eſtabliſhed at Bourges, at the ſame time, continued to ſit there, till ſome years after the acceſſion of Charles the Seventh. The queen and the duke of Burgundy were earneſt in their ſolicitations to the dauphin to return to Paris; and it was propoſed to ſend his conſort to him, in the hopes of inducing him by that mark of attention, to accept the invitation; but theſe attempts to promote a reconciliation occaſioned no ceſſation of hoſtillties; the war ſtill continued, though on very unequal terms, ſince the duke of Burgundy had exerciſed the ſovereign authority. Melun and Meaux were almoſt the only places of conſequence, near the iſle of France, which ſtill remained true to the dauphin. The Burgundians gained poſſeſſion of Coucy, through the treachery of a girl, who was kept by the governor. The garriſon being compelled to leave the place, put themſelves under the command of Stephen Vignolles, ſurnamed la Hire, and Poton de Xaintrailles. Theſe two warriors, at the head of forty lances, attacked and defeated four hundred men at arms, commanded by the lord of Longueval. Some days after this heroic atchievement, they obtained a ſimilar advantage over two thouſand men led by Saveuſe. Soiſſons and Compiégne were taken and ſacked.

The duke of Brittany had made a journey to Paris, to mediate a peace between the contending parties; and his exertions, determined the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy to appoint plenipotentiaries for regulating terms of accommodation*. The plan of a treaty was drawn up, to which the queen and the duke aſſented; to induce the dauphin to ſign it, the duke of Brittany went to Angers, where the prince then was, and took with him the dauphineſs, who, ſince the laſt commotions, had been detained at Paris. But moſt of the nobles who were attached to the dauphin rejected with diſdain a treaty which authorized the duke of Burgundy to ſhare the ſupreme authority with the lawful heir to the throne. The duke of Brittany, diſappointed at the failure of his ſcheme for pro-

* D'Argentre. Nouvelle Hiſtoire de Bretagne.

moting a peace, returned to Paris with the news, and then haſtened back to his own dominions.

The Engliſh, during this time, met with no obſtacles to impede the progreſs of their arms. An Engliſh officer, with only ſixty men, croſſed the Seine, in the middle of the day, in ſight of Graville, who was poſted on the oppoſite bank, with eight hundred men at arms, and twelve thouſand militia, who fled at the approach of the enemy. This cowardice, or treachery, occaſioned the loſs of Pont de l'Arche. Cherbourg, after a ſiege of three months, ſurrendered to the duke of Lancaſter.

Henry now haſtened to complete the reduction of Normandy, by inveſting the capital. The inhabitants determined to make the moſt vigorous reſiſtance; not doubting, but that the duke of Burgundy, who had already ſent ſome troops to their aſſiſtance, would exert the whole force of the kingdom, to ſave a place of ſo much importance. Meſſengers were ſent to inform that prince of the approach of the enemy, and the duke aſſured them that they might rely on ſpeedy relief.

The ſiege of Rouen filled with conſternation the inhabitants of Paris. The parliament held a meeting on the occaſion, which was attended by the members of the univerſity, and the principal citizens†, when a deputation of magiſtrates was ſent to the king to entreat him to provide effectual means for the relief of Rouen and the ſafety of the metropolis. The anſwer they received was, that the king and the duke of Burgundy were about to leave Paris for that purpoſe; in fact, the court did remove to Pontoiſe, but rather from the dread of the contagious diſorder, which had not yet leſs the capital, and with the view of getting rid of the importunate remonſtrances to which they were hourly expoſed, than with any deſign of accompliſhing the grand objects, to which the magiſtrates had endeavoured to call their attention.

The Duke, who, a ſhort time before, when his attacks were directed againſt his king and country, had appeared at the head of ſixty thouſand men, now that he had become abſolute maſter of the government, and had the ſole and entire diſpoſal of the revenue and the forces of the ſtate, could not muſter an army, ſufficiently ſtrong to retard the operations of the king of England, who had beſieged Rouen with leſs than twenty thouſand men. Entruſted with the defence of the kingdom, he ſeems to have confined his attention to the preſervation of the metropolis, and of ſuch other places as reſiſted the efforts and intrigues of the dauphin's party. His troops, inſtead of promoting any object of public utility, encreaſed the dearth of proviſions in the capital, by incurſions into the country. The Duke's conduct was the conſequence of the poſition into which he was thrown by his inſidious policy. Since the late revolution had delivered the king and and the govern-

† Regiſtres du Parlement.

ment into his hands, he was no longer intereſted in the ſucceſs of Henry. The conqueſt of Normandy ſeemed but as a prelude to the total reduction of the kingdom; and the duke of Burgundy, having every thing to fear from the king of England, had powerful motives for wiſhing to impede the progreſs of his arms. On the other ſide, the dauphin, who was wholly influenced by the houſe of Orleans, gave him no leſs ſubject for inquietude and alarm. He could not act againſt the enemies of the kingdom, without leaving his own perſonal enemies at full liberty to act againſt himſelf; and to preſerve the advantages he had obtained over theſe laſt, he muſt abandon the defence of his country. With a man of his principles the choice ſcarcely admitted of a doubt; beſides, he was influenced by a motive ſtill more powerful than any we have yet noticed; this was the apprehenſion that the king of England might render him an object of public indignation, by publiſhing the ſecret treaty which he had concluded with that prince at Calais. Thus was the duke of Burgundy, caught in his own ſnares.

Henry concerted all his meaſures with prudence and circumſpection. While he liſtened to every propoſal for an accommodation, he purſued his conqueſts with ardour. Convinced that he was only indebted to the duke of Burgundy's fears, for his forbearance to oppoſe him, he took care to encreaſe them, by pretending to lend a favourable ear to the offers of a ſeparate alliance with the dauphin. He appointed fourteen perſons to confer with the deputies of that prince. The conference took place at Alençon; but the dauphin's ambaſſadors could never extort from the Engliſh miniſters a fair explanation of their maſter's pretenſions. The conferences were terminated; but the dauphin, wrote to the king of England, deſiring an interview. Henry, who was then engaged in the ſiege of Rouen, replied, that as ſoon as the town was reduced, he would appoint a place for that purpoſe.

The city of Rouen which had ſuſtained a ſiege of four months, was, by this time, reduced to the laſt extremity. The inhabitants had ſignalized their courage and fidelity; and had they not been betrayed by the miniſtry, all the efforts of Henry to reduce them would have proved unſucceſsful. Before the enemy's approach they had burned the ſuburbs; but at the commencement of the ſiege, the Engliſh took the fort of Saint-Catharine; and ſoon after the reduction of Caudebec rendered them maſters of all the paſſes on the Seine, the paſſage whereof they completely cloſed by a triple row of iron chains; the firſt of which was ſunk in the river, the ſecond was placed on a level with the ſurface, and the third raiſed two feet above the water. The navigation was no ſooner interrupted than a dearth of proviſions was felt in the town. Though the enemy had not inveſted Rouen till the end of Auguſt, all the proviſions were conſumed by the month of October. Guy Bouteiller, the governor, who had been appointed by the Burgundian party, had totally neglected the neceſſary precautions as well for ſupplying the town with proviſions, as for defending it from the attacks of the

enemy. Every part of his conduct proved him a traitor who had long ſince ſold himſelf to the king of England, to whom he tranſmitted a regular account of the proceedings of the inhabitants.

Henry, enraged at the obſtinacy of their defence, threatened them with extermination, unleſs they ſpeedily ſurrendered. He ordered gibbets to be erected, round the walls of the city, to which were ſuſpended all the priſoners he had taken.* But ſuch barbarous conduct, far from intimidating the inhabitants, only ſerved to excite their indignation, and to render more frequent thoſe impetuous ſallies which often carried deſtruction even to the royal tent. A breach was no ſooner made than repaired; and the brave Normans evinced a reſolution to bury themſelves beneath the walls of their capital, ſooner than ſurrender it to the enemy.

At the end of November the ſiege was no farther advanced than on the firſt day. The king of England informed of the ſituation of the inhabitants, reſolved no longer to preſs the attacks with ſo much vigour, from a conviction that the place muſt ſoon be reduced, by famine: *fifty thouſand* of the inhabitants periſhed during the ſiege. Twelve thouſand perſons of both ſexes were diſmiſſed the town, as uſeleſs mouths; but the beſiegers refuſed them a paſſage through their camp, and drove them back into the ditches, at the foot of the ramparts, where they remained expoſed to the weather, to hunger and thirſt, and to the balls and arrows of the enemy, as well as to thoſe of their own countrymen. Baſkets were let down by the inhabitants from the top of the walls, to receive ſeveral new-born infants, of which the women were delivered in the ditch; as ſoon as baptiſm had been adminiſtered to the innocent victims, they were returned to their expiring parents†, leſt their ſtay might encreaſe the dearth of proviſions which prevailed in the city.

Six deputies, having eluded the vigilance of the beſiegers, repaired to Paris, where they repreſented the horrors of their ſituation in ſuch ſtrong terms, that the Parliament appointed a number of magiſtrates to ſecond their remonſtrances to the king and the duke of Burgundy. The duke gave them his word of honour that he would immediately march, in perſon, againſt the Engliſh. The *Arrierre-ban* had been publiſhed; the orders to take up arms were repeated in the provinces, and the court advanced to Beuvais, which had been fixed on as the rendezvous of the troops. But all this vain pomp of preparation ended in an impotent attack on the Engliſh army, by a detachment of eighteen hundred men, who were repulſed with conſiderable loſs.

Still the inhabitants of Rouen did not loſe courage. They were chiefly excited to this ſpirited reſiſtance by Alain Blanchard. Under his conduct, ten

* Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 20. † Villaret, tom. xiv. 22.

thouſand of the citizens agreed to make a deſperate ſally; a part of them had already reached the enemy's camp, when the bridge ſuddenly gave way, (the perfidious governor having previouſly cauſed the wood by which it was ſupported to be ſawed nearly through) and let all thoſe who were upon it fall into the river; the reſt were obliged to return to the city. At length the inhabitants, wholly unable to hold out any longer, ſent, for the laſt time, to ſummon the king either to relieve them, or elſe to abſolve them from their oaths of fealty and allegiance. The duke of Burgundy poſitively promiſed, that the French army ſhould appear before the walls of Rouen, the day after Chriſtmas-day; but when the time came, he ſent them word that it was impoſſible to afford them any aſſiſtance, and that, therefore, they had only to make the beſt terms they could with the king of England.

A. D. 1419.] Henry, at firſt, inſiſted that they ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion; but the inhabitants unanimouſly declared, that ſooner than ſubmit to ſuch a degradation, they would all meet death in one general ſally, after ſetting fire to the city in various places. The king, informed by the governor of this deſperate reſolution, granted them more favourable terms. The articles of capitulation were accordingly drawn up, by which it was agreed that the garriſon ſhould march out of the town without arms; that the inhabitants ſhould pay, at two inſtallments, the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns, by way of ranſom; and that they ſhould take an oath of allegiance to Henry, as their lawful ſovereign; that they ſhould enjoy all the privileges which had been granted them as well by ſuch kings of England as had been dukes of Normandy, as by the kings of France, to the time of Philip of Valois; and that a certain number of citizens, among whom was Alain Blanchard, ſhould be delivered to the king*. Henry, dreading this courageous demagogue, ordered him to be immediately executed†: in his laſt moments he diſplayed a degree of firmneſs and intrepidity, which ought to have made the king bluſh for his cruelty.

The reduction of the capital was followed by the ſurrender of the few places in Normandy which had not yet ſubmitted; Château-Gaillard, a fortreſs ſituated upon the Seine, near Andely, was the only place which ſtill ventured to reſiſt. It ſuſtained a ſiege of ſixteen months; nor would the governor, Mauny, conſent to yield, till all the cords for drawing water were entirely worn out, when the garriſon had nothing to drink. Meanwile the approach of the Engliſh alarmed the capital, where famine had ſucceeded the horrors of aſſaſſination and peſtilence. The courſe of the Seine, both above and below Paris, being commanded by the enemy and by the garriſon of Melun, who had declared in favor of the dauphin, all communications with the provinces was ſtopped. The dau-

* Rym. Fœd. tom. ix. p. 664, 674, 677, 678, 679, 682, 683, &c. † Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 26.

phin opened a negociation, with the Engliſh, at Alençon, and with the Burgundians at Montereau; while the Burgundians themſelves were alſo negociating with him and with Henry.

Whether the duke of Burgundy ſtill entertained hopes of procuring a reconciliation with the dauphin, or whether he only wiſhed to intimidate him, he renewed the negociations with the Engliſh, whoſe plenipotentiaries repaired to Troyes, with freſh propoſals from their ſovereign. It was reſolved that the two kings ſhould have an interview between Meulan and Pontoiſe; and this reſolution was communicated to the dauphin, who was invited either to attend in perſon, or elſe to ſend plenipotentiaries who might, in his name, accede to the treaty meant to be concluded. The French court repaired to Pontoiſe, while Henry advanced to Mantes. The king, having had a freſh relapſe, was left at Paris. The princeſs Catharine accompanied the queen. A field, encloſed with a double palliſade, was choſen for the interview. An equal number of Engliſh and French troops had orders to poſt themſelves at an equal diſtance from the ſpot.

When the neceſſary precautions for their mutual ſafety had been taken, Iſabella, the princeſs, and their retinue, accompanied by the duke of Burgundy and the miniſters, entered a magnificent pavillion which had been erected for their reception, where they found Henry. This firſt interview paſſed in mere compliments. The queen perceived the impreſſion which her daughter had made on his heart; and thinking that abſence might tend to irritate his deſires, ſhe reſolved not to let Catharine attend the conferences in future. Henry though he had conceived an affection for the princeſs, made love ſubſervient to ambition. "*Fair "couſin,*" ſaid he, to the duke of Burgundy, "*we wiſh you to know that we will "have the girl, and the dower we demand with her, or elſe we will expel your king and "you from this kingdom.**" The duke ſuffering his intereſt to ſubdue his ſpirit, contented himſelf with obſerving, that before Henry could accompliſh that object he would be tired of the war.

But while the king of England was dictating the terms of peace, the dauphin, who foreſaw the inevitable ruin of the country from the projected accommodation, diſpatched Tanneguy du Châtel to Pontoiſe, with orders, at all events, to break off the conferences. He bribed all the confidential friends of the duke of Burgundy, and engaged the lady of Giac, of whom that prince was enamoured, to ſecond his endeavors. All the obſtacles which had hitherto prevented a reconciliation with the dauphin were ſuddenly removed; and the duke conſented to a treaty, and left the prince maſter of the conditions. All that remained to be done was to deceive the enemy, to amuſe them ſome time longer, and then to

* Le Fevre.

ſtart ſome pretext for a rupture. The conferences were, accordingly, continued, during which the duke concluded his ſecret treaty. Every thing being ſettled, he left Pontoiſe, and went to Corbeil, between which place and Melun, he had an interview with the dauphin.

The treaty, ſigned by the two princes and the principal noblemen of either party, was carried to Paris, and preſented to the parliament by the archbiſhop of Sens. It contained a general amneſty for all paſt tranſactions; and ſtipulated that the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy ſhould jointly govern the ſtate, and unite their forces for the expulſion of the Engliſh from France: the Pariſians teſtified their ſatisfaction on the occaſion by public rejoicings; and their example was followed, by all the principal towns in the kingdom.

Henry had not conceived it poſſible that a reconciliation could take place between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy; but the late treaty deſtroyed thoſe hopes which he had founded on the diſſentions prevailing between the rival parties. Far from being in a ſituation to oppoſe the undivided forces of France, his army, which did not exceed twenty-five thouſand men, was ſcarcely ſufficient to defend all the places he had reduced. His own dominions, too, were threatened with an attack from the Scotch; while the kings of Caſtile and Arragon, intent on aſſiſting their ancient ally, had ſent an army into Béarn, for the purpoſe of inveſting Bayonne, and equipping a fleet, to convey a body of auxiliaries to France. Courage and diſſimulation were the arms which Henry oppoſed to this combination of difficulties. Willing to gain time, he propoſed new terms, and by lengthening out the negociations, procured leiſure for ſettling his plans. On the twenty-ninth of July the truce expired, and in the night of the thirtieth the duke of Clarence took Pontoiſe by aſſault. Liſle-Adam, the governor, eſcaped in his ſhirt. As the court had reſided for ſome time in this town, and had but juſt left it, the Engliſh found the greater part of the baggage of the princes and nobility. The booty is ſaid to have amounted to upwards of two millions of crowns.* The enemy being maſters of this poſt, ſpread themſelves over the Iſle of France, and inſulted the ſuburbs of Paris. The queen and the duke of Burgundy conducted the king to Troyes, leaving the capital, which was but ſcantily ſupplied with proviſions, and ill-diſciplined troops, under the government of the young count of Saint-Paul.

But notwithſtanding theſe calamities, the moſt flattering hopes were conceived from the recent union of the royal family; all eyes were fixed on the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy: the fate of France depended on their conduct. It is impoſſible to ſay, whether their reconciliation was ſincere; but they did not long perſiſt in the ſentiments profeſſed on ſigning the treaty. The duke of Burgundy

* Juvenal des Urſins. Monſtrelet. Titus Livius. Elmham.



Singleton Del. Borrer Sc.

Queen Philippa interceding for the brave Citizens of Calais.

Philadelphia Publish'd by Ja.s Stewart & Co. May 1.st 1797.

appeared loth to fulfil the principal condition, by which he had engaged to employ all his forces againſt the Engliſh. This inactivity, the conduct of Henry, with whom he had juſt entered into a freſh negociation; the reduction of Pontoiſe, and the retreat of the court at Troyes, formed a combination of circumſtances that expoſed him to ſuſpicions of treachery.

The two princes had agreed to meet, on the eighteenth of Auguſt, at Montereau; but when the time approached they both evinced repugnance to the interview.* The dauphin's friends repreſented to him, that he riſqued the ſafety of the ſtate by expoſing his perſon to the faith of a prince, already ſtained with the guilt of murder, committed in violation of the moſt ſolemn oaths; of a prince, who, for the long ſpace of twelve years, had rendered France a ſcene of horrors and of crimes. The irreſolution of the duke of Burgundy proceeded from different motives; fear and miſtruſt were familiar to a mind, goaded by the ſtings of conſcience: he delayed, as long as poſſible, this fatal interview, which was, firſt, put off to the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, and, afterward, to the tenth of September. The dauphin, meanwhile, inceſſantly ſolicited the duke no longer to defer a meeting on which the ſafety of the ſtate depended. Tanneguy du Châtel went ſeveral times to Troyes for the purpoſe of removing every obſtacle. Sometimes he evinced a diſpoſition to yield to their ſolicitations, but his fears ſoon returned: it is ſaid that a Jew, named *Mouſque*, who was verſed in judicial aſtrology aſſured him, "*that if he went to Montereau, he would never* "*return.*"—Whatever it was that made an impreſſion on his mind, that impreſſion was ſo ſtrong that he determined not to leave Troyes, and deſired the dauphin to let the interview take place in that city.

New expedients were employed to induce him to change his reſolution. Du Châtel, who knew his fondneſs for the lady of Giac, had again recourſe to her; and her influence again prevailed. The dauphin had arrived at Montereau a fortnight before; barriers had been erected for their mutual ſafety, on the bridge where the conference was to be holden; and the duke's officers repaired to the ſpot to examine them, and declared they were perfectly ſafe. The princes were to be accompanied by an equal number of noblemen; and every caution which miſtruſt or ſagacity could ſuggeſt was adopted. One end of the bridge was guarded by the dauphin's troops, the other by the duke's. A wooden apartment was conſtructed in the centre of the bridge, and in the middle of that apartment another barrier was fixed about the height of a chair. The dauphin entered firſt, attended by Du Châtel, and nine others. After waiting ſome time, he ſent to the duke to haſten his arrival. At length he appeared, followed by Charles of Bourbon, Noailles, and eight other perſons. As ſoon as he came on the bridge the barrier was locked; he then approached the dauphin, and after

* Juvenal des Urſins.

they had exchanged a few words the duke was maſſacred, with Noailles, who attempted to defend him. The dauphin was carried into the town half-diſtracted, and almoſt ſenſeleſs. Theſe are the only circumſtances of this event on which all authors agree. Whatever they have added bears ſtrong marks of their reſpective prejudices.

This event was productive of the moſt fatal conſequences to the kingdom. In vain did the dauphin publiſh manifeſtos, in which he aſſerted that the duke of Burgundy had drawn his ſword againſt him, and made an attempt on his perſon, with a view to deprive him of his liberty: nobody believed him. The news of the murder was received at Paris with indignation and horror. The nobility, clergy, magiſtrates, and citizens took an oath to revenge the duke's death, and immediately reſumed the badges of faction. The funeral obſequies were celebrated in the cathedral, and in the churches with as much pomp as was ever obſerved on the death of a king. Not content with paying theſe marks of honour, *to the baſeſt of mankind*, the Pariſians preſumed, in the effervеſcence of their zeal, to queſtion the right of the dauphin to the throne of his anceſtors.

The neglect of the dauphin and his adherents to profit by the death of the duke of Burgundy, affords an argument in favour of the ſuppoſition that the murder was not premeditated. They ought to have haſtened to Troyes, before the death of the duke could have reached that city, and ſecured the king's perſon, thereby giving to their ſubſequent conduct an appearance of lawful authority. Had they done this, the court, the miniſters, the council, all which ſtill repreſented a phantom of government would, as uſual, have yielded to the moſt powerful party; the dreadful effects of the queen's reſentment would have been averted; and that princeſs would have been prevented from plunging into freſh crimes. Twice had Iſabella ſeen the public object of her affections periſh by an aſſaſſin. She had long deplored the loſs of the duke of Orleans, but the deſire of revenging a more recent inſult had induced her to forget the ſubject of her regret, and to court a reconciliation with his murderer. The death of that murderer now filled her mind with a ſpirit of indignation, in which all her other paſſions were thenceforth abſorbed. She cauſed a violent declaration to be ſent, in the king's name, to all the towns in the kingdom, denouncing vengeance againſt the dauphin, and *his accomplices, murderers of the duke of Burgundy**. She implored the alliance of England; and, at the ſame time, ſolicited the duke's ſon to join his reſentment to hers, and to make the revenge of his father's murder a common cauſe.

Philip, count of Charolois, was at Ghent, when he received the news of his father's end. He wanted that experience neceſſary in the ſituation in which he

* Tréſor des Chartres.

was now placed; his mind being ſolely occupied by the blind paſſion of revenge, he overlooked every conſideration of policy. Even his council, and the principal nobility who were attached to the houſe of Burgundy, were not influenced by more rational principles. On the firſt invitation, the mareſchal of Burgundy had conducted a body of troops to Troyes, to quiet the fears of the queen, the court and the miniſtry. The Pariſians had deputed Morvilliers, the firſt preſident of the parliament, to wait on the new duke, with offers of ſervice. The other towns were eaqually forward in their profeſſions; ſo that the Burgundian faction becãme more powerful than ever. Every part of the monarchy which ſtill reminded entire was at the diſpoſal of Philip; he had the ſame authority, the ſame reſources, the ſame domains as his father, and he enjoyed a reputation exempt from reproach.

Any exertion, on the part of Henry, became ſuperfluous; he had only to ſuffer his enemies to purſue their own coùrſe; and their paſſions proved more ſerviceable to his ambitious ſchemes, than his own valour and policy. The queen and the duke of Burgundy conducted themſelves with ſo much paſſion and precipitation, that even the crown of France now courted his acceptance. So early as the twenty fourth of September, only a fortnight after the death of the late duke, the king of England had appointed cnmmiſſaries to receive their propoſals, and to regulate the conditions of the treaty; the fundamental principles of which were not openly explained through fear of diſguſting the nation. The queen and the duke of Burgundy had already taken their reſolution ſo far, that they gave to all the towns, which acknowledged their authority, aſſurances of a peace.

The dauphin, meanwhile, and his miniſters, had retired into Berry, whence they advanced to the frontiers of Anjou, for the purpoſe of engaging the duke of Brittany to eſpouſe their cauſe*. Charles had an interview with that prince, who came attended by a numerous retinue, having, previous to his departure, appointed a certain number of gentlemen, to whom he entruſted the care of his perſon. Although the duke, had hitherto ſuffered his ſubjects to engage in the ſervice of the dauphin, the two princes now parted with mutual diſſatisfaction.

The remainder of this year was employed by the dauphin, in overrunning Touraine, Poitou and Languedoc. The government of this laſt province he took from the count of Foix, and gave it to the count of Clermont†. He alſo re-eſtabliſhed the parliament of Toulouſe. In the following year he completed the expulſion of the prince of Orange, the Burgundian governor, by the redction of Niſmes and Pont Saint-Eſprit, the only places which ſtill adhered to the Burgundian faction in that part of France. Ambaſſadors were ſent by the

* Argentré, Hiſt. de Bret. Chron. MS. BR.
† Hiſtoire du Languedoc. Hiſt. Génerlogique des Grands Offic.

dauphin, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the kings of Arragon and Caſtile, and of the regent of Scotland.

In the mean time the French, Engliſh, and Burgundian plenipotentiaries completed the misfortunes of the kingdom at Arras. Deputies from the principal towns had repaired to that city; and Saint-Paul, governor of Paris, attended the conferences, on the part of the king of France. The dauphin propoſed to Henry a negociation; but his propoſal was rejected. Henry no longer made any ſecret of his deſigns; as the time for accompliſhing his projects approached, his precautions for the removal of every obſtacle encreaſed. He ſent orders to England to keep a ſtrict watch over the priſoners taken at Azincourt: in his letter to the chancellor, he obſerved that if any of them eſcaped, and particularly the duke of Orleans, it would be a moſt unfortunate circumſtance. This anxiety ſufficiently announced his dread of that prince, who by his perſonal qualities and extenſive poſſeſſions, might have raiſed an impediment not eaſy to be ſurmounted.

The king of England conceived that, to convey to him a powerful kingdom, the conſent of the nation was requiſite. With the view of obtaining that conſent, he formed private treaties with the principal towns. Paris concluded a truce with him from November the twentieth, till December the twelfth. He promiſed the inhabitants that, if declared heir to France, he would preſerve all the privileges they enjoyed under their ancient ſovereigns. Theſe manœuvres, made the people inſenſibly loſe ſight of the laws of the monarchy. They ſighed for a more tranquil ſtate, and believed that any treaty which would put an end to this ſcene of miſery muſt be lawful.

A. D. 1420.] The preliminary conditions of this important treaty were ſigned at Arras, in January. It was there agreed that Charles, during life, ſhould enjoy the title of king of France; that Henry ſhould marry the princeſs Catharine, be declared heir to the kingdom, and immediately entruſted with the government; the kingdom to paſs to his heirs-general; that France and England ſhould for ever be united under one king, but ſhould ſtill retain their ſeveral uſages, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vaſſals and communities of France ſhould ſwear that they would adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and pay him obedience as regent; that this prince ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, to ſubdue the adherents of the dauphin; and that theſe three princes ſhould make no peace nor truce with him but by common agreement.

Immediately after this convention, the duke of Burgundy entered into a confederacy with Henry; by which the two princes ſwore and engaged to aſſiſt each other in purſuing the dauphin and his accomplices, till they had inflicted on them "that puniſhment which they deſerved." By the ſame treaty, the king

of England agreed, as ſoon as he ſhould be declared king of France, to ſettle on the duke and ducheſs an annuity of twenty thouſand livres. It was farther agreed that one of the brothers of the king of England ſhould marry the duke of Burgundy's ſiſter.

While meaſures were preparing for placing a foreign family on the throne; while arms and policy were at once employed to ſap the foundations of the monarchy, that tranquillity which the province of Brittany had hitherto contrived to preſerve amidſt the general commotion, was diſturbed by an event which at any other period would have appeared incredible*. John duke of Brittany, had, by his virtues, completely confirmed the rights of his houſe to the ſovereignty of that province. He reigned in the hearts of his ſubjects; while the houſe of Blois-Penthiévre, which had ſo long been the rival of his family, content with the ſecond rank in the duchy, appeared to have forgotten their pretenſions.

Oliver, count of Penthiévre, with his brothers, Charles and John, lived in habits of intimacy with the duke, who admitted them into his councils, ſuffered them to partake of all his pleaſures and amuſements, and even, ſometimes, of his bed. He had reſolved to appoint them guardians to his children, in caſe of his death. Yet, they were plotting his deſtruction. Margaret de Cliſſon, their mother, inceſſantly excited them to this enterprize.

Every thing being ready for the execution of the plot, the count of Penthiévre went to Nantes, and invited the duke to paſs a few days with him at Chantoceaux. The prince, accepted the invitation; and, left Nantes, accompanied by Oliver. He had no ſooner paſſed the ſmall river Troubarde, than the conſpirators took up the planks of the bridge, which had been previouſly looſened, in order to prevent his attendants, who were at ſome diſtance, from following him. Charles de Penthiévre immediately appeared at the head of forty armed men, who attacked the few noblemen that were near the duke's perſon, wounded ſome of them, loaded them all with chains, and then binding the duke himſelf, conveyed him to a neighbouring fortreſs. He was kept for five months in a ſtate of captivity the moſt rigorous, continually removing from one place to another. During that period, his rebellious vaſſals made him ſubmit to every kind of indignity, inceſſantly placing before his eyes the inſtruments of torture and death. The count repeatedly inſulted him in the moſt indecent manner, held his clenched hand to his face, and threatened to cut him in pieces; in ſhort, by deferring his death, they appeared to have no other view than that of prolonging his puniſhment. Margaret, refuſed the conſolation of relieving him from a ſtate of uncertainty, more inſupportable than death itſelf.

* Argentrè. Nouvelle Hiſtoire dè Bretagne.

The nobles of Brittany, enraged at this daring attempt on the perſon of their ſovereign, aſſembled; flew to arms, levied troops, and purſued the Penthiévres, who fled before them, from one retreat to another, without finding any aſylum that could ſecure them from their rage. They inveſted Chantoceaux, whither the old counteſs of Penthiévre had retired with a part of her family. A breach was ſoon made in the walls, when Margaret, trembling for her life, perſuaded her ſons to releaſe the duke. But Oliver firſt exacted from his noble captive a promiſe to give him his daughter in marriage, and to reſtore the places which had been taken. After this convention he was conducted to the camp of his friends, before the walls of Chantoceaux, where he was ſurrendered, by Charles of Penthiévre, to the Breton nobility, who then ſuffered Margaret to depart. The duke took poſſeſſion of Chantoceaux that ſame day, and ordered the place to be levelled with the ground.

The pope having abſolved him from the oaths which had been extorted from him during his captivity, Margaret de Cliſſon and her three ſons were cited to anſwer for the attempt committed on their ſovereign. Not complying with this citation, they were declared infamous, and ſentence of death was pronounced upon them by the parliament of Brittany; their towns and fortreſſes were demoliſhed; their property became the reward of thoſe who had contributed to bring them to puniſhment. Some time after they formed a ſecond plan for aſſaſſinating the duke, but it was attended with no better ſucceſs than the firſt. They were compelled to leave their country, and finiſhed the remainder of their lives in diſgrace. By this means did Margaret de Cliſſon verify the prediction of her father, the conſtable, who had foretold that ſhe would one day occaſion the ruin of her family.

The term now approached for the concluſion of that treaty, the preliminary conditions whereof had been ſigned at Arras. The duke of Burgundy, having aſſembled his army, took the road to Champagne, accompanied by the Engliſh ambaſſador, the earl of Warwick*. Having reduced ſuch towns on his road as were in poſſeſſion of the dauphin, he arrived at Troyes on the twenty-ninth of April. The public entry of the duke into that city, was diſtinguiſhed by all the magnificence of regal ſplendour. Charles, gave him ſuch a reception as Iſabella had told him was proper and juſt. The clauſes of the treaty were diſcuſſed with the Engliſh miniſters, who carried a copy of the convention to their ſovereign. On the receipt of it, Henry, at the head of ſixteen hundred men repaired to Provins, whence he ſent a meſſenger to announce his arrival to the court of France. The king had juſt had a violent relapſe, and in this ſtate of imbecility he was made to transfer a full power to the queen, and the duke of Burgundy, to repre-

* Monſtrelet. Juvenal des Urſins. Chron. MS.

ſent him, and to diſpoſe of the kingdom. It had been ſettled that the firſt interview with the Engliſh monarch ſhould take place at a ſhort diſtance from Troyes; but Henry, entered that city on the twentieth of May. Next day the treaty was ſigned, and he was declared regent during the incapacity of Charles.

The day after the treaty was ſigned, Catharine was affianced to the king of England. Henry devoted but a very ſhort ſpace of time to thoſe pleaſures which the ſtate into which he had juſt entered was calculated to afford; on the third day after his marriage, he marched to Sens, which ſurrendered to his arms. From Sens the combined armies of England and Burgundy proceeded to Montereau, which was taken by aſſault; a part of the garriſon retired to the caſtle. Henry hanged his priſoners before the walls of the caſtle, which in a few days was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating. The king of England next directed his attacks againſt Melun, which was defended by a ſtrong garriſon, under the command of Barbazan, who ſuſtained the attacks of the enemy with a degree of intrepidity that aſtoniſhed Henry: although the artillery had levelled a part of the walls with the ditch that ſurrounded the town, he did not dare to riſk an aſſault. A ſcarcity of proviſions compelled the garriſon to ſurrender. By the terms of the capitulation it was agreed that the lives of the troops ſhould be ſafe, and that they ſhould be releaſed without paying any ranſom. From theſe conditions were excepted all ſuch as had been concerned in the murder of the late duke of Burgundy; the greater part of the garriſon, with Barbazan, their commander, were thrown into priſon at Paris, where ſeveral periſhed through want.

After the reduction of Melun, the two monarchs, repaired to the capital. They were received with every demonſtration of joy. An aſſembly of the three eſtates of the kingdom was held in Charles's palace, in which the treaty of Troyes was declared to be an irrevocable law of the realm. The dauphin and his accomplices, as the aſſaſſins of the duke of Burgundy, were formally pronunced guilty of *leſe majeſty*, deprived of their right of ſucceſſion to all honors and dignities; and their ſubjects and vaſſals abſolved from their oaths of fealty.

Henry, who had now attained to the ſummit of his ambition, is accuſed by the French hiſtorians, of having exerciſed his authority with cruelty and deſpotiſm that rendered it inſupportable*. After impoſing a heavy tax on the Pariſians, and ſubjecting the Normans—to impoſts upon ſalt, and other articles of conſumption, he diſmiſſed all officers and placemen whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected. Of the king's houſhold he left but a few ſuperanuated officers. The court of Charles was almoſt forſaken, while that of Henry diſplayed all the pomp and luxury of the age. That monarch had ſecured Paris by a formidable garriſon,

* Villaret, t. xiv. p. 106, & ſuiv.

and by taking poſſeſſion of the Louvre, the Baſtile, and the caſtle of Vincennes. The duke of Clarence was appointed governor of Paris, in room of Saint Paul.

The Pariſians, at this time, experienced a complication of wretchedneſs. The winter was extremely ſevere, and joined to a dearth of proviſions, reduced the people to the laſt extremity. Paris, which had already loſt more than one half of its inhabitants, was daily deſerted by numbers, who haſtened to join the lawful heir to the throne. This extenſive city ſoon became one vaſt deſart, in many parts whereof, the wolves nightly prowled for prey. Such was the ſtate, not only of the capital, but of many of the principal towns; a more horrid ſituation than that of France, can ſcarcely be conceived.

The dauphin unable to reſiſt his enemies confined his efforts to fortifying himſelf in the countries beyond the Loire. In his capacity of regent, he removed the parliament and univerſity of Paris to the city of Poitiers. Thus were there ſeen in France, at the ſame time, two kings, two queens, two regents, two parliaments, and two univerſities of Paris. The dauphin had the misfortune to loſe two of his beſt friends; the firſt was the count of Vertus, younger brother to the duke of Orleans, who died in the bloom of youth; the ſecond was Lewis of Anjou, who went to Italy, on the invitation of Sforza, to the conqueſt of Naples. To counterbalance theſe diſadvantages, he obtained from Scotland, ſeven thouſand men, under lord Buchan.

A. D. 1421.] Henry, after appointing the duke of Clarence, lieutenant-general of Normandy, and leaving him ten thouſand men to ſupport his authority, left Paris, and repaired to Rouen, where he obtained a ſupply of money from the clergy. He then conducted his young conſort to England, where ſhe was crowned on the twenty-ſecond of February, 1421*.

During the abſence of the Engliſh monarch, his brother, the duke of Clarence, aſſembled his troops, and proceeded to the city of Angers, which he inveſted. The reduction of this place would have opened for the Engliſh a free entrance into Poitou, Touraine, and the Orleanois, and have compelled the dauphin to retire to the very extremity of the kingdom. To raiſe the ſiege, therefore, became an object of importance; and, for this purpoſe, the troops formed a junction with the Scottiſh forces, under the earl of Buchan. Advancing as far as the ſmall town of Bauge, they thence ſent a defiance to the duke of Clarence, which was immediately accepted. That prince, inſtantaneouſly decamped, and by a forced march arrived about noon the next day, in ſight of the French army.

The Engliſh fought with valour; but they had not Henry to command them.

* Rymer's Fœdera, tom. x. p. 49. T. Elmham, c. 112.

The duke of Clarence poſſeſſed the courage of his brother, but he wanted his genius and military ſkill. He ſcarcely allowed himſelf time to draw up his troops in order of battle; nor would he wait the arrival of the earl of Saliſbury, who was haſtening to join him with a corps-de-reſerve, leſt that nobleman ſhould partake with him in the glory of the day. The ſignal being given, and the battle begun, the duke, neglecting the firſt duties of a general, preſſed forward into the thickeſt of the fight, and, at the very commencement of the action was thrown on the ground. Bouteiller immediately attempted to ſecure him, in the hope of procuring, by that means, the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, whom Henry muſt have conſented to exchange for his brother; but all his efforts proved fruitleſs. The Engliſh ruſhed onwards in crowds to reſcue their general; and the French being equally anxious to retain a prize ſo valuable, prodigies of valour were performed on both ſides. In this dreadful encounter the duke of Clarence was ſlain by the earl of Buchan. The Engliſh at laſt fled, leaving two thouſand five hundred men at arms on the field of battle. The action was over when the earl of Saliſbury appeared with his corps-de-reſerve; and the French generals deeming it imprudent to renew the fight retired with their priſoners.

The dauphin, to evince his gratitude for the eſſential aſſiſtance afforded him by the Scots, promoted the earl of Buchan to the office of conſtable of France, which had been vacant ever ſince the murder of the count of Armagnac.

Henry, was at Beverley when he received intelligence of his brother's defeat. he haſtened to London, and applied himſelf with ardour to collect a powerful army, and a ſufficient ſupply of money to defray the expences of a vigorous campaign. The parliament which aſſembled on the ſecond of May, granted him money; and, at the ſame time, ratified the treaty of Troyes. The Engliſh monarch having embarked at Dover on the tenth of June, landed the next day at Calais, with twenty-four thouſand archers, and four thouſand horſe. During his abſence in England, the dauphin's party had acquired conſiderable ſtrength. La Hire defeated a body of troops, in Campagne, under the command of the Count de Vaudemont, who was taken priſoner. James de Harcourt ravaged the frontiers of Artois and Picardy, took Pont de Remi, and reduced ſeveral fortreſſes in Ponthieu and Vimeu. The dauphin, accompanied by the duke of Alençon, and the new conſtable, beſieged and took Montmorail; thence extending their incurſions into the Chartrain, they reduced Gaillardon, and put the governor, to death.

But a negociation, more advantageous than theſe ſucceſſes, had procured the dauphin an important ally, in the duke of Britany. Although that prince had concluded a ſeparate truce with England, he had hitherto refuſed to ſubſcribe the treaty of Troyes. His ſubjects deteſted the Engliſh; and he had reaſons for

being diſpleaſed with their conduct. While kept in cofinement by the Penthiévres, his ducheſs and the ſtates of the province had applied for aſſiſtance to the king of England, but in vain; the nobles of Brittany who had taken up arms in defence of their ſovereign, had entreated Henry to permit the count of Richemont, then a priſoner at London, to come and command them, offering to reſtore him at the end of the campaign, or to pay for him any ranſom which the king might chuſe to exact. The Engliſh monarch deferred his anſwer, reſiſting the ſolicitations of the count, who could not obtain permiſſion to return to his native country, till a fortnight after his brother had been reſtored to liberty. By granting a conditional releaſe to Richemont, Henry flattered himſelf, that, the duke of Brittany would be deterred from contracting any alliance with the dauphin. The count, exerted all his influence for that purpoſe; but his efforts proved ineffectual.

This alliance was an additional motive to Henry to haſten his exertions. On his arrival in France, he was met by the duke of Burgundy at Montreuil. After ſettling their plan of operations the two princes parted; the duke went to aſſemble his troops, and the king repaired to Paris, where he made preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. He was joined by the duke of Burgundy, at the head of three thouſand men. As their united forces were too numerous to find ſubſiſtence in a country already laid waſte; it was agreed that they ſhould ſeparate, and that the king ſhould march againſt the dauphin, while the duke employed his troops in reducing the few towns in Ponthieu and Picardy which ſtill held out for that prince.

On the approach of the Engliſh army, the dauphin retired towards Orleans. Henry inveſted Dreux, which ſurrendered at diſcretion, and Tillieres the governor of the place, having been found in arms, after ſwearing to obſerve the treaty of Troyes, was hanged. The Engliſh monarch had, in his former expedition, carried over the king of Scots, whom he perſuaded to ſend orders to his countrymen, who had joined the dauphin, to leave the French ſervice; but the earl of Buchan replied, that he ſhould obey no commands from a king in captivity.

The Engliſh advanced to the banks of the Loire, above Orleans. They reduced the caſtle of Beaugency, and ſome other places, but the impoſſibility of procuring ſubſiſtence for ſo numerous an army, without foraging at a diſtance from the main body, inceſſantly expoſed the troops to the attacks of the dauphin's ſcouring parties, and of the enraged peaſantry, who ſecured themſelves from purſuit, in the extenſive foreſt of Orleans. Theſe inconveniences, joined to an epidemic dyſentery, compelled Henry to return, after loſing four thouſand men, almoſt without fighting*.

* Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 136.

Meanwhile the duke of Burgundy had entered Ponthieu, and inveſted Saint Riquier, a place of great ſtrength. Some of the dauphin's generals having aſſembled troops, advanced. The duke haſtened to meet them, and a deſperate action took place. The Armagnacs were defeated. Saint Riquier immediately ſurrendered on condition that the priſoners, taken in this battle, ſhould be reſtored to liberty. This check completely ruined the dauphin's party in Picardy and Ponthieu, where the ſmall number of places occupied by his adherents opened their gates to the enemy.

The king of England, after he had refreſhed his troops prepared to beſiege Meaux*. On the ſixth of October, the earl of Exeter took poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs, where in a few days, he was joined by the king, with the reſt of his troops, which might amount to twenty-five thouſand men. The garriſon did not exceed one thouſand†; but they were all choſen troops, with the baſtard of Vaurus at their head. They evinced a determination to defend the place to the laſt extremity, and the ſituation of the town, and the ſtrength of its fortifications, ſeemed to juſtify their hopes of a ſucceſsful reſiſtance. Meaux is divided by the Marne into two parts, diſtinguiſhed by the different appellations of *The City*, and *The Market-place;* the latter is formed into an iſle, by a canal ſupplied by the waters of the Marne. The Marché was, at this time, ſtrongly fortified, being ſurrounded by a wall, provided with parapets, and flanked at equal diſtances by round towers, of the ſame height, on the top of which grew large trees that, at a diſtance, exhibited the appearance of a foreſt in the air. Theſe ramparts were conſtructed with ſuch ſolidity, that the greater part of them are ſtill ſtanding.

Though the ſiege was preſſed with the utmoſt vigour, and all the machines then in uſe were employed in battering the walls, a long time elapſed before any impreſſion could be made on them. The inhabitants diſplayed the ſame intrepidity with the garriſon; and continual ſallies were made, in which no quarter was ſhown; all the priſoners, on both ſides, being maſſacred as ſoon as taken‡. Vaurus, the governor, had ſet the example to encreaſe the ardour of his troops, by eſtabliſhing an irreconcileable animoſity between them and the enemy. Whenever an Engliſhman or Burgundian was taken, he ordered him to be hanged on a neighbouring tree, which acquired the appellation of *the oak of Vaurus* he expoſed on the ramparts, in ſight of the beſiegers, an aſs with a crown on his head, at whoſe ſide was placed a man blowing a horn, and calling to the Engliſh from time to time, to come to the aſſiſtance of their ſovereign. Henry, enraged, redoubled his efforts; while Vaurus, being in daily expectation of relief from the dauphin, treated his threats and attacks with equal contempt. But the Engliſh

* Monſtrelet. Juvenal des Urſins, † Villaret. ‡ Ibid.

having ſtrongly fortified their camp were ſecure from ſurprize; and D'Offemont attempted to enter the town with forty men at arms, was taken priſoner. Still the garriſon were ſo little apprehenſive of being reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering, that they releaſed, on payment of a conſiderable ranſom, Peter of Luxembourg, though by detaining him, they would have been certain, in caſe of a capitulation, of preſerving their own lives, and of enſuring more favourable terms than they could otherwiſe expect.

At length a practicable breach having been effected in the walls of *the city*, Vaurus made the inhabitants retire, with their moſt precious effects into the *Marché*. All hopes of aſſiſtance from the dauphin were now at an end. The proviſions were nearly exhauſted; and the ramparts were eſſentially damaged by the repeated attacks of the enemy. In this ſituation, the king of England ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender, and meeting with a refuſal, he ordered a general aſſault, which laſted ſeven hours, and was attended with a vaſt effuſion of blood on both ſides. In the heat of the action, the garriſon having broken or loſt all their lances, made uſe of ſpits and continued to fight with ſuch intrepidity that the Engliſh were obliged to retire. This, however, was their laſt effort. The chiefs of the companies, of which the garriſon was compoſed, did not think it prudent, by a longer reſiſtance, to fall victims to the deſpair of Vaurus. They accordingly agreed to deliver him and five others to Henry; the fortreſs was then ſurrendered to the Engliſh: the governor was hanged on his favourite oak, and his five aſſociates, one of whom was the man that had blown the horn on the ramparts, were conducted to Paris, and there executed. The garriſon remained priſoners of war, and moſt of the officers were compelled to purchaſe their liberty by the ſurrender of all the fortreſſes in their poſſeſſion.

Among the priſoners was Philip de Gamaches, abbot of Saint Pharon, who had diſplayed great courage during the ſiege. The king of England ſent word to the lord of Gamaches, who was governor of Compégne, that if he did not immediately ſurrender that city, he would throw the abbot into the river*. The threat gave to Henry poſſeſſion of the place.

The dauphin's generals finding it impoſſible to force the Engliſh camp before Meaux had endeavoured to draw off their attention to another quarter. With this view they firſt took by ſurprize the bridge of Meulan, and ſoon after reduced the town of Avranches; but Henry ſtill continued the ſiege of Meaux, and ſent the earl of Saliſbury into Normandy, with a detachment of troops, who ſpeedily recovered the places which had been taken.

The reduction of Meaux was followed by the ſurrender of a number of ſmall towns and fortreſſes, which haſtened to open their gates to the conqueror. From

* Villaret.

the borders of Campagne to the ſea-ſide, Crotoy was the only place which refuſed to ſubmit to the Engliſh. Diſcouraged by this ſucceſſion of loſſes, thoſe men who had hitherto delayed their ſubmiſſion to the prevailing power, now yielded to the torrent; and even many of the dauphin's adherents, deeming his cauſe deſperate, forſook him. James de Harcourt, one of his generals, who had recently obtained ſome advantage over the enemy on the frontiers of Normandy, was attacked on his retreat, and defeated with the loſs of three hundred men.

A. D. 1422.] The king of England, after paſſing a few days at Meaux, and giving orders for repairing the fortifications returned to Paris, where he made his public entry, accompanied by his queen, who had left England ſome time before. The inhabitants notwithſtanding their diſtreſs, incurred a prodigious expence for the reception of Henry and Catharine. After a ſhort ſtay at Paris Henry prepared for new expeditions. He conducted the court to Senlis, and advanced himſelf as far as Compiégne, while the earl of Warwick inveſted Saint-Valery, which ſurrendered by capitulation, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of three months, carried on with vigour, both by land and ſea.

While the king of England was at Compiégne, he received intelligence of a conſpiracy which haſtened his return to the capital. The wife of one of the king's attendants had formed the bold deſign of delivering Paris into the hands of the dauphin*. The day was fixed, and an adequate number of reſolute men were poſted in the environs of the city, when the plot was detected by a prieſt. The woman was immediately ſeized, and her accomplices were executed.

The dauphin, with the auxiliaries he had received from Scotland and Caſtile, had, by this time, collected an army of twenty thouſand men, the command of which was given to the earl of Buchan, as conſtable of France. With theſe troops he formed the ſiege of Coſne, the garriſon of which agreed to ſurrender if not relieved by the duke of Burgundy before the eighteenth of Auguſt. The duke ſent a meſſage to the king of England, requeſting a reinforcement, although his own forces were ſuperior, in number, to thoſe of the dauphin. Henry replied that he would attend him in perſon. He left Paris; but, on his arrival at Senlis, was ſeized either with a fiſtula or a pleuriſy†. He was conveyed to Vincennes, while the command of the troops devolved on the duke of Bedford.

When the Engliſh and Burgundians approached the army of the dauphin, that prince would fain have riſqued an action, but being prevailed on to follow the more prudent advice of his generals, he raiſed the ſiege of Coſne. The duke of

* Journal de Paris.

† Juvenal des Urſins, and other French Hiſtorians aſcribe the death of Henry to a fiſtula; but *Peter Baſſet*, who was his chamberlain at that time, affirms he died of a pleuriſy. See *Goodwin* P. 337.

Burgundy detached two thouſand men to attack his rear-guard, they were defeated, with conſiderable loſs.

The duke of Bedford now haſtened back to Henry, whom he found at the laſt extremity. He ſent for the earl of Warwick, and ſome other noblemen; and, delivered his inſtructions as to the future diſpoſal of his kingdom and family. He entreated them to continue to his infant ſon thoſe marks of attachment and eſteem which he had ever experienced from them. He deſired they would cultivate the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy, and make him an offer of the regency of France; but, if he ſhould reject it, he appointed the duke of Bedford to that office. The education and perſon of his ſon he committed to the earl of Warwick. He enjoined them not to liberate the priſoners taken at the battle of Azincourt, till his ſon ſhould be able to take the reins of government; he recommended his queen to their care and protection; and he conjured them, if they ſhould find it impoſſible to place his ſon on the throne of France, never to make peace without obtaining the abſolute ſovereignty of Normandy. He expired, on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

The duke of Burgundy repaired to Paris immediately after the death of the Engliſh monarch; the government of the kingdom was offered him, but he refuſed to accept it, and, notwithſtanding the intrigues of the queen, who had aſpired to the regency herſelf, ceded it to the duke of Bedford, whoſe authority was acknowledged without contradiction. The military and political talents of this prince were tempered by a degree of moderation which was wanting in the character of his brother.

The death of Henry, far from effecting a revolution in favour of the dauphin, ſeemed to render his affairs more deſperate. Several noblemen forſook his party; and the duke of Brittany, in violation of the treaty of Sablé, charged his miniſter to accede to that of Troyes. This change in his conduct proceeded from reports, that the dauphin had formed a plan for aſſaſſinating him. The accuſation was deſtitute of probability; but the temper of the times afforded ſome excuſe for the duke's credulity. The Bretons entered Poitou and advanced to the frontiers of Aunis, with a deſign to ſurprize Rochelle, but the dauphin, apprized of their intentions, had time to prevent the execution of their plan.

Charles the Sixth finiſhed, at this period, a life of misfortune; having ſurvived his ſon-in-law, Henry, only fifty-one days. His death, which happened on the twenty-firſt of October, 1422, was occaſioned by a violent fever. None of the princes of the blood attended his funeral. The treaſury did not contain money ſufficient to pay the expences of it.

CHARLES THE SEVENTH.

A. D. 1422.] CHARLES the Seventh was at the caſtle of Eſpally, when he heard of his fathers death. Solicitations of his nobles were requiſite to rouze him to thoſe active duties which his ſituation called for. The duke of Bedford, as regent of the kingdom, had aſſembled the principal citizens of Paris. He renewed the proſcription againſt the lawful monarch, and exacted an oath of allegiance to the young king of England from every inhabitant of the city.

The Engliſh, at this period, were maſters of Paris, Normandy, the Iſle of France, Brie, Champagne, Picardy, Ponthieu, the Boulenois, the town and diſtrict of Calais, and the greater part of Aquitaine; while, from their alliance with the duke of Burgundy, they ſecured the duchy whence he derived his title, with Flanders and Artois.

Charles was confined to the provinces of Languedoc, Dauphné and Auvergne; the Bourbonnois, Berry, Poitou, Saintonge, Touraine, and the Orleanois, with a part of Anjou and Maine.

The tender age of the Sixth Henry, only nine months old at the death of his father, was ſupplied by the ability and experience of his two uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Glouceſter. The regent was gifted with prudence, valour and generoſity; he was ſeconded by the moſt renowned generals of the age, and was at the head of armies enured to victory, while the whole power of England was at his command; and the northern provinces of France contributed their efforts to reduce the remainder of the kingdom to ſubjection.

At the head of the king's party, were the earl of Buchan, conſtable of France; the mareſchals de la Fayette, and de Severac, Xaintrailles, La Hire, Harcourt, La Trémoille, and the baſtards of Orleans and Bourbon. Theſe

warriors were endued with intrepid courage, but, as generals, none of them were to be compared with the officers which England had to oppoſe to them.

Thus the regent had every advantage, which extent of territory, experienced generals, diſciplined troops, and pecuniary reſources could afford him. The ſituation of Charles, too, was rendered more dangerous, by the facility of his temper, which made him a dupe to his favourites. This appeared in the firſt event of his reign.

A. D. 1423.] Though it was in the depth of winter, hoſtilities had never ceaſed; Graville, in January, having taken Meulan by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword, the duke of Bedford, and lord Saliſbury, inveſted the place. Graville informed the king of his ſituation, and Charles ordered Narbonne and Aumale to his relief, with ſix thouſand men. When this detachment arrived within ſix leagues of their place of deſtination, a miſunderſtanding took place between the leaders, and the troops diſbanded *for want of pay*. It is ſaid, that du Châtel had received money for that purpoſe, which he diſſipated. The garriſon of Meulan, finding themſelves betrayed, pulled down the king's banners from the walls, in ſight of the enemy, and aſked to capitulate. Several of the garriſon entered into the Engliſh ſervice; Graville was among the number, but he afterwards returned to his duty.

Liſle-Adam retook Ferté-Milon, which the French had reduced, while Luxembourg completed the expulſion of the royaliſts from Picardy. The caſtles of Marcouſſy and Montlhery were alſo taken by the Engliſh. A conſpiracy, entered into by ſome citizens of Paris, to deliver the capital to the king, being detected by the regent, the conſpirators were executed; a woman who had joined them was burned alive.

The commencement of his reign was highly unfavourable to the new monarch. Independent of the checks he received in the defeat of his troops, and the demolition of his fortreſſes, he had the mortification to loſe a valuable ally, the duke of Brittany. The count of Richemont had, by this time, recovered his former influence over the mind of his brother. The regent releaſed the count from his parole, on which he had been permitted by Henry the Fifth to viſit his native country; and by his perſuaſion, the duke ſeconded the Engliſh arms.

To theſe negociations ſucceeded the operations of war. The reduction of ſmall towns was of little importance, as the garriſons, generally ſurrendering by capitulation, were at liberty to haſten to the defence of ſome other place. No quarter was ſhewn when a town was taken by aſſault; nor even when, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, it ſurrendered at diſcretion. The garriſon of Orſay having ſuſtained a ſiege of ſix weeks, were ſent to Paris to be executed; but through the interceſſion of the ducheſs of Bedford, their lives were ſpared.

The French, in the mean time, had not been idle; Mâçon and Crevant had

ſurrendered to their arms, but the laſt was retaken by the Engliſh, at the moment that a body of Scottiſh troops, which had recently landed under the command of Stuart, together with a French detatchment arrived to relieve it. The French laid ſiege to Crevant a ſecond time, with ten thouſand men. Saliſbury, who was then employed in the ſiege of Montaguillon, left a ſufficient number of troops to keep the garriſon in awe, and marched with the reſt to Auxerre, where he was joined by Toulongeon, mareſchal of Burgundy. It was reſolved to attack the royaliſts before Crevant, where a ſharp conflict enſued, in which the beſiegers were routed with the loſs of fifteen hundred men. The number of priſoners was ſtill more conſiderable; among them was Stuart, conſtable of Scotland.

This diſaſter was followed by the reduction of Montaguillon, Mâçon, and Coucy. In ſhort, all the northern provinces of France were in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, except the ſtrong fortreſs of Mount Saint-Michael, in Normandy, and the town of Crotoy, in Ponthieu, ſituated at the mouth of the Somme. Crotoy was, ſoon after, obliged to capitulate.

Every effort which Charles made to repair his loſſes, ſeemed only to encreaſe them. While La Hire reduced Compiégne, Xaintrailles took by aſſault the towns of Ham and Guiſe. But the Engliſh retook Ham, and inveſted Guiſe, where Xaintrailles was taken priſoner, in a ſally. Liſle-Adam, though defeated by La Hire, with the loſs of five hundred men, compelled the French to evacuate Compiégne.

John de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, with two thouſand five hundred men, entered Anjou, and laid waſte the country to the gates of Angiers. He then took the road to Normandy through Maine, carrying off twelve thouſand oxen. The count of Aumale, governor of Anjou, aſſembling the nobility of the province, reſolved to intercept the retreat of this invader. He purſued the enemy, and overtook them near Gravelle, a town in Maine.

Pole drew up his troops behind his carriages, and received the French with reſolution. But Aumale had detached part of his army, who attacked the Engliſh in the rear, while he engaged them in front; this manœuvre decided the victory; after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the Engliſh were defeated with the loſs of fifteen hundred men. Pole was taken priſoner, and exchanged for Stuart. This victory revived the ſpirits of the royaliſts. About the ſame time, Charles obtained a ſupply of one thouſand men at arms, and five hundred lances, from the duke of Milan. As theſe troops entered Beaujolois, they received a meſſage from the governor of la Buiſſiere, informing them that he was then negotiating with Toulongeon, for the ſurrender of the town; and as the mareſchal knew nothing of their march, it would be eaſy to ſurprize him when he went to take poſſeſſion. This ſtratagem was executed with ſuch

ſecrecy and ſucceſs, that Toulongeon, on entering la Buiſſiere with ſeven hundred men, was made priſoner, with all his followers. The duke of Savoy, perceiving that the flames of war, were advancing with rapidity toward the frontiers of his territories, negotiated a truce between the king and the duke of Burgundy for the Lyonnois and Burgundy.

Charles endeavoured to ſecure the attachment of his allies by honours and rewards. To Stewart, conſtable of Scotland, he gave the county of Evreaux, and the lordſhip of Aubigny, which was long poſſeſſed by that branch of his family eſtabliſhed in France. The king's ambaſſadors had ratified the ancient treaties with Scotland, and obtained a freſh ſupply of five thouſand men. Theſe troops landed at Rochelle towards the end of the year 1423, under the command of Archibald, earl of Douglas, on whom Charles beſtowed the duchy of Touraine, with the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom in time of war. This honour, which placed the earl above all the military men in France, not even excepting the conſtable, excited the murmurs of the French nobility.

A. D. 1424.] To counteract the effects of this liberality to the Scots, the Engliſh miniſtry deemed it prudent to releaſe the king of Scotland, who had been detained in captivity for ſixteen years; on condition that he ſhould pay forty thouſand marks for his ranſom, and ſign a truce for ſeven years with England, during which time neither of the contracting parties ſhould afford aſſiſtance to the enemies of the other. Theſe terms being complied with, James returned to Scotland in March 1424.

The enſuing campaign commenced with trifling ſkirmiſhes, and ſieges, which occupied either army till the approach of ſummer. The earl of Saliſbury was then ſent by the regent to inveſt Ivry, a ſmall town in Normandy. Giraut, the governor, was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating, when he agreed to ſurrender the place, if not relieved before the fifteenth of Auguſt. Charles reſolved to make an effort to relieve him; having collected ſeven thouſand Scots, fifteen hundred Italians, and ten thouſand French, he ſent them to Ivry, under the command of the earls of Douglas and Buchan; the duke of Alençon, la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viſcount of Narbonne. But when they arrived within ſight of the Engliſh camp, which the duke of Bedford had recently entered with a freſh body of troops, they found it ſo well ſituated, and ſo ſtrongly defended, as to preclude all hopes of a ſucceſsful attack; they were, therefore, compelled to retire; and, turning to the left, advanced to Verneuil, which the inhabitants, in ſpite of the garriſon, delivered up. Ivry in the mean time ſurrendered; and the regent, followed the French to Verneuil; but finding that place already in their poſſeſſion, he choſe an advantageous poſt, in the hope that they would afford him an oppor-

tunity of bringing them to a decisive engagement. The earl of Douglas called a council of war, at which the thoughtless impetuosity of the French, overcame the prudence of the Scots, who urged, that as there was no absolute necessity for an action, it would be madness to risk the loss of an army which formed the last resource of the king. This advice being rejected by the French nobility, an action was resolved on, and conducted with the same temerity which dictated the resolution. Douglas had drawn up his forces under the walls of Verneuil, with a design to entice the English from their advantageous situation; but the viscount of Narbonne frustrated his project, by precipitately advancing towards the enemy, and obliging the whole line to follow him without order or regularity. The English archers, let fly a volley of arrows at the foremost ranks of the French army; and though pressed by superior numbers, and compelled to retreat, they soon rallied behind the baggage, and continued to do great execution. The contest was maintained with considerable fury, for three hours, when victiory declared for the English. The earl of Douglas and his son; the earl of Buchan; Harcourt, count of Aumale; with a number of gentlemen, were left dead on the field. The loss of the French amounted to five thousand men; and that of the English to sixteen hundred. Verneuil was invested the day after the battle, and the garrison were compelled to capitulate, for want of provisions, on the fourth day of the siege.

The king's finances were now totally exhausted; his only army was annihilated; his most powerful adherents were either slain or in captivity; his hopes of assistance from Scotland were destroyed by the liberation of the king of Scots, and, to render his misfortunes complete, Charles devoted the greater part of his time to luxurious enjoyments, and submitted to favourites destitute of principle or ability. Yet a single incident counteracted this combination of unfavourable circumstances, and deprived the English of such an opportunity to complete their conquests, as they never could recall.

In the preceding reign, Jaqueline, countess of Hainaut and Holland had fled from the dominions of her husband the duke of Brabant to England. During her residence at the English court, the duke of Gloucester was tempted to make her an offer of his hand. Finding the countess inclined to accept his offer, he signed a contract of marriage, without waiting to procure a papal dispensation, and without obtaining the consent of the duke of Burgundy (cousin-german to the duke of Brabant) whose alliance was of so much consequence to the English nation. That prince was extremely irritated at this step; and, though the duke of Bedford's efforts to calm his resentment had proved effectual so long as Gloucester made no attempt to seize the inheritance of his wife, his brother's imprudent conduct soon gave to that resentment both energy and effect. Gloucester raised an army in the summer of 1424, with which he landed at Calais in the month of

October, ſix weeks after the battle of Verneuil, that is to ſay, preciſely at the time when king Charles, deſtitute of all reſources, only waited for the junction of the Engliſh and Burgundian forces, to ſee his ruin completed. Glouceſter's arrival ſuſpended the fatal blow.

The duke of Burgundy at the diſembarkation of theſe troops, imagined, that they were to reinforce the Engliſh army; he was ſoon, undeceived, when he received intelligence that Glouceſter, with his intended wife, had entered Hainaut, and reduced moſt of the principal towns in the province. The duke immediately iſſued orders to all his ſubjects and vaſſals to take up arms, and to march under the conduct of the count of Saint-Paul and Liſle-Adam, to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Brabant. Thus the Low Countries, which had hitherto enjoyed tranquillity, became the threatre of war. All the nobility of Flanders, Artois and Picardy, joined the Burgundian forces; and even ſuch as were ſerving in the duke of Bedford's army, immediately left it, and followed the example of their countrymen.

The utmoſt exertions of the regent, were inadequate to prevent the diſpute between his brother and the duke of Burgundy from proceeding to extremities. The war was carried on for nearly two years, when, at length, an opportunity offered for promoting a temporary reconciliation. In the ſummer of the year 1426, the duke of Glouceſter finding it neceſſary to return to England, left the counteſs in the town of Mons, whoſe inhabitants gave her up to the duke of Burgundy, by whom ſhe was ſent to Ghent. Jaqueline made her eſcape and fled to Holland, where ſhe remained two years, making vain attempts to recover her inheritance. In the mean time an appeal had been made by the duke of Burgundy to the ſovereign pontiff on the validity of her marriage; and a definitive ſentence was obtained from Martin the Fifth, by which it was declared that her contract with the duke of Glouceſter was null, and her firſt marriage valid: And it farther pronounced, that, even in the caſe of the death of the duke of Brabant, it ſhould never be lawful for her to eſpouſe the Engliſh prince. Glouceſter relinquiſhed his pretenſions, when too late to remedy the miſchiefs they had occaſioned.

While this war tended to relax the efforts of the Engliſh, and gave the king time to recover from the conſternation into which he had been thrown by the defeat at Verneuil, his council endeavoured to profit by the favourable conjuncture, to detach the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany from his enemies. Charles knew that the count of Richemont was highly diſpleaſed with the duke of Bedford, who had refuſed to entruſt him the command of his army. To gain his ſupport he made him an offer of the poſt of conſtable of France, then vacant by the death of Buchan. He conſented to join the king, and to prevail on his nobles to do the ſame. The plan of an alliance was drawn up and approved by the ſtates of Brittany; and Richemont went to Chirnon, where he received the conſtable's ſword from the hands of the king.

He ſoon after, conducted Charles to Saumur, where the duke of Brittany did homage to him, and renewed the treaty of Sablé, to which a clauſe was added, that proved the doubts which were entertained of the fidelity of the king's miniſters. To enſure payment of the troops which the duke engaged to furniſh for the king's ſervice, he inſiſted that the revenue ariſing from the province of Languedoc, deſtined for that purpoſe, ſhould be received by two officers, one of whom he ſhould be permitted to appoint himſelf.

A. D. 1425.] The conduct of the duke of Glouceſter had not only deprived the regent of reſources neceſſary to purſue with vigour the advantages he had obtained; but compelled him to repair to England, at this critical conjuncture, to accommodate a difference which had ariſen in the Engliſh miniſtry, between that prince and the biſhop of Wincheſter. Bedford's departure, the war in the Low Countries, the diſaffection of the duke of Burgundy to the cauſe he had hitherto eſpouſed with ſo much warmth, the recent alliance between the king and the duke of Brittany, all ſeemed to concur to the reſtoration of the lawful heir, and the final expulſion of the enemy. But, Charles a mere puppet, moved only at the will of his favourites, which rendered this happy combination of circumſtances of little utility. The management of his affairs was left wholly to his miniſters.

A. D. 1426, 1427.] The conſtable, meanwhile, having with his brother's aſſiſtance, encreaſed his army to twenty thouſand men, opened the campaign with the ſiege of Pontorſon, which he took, and put the garriſon to the ſword. Richemont next made an attempt to reduce Saint-James de Beuvron, which the Engliſh had garriſoned with ſix thouſand men. The attacks, though carried on with vigour, were repelled by the more ſucceſsful valour of the enemy. Richemont, determined to ſtorm the town, though no practicable breach had been effected in the walls. Before he made the attempt, he detached two thouſand men to cut off the ſupplies which the enemy expected from Avranches.

The aſſault was begun by the French with impetuoſity; but the perſeverance of the Engliſh prevented them from making any impreſſion on the place. The conflict was ſharp and bloody; in the heat of the action the detachment of two thouſand men, having found nothing on the road, returned to aſſiſt their countrymen; but one part of the French army miſtaking them for a reinforcement coming to join the garriſon, and the other imagining they had been repulſed by a ſuperior body of the enemy, who were haſtening to attack them in the rear, the alarm became general, and, notwithſtanding the efforts of the conſtable to undeceive and to rally his troops, they fled on all ſides. The Engliſh, by a ſally, compelled Richemont to follow his men, leaving all his baggage and artillery behind him.

Richemont reſolved to chuſe a favourite for his ſovereign, on whom he could rely; with this view he recommended la Tremoille. When he mentioned him

to the king, Charles replied—" *You force me to receive him; but you will repent it, for I know him better than you do.* Tremoille verified the prediction of Charles.

The check which the conſtable had received at Saint James de Beuvron, and the conſequent diſperſion of his army, expoſed the frontiers of Brittany to the incurſions of the Engliſh; he therefore haſtened to Pontorſon, and after ſtrengthening the fortifications of that place, left a ſtrong garriſon to defend it. It was ſoon after beſieged by the enemy, who could not reduce it till the month of May, in the following year. The Engliſh meanwhile formed the ſiege of Montargis. The troops deſtined for this enterprize, amounted to three thouſand men; and ſuch was the deplorable ſituation of the king at this period, that he found it impoſſible to muſter an equal force. The garriſon of Montargis, reſiſted the Engliſh, for three months.

At length, being reduced to the laſt extremity, they ſent to apprize the king of the danger of their ſituation. The baſtard of Orleans, a young nobleman of high ſpirit, and endued with prudence ſuperior to his years, undertook to relieve the place. He was ſupplied with ſixteen hundred men.

When the French approached they found that the garriſon had opened their ſluices, and laid a great of the Engliſh camp under water; and had, likewiſe, by the ſame means, cut off the communication between the different diviſions of their army. The baſtard of Orleans, divided his little army into two corps, and ſent La Hire with one of them to attack that diviſion of the Engliſh which was commanded by John de la Pole, while with the other he marched againſt the earl of Suffolk's diviſion. La Hire, having completely defeated John de la Pole, haſtened to join the baſtard of Orleans, who, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, obliged the earl of Suffolk to fly. Warwick, after being compelled to remain a quiet ſpectator of the defeat of his troops, was himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of decamping.

Graville immediately advanced againſt Mans, which he took by ſurprize; but the earl of Suffolk had time to retire to the citadel, where there were proviſions only for three days. Talbot advanced to his relief, and entering the citadel in the night, attacked the French with great fury the next morning, and drove them from the town. After this exploit, Talbot and Suffolk marched to Laval, which they took by aſſault.

About this time the duke of Bedford returned from England with twenty thouſand men, with which he hoped to retrieve the time which had been loſt in fruitleſs expeditions during his abſence. Circumſtances were ſuch as to juſtify theſe hopes. La Tremoille had, by his intrigues, occaſioned an open rupture between the king and the conſtable, who had retired to Parthenay. The princes of the blood and moſt of the nobility were prejudiced againſt the favourite; and even thoſe troops which acknowledged the authority of Charles, eſpouſed the cauſe of Richemont. Charles's ſituation appeared to be deſperate. Bedford having ſe-

cretly conducted, in ſeparate detachments, a formidable army to the frontiers of Brittany, made an unexpected attack on that province, and compelled the duke to forego his alliance with Charles; to ſign the treaty of Troyes; and to promiſe to do homage for his duchy.

A. D. 1428.] The duke of Bedford, by his late treaty with the duke of Brittany, having freed himſelf from a dangerous enemy who lay behind him, reſolved on an enterprize which, if ſucceſsful, would, prepare the way for the final conqueſt of France. Orleans was ſo ſituated between the provinces which acknowledged the regent, and thoſe which held out for Charles, that it afforded an eaſy entrance into either; the duke, determined to reduce it, to facilitate his paſſage into the ſouth.

The command of this important expedition was entruſted to the earl of Saliſbury. He entered the country which lies between the Seine and the Loire, and employed Auguſt and September in the reduction of ſeveral ſmall towns which ſurrounded Orleans. On the eighth of October, a detachment of the Engliſh were ſent to reconnoitre that city; but being repulſed in a ſally made by the garriſon they croſſed the Loire, ſacked and burned the town of Clery, and on the twelfth preſented themſelves in full force before Orleans. Gaucourt, the governor, was a man of approved valour and experience; and a great number of nobility had thrown themſelves into the town. The garriſon and inhabitants appeared to be inſpired with the utmoſt intrepidity; even the women partook of the martial ardour, and contributed their efforts to the ſupport of the common cauſe.

Saliſbury's army, not exceeding ten thouſand men, was inſufficient to form a complete line of circumvallation round Orleans. He therefore reſolved to make his approaches from the ſouth, leaving the oppoſite ſide ſtill open to the French. He then attacked the caſtle of the Tourelles, and carried it the ſecond aſſault; but the acquiſition of this important fortreſs proved fatal to Saliſbury, who being wounded in the head by a cannon ball, as he was ſurveying the town from its ſummit, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, was conveyed to Meun, where he died on the third of the following month*. The earl of Suffolk ſucceeded to the command. Being convinced that the reduction of the city would be nearly impoſſible, before the garriſon were deprived of all communication with the adjacent country, he erected redoubts at different diſtances, all around it, which he was enabled to man by a ſtrong reinforcement of Engliſh and Burgundians which had recently joined him. Meanwhile the Baſtard of Orleans, and ſome other officers who had been ſent to haſten the departure of the troops, and of a convoy for Orleans, entered the city with five or ſix hundred lances.

A. D. 1429.] The erection of the various forts which the Engliſh had raiſed round the city, had given riſe to innumerable ſkirmiſhes, for attempts to intro-

* Monſtrelet.

duce provisions into the town; and the besiegers themselves, unable to collect a sufficiency from a country already exhausted by frequent incursions, stood in almost as great want of supplies as the besieged. When the English had lain four months before the place, the duke of Bedford, having collected, at Paris, a considerable quantity of provisions, arms and ammunition, sent it to the army in five hundred waggons, under the escort of two thousand five hundred men, commanded by Sir John Fastolfe. This convoy was met, on the twelfth of February, by the count of Clermont, and other officers at the head of four thousand French and Scottish troops. Fastolfe, apprized of their approach, had prepared to receive them, by surrounding his little army with the baggage-waggons, leaving open only two avenues, which were guarded by his best archers. He sustained the first attack of the French, and finding them thrown into some confusion he rushed out before they had time to rally, and obtained a complete victory. Six hundred soldiers, were slain in this action, which was called *The battle of Herrings*, because the provisions chiefly consisted of herrings, for the use of the English army during the Lent season. The bastard of Orleans, La Hire, Xaintrailles and La Fayette, collected the scattered remains of their army, and returned to Orleans.

This event threw a greater damp on the spirits of Charles, than any misfortune which he had hitherto experienced; but to try every expedient for the preservation of Orleans; he dispatched Xaintrailles to the regent at Paris, to propose that the city should be delivered up to the duke of Burgundy, and remain in his possession till the conclusion of the war. Burgundy seconded a proposal which tended to invest him with the power of deciding the contest; but Bedford rejected a measure from which no good could accrue to the English interest. This conduct of the regent is said to have disgusted the duke of Burgundy. The siege continued with vigour; the garrison began to experience a scarcity of provisions; and Charles, entertained thoughts of retiring, with the small remnant of his forces, into Languedoc and Dauphiny.

The troops which had been dispersed at the battle of the Herrings were now collected; and a strong reinforcement was hourly expected from Scotland. The Scottish monarch, by a treaty concluded in the month of November, 1427, had engaged to send his daughter Margaret to the court of France, as she was destined to espouse the dauphin Lewis, when arrived at years of maturity. This princess, instead of a dower, was to bring a supply of six thousand troops. But while the king was waiting the arrival of these succours, he received assistance from another quarter, which enabled him to effect a revolution more speedy than his most sanguine partisans could have taught him to hope.

A. D. 1429.] At Dom-Remy, near the banks of the Maese, which divides Champagne from Loraine, a village belonging to France, lived a country

girl of ſeventeen *, called Joan d'Arc. Joan had been taught to hold in deteſtation the Engliſh name; and the ravages of war, which ſhe ſaw extended even to her father's cottage, encreaſed this abhorrence. The expulſion of the enemy from her native land, and the triumph of the lawful ſovereign, ſhe juſtly regarded as the only means of correcting the evils which deſolated the kingdom. Her zeal encreaſed with her years; her manners was irreproachable.

Several years had elapſed, when preſſed more and more by that ſecret impulſe which urged her to arm in defence of her king and country, ſhe preſented herſelf to Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, a town in the neighbourhood. She flattered herſelf that he would ſupply her with arms, and an eſcort to enable her to repair to court: but Baudricourt diſmiſſed her with contempt. After ſix months Joan paid him a ſecond viſit, but met with no better ſucceſs. Still undiſmayed, ſhe preſented herſelf a third time to the governor, who believing her bewitched, wiſhed to have her exorciſed by the curate of the pariſh. She mantained, however, the truth of her miſſion; and aſſured him that the royaliſts had juſt ſuſtained a defeat near Orleans.—The account of the battle of the Herrings, which arrived ſoon after, ſtaggered the governor; Joan's revelations thenceforth met with general credit, and ſhe was regarded as a præternatural inſtrument of Providence. Having ſurmounted this difficulty, ſhe was furniſhed with a ſuit of armour; and two gentlemen, with their ſervants, were appointed to accompany her to court. She arrived at Chinon, where Charles then reſided, in the month of February.

The letters which Joan had received from Baudricourt, were ſent to the king as ſoon as ſhe arrived, but ſhe paſſed two days before ſhe could obtain an audience; it was even debated whether ſhe ſhould be admitted to the preſence of Charles. Curioſity, however prevailed, and ſhe procured admiſſion. Though Charles was diveſted of every enſign of royalty, ſhe diſtinguiſhed him from his courtiers, and addreſſed herſelf immediately to him. She promiſed to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans and conduct him to be crowned at Rheims. The energy with which ſhe expreſſed herſelf made converts of all who heard her. Charles, who could loſe nothing by the experiment, reſolved to try what effect her preſence would have on the drooping ſpirits of his troops. This reſolution was no ſooner adopted, than reports were induſtriouſly circulated, that ſhe had revealed a ſecret to the king, which, being only known to himſelf, muſt certainly have been diſcovered to her by heavenly inſpiration.

The troops glowed with impatience to retrieve their honour under the auſpices of this female champion. As ſoon as the nation was duly prepared for her reception ſhe aſſumed the habit of a man, was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on a

* She was born in 1412. Informations contenues dans les deux procès MSS. de la Pucelle. B. R. Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 372.

ſtately courſer, and exhibited to the people. When a ſword was offered her, ſhe deſired that ſomebody might be ſent to the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, for a particular ſword, which would be found on a tomb behind the great altar. Her requeſt was complied with, and the weapon was found and brought to her.

When the news of her approach reached the Engliſh camp, the ſoldiers infected with the general contagion, were ſeized with a ſecret horror: nor could they derive either courage or conſolation from the perſuaſions of their leaders, who aſſured them that the *Maid*, far from being the vicegerent of Heaven, was a mere engine of the devil.

Orleans had now been inveſted by the Engliſh ſeven months; and the conſtruction of the numerous forts which cut off all communication with the ſurrounding country had nearly reduced the ſpeedy capture of that city to an abſolute certainty. At this critical juncture Joan was diſpatched to Blois, where a large convoy of arms, ammunition, and proviſions had been collected for the ſupply of Orleans. Some days elapſed after her arrival before every thing was prepared for this important expedition on the ſucceſs of which the fate of the city, and, probably, of France, depended. This awful interval the Maid employed in exhorting the troops to place all their hopes in the aſſiſtance of Heaven. Her native eloquence, her fervent piety, forced incredulity itſelf to believe, and converted the moſt hardened hearts; the effects of her exhortations and example were almoſt univerſal. People ſaw with admiration a girl of ſeventeen, who could neither read nor write, performing, at once, the oppoſite functions of a general, and a miſſionary. She aſſembled all the prieſts in the town, and having formed them into a battalion, placed them at the head of the troops, as they marched out of Blois, preceded by a banner, decorated with a croſs. The air reſounded with hymns, which the ſoldiers repeated aloud. The troops became as enthuſiaſtic as their leader; they marched forward with unuſual confidence, impreſſed with the conviction that their efforts muſt be crowned with victory, and that they were favored with the moſt ſublime revelations*.

The mareſchal de Bouſſac, and La Hire accompanied the convoy, with an eſcort of ſix thouſand men. The convoy approached Orleans on the 29th of April, and, after a faint and ſpiritleſs reſiſtance by the Engliſh, who were unmanned by their ſuperſtitious fears, was conveyed into the city without loſs. The baſtard of Orleans, whom we ſhall hereafter call the count of Dunois, had

* Monſtrelet, ſpeaking of the Maid, obſerves, *that ſhe had lived a conſiderable time at a ſmall inn, where ſhe acted in the capacity of oſtler; and, in the diſcharge of this maſculine duty, uſed frequently to ride the horſes of the gueſts to the watering-place, and to perform other offices to which young girls were little accuſtomed.* But this account is proved to be a little falſe by informations taken at the place of Joan's birth, which demonſtrate that ſhe only paſſed a fortnight at an inn at Neufchâtel, in Lorraine, whither ſhe had been conducted by her uncle.

been ſent out to ſupport the convoy, and to introduce Joan, who was received by the garriſon with acclamations of joy, as the ſaviour of their liberties. From this moment the garriſon believed themſelves invincible.

Joan, previous to her departure from Blois, had ſent, by a herald, a letter addreſſed to the king of England, the duke of Bedford, and to the generals who commanded the ſiege; in which ſhe ſummoned the Engliſh to leave Orleans, and reſtore the kingdom to the lawful ſovereign. The herald having been thrown into priſon, Joan, on her arrival at Orleans, ſent to demand him, threatening, in the governor's name, to make ripriſals. The herald was accordingly releaſed, and a letter ſent by him, replete with invectives. On the following days freſh convoys and freſh troops arrived in the town. The Maid was ever foremoſt to facilitate their entrance, placing herſelf at the head of her troops, between the enemy and the town, and diſplaying her conſecrated banner.

On the fourth of May, the French, under the command of Joan made a ſally, and attacked one of the Engliſh forts, which, after an obſtinate reſiſtance for four hours, was carried ſword in hand, and four hundred men, out of twelve, which compoſed the garriſon, were put to the ſword. On the Friday following two other forts were reduced. In theſe different aſſaults, Joan was always the foremoſt, with her ſtandard in her hand, diſplaying the coolneſs and intrepidity of a hero. Her courage was of a ſuperior kind, as ſhe had an extreme repugnance to the effuſion of human blood, and never killed any one. When queſtioned as to her motive for always carrying her banner in time of action, ſhe replied that ſhe would never make uſe of her ſword, nor put any perſon to death.

The enemy having abandoned one of their forts, named Saint John the White, and retired to another which they had erected on the ruins of the church of the Auguſtines, Joan advanced to attack it. The French had planted their ſcaling-ladders, when they were ſeized with a ſudden panic and fled with precipitation: the Maid was compelled to follow them; but ſeeing the Engliſh iſſuing from the fort to cut off their retreat, ſhe faced about, and advanced to meet them with an intrepid countenance. The boldeſt of her followers haſtened to her aſſiſtance; by degrees the whole detachment returned, when the attack was renewed, and, after a long and bloody conflict, the fort was taken.

The Engliſh had now nothing remaining on the ſide of Sologne but the fort of Tourelles, and an entrenchment which they had thrown up on the bridge. On this poſt, the moſt important of all, the ſucceſs of the ſiege depended. The attack was deferred till the next day. Joan paſſed the night under arms, at the head of a detachment; and, at the break of day, the French attacked the entrenchment, which was defended with great courage. Joan, having received a wound in the throat, retired to have it dreſſed; and the ſoldiers had no ſooner

loſt ſight of her, than their courage began to fail them. They were on the point of ſounding a retreat, to which the count of Dunois had conſented, when Joan returned, and, running to the foot of the entrenchment, planted her ſtandard; and animating the ſoldiers perſuaded them to renew the charge. The Engliſh, ſtruck with terror, quitted the entrenchment, and ran for refuge to the fort; but moſt of them were drowned in the Loire, by the fall of the draw-bridge. The entrenchment being forced, the French haſtened to the fort of the Tourelles, which immediately ſurrendered.

Suffolk, having loſt ſix thouſand ſoldiers, in the different attacks, and finding that neither argument nor example could allay that panic with which his whole army were impreſſed, and which probably had infected his own, at length called a council of war, who were unanimous in opinion that the ſiege muſt be raiſed. The Engliſh army accordingly decamped from before Orleans, on the eighth of May, and retired to the different fortreſſes, on the banks of the Loire, which they had taken before the ſiege. This event is ſtill celebrated at Orleans every year, on the eighth of May, when public thankſgivings are offered up in the cathedral, and an eulogy is pronounced on the deliverer of the city.

Thus was the firſt object of Joan's extraordinary miſſion accompliſhed, a miſſion the divinity of which not the moſt incredulous of the French could now dare to diſpute, the duke of Bedford thus expreſſed himſelf in a letter which he wrote to the king and council of England:—"Alle things there proſpered for "you, till the tyme of the ſiege of Orleans, taken in hand, God knoweth by "what advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure fallen to the perſone "of my my couſin of Salyſbury, whom God aſſoille, there felle, by the hand "of God, as it ſeeemth a greet ſtrooke upon your peuple that was aſſembled "there in grete nombre, cauſed in grete partie, as I trowe, of lakke of ſadde "belive, and of unlevefulle doubte that thei hadde of a diſciple and lyme of "the fiende, called the Pucelle, that uſed fals enchauntments and ſorcerie. "The whiche ſtrooke and diſcomfiture nought oonly leſſed in grete partie the "nombre of youre peuple there, but as well withdrowe the courage of the "remenant, in marveilous wyſe, and couraiged youre adverſe partie and "enemy's*."

Joan, though the wound ſhe had received at the attack of the Tourelles was not yet cured, accompanied the count of Dunois to Loches, to inform the king of the ſucceſs of his arms. It was determined to march immediately towards Champagne, after taking all the places which the enemy ſtill poſſeſſed in the vicinity of Orleans. The duke of Alençon, with a body of ſix thouſand men, laid ſiege to Jargeau, whither the earl of Suffolk had retired with a ſmall detachment of

* Rymer's Fœdera, tom. x. p. 408.

the army. In a few days a practicable breach was affected, when the Engliſh offered to ſurrender, if not relieved within a fortnight; their propoſal, however, was rejected, and the troops had orders to begin the attack. During this ſiege, which laſted ten days, the Engliſh diſplayed more valour than they had lately ſhewn; while Joan, with her uſual intrepidity, animated the troops by her exhortation and example. As ſhe was mounting the breach, with her conſecrated ſtandard, ſhe was aſſailed with a ſhower of arrows, one of which tore her banner, while a ſtone ſtruck her on the head, and tumbled her into the foſſée. She ſoon, however, recovered. The French renewed the attack with additional vigour; and, in a ſhort time, made themſelves maſters of the place. One half of the garriſon, which conſiſted of twelve hundred men, were put to the ſword, and the remainder, with Suffolk and his brother, taken priſoners*.

The duke of Bedford having by this time ſomewhat recovered from the ſurprize into which he had been thrown by the late extraordinary reverſe of fortune, collected four thouſand men, which he ſent, under the conduct of Sir John Faſtolfe, to join the army now commanded by lord Talbot. The junction of theſe troops had not been long effected. The two armies met on the eighteenth of June, at the village of Patay, near Yenville.

The greateſt part of the Engliſh diſpirited by their late misfortunes, and ſtill under the influence of that ſuperſtitious panic to which thoſe misfortunes were imputable, fled at the firſt onſet. Sir John Faſtolfe himſelf, who had ſignalized his courage in many a well-diſputed conflict, eſcaped not the general infection; he ſet the example of flight to his troops, and the order of the Garter was taken from him, as a puniſhment for this inſtance of cowardice. Lord Talbot, indeed, fought with his uſual bravery; but, being deſerted by his army, was ſoon obliged to ſurrender. In this action eighteen hundred of the Engliſh were ſlain, and about one hundred gentlemen taken priſoners, beſides the Lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford†.

Sully was the firſt place taken by the French, after the battle of Patay; and Tremoille, to whom the town belonged, led the king thither notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of the citizens of Orleans, who, anxious to behold their ſovereign, had requeſted Charles to honour them with his preſence, and having prepared every thing for his reception, they could not conceal their diſcontent when they found their hopes diſappointed. The king, however, was obliged to repair to Château-Neuf on the Loire, between Sully and Gien, where ſeveral councils were held for the purpoſe of ſettling the plan of future operations. Some, eager to profit by the conſternation of the Engliſh, propoſed to enter Normandy, which was then deſtitute of troops; while others, were of opinion that the king

* Monſtrelet, fol. 45. Hal. fol. 26.

† Monſtrelet, fol. 45.

ſhould immediately proceed to Rheims. Joan herſelf inceſſantly ſolicited Charles to fulfil this important part of her miſſion; and the aſcendancy which ſhe had gained, by her heroic courage and uninterrupted ſucceſs, over the minds of the people, overcame every objection which was oppoſed to her advice.

The accompliſhment of this project, undertaken in contradiction to all the rules of human prudence, was a matter of ſuch extreme difficulty, that the bare propoſal, but a few weeks before, would have been conſidered as inſanity. Rheims was at the diſtance of near eighty leagues, and in poſſeſſion of the enemy; the road that led to it was in a manner lined with hoſtile troops, and defended by a variety of ſtrong fortreſſes; while Charles had only a body of ten thouſand men to overcome theſe complicated difficulties. But to an army inflated with recent ſucceſs, ſtimulated by a reſiſtleſs ſpirit of ſuperſtition, and led by an heroic enthuſiaſt, convinced of her own inſpiration, no obſtacles could appear inſurmountable.

The army, being aſſembled in the environs of Gien, was there reviewed by the king, whoſe finances were ſo far exhauſted, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to muſter money ſufficient to diſcharge even a ſmall part of the pay that was already due to the troops. But this defect was ſupplied by the ardour with which both officers and men embarked in the enterprize. The nobility flocked to the ſtandard of their lawful ſovereign, and all, whoſe fortune enabled them to defray their own expences, refuſed to accept any pay.

The army firſt marched to Auxerre, which refuſed to open its gates; but the offer of the citizens to ſupply the troops with proviſions, and to be guided in their conduct by the example of other towns, being accepted*, they purſued their route to Troyes, which they immediately inveſted. The garriſon was compoſed of ſix hundred men at arms, half Engliſh and half Burgundians. The French had brought no artillery with them; and, to encreaſe their embarraſſment, they were ſo ill ſupplied with proviſions, that a ſcarcity prevailed on the ſecond day of the ſiege. A council was called, at which opinions were divided; ſome propoſed to raiſe the ſiege of Troyes, and proceed immediately to Rheims; while others, diſcouraged by the numerous difficulties they had to encounter, were of opinion that it would be moſt prudent to return to Orleans. By adopting the firſt propoſal, the army would have been expoſed to a ſimilar oppoſition from every town on the road; while by following the laſt, they would have covered themſelves with ſhame.

Charles reſolved to conſult Joan d'Arc; who was accordingly ſummoned to attend the council. She poſitively affirmed that before the expiration of three days, the king ſhould enter the town. The archbiſhop of Rheims, chancellor

* Monſtrelet. Chron. de France. Hiſt. de la Pucelle. Procés MS.

of France, who was preſent at the time, told her, that if her prediction was verified within a week, Charles would think himſelf very fortunate; but the Maid repeated her promiſe with an air of confidence, that inſpired the troops with additional courage. She took the whole management of the aſſault upon herſelf, and advancing to the ſide of the foſſée, there fixed her conſecrated banner, and made the neceſſary preparations for the attack. The garriſon, ſeeing her approach, were ſtricken with a panic, and offered to capitulate; and that ſame day Charles entered the town in triumph. After refreſhing his troops, he purſued his march to Châlons, and was agreeably ſurprized at meeting with the biſhop, and a deputation of the principal inhabitants, who had come forth to meet him with the keys of the town.

But notwithſtanding this unexpected ſucceſs, the chief object of the expedition ſtill remained to be accompliſhed; viz. the reduction of Rheims. That city was defended by ſix hundred choſen men, under the conduct of Saveuſe and Châtillon, who might eaſily have ſtopped the progreſs of the royal army, and have given time to the enemy to relieve the place, the ſiege of which Charles was not in a ſituation to undertake. But far from making reſiſtance, they were no ſooner apprized of the reduction of Troyes and Châlons, than they aſſembled the inhabitants of Rheims, and declared that the defence of the city required a reinforcement of troops, whoſe departure they were going to haſten, exhorting them to repel with vigour the attacks of the enemy during their abſence. But they had no ſooner left the town, than the citizens ſent deputies to Charles, to requeſt he would honour them with his preſence.

It is highly probable that, in evacuating Rheims, Seveuſe and Châtillon had only acted in compliance with the ſecret orders of the duke of Burgundy. The refuſal to ſequeſter the city of Orleans in his hands, had greatly diſpleaſed that prince; and a coolneſs had ever ſince ſubſiſted between him and the regent. Charles entered Rheims on the twenty-ſeventh of July, when the dukes of Lorraine and Bar, and the Damoſeau de Commercy, accompanied by a numerous and martial retinue, came to make him a tender of their ſervices. The ceremony of his coronation was performed, with great ſolemnity, on the twenty-eighth; and, as ſoon as it was finiſhed, the Maid of Orleans, who had ſtood near his perſon in complete armour, with her ſacred banner in her hand, fell at his feet, and, embracing his knees, with tears of joy entreated his permiſſion to return home, the two grand objects of her miſſion being completed. The king, however, being too ſenſible of the advantages which he derived from her preſence to comply with her requeſt, Joan was compelled to remain with the army. But from this moment ſhe ceaſed to take the chief direction of the troops upon herſelf, or to offer her opinions in oppoſition to that of the council, or of the principal officers. She contented herſelf, in future, with ſtanding foremoſt in

every danger. She, probably, hoped by this conduct, to extinguiſh thoſe ſentiments of jealouſy which her ſervices had excited.

The coronation of Charles proved far from a vain and barren ceremony; it ſeemed to give him a freſh title to the allegiance of his ſubjects, who, confounded by ſuch an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of extraordinary events, could no longer heſitate to aſcribe them to ſome ſupernatural influence. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, they regarded their ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh as an act of oppoſition to the will of Heaven, and became impatient to ſwear fealty to Charles, whom they now eſteemed as their only lawful ſovereign. The inhabitants of Laon, Neufchâtel, Soiſſons, and of many other towns and fortreſſes, expelled the Engliſh and Burgundian garriſons, and ſubmitted to him*; and the whole nation appeared to give him the moſt unequivocal marks of their duty and attachment. Charles's expedition, from Rheims to the Iſle of France, had rather the appearance of a triumphal march, than of the progreſs of an army in an enemy's country.

While Charles was advancing, with ſuch rapidity, into the heart of France, the duke of Bedford exerted his utmoſt addreſs to counteract the effects of his victories. Knowing that the French monarch had made advances to the duke of Burgundy, in order to detach him from the Engliſh, he conducted himſelf with ſo much ſkill and prudence in this dangerous criſis, that he prevailed on that prince to renew his alliance with him†. By the alternate employment of careſſes and ſeverity, he retained the Pariſians in obedience, and prevented the defection of many other places which had evinced a diſpoſition to eſpouſe the intereſt of Charles. The duke of Burgundy left Paris on the ſixteenth of July, to aſſemble his troops, and, two days after, the regent ſet out for Normandy, to raiſe the forces of that province; from thence he proceeded to Calais, where his uncle, the biſhop of Wincheſter—who was now created Cardinal—had landed with an army of five thouſand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia, on a cruſade againſt the Huſſites. Having perſuaded his uncle to join theſe troops to thoſe which he had juſt raiſed‡, he found himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, with which he returned to Paris. On the approach of Charles, he left the capital, and pitched his camp between Corbeil and Melun.

The king, on his departure from Provins, had directed his march towards the frontiers of Brie, with the reſolution to bring the enemy to battle; but on their approach, he changed his courſe, and determined to regain the banks of the Loire. The troops had already advanced as far as Bray, when Charles was again induced, by the advice of his principal officers, to alter his reſolution; and the royaliſts accordingly facing about proceeded to Dammartin, where they eſtabliſhed their quarters.

* Cron. de France. Monſtrelet. † Monſtrelet, fol. xlvii. ‡ Rymer's Fœdera, tom. x. p. 433.

The duke of Bedford left Paris a ſecond time, and the two armies remained in ſight of each other a whole day, but without coming to action. The regent, then returned to the capital, while the king repaired to Creſſy, in Valois, whence he ſummoned the towns of Beuvais and Compiégne to ſurrender. The inhabitants of both theſe places expreſſed their readineſs to acknowledge the authority of their lawful ſovereign, and thoſe of Beauvais expelled their biſhop for his ſervile attachment to the Engliſh.

Charles advanced towards Compiégne, in order to take poſſeſſion of that town but learning, as he approached Senlis, that the duke of Bedford had left Paris, for the third time, with a view of intercepting him in his march, he halted at Monpilloi, and waited for the enemy. The regent ſoon came in ſight, but ſtill doubtful of the confidence of his own troops, while he ſeemed to face the enemy, he choſe his poſts with ſo much care and diſcernment, that Charles in vain endeavored to compel him to a deciſive action. After remaining two days in preſence of each other the two armies ſeparated†; the Engliſh returned to Paris, and the king proceded to Compiégne, which opened its gates to receive him. During his ſtay in that city he received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants of Senlis, and ſeveral other places.

While theſe hoſtile motions ſpread conſternation around the metropolis, the duke of Burgundy remained at Arras, under pretence of aſſembling his troops. If this prince had employed all his forces in favour of the enemy, he might eaſily have ſtopped the victorious progreſs of the royal arms. But experience had at length convinced him that his intereſt and that of the Engliſh were oppoſed to each other. Content with keeping up appearances with his allies, and with avoiding an open rupture, their humiliation gave him a ſecret ſatisfaction. The king ſent the archbiſhop of Rheims, to wait on him with propoſals for a reconciliation. The duke expreſſed his pleaſure at this mark of attention, and by his anſwers gave the envoy reaſon to believe that the time was not far diſtant when he and the king might meet as friends. At this period, the French reduced Aumale and Château-Gillard, where they found the brave Barbazan who had been detained a priſoner in that fortreſs eight years. The conſtable too, having aſſembled ſeven thouſand men, entered Normandy, and took poſſeſſion of Evreux—but on the approach of the duke of Bedford, he was compelled to retire with precipitation.

On Sunday, the eighth of September, the army, commanded by the duke of Alençon, the count of Clermont, and the lord of Montmorenci, who, ſince the reduction of Compiégne, had done homage to the king, approached Paris by the gate of Saint-Denis, to deceive the Engliſh, while a ſtrong detach-

† Monſtrelet. f. iii.

ment began the attack on the oppoſite ſide. The beſiegers had flattered themſelves, that the people would riſe in the town and ſecond their efforts, but finding no ſigns of an inſurrection, ſoon prepared to retreat. Joan d'Arc, unaccuſtomed to fly, reſolved to perſiſt in her efforts to reduce the place; ignorant of the depth of the foſſée, ſhe inceſſantly called for faſcines to fill it up; and while thus employed, ſhe received a wound in the thigh from a croſs-bow. The pain ſhe experienced, and the quantity of blood ſhe loſt, compelled her to lie down behind a ſmall eminence, where ſhe was ſuffered to remain till night, when the duke of Alençon went to her aſſiſtance. Joan, notwithſtanding her ſimplicity, could no longer doubt that her merit and atchievements had made her many enemies; of this the danger to which ſhe had been ſo long left expoſed was alone ſufficient to convince her. She now renewed her ſolicitations to the king for permiſſion to return to her friends; and being reſolved no longer to bear arms, ſhe made a preſent of her martial habiliments to the monks of Saint-Denis: Charles however, refuſed her requeſt, and ſhe was ſtill compelled to remain with the army. The troops decamped four days after this unſucceſsful attack. He next took poſſeſſion of Gournay, Bray, Melun, and Sens.

The duke of Burgundy arrived at Paris in December with eight hundred men at arms. This body of troops excited the regent's ſuſpicions; and he requeſted the duke to enter the city with only a part of his retinue; but this Burgundy refuſed. His entry rather reſembled a triumph; being preceded by ten heralds at arms, and an equal number of trumpeters. The cardinal of Wincheſter arrived ſoon after.

A. D. 1430.] The reſult was a truce for Picardy, Artois, Champagne, and Burgundy, and ſome particular towns in other parts of the kingdom, which deſired to be included in the ceſſation of arms; ſome days after the truce was concluded, Saint Cloud, Saint Denis, Vincennes, and the bridge of Charenton were comprized in it, at the ſolicitation of the Engliſh, who were anxious to ſecure a ſupply of proviſions for the capital *. The truce was publiſhed at Paris, in preſence of the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, the cardinal of Wincheſter, and the deputies of the different orders; and, on the ſame day, the duke of Burgundy was conſtituted governor of Paris, and regent of the whole kingdom of France except Normandy, till Eaſter †.

Charles, croſſed the Seine at Bray, whence he purſued his march to the banks of the Loire. The remainder of the campaign was employed in the reduction of Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier, a town ſituated in the Nivernois, between the Loire and the Allier. The approaches were made in form, and in a few days a prac-

* Treſor des Chartres. Reg. nommé Ordonn. Barbines, fol. 13. † Monſtrelet. fol. 53.

ticable breach was affected. The Maid was preſent at the ſiege, and animated the troops by her exortations and example. The French diſplayed their uſual courage and confidence in the aſſault, but the place was defended with ſuch obſtinate valour, that, after a long and bloody conflict, they were compelled to retreat. But the heroic Maid diſdained to fly; Dolon, a gentleman who had been appointed to attend her*, being ſent to entreat that ſhe would return to the camp, found her ſurrounded by five or ſix men at arms, who had bravely reſolved to ſacrifice their lives to her ſafety. Her intrepidity ſeemed to encreaſe with the danger to which ſhe was expoſed—She proteſted ſhe would never abandon her poſt till ſhe had attained her object. Her reſolution inſpired the troops with freſh courage, and urged them to renew their exertions for ſubduing the town. They returned to the attack with a degree of fury that proved irreſiſtible: the garriſon gave away, and the place was taken.

The king repaſſed the Loire, and the troops were put into winter quarters. Charles, convinced that he was indebted for the glorious ſucceſs of the laſt campaign, to the zeal of his ſubjects, the courage of his nobles, and the heroic enthuſiaſm of the Maid, evinced an anxiety to prove his gratitude for ſuch important ſervices. On the city of Orleans, the valour and fidelity of whoſe inhabitants had firſt revived his drooping hopes, and turned the tide of ſucceſs in his favour, he conferred a variety of new privileges and exemptions. He ſent for Joan's parents, and granted a patent of nobility to the Maid herſelf, to her father and three brothers, and to all their deſcendants, both male and female; he alſo changed the name of their family from d'Arc to *du Lys;* a name which their poſterity always preſerved, with the addition of—*dit la Pucelle.* The privilege, in favour of the female deſcendants of Joan's family, ſubſiſted till the commencement of the ſeventeenth century. Eude le Maire, who was deſcended from it by the mother's ſide, regiſtered his letters of nobility in 1608; but ſix years after this prerogative was ſuppreſſed, by an arrêt of the parliament, and limited, in future, to the male heirs.

The Engliſh, meanwhile, made ſome attempts on Lagny, which were ſucceſsfully repelled by the valorous exertions of Ambroſe de Lore, Foucaut, Chabannes, Xaintrailles, and Joan d'Arc. The Maid had lately left the French court to join the army. At the head of three hundred men, ſhe attacked a famous leader of banditti, called Franquet d'Arras; he was defeated and taken priſoner. Being conveyed to Lagny, his life was made to pay the forfeit of his crimes; Joan had interceded in his favour, but her ſolicitations were rejected, yet was the execution of Franquet afterward aſcribed to her as a crime, by her iniquitous judges.

* Procés MS. de Jeanne d'Arc. Depoſition du Sieur Dolon.

The duke of Bedford, having obſerved the great effects produced by the coronation of Charles, was induced to believe that if young Henry were to undergo the ſame ceremony, it might be attended with ſimilar advantages. He ſolicited the protector and council of England to ſend him over without delay; but the nation was ſo much exhauſted by the war, that ſix months elapſed before money could be procured to defray the expences of his journey; even then the protector was obliged to raiſe it by pawning the jewels of the crown, and by extorting numerous loans, ſome of which were ſo trifling as not to exceed five marks *. The young king, embarked at Dover, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, 1430, and landed at Calais, the ſame day, attended by the chief nobility of England, and a conſiderable number of troops. But many of theſe troops were ſo terrified by the accounts they had heard of the Maid of Orleans, that they immediately deſerted and returned to England. From Calais Henry was conducted to Rouen, where he remained till December, in the following year from the inability of the regent to raiſe money to defray the expences of his coronation.

Compiégne, being in the poſſeſſion of the royaliſts, cut off the communication between Picardy and the Iſle of France, its reduction, therefore, became an object of importance. A numerous garriſon, aided by the zeal and courage of the inhabitants, rendered the undertaking difficult. The duke of Burgundy inveſted the town on every ſide at the ſame moment; but his plans, though conducted with ſecreſy, had been diſcovered to the French; and Joan d'Arc, accompanied by Xaintrailles, had thrown herſelf into the place.

While the enemy's troops were taking poſſeſſion of their reſpective quarters, the Maid made a ſally, at the head of ſix hundred men, and attacked the poſt of Marigny, whither Luxembourg and ſome other of the generals had repaired to examine the approaches to the town. The enemy, though, at firſt thrown into ſome confuſion, made a ſucceſsful reſiſtance; and the royaliſts, found it neceſſary to retreat; when Joan, placing herſelf in the rear of the detachment, frequently faced about, and checked the purſuit of the enemy. Juſt as the laſt ranks had paſſed the barriers, an Engliſh archer, attacked the Maid, and pulled her from her horſe. The baſtard of Vendôme, coming up at the time, Joan, who was diſarmed, ſurrendered herſelf his priſoner.

Flavy, governor of Compiégne, was accuſed of having contributed to the capture of the Maid, by giving ſecret orders to ſhut the barrier againſt her; but this accuſation was wholly deſtitute of truth; nothing can be found to juſtify it. Could any thing have added to the glory which Joan had ſo well-earned; the immoderate joy diſplayed by the Engliſh and Burgundians on her capture muſt have encreaſed it†. The ſoldiers flocked in crowds to behold

* Rym. Foed. tom. x. p. 455, 467. † Monſtrelet. Reg. du Parl.

this girl of eighteen, whoſe very name had, for more than a year, made them tremble, and carried terror even to the capital of England. The duke of Burgundy converſed with her ſome time. Couriers were diſpatched to all the towns in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, to invite the inhabitants to partake of the general ſatisfaction; and the duke of Bedford ordered public rejoicings at Paris, preceded by a *Te Deum*. The duke of Burgundy continued to preſs the ſiege of Compiégne, though with more vigour than ſucceſs. He was ſoon called into the Low Countries, on the death of his couſin, Philip of Brabant, whoſe inheritance the counteſs of Hainaut threatened to diſpute with him. Bruxelles, and all the principal towns in Brabant, acknowledged the duke for their ſovereign, who added that rich and fertile province to his other extenſive dominions.

Compiégne after having been inveſted nearly ſix months, found itſelf reduced to the laſt extremity, though rather from want of proviſions than from the efforts of the enemy. Luxembourg conſidered its reduction as infallible, when the count of Vendôme, Xaintrailles, and ſeveral other officers of rank, having formed a junction of the different corps under their command, which compoſed a body of four thouſand fighting men, advanced as far as Verberie, with the intention of relieving the place. The enemy called a council of war, at which it was reſolved to leave a ſufficient force to guard the entrenchments, and to march with the remainder of the army againſt the French, who were then drawn up in order of battle, within ſight of Compiégne. When the Engliſh and Burgundians came in preſence of the royaliſts, they halted.

While the two armies remained in this ſituation, different detachments of the French having made a circuit, entered the town by the gate on the oppoſite ſide *. Theſe detatchments, with a part of the garriſon, under the command of Flavy, attacked a work which was defended by Brimeau, mareſchal of Burgundy. The French were twice repulſed; but being encouraged by Xaintrailles, and by the inhabitants of the town, who, both men and women, ran to partake of the glory of the enterprize, they returned a third time to the charge, and carried the poſt. Luxembourg was informed of this diſaſter, which he could neither prevent nor remedy. The reduction of this fort gave a free acceſs to the troops, who immediately entered Compiégne in ſight of the enemy. Next day they conſtructed a bridge of boats, repaſſed the Oyſe, and reduced a ſecond fort on the banks of that river. The enemy, alarmed, evacuated a third, ſo that only one, which commanded the bridge, now remained in their poſſeſſion. Luxembourg, diſconcerted by ſuch repeated loſſes, made his troops return to their quarters; he was uncertain how to act, till the deſertion of a great part of his army put an end to his doubts, and compelled him

* Monſtrelet. Chron. de France. Chron. de Charles VII. par Alain Chartier.

to raiſe the ſiege. The enemy having received orders to retreat, fled with ſuch precipitation, that a part of the baggage, with all their proviſion, ammunition, and artillery, fell into the hands of the French.

A ſplendid victory, obtained by Xaintrailles over a body of Engliſh and Burgundians at Germigny, completed the glory of this ſucceſsful campaign. The number of priſoners taken in theſe different expeditions was prodigious, and moſt of them were men of diſtinction; where the enemy had taken one, the royaliſts had taken ten *. This being the caſe, it is truly aſtoniſhing that nobody ſhould have thought of offering ſome of theſe numerous priſoners in exchange for the maid of Orleans. After the important ſervices which ſhe had rendered to her king and country, ſuch an inſtance of neglect reflects eternal diſgrace on the memory of Charles, whoſe falling fortunes ſhe had ſo gallantly reſtored, and of thoſe warriors who had witneſſed her glorious atchievements, and triumphed under her auſpices.

The ſucceſs of the French arms was not confined to Picardy and the iſle of France. Barbazan, aſſembled three thouſand troops in the environs of Châlons, in Champagne, with which he attacked the united forces of England and Burgundy. The enemy, whoſe army amounted to eight thouſand men, had taken poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt. The firſt efforts of the French were ſuſtained with great firmneſs; but Le Bourge de Vignoles, having attacked them in the rear, during the heat of the action, they were inſtantly thrown into confuſion, and all the exertions of the leaders to encourage or rally their men proving ineffectual, they were completely routed. Almoſt the whole army were either killed or taken priſoners. This victory only coſt the royaliſts eighty men.

That period was now arrived, at which the Maid of Orleans was doomed to fall the victim of a barbarous age. The conſpicuous part which this heroine played in the tranſactions of the preſent reign; the celebrity which ſhe juſtly acquired by the extent and importance of her ſervices; her courage, her character, her virtues, her misfortunes—all combine to render her an object highly intereſting to the reader, and to juſtify the hiſtorian in paying due honor to her memory, by unveiling the iniquity of her perſecutors; by expoſing to the indignation of the world, the baſe and wicked means that were exerted † for the deſtruction of a girl of eighteen, whoſe only crime was the attempt to reſtore her ſovereign to the throne of his anceſtors, and to reſcue her country from foreign oppreſſion.

1431. A. D.] Immediately after Joan had been taken, friar Martin, vicar general of the inquiſition of France, claimed the priſoner—"As vehemently ſuſ-"pected of many crimes ſavouring of hereſy; crimes which could neither be

* Villaret, tom. xv. p. 28.

† Monſtrelet. Chron de France. Journal de Paris. Paſquier. Reg. du Parl. Hiſt. de la Pucelle. Preuves Juſtificatives. Proces. MS. B. R.

"concealed, nor overlooked without good and proper reparation:"—Theſe were the expreſſions he made uſe of when he wrote to the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Ligny—"*moſt humbly and affectionately entreating them,*" and, a few lines after, "*expreſsly enjoining them, in virtue of his office, and of the authority* "*committed to him by the holy ſee, under the pain of incurring the penalties of diſobedi-* "*ence, to ſend, as ſoon as poſſible, the ſaid Joan, to anſwer before him, to ſuch charges* "*as the attorney for the inquiſition ſhould prefer againſt her.*" The Maid was taken on the twenty-fourth of May, and this letter was written on the twenty-ſeventh.

The Univerſity of Paris wrote, at the ſame time, to the duke and to the count, and their ſolicitations were ſtill more urgent: not content with deſiring that the Maid might be delivered up to the Inquiſition, they expreſſed their hopes that ſhe would be watched ſo cloſely that no opportunity of eſcaping the juſtice of the church could poſſibly occur. This abominable letter, and another to the duke of Burgundy, couched nearly in the ſame terms, are inſerted in the criminal proceſs. The univerſity employed the moſt preſſing ſolicitations to prevent the Maid from eſcaping, or from being releaſed on paying a ranſom.

Joan had, at firſt, been confined in the fortreſs of Beaulieu, and afterwards in the caſtle of Beaurevoir. The extreme rigour of her captivity gave her but too juſt reaſon to dread the horrid ſcene that was to follow. Theſe alarming apprehenſions, and her indignation at the continual railleries and inſulting language of her guards, who had formerly trembled at her aſpect, led her to make a deſperate attempt to recover her liberty. Having watched an opportunity while her motions were leſs attended to than uſual, ſhe jumped from one of the windows of the tower; but ſhe was unfortunately ſo much hurt by the fall, as to be unable to riſe from the ground. She was immediately ſeized and conveyed back to her priſon, where ſhe was confined more cloſely than before, and ſoon after was transferred to the caſtle of Crotoy. During this time, every exertion was made to get her from the count of Ligny. That nobleman having, at firſt, evinced a reluctance to give her up, the duke of Bedford had applied to the duke of Burgundy to interpoſe his authority; while the biſhop of Beauvais who ſaid that ſhe was taken within his dioceſe, ſummoned them both to deliver the priſoner into his poſſeſſion. The count was offered ſix thouſand livres for her, and afterwards ten thouſand.

The count of Lingy was ſtaggered by theſe injunctions and offers, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of his wife, who repeatedly threw herſelf at his feet, and conjured him, not to deliver up to certain death a brave and innocent captive, whom the laws of war commanded him to reſpect. The inquiſitor, the biſhop of Beauvais, and the univerſity of Paris returned to the charge, preſſed the duke of Burgundy anew, offered to give ſecurity to the count of Ligny for the ten thouſand livres, and even preſented a petition to the king of England, to "*beg his high excellence, in honour of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to give or-*

"*ders that this woomen ſhould be ſhortly rendered into the hands of the Eccleſiaſtical Judge.*" At length the iniquitous bargain was concluded; Ligny received ten thouſand livres, and a penſion of three hundred was ſettled on the Baſtard of Vendôme. Joan was then delivered up to a detachment of Engliſh troops who conducted her to Rouen, where ſhe was to be tried.

Cauchon, biſhop of Beauvais, five other French prelates; friar Martin, vicar general of the inquiſition in France; about fifty doctors of the cannon law, with the cardinal of Wincheſter, were appointed to try this extraordinary cauſe.

Theſe judges held their firſt ſeſſion at Rouen, on the twenty-firſt of February, 1431; when their priſoner appeared before them, bending beneath the weight of chains, from which ſhe earneſtly, but in vain, entreated them to relieve her. The queſtions that were put to her chiefly tended to eſtabliſh her belief in the reality of thoſe viſions, and of that intercourſe with departed ſaints, which ſhe had originally aſſigned as a reaſon for undertaking the defence of her country.

At the ſecond ſeſſion, ſhe was aſked whether king Charles had had viſions as well as herſelf,—"Send to aſk him," replied the Maid. She was repeatedly preſſed to ſay whether ſhe was of opinion that ſhe had done right in attacking Paris on a feſtival; at lentgth ſhe anſwered that ſuch ſolemn days certainly ought to be reſpected, but that, for an error of that nature, it was the province of her confeſſor to give her abſolution. When aſked whether the ſaints had ever announced the deſcent of the Engliſh, ſhe anſwered that the Engliſh had invaded France long before the period of her firſt revelations;—in fact, ſhe was but three years old when Henry the Fifth firſt landed on the coaſt of Normandy, in 1415. At the fifth ſeſſion ſhe declared that, before the expiration of ſeven years, the Engliſh would experience a much heavier loſs than they had ſuſtained before Orleans.

The judges aſſembled on the third of March, for the ſixth time, when abſurd queſtions were repeated, to perplex and confound the unhappy victim, who, from time to time, betrayed her hopes of eſcaping the rage of her tyrants. When queſtioned whether ſuch hopes were founded on a promiſe made her by the celeſtial ſpirits with whom ſhe had converſed, "That has no "concern with my trial"—ſaid ſhe—"do you wiſh me to ſpeak againſt my-"ſelf?" A report having been circulated that a child had been raiſed from the dead by Joan at Lagny, the biſhop of Beauvais hoped, by extorting from her a confeſſion of this miracle, to obtain ſufficient proof for his purpoſe; but the Maid defeated his malice, by replying that the child being thought dead was carried to the church, where it had exhibited ſufficient ſigns of life to juſtify the adminiſtration of baptiſm;—a miracle which could be only aſcribed to God himſelf. With a view to convict her of ſuperſtition, ſhe was aſked whether ſhe had often changed her banner; whether that banner had been conſecrated; for what purpoſe ſhe had cauſed the names of Jeſus and Mary to be embroidered

thereon; whether ſhe had aſcribed any fortunate effects to her banner; and whether ſhe had inſtilled ſuch a belief into the French troops? They demanded, "Why ſhe carried her ſtandard in her hand, at the coronation of Charles "at Rheims?"—"It was but juſt," ſaid ſhe, "that having ſhared the toils "and dangers, it ſhould likewiſe ſhare the glory."

Her judges were diſconcerted, but their hearts were not touched. They had recourſe to the unprincipled expedient of altering her anſwers, in order to give them a criminal interpretation. *William Manchon*, one of the two ſecretaries who were employed to write down her anſwers, made oath that he had been applied to for this purpoſe, but had rejected with ſcorn the infamous propoſal, notwithſtanding the urgent ſolicitations of the biſhop of Beauvais, who abuſed him in the moſt groſs and illiberal manner, for harbouring ſcruples to which he himſelf was a ſtranger. About the middle of the trial, another apoſtolic notary, of a more pliant diſpoſition, was employed. Cauchon likewiſe engaged a prieſt, named *Oyſelleur*, to introduce himſelf into the priſon, and to gain her confidence, by pretending to be a priſoner like herſelf. Deceived by the perfidious eccleſiaſtic, ſhe made no ſcruple to confeſs to him, while two men, concealed for the purpoſe, overheard and wrote down every thing ſhe ſaid. But none of theſe baſe artifices had yet brought any thing to light which could poſſibly affect the life or liberty of Joan; and the infamous prelate, enraged at the diſappointment, was ſtrongly ſuſpected of an attempt to poiſon his innocent victim *.

A ſtate of the trial being drawn up, was ſubmitted to the inſpection of certain doctors, who declared the proofs inſufficient to eſtabliſh the conviction of the priſoner; the interrogatories, were renewed, though the object was ſtill the ſame. At the thirteenth ſeſſion, Joan's judges attempted to make her comprehend the diſtinction between the *church-triumphant*, and the *church-militant*, and to extort from her an opinion on that difference; a queſtion which could never have been put by divines to a young girl who could neither read nor write, but with the malignant intention of taking an unfair advantage of her reply. The Maid anſwered that ſhe ſhould always be ready to ſubmit to the church. One of the judges, an Auguſtin monk, named friar Iſembert, being moved with compaſſion, ſeized this opportunity to adviſe her to appeal to the pope and council, which ſhe immediately did. This appeal muſt have ſnatched her from the fury of her enemies, but for the interference of Cauchon, who caſting a look of indignation at the monk, ordered him *in the Devil's name* to be ſilent; he, at the ſame time, forbade the ſecretary to make any mention of the appeal. Joan obſerving the perfidy of her judges, exclaimed—"Ah, you write down every thing

* Depoſition de Thyac, Medecin. Procés. MS.

" that tells againſt me, but will ſuffer nothing that is in my favour to be written " down."

The conduct of this crowd of prieſts, doctors, and divines, preſided by an unprincipled biſhop, in employing, againſt a ſimple and inexperienced girl, all the ſubtilties which a deſire of finding her guilty could ſuggeſt, cannot but excite the moſt lively indignation. They ineſſantly laid ſome new ſnare for her ignorance; putting queſtions to her on different ſubjects at the ſame moment, queſtions which had no connection with each other, and employing, in ſhort, every kind of feint and equivocation, that could throw her off her guard. They often loſt ſight of the principal object to interrogate her on matters the moſt trifling, puerile, and abſurd. They aſked her whether ſhe took frequent walks in her infancy; whether ſhe had ever fought with her infant companions; whether ſhe had ever painted herſelf; whether the ſaints who appeared to her talked French or Engliſh; and whether they wore ear-rings, and rings?—" You took one ring from me," ſaid ſhe to Cauchon, " pray return it."

During her trial, the count of Ligny, had the curioſity to pay her a viſit. He endeavoured to perſuade her that he came to treat about her ranſom; but the Maid replied—" You have neither the inclination nor the ability. I know very " well that theſe Engliſhmen will put me to death, in the belief that, after my " death, they will conquer the kingdom of France; but were there a hundred " thouſand more *God-damns* than there are here at preſent, they would never re- " duce this kingdom." Stafford drew his ſword, and would have run her through the body, had he not been prevented by Warwick *. She complained that an Engliſh nobleman, of high rank, attempted to raviſh her in priſon; but the authority which the culprit enjoyed, prevented this fact from being duly atteſted. The ducheſs of Bedford, obtained a promiſe from her huſband that no violence ſhould be offered to the perſon of Joan, whoſe pretentions to chaſtity ſhe had cauſed to be verified. During that examination the duke of Bedford was concealed in an adjoining apartment, whence, by an aperture made in the wall, he beheld his perſecuted victim, in a ſtate of pure nature.

At length the captive maid, bending beneath the weight of her chains, expoſed to the moſt inhuman treatment, daily inſulted by her guards and by her judges, fell dangerouſly ill. The duke of Bedford, the cardinal of Winchеſter, and the earl of Warwick appointed two phyſicians to attend her, with the ſtrongeſt injunctions " to take care that ſhe did not die a natural death; " adding, that the king of England had bought her at a dear rate; that it was " his intention to commit her to the flames; that the biſhop of Beauvais " was apprized of this, and that it was for that reaſon he was ſo eager to

* Villaret, tom. xv. p. 57.

"have the trial finiſhed *." In fact, the judges frequently met twice a day; and Joan was likewiſe obliged to ſubmit to various private examinations in priſon. The biſhop wiſhed to put her to the rack, and the inſtruments of torture were placed before her; but the dreadful ſight was incapable of betraying her into any variation or equivocation in her anſwers. Nothing but the dread of her dying during the operation deterred Cauchon from putting his project in execution.

The trial being ended, ſeventy charges were exhibited againſt Joan, which were reduced to twelve; and ſent to the univerſity of Paris, who confirmed the deciſions of the tribunal at Rouen; and, at the ſame time, wrote to the king of England, beſeeching him to order ſentence to be pronounced without delay. When the trial was read to the Maid, ſhe pointed out ſeveral parts of it which were contrary to truth, and where her replies were groſsly miſrepreſented; but her remarks were diſregarded, and her judges, bent on her ruin, reſolved to purſue her to the utmoſt. On the twenty-fourth of May, Joan was conducted to the church-yard of Saint Ouen, where a ſcaffold was erected, and a defamatory ſermon preached by one William Erard, replete with illiberal abuſe, and the moſt groſs invectives againſt the Maid herſelf, the king, and the whole nation. After this ſermon the biſhop of Beauvais roſe to pronounce ſentence.

The object which the judges had in view was but imperfectly fulfilled. By condemning Joan, as convicted of the crimes imputed to her, and by putting her to death, in conſequence of ſuch condemnation, without that previous confeſſion of her guilt which the laws required, they would rather confirm than remove the ſuſpicion, that revenge and and not juſtice had been conſulted in her trial. She had formerly denied moſt of the charges exhibited againſt her, and the want of evidence rendered the proceedings irregular. The only mode of making her appear guilty was by extorting from her a public retractation. She was accordingly ſummoned to abjure; but ſhe ſaid that ſhe knew not the ſignification of that term, and begged ſhe might be allowed to have ſome perſon to conſult with. The perſon who was choſen for this purpoſe, aſſured her if ſhe perſiſted in contradicting any one of the charges ſhe would be infallibly burned; and he adviſed her to ſubmit herſelf to the ſentence of the church. Joan, raiſing her voice, then ſaid—"I appeal to the univerſal church, whether "I ought to abjure or not."—"You muſt abjure immediately," exclaimed Erard, "or you will be burned." While this ſcene was paſſing on the ſcaffold, the people evinced their indignation by a confuſed murmur; and the biſhop of Beauvais was preparing to pronounce ſentence, after which Joan was given to

* Dépoſ. de la Chamb. Médecin. Procés MS.

underſtand there could be no hopes of mercy. They ſhewed her the executioner, who was waiting with his cart to convey her to the place of execution. Intimidated by theſe infamous manœuvres, and by the baſe manaces of her, judges, who threatened to commit her to the flames; preſſed too by others who, in a tone of affection, entreated her to ſave both her body and ſoul by a ſpeedy retractation, ſhe, at length, declared, that, with regard to her revelations, ſhe ſubmitted to the deciſions of the church and her miniſters. The ſecretary then approached her, and read a form of abjuration, which contained a ſimple promiſe never more to bear arms, to ſuffer her hair to grow, and to quit the dreſs of a man. Being told that if ſhe refuſed to ſign this paper inſtant death would be her portion, ſhe conſented. But at that moment another paper was ſlipped into her hand, inſtead of that which had been read to her, by which deception ſhe was made to ſign an acknowledgement that ſhe was really guilty of all the crimes which had been aſcribed to her. The truth of this circumſtance is eſtabliſhed, beyond the reach of confutation, by the depoſition of the very ſecretary who read the firſt paper to her †. Immediately after ſhe had ſigned the ſuppoſed abjuration, with the ſign of the croſs, the biſhop of Beauvais pronounced ſentence, by which ſhe was condemned to paſs the remainder of her days in priſon, with no other nouriſhment than the "*Bread of Pain, and the Water of Anguiſh*," according to the ſtyle uſed by the inquiſition. The aſſembly was diſſolved; and Cauchon and his aſſociates, on their return, were inſulted and pelted by the populace. Theſe miniſters of iniquity, notwithſtanding the diſgrace they had incurred, had not been able even to ſatisfy the enemy to whom they had ſold their conſciences. The Engliſh threatened to exterminate them for not having earned the money they had received from their monarch ‡. The earl of Warwick reproached the biſhop and doctors who had aſſiſted at the trial; and declared that if Joan were ſuffered to eſcape puniſhment, the king's intereſt would be materially affected. "Give yourſelf no uneaſineſs," ſaid one of them, "we will have her yet, I "warrant you."

Joan after ſhe had re-aſſumed the female dreſs, begged ſhe might be confined in the priſon belonging to the archbiſhop's court, where ſhe hoped to receive better treatment, but this favour was denied her. The firſt night after ſhe was conducted back to the dungeon ſhe had hitherto occupied, her guards took her woman's cloaths from off her bed, and put her man's apparel, which ſhe had quitted, in their place. At day-break ſhe begged that the chain which was faſtened round her body might be looſened, and perceiving her man's apparel, ſhe earneſtly entreated that the clothes ſhe had worn the day before

† Depoſ. de Jean Maſſieu, Greffier, Procés MS.
‡ Depoſ. de Jean Franc. máitre des requêtes Procès MS.

might be reſtored; but with this requeſt the guards refuſed to comply. In vain did ſhe repeatedly declare that they muſt be conſidered as the authors of her deſtruction, ſince they knew the prohibition ſhe had received from her judges to dreſs herſelf in man's clothes: they replied, that ſhe ſhould have no other. The fear of incurring the penalty of diſobedience detained her in bed till noon, when, preſſed by a natural call, ſhe was compelled to riſe and cover herſelf with the only clothes ſhe could procure. This was all her perſecutors wiſhed for. Several witneſſes inſtantaneouſly entered the place to verify this pretended tranſgreſſion. On their depoſitions the judges haſtened to the priſon; and while the clerk was employed in writing an account of the ſituation in which the priſoner was found, *Andrew Marguerye*, one of the aſſiſtant-doctors, obſerved that it was neceſſary to aſk her what had been her motive for re-aſſuming the dreſs of a man; but this obſervation, which might have led to a diſcovery of the truth, nearly coſt him his life. Some other of the judges, alarmed at the danger of her ſituation, and aſhamed of their own conduct, in having conſented to become the inſtruments of injuſtice, withdrew. Peter Cauchon, on leaving the priſon, met the earl of Warwick, and exclaimed, in a transport of joy, "*Farewell, farewell, it's all over; we have her ſafe!*"—and this inhuman exclamation was accompanied by a burſt of laughter. The next day the court met, when Joan was declared to be a relapſed heretic, and as ſuch was delivered over to the ſecular arm.

On the thirtieth of May ſhe was taken from Priſon, under an eſcort of one hundred and twenty men at arms; ſhe was dreſſed in female apparel; and on her head was placed a mitre, with inſcription—"*A relapſed heretic; an Apoſtate; an idolater.*" She was ſuported by two Dominican friars; and as ſhe paſſed through the ſtreets ſhe exclaimed, *Ah! Rouen, Rouen, muſt thou be my laſt abode?*" Two ſcaffolds had been erected in the old market place, where the cardinal of Wincheſter, the biſhop of Therouenne, chancellor of France; the biſhop of Beauvais, and the other judges, had already taken their ſeats, and were waiting the arrival of their victim. Joan appeared fettered, and her face, as ſhe mounted the ſcaffold, was bathed with her tears. Nicholas Midy, who was appointed to preach the funeral ſermon, filled his ſacrilegious harangue with all the vehemence of fanaticiſm, mingled with the gall of hypocriſy; he finiſhed his diſcourſe with theſe words—"*Joan, depart in peace; the church can no longer defend you; ſhe reſigns* "*you to the ſecular power.* The biſhop of Beuvais then pronounced the ſentence of condemnation; at the end of which he invoked the mercy of the ſecular judges, who were ſeated on the ſecond ſcaffold. Before ſhe deſcended, Joan ſaid to the biſhop—"You are the cauſe of my death; you promiſed to reſtore me to the "church, and you deliver me up to my enemies." This was the only time that pity ever found a momentary reſidence in the boſom of that impious and inexorable prelate; he haſtened, however, to expel her as an unwelcome gueſt;

the tear ſtarted from his eye; but anxious to conceal a weakneſs which he deſpiſed, he turned aſide, and indignantly wiped it from his face:—the reſt of the judges, the people, and the guards, both Engliſh and Burgundians, leſs aſhamed of their humanity, gave a free ſcope to their tears.

Joan fell upon her knees, imprecated the mercy of the Supreme Being; called on the eccleſiaſtics, and all who were preſent, to aſſiſt her with their prayers; and did not forget, in theſe her laſt moments, her ungrateful ſovereign. The bailiff of Rouen and his aſſiſtants, who were ordered to repreſent the ſecular tribunal, did not pronounce any ſentence; but ſimply ſaid—"Take her away."—On the front of the pile, which was deſtined to reduce her to aſhes, was placed a tablet with the following inſcription;—"Joan, who called herſelf the Maid; "a pernicious liar, a deceiver of the people, a ſorcereſs, ſuperſtitious, a blaſ- "phemer, preſumptuous, an unbeliever, a murderer, an idolater, cruel, of "diſſolute manners, a worſhipper of the devil, an apoſtate, ſchiſmatick, and "heretick!" The executioner trembled as he advanced to receive her from the hands of her guards. She aſked for a crucifix; an Engliſhman, who was preſent, broke a ſtick and formed a kind of croſs, which ſhe took, and after kiſſing it, preſſed it to her heart, and aſcended the fatal pile. Before the fire was applied to the wood, they brought her the croſs of a neighbouring church, which, at her earneſt requeſt, was placed before her. As ſoon as ſhe felt the flames approach her, ſhe warned the two prieſts who ſtood near her to retire. In order to remove any doubt that might be entertained of her death, the pile was raiſed to an extraordinary heigt, ſo that every ſpectator had a full view of her. This precaution, rendered her execution more tedious and painful. As ſoon as ſhe was ſuppoſed to be dead, the executioner received orders to remove the fire, that the people might have a better opportunity of beholding what remained of her body. As long as ſhe retained the power of utterance, the ſacred name of Jeſus was heard to iſſue from the flames: theſe pious ſounds were only interrupted by the ſobs and groans which the violence of her anguiſh extorted from her. When her body was conſumed (all but her heart, which was found entire) the cardinal of Wincheſter ordered her aſhes to be collected, and thrown into the Seine.

Thus miſerably periſhed, at the age of nineteen, the unhappy Maid of Orleans, whoſe purity of life and intrepity of ſoul, diſplayed in the beſt of cauſes, —the juſt defence of her king and country—could not have failed, in an age leſs addicted to ſuperſtition and cruelty, to ſecure the grateful admiration of her friends, and the generous reſpect of her enemies. The difference between fanaticiſm and virtuous enthuſiaſm is to be diſcovered in their effects; that euthuſiaſm which gave riſe to, and ſupported the glorious efforts of Joan in the cauſe of liberty, cannot afford the ſmalleſt pretext for detracting from her merit, as

it was evidently derived from the moſt laudable motives. Seldom, if ever, are the ſeeds of glory to be found in a mind that is barren of virtue. It is clear ſhe was convinced of the truth of her inſpiration; ſhe acted in conſequence of that conviction; and her conduct was firm, ſteady and conſiſtent. In ſhort, it may juſtly be doubted if either ancient or modern hiſtory can ſupply an example of heroiſm ſo exempt from pollution as that of Joan d'Arc.—For the conduct of her perſecutors no excuſe can be found. Nor can the conduct of Charles eſcape the ſevereſt reprehenſion; an offer to exchange, or a threat to retaliate on ſome of the many priſoners of diſtinction whom he had in his power at this period, muſt have ſecured the releaſe, or, at leaſt, have prevented the execution of that generous Maid, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the preſervation of his honour, and the ſafety of his kingdom. He had every motive which could operate with the greateſt energy on the human mind to ſuperinduce the moſt powerful exertions for reſcuing his benefactreſs from the hands of her aſſaſſins; but, lulled on the boſom of pleaſure, he enjoyed, in indolence and eaſe, the fruits of her victories, and conſigned her, without an effort, to the malice and perſecution of her vindictive and fanatical enemies.

The irregularity of the proceedings on the trial of Joan, and the manifeſt injuſtice of the ſentence pronounced on her, greatly alarmed the judges; who, after her death, were expoſed to the hatred of the people, and even to the contempt of the Engliſh themſelves. They were pointed at in the ſtreets; they were avoided as objects of univerſal execration. Peter Cauchon thought to ſhield himſelf from danger, and to exempt himſelf from reproach, by obtaining from the king of England letters of protection againſt the holy ſee. At the ſame time a circular letter was addreſſed, in the name of the young monarch, to the emperor, the pope, and all the powers of Europe; containing an abridged account of the capture, the trial and the execution of Joan.

Twenty years after, Charles the Seventh cauſed the trial of Joan to be *reviſed*, and her memory to be *re-eſtabliſhed*.—Commiſſioners for this purpoſe were authorized by pope Calixtus the Third. John and Peter d'Arc, brothers to Joan, appeared as plaintiffs in the cauſe; and the depoſitions of one hundred and twelve witneſſes, all favorable to her honor, are ſtill extant. By a definitive ſentence of the ſeventh of July, 1456, the former ſentence was declared null, abuſive, and manifeſtly unjuſt; and Joan d'Arc was declared to be innocent of all the crimes which had been imputed to her. A croſs was erected on the ſpot where ſhe was executed, and a ſtatue of her is ſtill to be ſeen there. Her firſt judges were ſuffered to paſs unpuniſhed till the ſucceeding reign, when Lewis the Eleventh ordered them to be proſecuted; two only were alive, and they were condemned and executed.

The duke of Bedford was disappointed in his expectation of happy consequences from the death of the Maid of Orleans. Joan had taught the French that their enemies were not invincible, and that they still possessed sufficient resources to assert their own independence; though deprived of the benefit of her example, they recollected her precepts, and determined to pursue the path which she had so gloriously opened for them. The English were repulsed in three successive attempts upon Lagny; and though the regent endeavoured to revive their hopes, and to chear their spirits, by the pomp of a coronation, performed with great magnificence at Paris, on the seventeenth of December, 1431—yet were they unable to recover, before the conclusion of the year, any of those numerous places which had been taken from them in the course of the preceding campaign.

Towards the end of this campaign the Mareschal de Boussac formed a plan for the reduction of Rouen. One of those adventurers, who occasionally served either party, had promised to deliver up to him one of the gates of the citadel; the day having been fixed for the execution of the project, the Mareschal, accompanied by the lords of Fontaines, Fouquet, and Mouffy, marched from Beauvais with a body of troops, and placed themselves in ambuscade, in a small wood, about a league from Rouen. Ricarville, a gentleman of Normandy, advanced with a detachment of one hundred and twenty men to the very walls of the citadel. He had no sooner given the appointed signal than the gate was opened to him, when he rushed into the fort, slew all that opposed him, and, after securing the principal tower, pointed the artillery which he found there against the other part of the citadel. Never was any scheme accomplished with greater celerity or success. Once masters of the citadel, the French would have had little difficulty in reducing the town, since the inhabitants secretly favoured their cause; and the king of England, who was then at Roüen, must infallibly have been taken prisoner.

Ricarville having secured the post he had taken, immediately mounted his horse, and hastened to give the mareschal an account of what had passed. Every thing depended on dispatch. But Boussac's troops, who were chiefly composed of adventurers assembled in haste, refused to stir, till a proper division of the plunder had been settled: so many disputes arose between them on this account, that all attempts to accommodate them proved fruitless; the soldiers returned to Beauvais, and their officers were obliged to follow them. The French finding themselves left to the mercy of the enemy, resolved to sell their lives as dearly as they could; they defended the tower for twelve days, when a want of provisions compelled them to surrender; they were hanged, and the man who had opened the gates to the troops was quartered. The campaign was closed by an action between a body of English, under the command of Willoughby, and a detachment of French, conducted by Ambrose de



Bowen sc.

LOUIS DE BOURBON PRINCE DE CONDE.

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Loire, near the fortreſs of Saint Celerin, about ten miles from Alençon, in which the former were defeated, with the loſs of ſix hundred men, beſides a great number of priſoners*.

A. D. 1432.] The commencement of the enſuing campaign was ſignalized by the reduction of Chartres†, which had conſtantly been in the poſſeſſion of the Burgundians or Engliſh, ever ſince the year 1417, when the duke of Burgundy made himſelf maſter of the town. The count of Dunois formed the project for taking it, by means of two of the inhabitants who had been made priſoners, and who promiſed to introduce him into the place. A monk, was engaged in the plot, who invited the citizens to attend a ſermon which he meant to preach on Eaſter-day; and while, by this artifice, he called off their attention to one extremity of the town, the French were admitted, by the two inhabitants, at a gate on the oppoſite ſide. A ſkirmiſh took place, in which the biſhop of Chartres, and about eighty of the citizens, were ſlain; all the Engliſh and Burgundians that fell into the hands of the enemy were put to death; a heavy ranſom was exacted from the inhabitants; and the town, after being expoſed to every ſpecies of exceſs from a brutal and licentious ſoldiery, was entruſted to the command of Dunois.

The arrival of a legate from the pope, who had orders to negociate an accommodation between the contending powers, led the people to flatter themſelves with the idea of a ſpeedy termination to that fatal conqueſt which had ſo long deſolated the kingdom. Several conferences were holden, at which the Engliſh, Burgundian and French plenipotentiaries aſſiſted; but between the Engliſh and French the difference was too wide to be eaſily adjuſted. The caſe was different with the duke of Burgundy, whoſe miniſters and thoſe of Charles agreed to a truce for ſix years, which was confirmed by their reſpective ſovereigns‡. Unfortunately, this truce proved of ſhort duration; the companies of banditti, in the ſervice of the king and the duke, renewed hoſtilities, notwitſtanding the orders they received to reſpect the convention; and, at the expiration of three months, the two princes found themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of again taking up arms, and continuing the war.

Meanwhile the duke of Bedford, had ſent Arundel, Warwick, Liſle-Adam, and the Baſtard of Saint Paul, to make an attempt upon the town of Lagny. After breaking down the bridge, and demoliſhing the fort which defended the place on the ſide of the river, they made various aſſaults, in which they were repulſed with ſuch loſs, that their ſoldiers deſerted in crowds, and compelled them to raiſe the ſiege. This affront, ſuſtained by the beſt generals which the Engliſh then had in their ſervice, operated on the mind of the regent as an additional

* Villaret, tom. xv. p. 110. † Hiſt. de Charles VII. ‡ Villaret.

motive to emulation and resentment. He amassed a prodigious quantity of artillery, and other machines, and invested Lagny in person, at the head of six thousand men; while the town was defended by only eight hundred. The besiegers were repulsed in several attacks; but, after a siege of five months, the place was reduced to the last extremity. At this critical period, a body of French troops, arrived before Lagny, forced one of the enemy's quarters, and escorted a convoy into the town. The French, after this successful expedition, crossed the Marne, and entered the Isle of France; and the duke of Bedford, dreading an attack on the capital, with the disaffection of whose inhabitants he was well acquainted, raised the siege of Lagny, with such precipation, that he left a part of his baggage, a quantity of ammunition, and all his heavy artillery behind him.

During these transactions, the English had taken Mortargis by surprize; but Graville and Guitry retook the town soon after, and made a fruitless attack on the citadel, which the eneny had time to fortify. The earl of Arundel invested Saint Celerin for the forth time; and after a siege of three months, he demolished the fortress. Louviers was likewise reduced, and La Hire taken prisoner; but being soon after released, he joined Xaintrailles; and having assembled a body of troops, they took possession of Gerbroi, a castle in the Beauvoisis, where the earl of Arundel prepared to invest them. La Hire and Xaintrailles, deeming it imprudent to wait for the enemy in a fortress that was not in a proper state of defence, marched out with all their forces, attacked the English just as they were employed in fixing their quarters: a desperate conflict ensued, in which the enemy, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, and the courage of their leader, were totally defeated. The earl of Arundel was taken prisoner, and died a few days after, of the wounds he had received in the action. Soon after this, Ambrose de Loire extended his incursions to the very gates of Caen, upon a fair-day, and carried off two thousand persons, with a considerable booty.

Both parties were, by this time, so much exhausted, that neither could find resources to continue the war with spirit and effect. On the fourteenth of November, 1432, Ann of Burgundy, duchess of Bedford, died at Paris. By her death the chief tie which united the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy was dissolved; and the marriage of the former with the daughter of the count of Saint Paul, within two months after her decease, laid the foundation of an open rupture between those noblemen. To prevent a dispute which must have proved highly detrimental to the English interests, the cardinal of Winchester brought them both to consent to an interview at Saint Omer, for the final decision of their differences; but a ridiculous point of etiquette, as to the payment of the first visit, maintained with equal obstinacy by either prince, frustrated the intentions of the cardinal, by preventing their meeting.

Charles was unable to profit by the coolness which subsisted between the Eng-

liſh and Burgundian princes. La Tremoille ſtill enjoyed his poſt of prime miniſter. Charles no longer eſteemed him; but he bore with him from habit. To the conſtable, in particular, he was an object of deteſtation. A conſpiracy was accordingly formed againſt him, of which Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, was the oſtenſible leader; but of which the conſtable, though abſent, was the ſoul. The lord of Bueil, nephew to La Tremoille, undertook to conduct the execution of the plot. While the court was at Chinon, the conſpirators, having obtained admiſſion into the caſtle, by the aſſiſtance of Gaucourt, the governor forced an entrance into the apartment of La Tremoille, who, alarmed at the noiſe, jumped out of bed, and ſeizing his ſword put himſelf in a poſture of defence; but being diſabled by a wound in the belly from a dagger, he was ſeized, fettered and conveyed to the caſtle of Montreſor. Du Bueil, and Coitivy, two of the conſpirators, had the inſolence to go to the king, and after telling him what had paſſed aſſured him that the only object they had in view was his welfare, and the good of the ſtate. The conſpirators were ſuffered to reap the fruits of their audacity; the count of Maine was appointed to ſucceed La Tremoille, and the conſtable was recalled to court, and placed at the head of the troops.

Meanwhile an inſurrection of the peaſants in Lower Normandy gave an alarm to the Engliſh government; but the want of a leader ſoon compelled this undiſciplined multitude to diſperſe. A revolt which took place nearly at the ſame time, in Upper Normandy, was not ſo eaſily quelled. The mareſchal of Rochefort, having joined the inſurgents with a body of regular troops, took from the Engliſh the towns of Dieppe, Fecamp, Montivilliers, Tancarville, L'Iſlebonne, and Harfleur, with ſeveral forts of leſs importance. The Engliſh haſtened to check the rapidity of his progreſs, and, by the deſtructive incurſions of either army, the fertile province of Normandy was laid waſte. The author of the Chronicle of France relates, "that in all the *Pays du Caux* not a man nor woman "remained, except the garriſons of the different fortreſſes."

A.D. 1433, 1434, 1435.] The Engliſh, no longer allured by ſplendid victories, began to murmur at the continuation of the war; the ſupplies granted by parliament were ſcanty, and wholly inadequate to the exigencies which called for them. For this purpoſe conferences were again holden; but the demands of the Engliſh, and the conceſſions of the French, ſtill inclining to oppoſite extremes, no accommodation could be effected. The duke of Burgundy, by this time, was convinced that, by eſpouſing the cauſe of the Engliſh, he had ſacrificed his intereſt to his reſentment; and as the latter ſubſided the dictates of the former became prevalent. A congreſs was appointed to aſſemble the following year, in Arras. The conferences were opened on the twentieth of Auguſt, 1435.

The only ſacrifice which the French would conſent to make to the Engliſh, for the purchaſe of a peace, was the ceſſion of Normandy and Guienne, ſubject

to feudal homage; in return for which they inſiſted that the Engliſh monarch ſhould relinquiſh every pretenſion to the crown of France, and immediately give up every town and fortreſs which he poſſeſſed in that kingdom. The Engliſh commiſſioners, regarding this offer as an inſult, immediately left the congreſs, without ſpecifying the nature of their demands. When they were gone, the duke of Burgundy proceeded to conclude a ſeparate treaty with Charles; the terms of which were finally adjuſted on the twenty-firſt of September. The conditions were ſuch as raiſed the houſe of Burgundy to the higheſt pitch of elevation, though at the ſame time, they laid the baſis of its deſtruction. Charles formally diſavowed the aſſaſſination of John, duke of Burgundy, affirming, that the attempt had always diſpleaſed him; that, had he been previouſly acquainted with the intentions of the aſſaſſins, he would have prevented the murder, but that he was then very young, and poſſeſſed of little penetration *: he engaged to deliver all the aſſaſſins up to juſtice; to found chapels and perpetual maſſes for the ſoul of the murdered prince, as well as for thoſe of his attendants, who were killed at the ſame time; to erect a croſs on the ſpot where the murder was committed; and to pay fifty thouſand crowns of gold, as a compenſation for the jewels which had been taken from the duke at the time of the aſſaſſination. He agreed to cede to Philip and his heirs the counties and cities of Boulogne-ſur-Mer, Maçon, and Auxerre, with all their dependencies; the caſtles, towns, and diſtricts of Bar-ſur-Seine, Peronne, Roye, and Mont-Didier, with their appendages; certain territories were mortgaged to Philip, until four hundred thouſand crowns ſhould be paid for their redemption. Philip himſelf was exempted from doing homage for all his territories during the life of Charles, and his vaſſals from obeying him as their ſuperior lord; the French monarch engaged to ſuccour the duke in caſe of an attack by the Engliſh; and both parties agreed to make no treaty with the enemy but by mutual conſent. A general pardon was granted to all perſons, except the aſſaſſins before mentioned. Each party renounced every alliance to the prejudice of the other. Such were the extravagant terms by which the king of France detached the duke of Burgundy from the intereſts of his enemies.

When the news of the treaty of Arras was received in England, by a herald ſent by the duke of Burgundy for that purpoſe, who was likewiſe inſtructed to apologiſe for the conduct of his maſter in departing from the treaty of Troyes, which he had ſolemnly ſworn to maintain, the people expreſſed the moſt violent indignation; the Londoners, in particular, were ſo much incenſed againſt Philip for this breach of Faith, that they plundered all his ſubjects who were then reſident in the metropolis, and even put many of them to death. The herald, too, was treated with contempt, and diſmiſſed without an anſwer.

* Villaret, tom. xv. p. 182.

No one experienced greater diſappoitment on this occaſion than Iſabella. At that moment when ſhe firſt violated the laws of nature, by the proſcription and diſinheritance of her ſon, her puniſhment began. She had regarded with unnatural horror, the progreſs of Charles, in recovering his kingdom; and his reconciliation with the duke of Burgundy had ſuch an effect on her mind, that it ſoon brought her to the grave. She died at Paris—deſpiſed by the Engliſh, and deteſted by the French—on the thirtieth of September; ten days after the concluſion of the treaty of Arras. Her body was conveyed to Saint Denis, where it was privately interred, near the tomb of Charles the Sixth.

The death of Iſabella had been preceded by that of the duke of Bedford, who expired at Rouen, on the fourteenth of September. This prince, whoſe death proved an irreparable loſs to the Engliſh, was endued with extenſive talents. As Lewis the eleventh was one day walking in the cathedral at Rouen, where the duke was buried, and looking with attention on the tomb of that prince, one of his courtiers adviſed him to demoliſh that monument. "No," replied the monarch, "Let the aſhes of a prince reſt in peace; who, were he alive, would "make the boldeſt of us tremble. I could wiſh a more ſtately monument had "been erected to his memory." The duke of York was appointed to ſucceed the duke of Bedford as regent of France.

The inſults and violences which the Burgundians experienced from the incenſed Londoners, in conſequence of the treaty of Arras, were far from diſpleaſing to the duke of Burgundy. They afforded him a ſpecious pretext for the commencement of hoſtilities. He accordingly made an unſucceſsful attempt to ſurprize Crotoi, and ſoon after ſent a formal defiance to the king of England.

Six hundred Burgundians were now diſpatched by Philip, to join the mareſchal de Liſle-Adam, on whom the king had recently conferred the government of Pontoiſe. The ſtates of Flanders, granted the duke of Burgundy ſubſidies for ſupport of the war; but he did not meet with the ſame docility from thoſe towns which had been ceded to him by the late treaty. On the renewal of the old impoſts at Ameins, the inhabitants flew to arms, choſe a leader, and repairing in a body to the houſe of the mayor, told that officer that they were reſolved to pay no taxes, and that they were certain the *good king Charles*, *their Lord*, would not require *them* to pay any more than the other towns which were under his dominion. They then proceeded to pillage ſeveral houſes, and to impriſon the duke's officers, ſome of whom they executed. A body of troops being ſent to repreſs this ſedition, the leaders were executed, order was reſtored to the town, and the impoſts collected without farther oppoſition.

A. D. 1436. 1437.] Paris was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; but the inhabitants preſſed on all ſides by the garriſons of the neighbouring forts, alarmed at the proſpect of famine, and haraſſed by the ſeverity of the government, ſecret-

ly wiſhed for a change that might releaſe them from their ſituation. To accompliſh ſuch a change, however, was a matter of extreme difficulty. Yet, to remove, undiſmayed by the dangers they had to encounter, ſix citizens embraced the daring reſolution to deliver up the town to the king. They communicated their intentions to Charles, and only required, as the reward of ſo important a ſervice, a general amneſty. The conditions were joyfully accepted by Charles, who likewiſe ſecured to them an extenſive confirmation of their privileges.

The 13th of April, 1436, was the day appointed for the execution of this important project. No precaution which could tend to enſure its ſucceſs had been neglected; the principal inhabitants had been apprized of the ſcheme, and only waited for the ſignal to excite the people to riſe; while the conſtable had received orders to approach the town with a body of troops, in order to ſecond their exertions. Richemont accordingly repaired to the gate of Saint James; he obtained admiſſion by a poſtern, and, the draw-bridge being let down, his cavalry entered the town.

The people had by this time aſſembled, and made the ſtreets reſound with the acclamations of—"*peace, peace! Long live the king and the duke of Burgundy!*"—The Engliſh, alarmed at the tumult, flew to arms; and Lord Willoughby, their commander, led them to the diſtrict of the *Halles*, where they hoped to be able to defend themſelves againſt the attacks of the enemy; but in every ſtreet they met a crowd of inhabitants, all armed, and bearing the white croſs of the royaliſts. After a vain attempt to reſiſt the torrent, Willoughby took ſhelter in the Baſtille. The Engliſh capitulated on the following day, and obtained permiſſion to retire into Normandy. Tranquillity was immediately reſtored to the capital; and the day after the departure of the Engliſh, the introduction of ſupplies produced a fall in the price of corn, from fifty to twenty ſols the meaſure.

Paris was thus reſtored, after an interval of fifteen years, to the domination of its ſovereign. The magiſtrates reſumed the exerciſe of their functions; while thoſe who had been baniſhed or proſcribed, returned, and were reinſtated in their rank of citizens. About two months after the reduction of Paris, the marriage of the dauphin Lewis, with the princeſs Margaret of Scotland, was celebrated.

The duke of York having received his commiſſion of Regent, landed in Normandy with a body of troops, which enabled him to retake ſome places of little importance that had been lately reduced by the French. While he was employed in the conqueſt of Normandy, he received intelligence that the duke of Burgundy, with fifty thouſand Flemings, had laid ſiege to Calais. A fleet of five hundred ſail was collected in a few weeks, and an army of fifteen thouſand men being raiſed, the command was given to Glouceſter, who landed at Calais

on the ſecond of Auguſt, 1436; but the duke of Burgundy having met with more oppoſition from the garriſon than he expected, and being afraid to riſk an engagement, raiſed the ſiege, and made a precipitate retreat, with the loſs of his artillery and baggage. Nor were the military expeditions of Philip, in the enſuing campaign, more ſucceſsful. After quelling an inſurrection of the Flemings, in which he was wounded and Liſle-Adam loſt his life, he levied a powerful army, and ſent his generals to inveſt Crotoy, while he placed himſelf at a convenient diſtance, with a ſtrong body of forces, in order to cover the ſiege. Talbot, being apprized of the duke's motions, advanced to oppoſe him with four thouſand men; and finding the enemy poſted on the banks of Somme, he boldly plunged into the ſtream at the head of his troops. The Burgundians, intimidated at this daring courage, provided for their ſafety by a precipitate flight. The ſiege of Crotoy was immediately raiſed; and Talbot, having ſtrengthened the garriſon, and repaired the fortifications, extended his incurſions into the provinces of Artois and Picardy, which he laid waſte, and returned to Normandy laden with ſpoils.

Talbot, on his return to Normandy, found himſelf compelled to confine his efforts to the reduction of a few towns of little importance. A want of money and of troops, joined to ſome other cauſes, reduced the enemy to the neceſſity of acting on the defenſive. The factions that prevailed in the Engliſh council cauſed the removal of the duke of York, though a prince of great ſpirit and ability, from the regency of France. He was ſucceeded by Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who in the month of November landed in Normandy with a reinforcement of a thouſand men.

At length, Charles, after an abſence of twenty years, made his public entry into Paris; where he was received, with teſtimonies of loyalty, by every claſs of people.

A. D. 1437, 1438.] But the flattering proſpect which had recently opened itſelf to Charles, was ſhortly obſcured by a ſucceſſion of freſh calamities. The troops, which had been diſmiſſed from the different towns and fortreſſes, ceded to the duke of Burgundy by the treaty of Arras, gave a looſe to licentiouſneſs and plunder. Diſperſed in ſeparate bands, and headed by experienced captains, they overran the moſt fertile provinces in the kingdom, pillaged the defenceleſs inhabitants and ſpread ruin and devaſtation around them, wherever they appeared. The peaſants juſtly alarmed at theſe dreadful incurſions, fled from their habitations, and neglected the culture of their lands. From hence and from the inceſſant rains which fell during the years 1437 and 1438, a moſt deſtructive famine aroſe, ſucceeded by a peſtilence, which ſwept away vaſt numbers of the people, particularly in Paris and its environs. Mezeray obſerves, that the metropolis loſt ſo many of its inhabitants, that the wolves prowled about the ſtreets in

ſearch of prey; and carried off the children in ſight of their parents. The king haſtened his retreat from this ſcene of horrors, and his example was followed not only by the court, but by every perſon who was not compelled by neceſſity to reſide in the metropolis.

A. D. 1439.] At Bourges, Charles received ambaſſadors from the council of Baſil, which had quarrelled with pope Eugenius the Fifth; and in an aſſembly compoſed of the princes of the blood and the dignified clergy, he cauſed the regulations of that council to be examined. Theſe he compiled into a law, to which he gave the appellation of, THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION; and which has ever ſince been conſidered as the bulwark of the Gallican Church, as it took from the ſee of Rome the power of nominating to eccleſiaſtical dignities, and of granting reverſions, and penſions, and exemptions within the monarchy of France.

Such little diſcipline now reigned in the army, ſuch little ſubordination now prevailed in the ſtate, that the officers who had been appointed by the king to the command of towns and fortreſſes, began to aſſert their independence of the power whence they derived their conſequence and authority, and to exerciſe the deſpotiſm of tyrants. Flavy, who had diſplayed ſo much ſkill and reſolution in the defence of Compiégne, when attacked by the united forces of England and Burgundy, had been deprived of the government of that city by the conſtable. He found means to be reſtored to his command; and having conceived ſome diſguſt againſt the mareſchal de Rochefort, he cauſed that nobleman to be ſeized, and thrown into priſon. The count of Richemont, and even the king himſelf, interpoſed to procure the mareſchal's releaſe, but in vain; Flavy refuſed to ſet him at liberty, unleſs he would conſent to pay an exorbitant ranſom. While a negociation was carrying on for this purpoſe, the mareſchal died.

A. D. 1440.] The pope ſtill continuing his exhortations to peace, to which the ſituation of either kingdom afforded the ſtrongeſt inducements. Conferences were opened but the propoſals of France and England were ſtill ſo widely different, that all hopes of accommodation vaniſhed. The Engliſh plenipotentiaries inſiſted on the free and independent poſſeſſion of Normandy and Guienne, with Calais and its diſtrict; but the French would only conſent to a partial annexation of thoſe territories to the crown of England, and clogged, alſo, with the uſual burden of homage and fealty: the negociaions, therefore, were diſcontinued*.

The attempts to negociate a peace had not prevented the continuation of hoſtilities. At the beginning of July, the count of Richemont inveſted the city of Meaux, one of the beſt-fortified places in the kingdom, which Henry the Fifth of England had formerly beſieged for ſeven months before he could reduce it.

* Monſtrelet, fol. 154. Fabean, An. 1439. Stow, p. 377.

It was defended by the baſtard of Thian, an officer of approved courage, but, notwithſtanding the moſt vigilant and active exertions, it was taken by aſſault, after a ſiege of three weeks, when the conſtable put the governor to death, with ſeveral other Frenchmen who were found among the priſoners. The garriſon effected their retreat into the marché, and broke down the bridge of communication, ſo that Richemont had all his operations to begin anew. He formed compleat lines of circumvallation, ſtrengthened with redoubts, to prevent the entrance of ſupplies; lord Talbot, reſolved to ſuccour the beſieged, and, attacked one of the redoubts, which he ſpeedily carried, and then entered the place with a convoy: the next day he effected his retreat by ſimilar means, and determined ſoon to return with a more effectual ſupply; but, that the garriſon were forced to ſurrender; the ſucceſs of this enterprize encouraged the conſtable to undertake the ſiege of Avranches, which he was ſpeedily compelled to raiſe, being attacked by Talbot, at the head of thoſe troops which he had deſtined for the relief of Meaux, who made him retreat with precipitation, leaving his baggage and artillery behind him.

On the concluſion of the treaty of Arras, a marriage had been agreed on between the count of Charolois and Catherine of France, the completion of which had hitherto been deferred on account of the youth of the parties. The king, anxious to confirm as far as poſſible, the attachment of the houſe of Burgundy, now complied with the ſolicitations of the duke, who preſſed him to ſend the princeſs to his court, although ſhe had but juſt entered her eleventh year. A new conference was opened for the promotion of peace, under the mediation of the ducheſs of Burgundy, but it proved equally fruitleſs with the laſt.

While the king was employed in the promotion of projects, which had the eaſe and welfare of his ſubjects for their object, a conſpiracy was forming in his very palace. La Tremoille, who had been ſo long honoured with the confidence of his maſter, ſaw, with indignation, the poſt he had enjoyed more ably and more worthily filled by the count of Maine. Not daring to ſhew his jealouſy, he planned in ſecret the means of effecting the ruin of his rival; and the more ſurely to promote his project, he made no ſcruple to involve his ſovereign in the effects of his vengeance. He engaged in the plot ſeveral princes and nobles, who were diſcontented with the miniſter. The duke of Bourbon joined the conſpirators: as did alſo the duke of Alençon, the counts of Vendôme and Dunois, and others. Their firſt attempt was to ſeduce the dauphin from his duty, by perſuading him that his father kept him in a ſtate of ſubjection, though nobody was more capable than he of correcting the vices which had crept into the government; that the nation, only expected their ſafety from him, whom they invoked as their guardian genius. Lewis lent a

favourable ear to theſe inſinuations. Some of them carried him off, with his own conſent, from the caſtle of Loches, and conveyed him to Niort. Every thing had been planned and conducted with ſuch ſecrecy, that the king was not aware of the ſtorm till the very moment it burſt. The object of the conſpirators was to ſecure the king's perſon, and to inveſt the dauphin with the ſupreme power, in the hope of governing the kingdom under his name. The king, more enraged than alarmed at the danger which threatened him, inſtantly ſent for the conſtable, who joined him at Amboiſe; he then embraced Richemont, and exclaimed—"Since I have my conſtable with me, I "fear nothing."

The confederated princes publiſhed a manifeſto in the dauphin's name, inviting the French to eſpouſe the cauſe of the preſumptive heir to the throne. In other times, ſuch a publication would have ſufficed to produce an almoſt general inſurrection; but the people, who ſtill felt the dreadful effects of the calamities occaſioned by the diſſentions of the great, had learned, from fatal experience, that theſe troubles, excited under the ſpecious pretext of the good of the ſtate, only tended to gratify the ambition of individuals. The leſſon they had received was too recent to be forgotten. They were at length convinced, that as the power of the monarch chiefly conſiſts in the affection of his ſubjects, ſo cannot ſubjects look for the enjoyment of tranquility, unleſs they preſerve inviolate their attachment to that protecting authority, which ſtrengthens and confirms the ſocial bond. The nobles of Auvergne informed the dauphin, by the lord of Dampierre, that they were ready to ſerve him againſt all men, except the king his father.

Charles, meanwhile, having ſummoned the duke of Alençon to reſtore the dauphin, advanced as far as Saint Maxient, which that prince had reduced. He had no difficulty in recovering the place; and while he remained there he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the count of Dunois return to his duty, with expreſſions of repentance, and ſolicitations for pardon. The king then proceeded towards Niort, while the dauphin and the duke of Alençon, retired into the Bourbonnois. Lewis here applied for aſſiſtance to the duke of Burgundy; but the duke replied, that though he would willingly receive him at his court, he could not think of enabling him to carry on a war againſt his father. This refuſal threw the princes into conſternation, and, finding the king's army daily encreaſe, they at length reſolved to ſue for mercy. The dauphin and the duke of Bourbon repaired to Cuſſet, accompanied by La Tremoille, Choumont and Prie; but the three laſt noblemen were ordered by Charles, to retire under pain of impriſonment. The dauphin, enraged, proteſted he would proceed no farther, but as he was already encloſed by the royal army, it was too late to retreat. As he approached his father, he bent

on his knee, and entreated forgiveneſs for himſelf and Bourbon. "Lewis"—ſaid the king—"you are welcome: you have been long abſent. Go and reſt "yourſelf to-day, and to-morrow we will talk to you." The king having refuſed to pardon La Tremoille, Chaumont and Prie, the dauphin aſked him whether he muſt return, for he had promiſed ſo to do, in caſe he ſhould be unable to procure a pardon for his friends. Charles, enraged at the queſtion, replied—"Lewis, the gates are open, and if they are not wide enough for "you, I will order five or ſix toiſes of the wall to be pulled down, in order to "facilitate your eſcape. You are my ſon, and can incur no obligation "without my conſent; but if it be your pleaſure to leave me, go—for by the "Grace of God, I ſhall be able to find others of our blood, who will afford "us better aſſiſtance in maintaining our honour and power, than you have "done hitherto." The dauphin preſſed the matter no farther. The duke of Bourbon obtained his pardon. Charles extended his forgiveneſs to he reſt of the rebels: he alſo reſtored the government and revenues of Dauphiné to his ſon. This dangerous war terminated in ſix months.

While Charles was reducing his ſon to obedience, the Engliſh had two armies in motion, one of which laid waſte Picardy; while the other, conducted by Somerſet and Talbot, laid ſiege to Harfleur. As theſe noblemen had not ſufficient troops to take the town by ſtorm, they determined to reduce it by blockade; they entrenched themſelves very ſtrongly, and blocked up the harbour by a powerful fleet. An army, commanded by Dunois, came to the relief of the place; but, having made an unſucceſsful, though vigorous attack, on the Engliſh entrenchments, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize, and the garriſon ſoon after capitulated. The reduction of Harfleur was followed by the loſs of Montivilliers.

The negociations for the releaſe of the duke of Orleans from captivity, which had been long depending, were at laſt brought to a concluſion. That prince having offered to pay the ſum of one hundred thouſand nobles for his liberty, the queſtion was debated by the council of England, when the ſentiments of the duke of Glouceſter, and the cardinal of Wincheſter, were entirely oppoſite. The former ſtrongly contended, that the dying requeſt of the fifth Henry—that none of the French priſoners ſhould be releaſed until his ſon ſhould have attained a ſufficient age to aſſume the reins of government himſelf—ſhould be ſtrictly adhered to: the cardinal replied, that the ſum offered was of ſuch magnitude as, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, ought not to be rejected. He farther obſerved, that the duke's preſence in France might give ſtrength and effect to thoſe factions which prevailed againſt Charles, and might conſequently prove advantageous to the Engliſh intereſt. Theſe arguments were ſucceſsful, and the duke of Orleans, after a tedious captivity of twenty-five years, was

permitted to return to his native country. One of the conditions of his releaſe was that he ſhould engage to exert his utmoſt influence in effecting a general peace; and if he ſucceeded in his efforts for that purpoſe, that part of his ranſom which he had paid before his departure was to be reſtored, and the remainder remitted*.

Meanwhile the nobility flocked from every part of the kingdom to render their ſervices to the duke of Orleans, who was univerſally eſteemed for his affability, courage, and generoſity. Knights of the firſt diſtinction deemed it an honour to have their children admitted into his ſervice, in the capacity of pages. It was generally believed that immediately on his arrival at the court of Charles the reins of government would be entruſted to his hands; the prince himſelf was impreſſed with the ſame opinion. He had four-and-twenty archers for his ordinary guard; and his retinue conſiſted of three hundred horſe, excluſive of a great number of gentlemen who followed him at their own expence. On his return to France, he was careful not to enter upon the territories of the count of Ligny, who had always peremptorily refuſed to ſign the treaty of Arras, and whoſe conduct, in that reſpect, had at length, ſo much irritated Charles, that he had given orders to his generals to attack him; when the count died, and left his nephew, the young count of Saint-Paul, ſole heir to his extenſive dominions. The duke of Orleans purſued his journey to Paris, and in all the towns through which he paſſed, received the ſtrongeſt marks of affection from the inhabitants. Charles had, at firſt, expreſſed an earneſt deſire to ſee this prince; but being apprized of his intimate connection with the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany and Alençon, as well as of the numerous retinue by which he was accompanied, the calamities which the kingdom had already ſuſtained by the ambition of the great recurred moſt forcibly to his mind, and induced him to ſend word to the duke that he ſhould be happy to receive him at court, provided he would come attended only by his houſhold. The duke, piqued at an order which he conſtrued into an affront, took the road to Orleans, and immediately retired to his own domains.

The king, having aſſembled a body of troops, entered Champagne, and reduced ſeveral fortreſſes which were in poſſeſſion of the Companies. After paſſing ſome time at Troyes, he repaired to Bar-upon-Aube, whither the Baſtard of Bourbon, who now headed the Companies, went to meet him with offers of ſubmiſſion; but was immediately ſeized, tried, and condemned. He was tied in a ſack and thrown into the river, whence his body was taken by his family, and honourably interred. This exertion of ſeverity operated as a ſalutary check to the deſtructive incurſions of the leaders of thoſe deſperate banditti who infeſted the kingdom.

* Rymer's Fœdera, tom. x. p, 776, 786.

The earl of Warwick having died, the duke of York was reſtored by the Engliſh council to the regency of France; but the party of Charles daily acquired freſh ſtrength, and the military operations of that monarch were generally attended with ſucceſs. At the urgent ſolicitations of the ducheſs of Burgundy, he was induced to conſent to a renewal of the negociations for peace; but after the plenipotentaries had aſſembled at Saint Omer, he haſtily broke off the conferences, on the frivolous pretext that the Engliſh commiſſioners were not of equal rank with the French. The concluſion of the year 1440 was diſtinguiſhed by the reduction of ſeveral of the nobility who ſtill refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the lawful ſovereign. The chief of theſe was the young count of Saint Paul.

The ducheſs of Burgundy paid a viſit to Charles during his ſtay at Laon, in order to prefer certain demands, in the name of her huſband, and to complain of the conduct of the court to the duke of Orleans. The king however, was not more diſpoſed to give her ſatisfaction in theſe particulars, than on ſome other articles which concerned her own private intereſt; the ducheſs obſerved at her departure—"My lord, of all the requeſts I have preferred, you have not granted one, though, in my opinion, they were all founded in reaſon."

A. D. 1441.] Charles, at the head of his troops, opened the campaign in the month of April, by the ſiege of Creil, a town on the river Oyſe, which in twelve days he obliged to capitulate. His next attempt was on Pontoiſe which he inveſted about the middle of May, with twelve thouſand men. This ſiege was conducted with the greateſt vigour, as Charles was extremely anxious to obtain poſſeſſion of a place ſo important both from its ſtrength, and ſituation. The defence, was conducted with intrepidity; and all the precautions of the beſiegers proved inadequate to reſiſt Talbot, who forced their entrenchments, and entered the town with a conſiderable convoy. The garriſon, deriving freſh ſpirits from this ſeaſonable ſupply, repelled every attack of the French, who continued the ſiege till the middle of Auguſt; when the duke of York having collected an army of eight thouſand men, marched from Rouen towards Pontoiſe. When he approached the place, he ſent a herald to Charles, challenging him to battle; but his propoſal being ſubmitted to the diſcuſſion of the council, it was unanimouſly reſolved to reject it. The two armies were ſeparated by the river Oyſe; and, as the bridge was guarded by a detachment of a thouſand men, Charles ſet the Engliſh at defiance, and continued the ſiege without dread of moleſtation. His ſecurity, proved fallacious; for the duke of York having found means to tranſport ſix hundred men, in boats made of leather, during the night, to the oppoſite ſide, they attacked the guard on the bridge, and having put them all to the ſword, opened a paſſage for the remainder of the army. Charles was thrown into conſternation by this unexpected aſſault, haſtily raiſed the ſiege,

and took ſhelter under the cannon of Poiſſy. Thither he was followed by the duke of York, who once more challenged him to battle; but finding Charles determined to avoid an engagement, he pillaged the abbey and the town of Poiſſy,* and having recruited the garriſon of Pontoiſe, returned to Normandy.

The precipitate retreat of the army from an inferior force gave riſe to great murmurs at Paris; and the popular diſcontents, in that factious and turbulent city, became ſo loud and prevalent, that the king deemed it neceſſary to recover his loſt reputation by ſome ſignal effort. With this view he returned to Pontoiſe, wholly unexpected by the Engliſh; re-commenced the ſiege; and conducted it with ſo much vigour, that a practicable breach was ſoon effected, which Charles was the firſt to mount. His conduct on this occaſion, inſpired his troops with ſuch courage that their efforts proved irreſiſtible; the place was taken, five hundred of the garriſon were put to the ſword, and the remainder ſecured. All the priſoners were conducted to Paris, and after being exhibited, *chained by their necks two and two*, to the deriſion of the populace, ſuch as had not wherewithal to pay their ranſom, had their hands and feet tied, and were thrown into the Seine.

The duke of Orleans was extremely mortified at the diſappointment of his hopes which led him to aſpire to a principal ſhare in the government. The king and his miniſters ſeemed totally to have forgotten him, though their neglect, inſulting as it was, gave him no grounds for ſhewing his reſentment. He had an interview with the duke of Burgundy at Heſdin, where the two princes paſſed ſome days together, and laid the plan of a confederacy, which was put in force the following year. Immediately after this interview, the duke of Burgundy began to raiſe troops, but in order to lull the ſuſpicions of Charles, he iſſued ſtrict orders to his men to commit no depredations on the territories of France.

A. D. 1442.] When every thing was prepared, an aſſembly of the malcontents was appointed to be held at Nevers. In a circumſtance thus delicate, when there was every reaſon to apprehend a general defection, the king conducted himſelf with a degree of prudence and moderation, that ought to have rendered the confederate princes aſhamed of their conduct. He contented himſelf with ſending them a remonſtrance, in which he obſerved, that they ought not to have formed the project of calling an aſſembly, in his abſence, much leſs without his conſent; that his deſign, after an intended expedition into Guienne, was to have aſſembled the ſtates, in the city of Bourges, in order to conſult them on the general affairs of the kingdom. He complained of the conduct of

* Monſtrelet, fol. 185.

the duke of Brittany in joining the confederates, at a time when the ſituation of the ſtate called for the unanimous exertion of all its members, in order to reſiſt the common enemy. After theſe reproaches, conveyed in mild and moderate language, he conſented that the diſcontented princes and nobles ſhould aſſemble at Nevers; and even offered to ſend a ſafe-conduct to the duke of Burgundy for that purpoſe.

The aſſembly accordingly met, and diſpatched deputies to the king, with remonſtrances on the points with regard to which they required ſatisfaction. The principal demands they preferred were theſe—The concluſion of a peace with England, and the correction of numerous vices which had crept into the adminiſtration; an equal diſtribution of juſtice; an abridgment of the tedious formalities of the law; the choice of magiſtrates; an augmentation of the number of ſtate councillors; a repreſſion of the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, and a proper regulation for enſuring their pay; and, laſtly, a diminution of impoſts for the relief of the people. Theſe demands, indeed, appeared to have no other object than the tranquillity of the ſtate, the public welfare, and the happineſs of the nation: but the true motive of their conduct was ſufficiently explained by the exhibition of their perſonal injuries. They all complained that the king allowed them no ſhare in the government. The duke of Alencon claimed the reſtitution of Niort and Suſanne, and the payment of his penſion; the duke of Bourbon, and the counts of Vendôme and Nevers, preferred the ſame demands with regard to their penſions; while the duke of Burgundy complained, that certain articles of the treaty of Arras—which, however, he did not ſpecify—had not been fulfilled.

The king, having duly examined the repreſentations contained in the memorial, reminded the princes, that he had conſulted all or moſt of them, on every matter of importance to the welfare of the ſtate; that in the choice of ſtate-councillors he had never been influenced by party-ſpirit; that he had been reduced to the neceſſity of taking poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of Niort, formerly commanded by the duke of Alencon; that with regard to reſtoring the duke to his command, and to renewing his penſion, thoſe were points that could only be decided by his future conduct; that the duke of Bourbon had refuſed to receive his penſion; that the count of Vendôme had retired from office on his own accord, and that when he choſe to conduct himſelf in a manner conſiſtent with the duty he owed his ſovereign, he would act by him accordingly; that he was willing to pay the penſion of the count of Nevers, and to ſatisfy him with regard to ſome other complaints of leſs importance. Charles concluded his anſwer with an aſſurance that it had ever been his intention to obſerve the peace of Arras; that if any one had preſumed to break it, that was without his knowledge, and he publickly diſavowed him; that he himſelf had ſeveral complaints to prefer on the non-

obſervance of that treaty, but that he wiſhed to ſpare the duke of Burgundy all ſuch diſagreeable recrimination.

Had the confederated princes been actuated by patriotic motives, the king's reply muſt have induced them to return to their duty. Charles, convinced that he had given them every ſatisfaction they could require, was ſurprized to hear, from his confidential miniſters, that they were endeavouring to encreaſe the number of their partizans, by ſeducing the clergy, nobility and people of the diſtant provinces. The conduct of the duke of Burgundy, in particular, aſtoniſhed the king; and he was frequently heard to declare that, could he be aſſured any ſerious attempt on his authority was intended, he would ſuſpend every other expedition to march againſt the rebels. His prudence ſuggeſted to him a means of averting the ſtorm, without having recourſe to violent meaſures, by ſeeking to gain over ſome of the chief malcontents. He invited Orleans to court, and aſſigned him a penſion of four thouſand livres: the duke, in return for the favourable reception he had experienced, detached the duke of Burgundy from the league: and the example of that prince was followed by the count of Nevers, and the duke of Brittany, who had only engaged in the confederacy at the inſtigation of the duke of Orleans. The dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, and the count of Vendôme, being unable to ſuſtain a war by themſelves, were compelled to ſubmit, and throw themſelves on the mercy of their ſovereign.

A. D. 1443.] Charles now marched, at the head of ſixteen thouſand men at arms, to the relief of Tartas, a ſtrong town ſituated on the river Douze, near its junction with the Adour, which being inveſted by the Engliſh, had engaged to ſurrender if, by the twenty-third of June, an army ſufficiently ſtrong to raiſe the ſiege did not appear before its walls. As the Engliſh made no attempt to diſpute the poſſeſſion of the place, it was ſurrendered to the king, who immediately reſtored it to the lord of Albert, to whom it belonged. The army then proceeded to inveſt Saint Sever on the Adour, which was taken by aſſault, after a ſiege of three weeks, and the garriſon were put to the ſword. Acques, Marmande and Reole experienced a ſimilar fate. The former, was ſoon retaken by the enemy. But theſe trifling ſucceſſes were more than counterbalanced by the loſs of La Hire, one of the moſt ſkilful and intrepid warriors of France, who died towards the end of the preſent campaign.

The Engliſh inveſted Dieppe, which was ably defended by the governor, aſſiſted by Dunois, who had thrown himſelf into the place with a thouſand men. As the ſeaſon was far advanced, Talbot, lately created the earl of Shrewſbury, who commanded the Engliſh, deſpairing of ſucceſs without a ſtronger force, left a part of his troops to guard the works he had conſtructed, and repaired to Rouen to wait for a reinforcement which was daily expected to arrive from England. During his abſence, the dauphin arrived with ſixteen hundred men at

arms, and made two desperate attacks on the English works, in the first he was repulsed, but the second proved successful; five hundred of the enemy weer killed, and the rest taken prisoners. The dauphin then entered Dieppe in triumph, and rewarded the garrison and inhabitants for their valour and fidelity.

About this time died John the Fifth, duke of Brittany, on whom his subjects had bestowed, by unanimous consent, the appellation of "*the good Duke.*" Some time before his death he had projected a marriage between his eldest son Francis, who succeeded him in the duchy, and Isabella of Scotland, sister to the dauphiness. Having questioned his ambassadors, on their return from Scotland, on the perfections of his intended daughter-in-law, they assured him, that, "she was "handsome enough, that her body was straight and well-formed for bearing "children, but that she appeared to them to be rather simple."—The duke replied—"*My dear friends, I beg you'll return to Scotland and conduct her hither:* "*her qualifications are just such as I could wish them. Those great subtilties in a wife* "*are more hurtful than serviceable. I'll have no other; by Saint Nicholas, I think* "*a wise wife enough when she can distinguish her own shift from her husband's* "*doublet.*"

A. D. 1444.] Both France and England were, by this time, so completely exhausted that a speedy termination of the war appeared inevitable. The duke of York had already concluded a truce with the duchess of Burgundy, in the name of the duke, her husband, for an intermediate time*; and the English council, convinced of their inability to pursue the war with vigour, resolved to propose terms of accomodation to Charles, and William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was sent to Tours for that purpose. To adjust the terms of a lasting peace, however, was found to be impossible; a truce, therefore, was concluded between the two monarchs, and their allies, to commence on the twenty-eighth of May, 1444, and to last till the first of April, 1446†; but the period of its duration was afterwards prolonged to six years. Had Suffolk's commission extended no farther than to the restoration of tranquillity, the English nation would have been highly indebted to his efforts; but he was charged, either by a private article of his instructions, or (which is more probable) by the secret commands of the cardinal of Winchester, to procure for young Henry a consort, who, being indebted to him for her elevation, might prove a formidable acquisition to his party. The person, fixed on for this purpose was, Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, count of Anjou, and titular king of Sicily. This princess was one of the most accomplished women of the age: with a person eminently beautiful, she possessed a masculine vigour of mind, a daring spirit of enterprize, and an understanding at once solid and acute;

* Rym. Foed. tom. xi. p. 24, 26. † Idem ibid. p. 58, 67.

in ſhort, ſhe was peculiarly calculated to acquire a deſpotic aſcendency over the feeble mind of Henry, and to ſupply his imbecillity and defects. When Suffolk made his propoſals to her, they were immediately accepted, and the treaty of marriage was accordingly ſigned; but though the princeſs brought no dowry, he ventured, without any direct authority from the council, to engage, by a ſecret article, that the province of Maine ſhould be ceded to her uncle, Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, prime miniſter of the king of France. The articles of the marriage being adjuſted, Suffolk returned to England to procure its ratification. The treaty of marriage was ratified by the king and council of England. Suffolk was ſent, with a ſplendid train of peers and peereſſes, to conduct the new queen, who was then only in her ſeventeenth year, to England, where ſhe landed in April, 1445.

While the Engliſh and French plenipotentiaries were engaged at Tours in ſettling the conditions of the truce, and in attempts to eſtabliſh a durable peace, a circumſtance occurred which had nearly occaſioned a renewal of the war between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. A body of French troops made a ſudden irruption into the territories of Philip, where they committed great deva-ſtations. The lord of Beaumont, mareſchal of Burgundy, having aſſembled the nobility of the province, marched againſt the invaders, whom he attacked and defeated. The dauphin was informed of the chaſtiſement which the troops had received, which he was abſurd enough to conſider as an affront offered to himſelf, and ſwore that he would revenge the inſult. The duke of Burgundy, deſpiſing his threats, ſent him word, that ſhould he venture to carry hoſtilities into his dominions, he would find him prepared to receive him. This difference might have been attended with fatal effects, had not mutual friends ſufficed to calm the reſentment of either prince.

The truce with England gave to France the firſt interval of repoſe which ſhe had enjoyed for a long ſeries of years. The people haſtened to profit by the reſtoration of tranquillity; the operations of commerce and agriculture were renewed; and the nation endeavoured by exertions of induſtry to repair the calamities of war. But ſtill the intercourſe between the different provinces was interrupted by the numerous bands of armed plunderers whom the armiſtice had deprived of their uſual occupation. An opportunity ſoon occurred, for ridding the kingdom of theſe formidable enemies. Frederic the Third, the Emperor, and his couſin Sigiſmond, archduke of Auſtria, had lighted up the flames of civil war in Switzerland, in the hope of conquering that country; and they now applied to the king of France to aſſiſt them with his troops in the accompliſhment of their projected enterprize. The archduke was affianced to Radegonda, daughter to Charles, though the marriage never took place, as the princeſs died before ſhe had attained to years of maturity. This intended alliance, however, was eagerly

ſeized by the French monarch as a plauſive pretext for granting the required aſſiſtance, by which means he would have an opportunity of delivering the provinces from a turbulent banditti. The dauphin was appointed to command the expedition; and his army conſiſted of fourteen thouſand French, and eight thouſand Engliſh*; it is probable that the latter embarked in the expedition for the ſame purpoſe as Charles.

The Swiſs were engaged in the ſiege of Zurich, which had not yet joined the confederacy, when the dauphin Lewis marched againſt them. After that prince had formed a junction with the troops of the emperor and the archduke, the Swiſs ſent a detachment of twelve hundred men, from their army which was encamped before Zurich, to attack him. In the plain of *Bottelen*, between Baſil and Montbeliard, a moſt deſperate action was fought between theſe ſons of freedom and the combined forces of France and Germany. The dauphin's cavalry were repulſed by the Swiſs, who, croſſing a rapid ſtream, poſted themſelves in the garden of a lazaretto, and there continued to fight till almoſt every man of them was ſlain; the few that eſcaped were, on their return, maſſacred by their countrymen. The French, Engliſh, and Imperialiſts loſt ſix thouſand men on this memorable day. The names of the twelve hundred patriots who thus ſacrificed their lives to the liberties of their country are ſtill preſerved in the public regiſters of Switzerland. Lewis, convinced that another ſuch victory would prove fatal to his army, accepted the offers of peace propoſed by the Swiſs under the mediation of the council of Baſil and the duke of Savoy. It was accordingly ſettled that France ſhould obſerve a ſtrict neutrality between the confederated Cantons and the princes of the houſe of Auſtria. The emperor, enraged at this defection of his allies, endeavoured to harraſs them as much as he could, for which purpoſe he ordered the inhabitants to refuſe them lodgings, and took care to deprive them of food and forage. Thus diſtreſſed they were compelled to ravage the country, and were in conſequence attacked by the peaſants, who maſſacred great numbers of them. The dauphin returned to France with the ſmall remains of his army, from an expedition in which he had acquired neither honour nor advantage.

Charles determined to profit by the interval of tranquillity which the prolongation of the truce with England ſecured to the kingdom, to reſcue his ſubjects from the inconveniences to which they were inceſſantly expoſed by the licentious conduct of the troops. With this view he aſſembled the princes of the blood, the nobility and the principal officers of the army, whom he engaged, by an appeal to their intereſt, to ſecond his efforts for the accompliſhment of this ſalutary plan. Some attempts had already been made, by way of experiment, to ſupport a body

* Villaret, tom xv. p. 369.

of troops, that were paid by the towns and villages in which they were ſtationed. This had ſucceeded, and the people, aware of the advantages to be reaped from a regular eſtabliſhment, cheerfully conſented to pay an annual impoſt for the pay and ſupport of the army; in return for which the king gave up the profits which his predeceſſors had been accuſtomed to derive from a debaſement of the coin. This impoſt was alſo rendered leſs onerous to the ſubject by the abolition of a variety of oppreſſive taxes, to which he had before been liable.

The king having ſettled this important point announced the execution of his project. All the troops were reviewed, when the moſt courageous, and beſt-equipped, were ſelected to complete the number that was meant to be retained. The reſt were immediately diſmiſſed, and received poſitive orders from the king to return to their reſpective homes, without committing any diſorders on the road. By the ſame declaration, they were forbidden, under pain of being treated as enemies to their country, and diſturbers of the public repoſe, to take up arms and aſſemble together, without an expreſs command from the ſovereign. To enforce the execution of this ordonnance, the conſtable's lieutenants, the mareſchals, and other officers, had received orders to line the public roads with their archers. Theſe wiſe precautions were ſo rigidly obſerved, that not the ſmalleſt tumult occurred. Many of the diſbanded troops returned to their families and became uſeful members of ſociety; while others, unwilling to renounce a life of plunder, and alarmed at the ſeverity of the new regulations, abandoned their country.——From this moment, France enjoyed a degree of tranquillity to which it had been a ſtranger for more than a century.

The troops whom Charles determined to keep were divided into fifteen companies of one hundred lances each. Each lance, or man at arms, was attended by three archers, a *coutillier*, or eſquire, and a page, all mounted, ſo that the companies formed a body of nine thouſand men. The officers were all experienced captains, in the choice of whom merit and not birth was conſulted. A great number of gentlemen, and even men of inferior rank, whoſe fortune enabled them to follow the profeſſion of arms, joined this body of horſe, as volunteers, in the hope of being appointed to fill the vacant places. Theſe ſupernumeraries encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that, in a ſhort time, ſome of the companies could bring twelve hundred horſe into the field. Beſides their captains and other officers, the king appointed inſpectors and commiſſaries to review them, and to keep them in order. In time of peace, and while in winter-quarters, they were all ſubject to the juriſdiction of the place where they were ſtationed. They were reſtrained, by the ſevereſt penalties, from the commiſſion of violence and diſorder; and were forbidden to exact any thing whatever from the perſons in whoſe houſes they were quartered. This ſtrict ob-

ſervance of diſcipline ſoon diſpelled the terror which the ſoldiery had long been accuſtomed to inſpire. The people began to conſider them as their defenders, and to eſteem them accordingly; and petitions were preſented to the king from all parts of his dominions, to requeſt the *favour* of providing them with quarters. They were paid where they were ſtationed, ſo that the produce of the tax, impoſed for their ſupport, was generally ſpent in the province in which it had been raiſed. As there were ſtill many younger ſons of the nobility who could not be admitted into the new companies of men at arms, and whoſe indigence prevented them from ſerving as ſupernumeraries, the king retained a certain number of them, and aſſigned them a ſtipend of twenty crowns per month. The king, at the ſame time, formed a body of four thouſand archers, whoſe number he propoſed to augment whenever the ſervice of the ſtate ſhould require it.

Thus did Charles effect the eſtabliſhment of a ſtanding army, maintained by a regular and perpetual impoſt; an eſtabliſhment that gave to the French monarchs a degree of ſuperiority over their great vaſſals, which nothing could in future, counterbalance. The princes and nobility were not aware of the conſequences of a regulation which founded the greatneſs of the monarchy on the ruin of their own. This revolution in the army produced a revolution in the ſtate. The moſt powerful landholders could no longer oppoſe, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, a ſovereign who was conſtantly armed. The diviſion of intereſts which prevailed among theſe opulent ſubjects precluded the poſſibility of a regular and ſolid union, on which alone their preſervation depended. By engaging, ſeparately, in ſuch an unequal conteſt, they ſunk beneath the weight of the ſupreme power, which acquired additional ſtrength from their fall; and the king recovered that univerſal empire, which had been torn from the poſterity of Charlemagne.

A. D. 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448.] Charles having thus introduced order into his finances and diſcipline among his troops, now laboured to recal the advantages of commerce, and to revive the languid ſpirit of induſtry. On the marriage of Henry of England to Margaret of Anjou, the province of Maine had been promiſed to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle. The court of London had ſtudiouſly delayed the reſtoration of that county, for the ceſſion whereof no plauſible reaſon could be offered, but Charles inſtantly ordered the Count of Dunois, at the head of a powerful army, to enter the province and expel the Engliſh: Mans, after a gallant reſiſtance, was compelled to capitulate; and, with its dependencies, was for ever alienated from the crown of England.

But while the epithet of *Victorious* was annexed to the name of Charles; while his fortune and his conduct excited envy and ſecured admiration, he experienced all the pangs of filial ingratitude. The dauphin had appeared anxious to repair

his firſt error by prudence and circumſpection. The king had reſtored him to his confidence, and had entruſted him with important commiſſions. But theſe marks of kindneſs had no effect upon the inflexible temper of Lewis. The martial atchievements of this prince had greatly encreaſed his preſumption; and an impatience to diſplay thoſe ſuperior talents with which he fancied himſelf endowed, induced him to form an unnatural wiſh to accelerate the arrival of that period when the reins of government would be delivered into his own hands. To facilitate the accompliſhment of his deſign, he had ſeduced ſeveral of the croſs-bowmen and archers belonging to the king's guard. Fortunately he attempted to corrupt the fidelity of Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, who revealed the plot to his father. Charles inſtantly ſent for his ſon, and reproached him with his criminal intent. Lewis, without betraying any ſign of confuſion, denied the fact, and treated Chabannes as an impoſtor: That nobleman replied, that he knew what reſpect was due to the ſon of his ſovereign, but that he was ready to maintain by arms the truth of his aſſertion againſt any of the dauphin's houſhold. The monarch was but too well convinced of his ſon's infamy; ſeveral of the Scotch guards, who had entered into the plot, the object of which was the ſeizure of the king's perſon, and, poſſibly, his aſſaſſination, were executed, and their leader, Cuningham, would have experienced a ſimilar fate, but for the interceſſion of the Scottiſh monarch. Lewis finding his perfidy diſcovered, retired into Dauphiné, a few days after the queen had given birth to a prince (in 1446), to whom the king aſſigned the duchy of Berry as an appanage.

While Charles was employed in reſtoring his kingdom to its former ſplendour, the diſſentions which prevailed in the councils of England, afforded him a fair proſpect of effecting the total expulſion of his enemies from France. The queen's faction, headed by the cardinal of Wincheſter and the marquis of Suffolk, had ſacrificed to their ambition and revenge the duke of Glouceſter, whoſe death was highly reſented by the people. This deed, joined to ſome other acts of injuſtice, excited a ſpirit of diſcontent throughout the nation, and paved the way for thoſe tumults and diſorders which marked the reign of the Sixth Henry.

The king of France had reſolved to profit by this combination of favourable occurrences; and, having made every neceſſary preparation for purſuing the war with vigour and effect, he only waited for a favourable opportunity to renew hoſtilities; and ſuch a one ſpeedily occured. Sir Francis Surienne, after he had been compelled to evacuate the county of Maine, had retired, at the head of his troops which amounted to two thouſand five hundred men, into Normandy, under the natural expectation of being received and protected by Edmund, duke of Somerſet, who had recently replaced the duke of York in the government of that province. Somerſet, however, being ſcarcely able to find pay and ſub-

ſiſtence for the forces already there, refuſed them admittance; upon which they repaired to Brittany, ſeized the ſmall town of Fougerés on the river Coveſnon; repaired the fortifications of Pontorſon and St. Jacques de Beuvron, and ſubſiſted by committing depredations on the whole province. The duke of Brittany, juſtly enraged at the infraction of a truce, in which as an ally of France, he had been included, made inſtant application for redreſs to the duke of Somerſet; who replied, that the violence was committed without his knowledge, and having no authority over Surienne, and his followers, he could not poſſibly be anſwerable for the conſequences. This reply proving unſatisfactory to the duke of Brittany, that prince appealed to the king of France as his liege lord, who, in the moſt peremptory terms, inſiſted that Somerſet ſhould recal the plunderers, and make reparation to the duke of Brittany for all the damages which he had ſuſtained; and, that an accomodation might be abſolutely impracticable, he eſtimated thoſe damages at ſixteen hundred thouſand crowns.

A. D. 1449, 1450.] Four powerful bodies of troops were now deſtined for the invaſion of Normandy: One commmanded by Charles in perſon; a ſecond by the duke of Brittany; a third by the duke of Alençon; and a fourth by the count of Dunois. As the governor of Normandy had been obliged to diſmiſs the greater part of his forces from want of money to pay them, and to ſuffer the fortifications of the towns and caſtles to become ruinous for the ſame reaſon, the French experienced but little reſiſtance. A multitude of places were ſpeedily reduced; while Somerſet remained at Rouen unable to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy. The garriſon of that city conſiſted but of two thouſand men; and Charles, having reduced the greateſt part of Normandy in leſs than four months, advanced, at the beginning of October, to attack the capital, with a numerous and well-diſciplined army. The inhabitants, averſe from the Engliſh government, called on Somerſet to ſurrender; and, after a feeble reſiſtance, he was obliged to conſent to a capitulation, by which he not only delivered up Rouen to the French, but engaged to put them in poſſeſſion of Arques, Caudebec, Tancarville, Mouſtier-Villiers, Liſle bonne, and Honfleur, on condition that he ſhould be ſuffered to go with the garriſon wherever he pleaſed, leaving Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, and ſeveral other noblemen as hoſtages, till the terms of capitulation ſhould be fulfilled. The governor of Honfleur refuſed to obey the orders of Somerſet, and ſuſtained a ſiege, but was obliged to ſurrender on the eighteenth of F bruary, 1450: Harfleur, too, made an obſtinate defence, but, at length, experienced a ſimilar fate.

The king during theſe operations had eſtabliſhed his quarters at the abbey of Jumieges, five leagues di ant f om Honfleur, where Agnes Sorrel had recently arrived, in order to give him intelligence of a conſpiracy which had been formed againſt his life *. Charles treated the report as fabulous, and while he was en-

* Annales de France. Alain Chartier. Nouvelles Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire de France.

deavouring to diſpel the fears of his miſtreſs, ſhe was taken in labour, and after giving birth to a child which lived ſix months, ſome dangerous ſymptoms appeared, and ſhe expired in the abbey *.

While Charles was engaged in the reduction of Upper Normandy, the conſtable and his nephew, the duke of Brittany, were equally ſucceſsful at the other extremity of the province. Surienne not only ſurrendered the town of Fougeres, but engaged in the ſervice of France. The duke of Brittany granted an exemption from all ſubſidies, for twenty years, to the inhabitants of this town, important from its ſituation, its commerce, and manufactures of cloth.

At the commencement of the next campaign, three thouſand Engliſh were landed at Cherbourg, under the conduct of ſir Thomas Kyriel, who reduced the town of Valognes, after a ſiege of three weeks. He then croſſed to Cotentin, with the view to join the duke of Somerſet, who had taken refuge at Caen; but being overtaken by the count of Clermont, at the village of Fourmigny, between Carentan and Bayeux, an action enſued. The Engliſh were at firſt victorious, but the French being reinforced by the arrival of the conſtable with three hundred men at arms, and eight hundred archers, the tide of ſucceſs was turned in their favour, and the enemy ſuſtained a total defeat. If the French hiſtorians may be credited, the Engliſh, (whoſe army had been greatly encreaſed by detachments from different garriſons) loſt four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy four men in the action, beſides fourteen hundred priſoners, among whom was their general Kyriel †;—of their own loſs they ſay nothing.

The victory of Fourmigny was followed by the ſiege of Vire, which ſurrendered in a few days. The army then ſeparated; the count of Clermont inveſted Bayeux, while the conſtable, in cojunction with the duke of Brittany, formed the ſiege of Avranches, which, in three weeks, was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating. Tombelaine, a fortreſs that was deemed impregnable, ſurrendered on the approach of the French; and Bayeux, after a vigorous reſiſtance, was likewiſe compelled to ſubmit. Bricquebec, Valognes, and Saint Sauveur-le-Vicomte experienced a ſimilar fate. The garriſons of theſe different towns had retired to Cherbourg and Caen; this laſt place was defended by the duke of Somerſet with four thouſand men; but being inveſted by the king in perſon with all the troops in his dominions, he capitulated on the firſt of July. A part of the army was then detached to reduce the towns of Falaiſe and Domfront, which made but little reſiſtance; while the conſtable laid ſiege to Cherbourg. This important place was taken on the twelfth of Auguſt; and thus did Charles, in little more than a twelvemonth, wreſt from the Engliſh the important province of Normandy, which had coſt them ſo much time, and ſuch an effuſion of blood to acquire.

The ſucceſs which Charles had experienced in Normandy induced him to attempt the reduction of Guienne. Several detachments were accordingly ſent

* Villaret, tom. xv. p. 474. † Idem. p. 480.——Mezeray, tom. vi. p. 375.

towards that province at the end of the campaign, and the ſtrong town of Bergerac ſituated on the river Dordogne, was reduced in a few days. The count D'Orval, with ſome other leaders, made incurſions into the Bordelois, at the head of five hundred men at arms, and laid waſte Le Medoc. The mayor of Bourdeaux with a body of troops, to the amount of nearly ten thouſand, attacked theſe ravagers, who, notwithſtanding the inferiority of their numbers, obtained a complete victory. The Engliſh nation left eighteen hundred men on the field, beſides twelve hundred priſoners*.

The winter was employed in making preparations for the enſuing campaign, but although the revival of induſtry had reſtored plenty to the kingdom, and the taxes had been punctually paid by the provinces, the king, on examination, found his coffers empty. This alarming diſcovery occaſioned a ſtrict inveſtigation into the conduct of the miniſters of finance, and Xaincoins, a Florentine, receiver-general of the finances, being applied to the torture, confeſſed enormons depredations, in conſequence whereof he was ſentenced to die, together with his clerk, James Chartier; but the king pardoned them both on condition that they ſhould pay him the ſum of ſixty thouſand crowns of gold. Another financier, named James Cœur, a man of immenſe wealth, was likewiſe ſeized and tried by commiſſioners appointed by the king for that purpoſe. Whether this man was really guilty of the crimes imputed to him by his enemies, it is impoſſible to aſcertain; but certain his trial was conducted with the moſt ſhameful partiality, and his judges were predetermined to convict him. He was ſentenced to die, but the king changed his puniſhment into perpetual baniſhment; after exacting a fine of four hundred thouſand crowns, and confiſcating all his property.

The dauphin, about this time, gave his father freſh ſubject for uneaſineſs, by contracting a marriage with the princeſs Charlotte, daughter to Lewis, duke of Savoy. The king, who highly diſapproved of the connection, ſtrictly enjoined him to enter into no engagement till peace ſhould be concluded, when he intended to marry him to a princeſs of England. Lewis regardleſs of theſe injunctions, concluded the treaty with the duke of Savoy, who agreed to give his daughter a portion of two hundred thouſand crowns, the marriage ceremony was accordingly performed at Chambery; but as the bride was yet too young to conſummate the marriage, it was ſettled that ſhe ſhould remain at the court of Savoy till ſhe ſhould attain to years of maturity.

A. D. 1451.] The campaign was opened in Guienne, by the ſiege of Mont-Guyon, a ſtrong fortreſs on the confines of the Perigord, which was ſpeedily reduced: the town of Blaye was next taken by aſſault; ſeveral other places experienced a ſimilar fate, and Bourdeaux itſelf ſoon ſurrendered to the count of Dunois. Bayonne, the only town which now remained in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, was beſieged in the beginning of Auguſt, by the count of Foix;

* Villaret, tom. 16. p. 9.

ill provided with ammunition and proviſions was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating, on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month. The governor, and the garriſon remained priſoners of war; and a contribution of forty thouſand crowns was levied on the inhabitants. Thus was the important province of Guienne, which had ever been governed by independent princes, even under the firſt race of kings, at length annexed to the crown of France. Hitherto the French monarchs had only enjoyed over Guienne a right of ſovereignty which had been often diſputed; except Lewis the Seventh, who acquired a temporary property in it, in right of his wife Eleonora, which he loſt on the diſſolution of his marriage with that princeſs. By the conqueſt of Guienne, Charles found himſelf poſſeſſed of greater power than any of his predeceſſors ſince Hugh Capet. The city of Calais was all that the Engliſh now poſſeſſed in the kingdom; and amidſt all their civil feuds and public diſſentions, they never loſt ſight of the defence of that place, of the importance whereof experience had convinced them.

A. D. 1452.] The nobility of Guienne, being ſtrongly attached to the Engliſh, were highly diſcontented at the change of government; and they deputed two of their body to London to urge the king of England to undertake the recovery of the province; which they repreſented as a matter eaſy of accompliſhment. Indeed the conjuncture was favourable, for Charles had left only a ſmall body of troops in Guienne under the command of the count of Clermont, governor of the province, in the hopes of conciliating the affection of the inhabitants by ſuch a mark of confidence.

The Engliſh miniſtry eagerly embraced the opportunity, and the venerable Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, now in his eightieth year, ſet ſail for the continent with a body of four thouſand troops. He landed on the coaſt of Medoc, and all the towns and fortreſſes in that province opened their gates at his approach. The inhabitants of Bourdeaux were no ſooner apprized of the arrival of the Engliſh, than they invited Talbot to repair thither. That nobleman accordingly entered the city in triumph, and made the ſeneſchal of Guienne, and the French garriſon priſoners of war. The king was at the caſtle of Luſignan when he received the intelligence of this unexpected invaſion. Moſt of his troops being diſperſed, he iſſued orders to aſſemble them with all poſſible expedition; and, in the mean time, he diſpatched the mareſchals of Loheac and Jalognes, with ſeveral other noblemen, at the head of ſix hundred lances, to reinforce the count of Clermont, and enable him to ſuſtain the firſt efforts of the enemy. Talbot had already completed the reduction of the Bordelois, and advancing into the Perigord, laid ſiege to Caſtillon, a ſtrong place on the river Dordogne, the garriſon whereof he compelled to ſurrender. He next reduced Fronſac, and purſuing his advantage with vigour, he recovered the whole province of Guienne in ſtill leſs time than the king had taken to ſubdue it in the preceding campaign.

As ſoon as Charles had aſſembled his army, he advanced to the frontiers of the Perigord, where Chabannes inveſted Chalais, which he carried by aſſault,

after a ſiege of ſix days: a part of the garriſon was put to the ſword; and eighty men, who had retired to a tower, where they were compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion, were beheaded, *as rebels and traitors who had violated their oaths.* During theſe tranſactions, the dauphin, who had raiſed a body of troops, the year before, in order to attack his father, ſent to offer his ſervices to Charles. The king replied, that he had already undertaken and atchieved the conqueſt of Normandy and Guienne without him, and that he did not want his aſſiſtance to enable him to recover this laſt province. The dauphin aſcribed the ſeverity of this anſwer to the count of Dunois, and, in revenge, he confiſcated the lordſhip of Valbonnais, which belonged to that nobleman.*

The royal army, ſtrengthened by the Breton troops, under the command of the count of Etampes, formed the ſiege of Caſtillon, on the 13th of July. Talbot was preſſed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country to march to the relief of the place; and as he had lately received a reinforcement of four thouſand men, under the command of his ſon lord Liſle, he complied—though reluctantly—with their ſolicitations. He arrived before Caſtillon at the head of one thouſand men at arms, having left orders with his ſon to follow him with the reſt of the troops. The defeat of a body of archers, who defended an advanced poſt, was conſidered by the Engliſh as a favourable omen: Talbot purſued the fugitives to the French camp, but his aſtoniſhment was inexpreſſible when he found it had been ſtrongly fortified, and was guarded by formidable batteries on every ſide, Talbot attacked one of the ſtrongeſt works, which was defended by a choſen band of French nobility. During two hours the conflict was maintained with equal obſtinacy on both ſides. At length the Engliſh, overpowered by ſuperior numbers, gave way; and though thrice rallied by their leader, they were unable to maintain the ground; victory ſtill ſeemed doubtful, when the courage of the French was revived by a ſtrong body of Breton cavalry, who attacked the Engliſh in the rear. Preſſed on all ſides, they performed prodigies of valour. Talbot wounded in the face, covered with blood, rode—for his great age would no longer permit him to fight on foot—from rank to rank, exhorting his men to do their duty, but his horſe being killed by a cannon ball, he was thrown on the ground; and was ſo far exhauſted with fatigue and loſs of blood, as to be unable to riſe. As he lay gaſping for breath, his ſon haſtened to his relief; at the ſight of him Talbot recovered his ſenſes——and requeſted him to retire and preſerve his life for the good of his country. Lord Liſle, heedleſs of his father's advice, ruſhed into the thickeſt of the enemy, and met death. Talbot ſtill breathed when a French archer ſlew him, in order to ſtrip him. The death of the general decided the victory; the Engliſh fled, leaving three thouſand men on the field of battle; and as many more were killed in the purſuit.

* Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par M. Duclos—Nouvelles Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire de France.

Caſtillon ſurrendered the next day; and the garriſon, to the number of fifteen hundred, were made priſoners of war.

The reduction of Caſtillon was followed by that of Saint-Melyon and Libourne; and before the concluſion of the campaign, Charles retook every town and fortreſs in Guienne. A heavy contribution was levied on the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, who were alſo deprived of their privileges. In order to avert the danger of a ſecond revolt, a ſtrong garriſon was placed in that city, under the command of the count of Clermont, lieutenant-general of the province.

A. D. 1453, 1454, 1455.] Soon after the recovery of Guienne, the king haſtened to adopt ſuch meaſures as were dictated by ſound policy, as well for the preſervation of internal tranquillity, as for ſecuring his kingdom from foreign attacks, by the concluſion of advantageous alliances. The valour diſplayed by the Swiſs in defence of their liberties made him conſider that gallant people as an uſeful ally; he, therefore, concluded a treaty with them, for the eſtabliſhment of a free commercial intereſt between the two nations, by which France engaged never more to afford, directly or indirectly, any aſſiſtance whatever to the enemies of the Helvetic league; and the Swiſs promiſed, on their part, never to allow a paſſage through their dominions to any troops that were deſtined for an invaſion of France*. That was the firſt alliance which the Swiſs, conſidered as a nation, contracted with any foreign power. The ancient treaties between France and Caſtile were renewed at the ſame time.

Since the dauphin's retreat from court, the king had never ceaſed to exhort him to return; but neither threats, ſolicitations, nor prayers could overcome the invincible obſtinacy of Lewis, who always replied, that he would willingly obey his father, provided he did not order him to reſide near his perſon; he even inſinuated that if any farther reſtraint was attempted to be impoſed on his inclinations he would quit the kingdom. Charles, afraid of being compelled to have recourſe to vigorous meaſures, at length conſented that he ſhould remain in Dauphiné.

Lewis, unmoleſted by his father, directed the natural inquietude and turbulence of his mind towards other objects. He declared war againſt his father-in-law, the duke of Savoy, and, after taking ſeveral fortreſſes, was preparing to extend his conqueſts, when the duke of Burgundy, and the Swiſs of the Canton of Berne, compelled him to accept their mediation. In order to ſupport his troops, Lewis had burdened the people with taxes the moſt oppreſſive. He had eſtabliſhed an impoſt of two livres upon every hearth throughout his domains. The clergy, nobility and commons united in their oppoſition to a tax which they deemed a violation of thoſe privileges they had enjoyed under their ancient ſovereigns, and which were expreſsly ſecured to them by the deed, by which Humbert, the laſt dauphin of Viennois, had transferred his dominions to the crown of France. Lewis, having rejected the remonſtrances of the three

* Recueil des Traites—Hiſt. des Cantons Suiſſes.

orders, they applied to the king, who promiſed to do them juſtice. Charles accordingly placed himſelf at the head of his troops, and began his march towards Dauphiné. Lewis, deſtitute of friends, and unable to oppoſe the torrent, had recourſe to ſubmiſſion; he aſſured his father that he would return to court, but inſiſted on the diſmiſſion of ſuch perſons as had incurred his diſpleaſure. The king replied, that he did not wiſh to compel him to return to court, nor yet to remain in Dauphiné; but that he would not ſacrifice to his imaginary fears ſo many great captains and faithful ſubjects to whom the monarchy was indebted for the re-eſtabliſhment of its power.

Theſe negociations ſuſpended, for a time, thoſe deciſive meaſures which the king had reſolved to adopt; but finding, from their inutility, that it would be impoſſible to overcome the invincible obſtinacy of his ſon, he at length declared that he took Dauphiné into his own hands, and he accordingly conferred the government of that province on the lord of Châtillon. The dauphin now renewed his offers of ſubmiſſion, but ſtill clogged with the conditions abovementioned, which induced the king to obſerve for the laſt time, that he had left the court of his own accord, that he might return when he pleaſed, and that he would always be at liberty to retire, whenever he ſhould think proper. "*My enemies*"—ſaid Charles to the dauphin's envoys—"*truſt to my word, and yet my ſon refuſes to be-*
"*lieve me, in which it appears to me that he does me little honour.*" Notwithſtanding the proofs which Lewis had given of the badneſs of his heart, the king was ſtill willing to impute his diſobedience to the pernicious advice of his confidents; againſt whom he threatened to exert the utmoſt rigour of the law.

A. D. 1456.] Pope Calixtus ſent the cardinal of Avignon to promote a reconciliation between Charles and the dauphin, but while he was exerting his utmoſt efforts for that purpoſe, the king received intelligence, from Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, that his ſon was levying an army in the environs of Valence; that he had ordered all his ſubjects above eighteen years of age to take up arms, and had iſſued an injunction to the inhabitants to carry their effects into the fortified places. Leſcun, baſtard of Armagnac, was deſtined to command the dauphin's troops, which conſiſted of ſeven regular companies, of a hundred lances each. But notwithſtanding theſe formidable preparations, Lewis placed little reliance on the extent of his reſources; he knew that the people were diſaffected to his government, and though he had, at firſt, flattered himſelf that the king would be afraid to drive him to extremities, he no ſooner learnt that the count of Dammartin had received orders to take poſſeſſion of Dauphiné, and even to ſeize his perſon, than he reſolved to avoid, by a timely flight the indignation of his father. The duke of Burgundy was the only prince ſufficiently powerful to afford him protection under ſuch circumſtances; to him therefore he applied, and eluding the vigilance of the count of Dammartin, who had already ſeized moſt of his towns, and ſecured moſt of the paſſes, he repaired to the palace of the prince of Orange at Vers. From thence he ſent to apprize the lord of

Beaumont, mareſchal of Burgundy, of his arrival; and that nobleman immediately joined him with an eſcort, and conducted him to Bruxelles, where he was received with great pomp and magnificence. The duke of Burgundy ſettled a penſion of ſix thouſand livres a month on the dauphin for the ſupport of his houſhold; and the fugitive prince eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Geneppe, a ſmall town in Brabant, a few leagues from Bruxelles.

Lewis, on leaving Dauphiné, had addreſſed a circular letter to the clergy of France, in which he recommended himſelf to their prayers *. At the ſame time, he wrote to the king to inform him that he had repaired to the Burgundian court in order to accompany the duke on a cruſade againſt the Turks, and to fill the poſt of Generaliſſimo of the troops of the church, which the pope had conferred on him the year before. The duke of Burgundy, too, at the prince's requeſt, ſent ambaſſadors to the king, who gave them an audience at Saint-Symphorien. After aſſuring the monarch of the rectitude of their maſter's intentions, who, they ſaid, had duly given the prince a retreat in his dominions, with a view to prevent him from ſeeking an aſylum in England, they beſought him to receive his ſon into favour, who offered to make amends for the uneaſineſs he had given his father, and even to beg pardon on his knees before any perſon whom his majeſty might chooſe to appoint to receive that mark of his repentance: they then preſented a memorial, in which the dauphin entreated his father to ſuſpend the ſeizure of Dauphiné, to permit him to wage war againſt the Turks, and to ſupply him with money and troops for that purpoſe. The Burgundian miniſters added, that, if the king conſented to this expedition, the duke propoſed to accompany the prince, and to ſerve under him.

Charles told the envoys, that the duke and the other princes of the realm ought only to receive the dauphin, ſo long as he ſhould behave to his father like a good and obedient ſon, ſince from the king alone did he derive the honour that was due to him.

Whatever appearance of confidence the king might aſſume, his ſon's retreat gave him very ſerious uneaſineſs, which he in vain endeavoured to conceal. The duke of Burgundy already was but too formidable from the extent of his own territories, without having the preſumptive heir to the crown in his power; a circumſtance of which, it was apprehended, he might ſeek to take advantage. All the garriſons of the towns on the borders of Burgundy and of the Low Countries were immediately reinforced; while the duke, on his ſide, haſtened to aſſemble his troops. But as the fear was equal on both ſides, no hoſtilities took place in conſequence of theſe preparations.

While the king was employed in fruitleſs attempts to make the dauphin return to his duty, and in endeavouring to counteract the dangerous effects of his diſobedience, a conſpiracy was formed in the heart of his dominions, which, had it

* Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par M. Duclos, L. i.

ſucceded, muſt have overturned that throne, the re-eſtabliſhment whereof had coſt him thirty years of fatigue, perils, and combats, and muſt have replunged the kingdom into that deplorable ſtate, in which he had found it at the commencement of his reign. The author of this plot was the duke of Alençon, and its object the delivery of his counrry into the hands of the Engliſh*. This prince, ſince the war of the Praguerie, of which he was one of the principal authors, had ſeldom appeared at court, where his intimacy with the dauphin had rendered his conduct ſuſpected; that diſgrace which his own imprudence had incurred he aſcribed to the count of Maine, who, from the degree of favour he enjoyed with the king, had become an object of jealouſy and hatred to the duke. He had been anxious to re-purchaſe the town and caſtle of Fougeres, which had been ſold, greatly under its value, to the duke of Brittany; and he complained that the French council had refuſed to ſecond his efforts for the recovery of an eſtate which he had only been compelled to part with in order to regain the liberty he had loſt in fighting for the nation. This complaint appears to be well-founded, though it certainly could afford no juſtification of the duke's criminal conduct.

The conſpiracy was diſcovered by the infidelity of the duke's chaplain, Thomas Gillet, a native of Domfront. On receiving the intelligence Charles exclaimed, in an agony of grief; "On whom can I now rely, ſince even the princes of my "blood conſpire againſt me?" His horror, however, ſoon gave way to indignation; when he ordered the count of Dunois; Brezé, grand ſeneſchal of Normandy; Bourſier, general of the finances; Couſinot, bailiff of Rouen; and Oudet d'Aide, baliff of Conſtantin, to ſecure the culprit, who was then at Paris. The duke was apprehended, and conveyed to Chantelle in the Bourbonnois.

Three judges were appointed to examine the duke in priſon; but he refuſed to anſwer them, under pretence that, as a prince of the blood and a peer of France, he was not bound to ſubmit to any other juriſdiction than the court of peers. Since the trial of the king of Navarre, no criminal ſuit for Léze-majeſty had been inſtituted againſt a peer; and the number of years which had elapſed ſince that period, the violent convulſions by which the kingdom had been agitated, the kind of annihilation which every order of the ſtate had experienced during that long prevalence of anarchy, had made people loſe ſight of moſt of the ancient laws and cuſtoms. Neither Charles, his miniſters, nor his council, knew what forms were neceſſary to be obſerved in the trial of a peer; and they were compelled to apply to parliament for the neceſſary information on the ſubject.

When this preliminary buſineſs was ſettled, and every preparation made, the king iſſued letters patent for holding a bed of juſtice at Montargis on the firſt of June following; and all the peers and princes of the blood *tenant en Pairie*, were, according to ancient cuſtom, ſummoned to attend. But this citation of the peers

* Regiſtres du Parlement. Tres des Chart. M. S. de Brienne. Du Tillet. Interrog. M. S. du Proces D'Alencon.

had nearly converted the coolneſs which ſubſiſted between the courts of France and Burgundy into an open rupture. The duke of Burgundy was highly diſcontented with Charles for having eſpouſed, with too much warmth, the intereſt of the count of Saint-Paul, who, according to the Continuator of Monſtrelet, aſpired to the dignity of conſtable of France; and that nobleman was careful to widen the breach between the two princes. A late incident too had ſerved to evince the diſpoſition of the duke in a manner not to be miſtaken: the king having ſent to inform him that he had taken under his own protection the poſſeſſions of the Damoiſeau of Rodemac, ſituated in the duchy of Luxembourg; the duke replied, "Let the king take care what he is about: I wiſh to know whether "it be his intention to obſerve the peace of Arras, which I am reſolved never "to violate; tell him, I deſire to be informed of his intentions without de-"lay."

The haughtineſs of this reply did not prevent the king from citing the duke to appear at Montargis, on the fifteenth of June, with the other peers of France; and the duke told the ambaſſadors who carried the citation, that although the king of France had, by the treaty of Arras, forfeited all right to command him, he would nevertheleſs repair to the appointed place. After he had diſmiſſed the envoys, he ſent *his king at arms* to Charles to explain his intentions. The contemporary writers are ſilent as to the nature of this myſterious commiſſion; but Philip, at the ſame time, iſſued orders to all his ſubjects to take up arms, and hold themſelves in readineſs to accompany him to Montargis, whither he was determined to repair with all his forces. The king, on his ſide, made adequate preparations.-

Troops were now aſſembling in all quarters, and a ſingle ſpark would have ſufficed to promote a general conflagration. Charles, however, could not contemplate without horror the proſpect of thoſe calamities in which the kingdom was about to be plunged; and he wiſely determined to ſpare the blood of his ſubjects, by overlooking the inſult he had ſuſtained from the duke of Burgundy. He therefore ſent word to that prince, that having received information of his intention to repair to Montargis, accompanied by too numerous a retinue, his attendance would be diſpenſed with, and he was only requeſted to ſend three or four miniſters of his council to aſſiſt at the trial of the duke of Alençon. A report was at the ſame time circulated, that the army which had been aſſembled by the king's orders, was deſtined to oppoſe a projected invaſion of the Engliſh. The duke of Burgundy ſatisfied with the king's moderation, diſmiſſed his troops, and appointed the lords of Crôy and Lallaing, with John L'Orſevre, preſident of Luxembourg, to attend the trial.

As an epidemic diſtemper had appeared at Montargis the king was induced to transfer the bed of juſtice from that town to Vendôme. The duke of Alençon had, hitherto, perſiſted in denying the crimes that were laid to his charge: but at length, urged by remorſe, and convinced of the ſufficiency of the proofs

adduced to eſtabliſh thoſe crimes, he confeſſed, that, on the reduction of Bourdeaux by the earl of Shrewſbury, he had lent a favourable ear to the propoſals of that nobleman, for a marriage between his daughter and the earl of Marche, eldeſt ſon to the duke of York; and had promiſed openly to declare againſt the king, as ſoon as circumſtances would permit; that, ſome time after this engagement, an Engliſh herald went to him at La Fleche, when he deſired him to preſs the duke of York to haſten his invaſion of Normandy; and to repreſent to the duke that that was the only time for attacking France to advantage; expreſſing his aſtoniſhment that the Engliſh could be *ſuch cowards* * as to defer their invaſion after the offers he had made them: He obſerved that the king was then at a diſtance, the troops were employed in Guienne, Armagnac, and on the frontiers of Dauphiné; while the people were diſcontented and eagerly wiſhed for a revolution; that if the Engliſh would land with an adequate force, he would deliver all his towns into their hands, and ſupply them with ſufficient artillery for an army of ten thouſand men; that the duke of York ought to bring the king of England to France; that Normandy was wholly unprovided with troops, and muſt be nearly reduced before any forces could be ſent to its relief. He then adviſed, that, immediately after the deſcent of the Engliſh, the ſoldiery ſhould be prohibited, under pain of death, from pillaging the inhabitants; that all grants made by Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth ſhould be revoked; that a general amneſty ſhould be publiſhed in favour of all who had ſince eſpouſed the intereſt of Charles; and that all impoſts, of whatever denomination, ſhould be ſuppreſſed, on condition of their renewal three or four years after the conqueſt. He farther obſerved, that, while the Engliſh attacked France on the ſide of Normandy, with an army of thirty thouſand men at leaſt, the duke of Buckingham ought to land another body of troops at Calais, ſo that the king might be ſurrounded in the heart of his dominions: He remarked, that the Engliſh need be under no apprehenſion with regard to the duke of Burgundy, "*who was no ſoldier, but a* "*harmleſs being, who only deſired peace and concord:*" that they might depend upon it, that the dauphin himſelf would declare in their favour, and would aſſiſt them by the ceſſion of his places and the aid of his artillery.

As the reward of his perfidy, the duke of Alençon required one of the three duchies of Bedford. Glouceſter, or Clarence; all the eſtates of the count of Maine; an annual penſion of twenty-four thouſand crowns; and a net ſum of fifty thouſand, one half of which ſhould be paid in advance. Moſt of theſe circumſtances were diſcovered, by means of the agents and domeſtics of the duke, who were confined in the Baſtile, where they were examined by commiſſioners appointed by the king for that purpoſe; and they were all confirmed by a variety of evidence, as well as by the letters and confeſſion of the

* Interrog. du Proces d'Alencon, quoted by Villaret. tom. 16.

duke of Alençon himſelf. It is highly probable, however, that the conſpiracy was carried on, on the part of the Engliſh, ſolely by the duke of York's party, ſince no traces of it are to be found in Rymer, nor in any other of our Engliſh authors.

As ſoon as the court, at which the king preſided, had aſſembled at Vendôme, the duke of Alençon was brought before them; when John L'Orfevre, preſident of Luxembourg, one of the duke of Burgundy's agents, made a long and eloquent ſpeech, in his maſter's name, beſeeching the king to extend his mercy to the culprit, who had rendered the moſt eſſential ſervices to the ſtate, and whoſe father and grandfather had periſhed in the fatal fields of Azincourt and Crecy, where they had ſignalized their courage in defence of their country. In the following ſeſſion, the duke of Orleans ſpoke to the ſame effect in the name of the princes of the blood; and he was followed by Juvenal des Urſins, archbiſhop of Rheims, in the name of the eccleſiaſtical peers. The king, without diſcovering his real intentions, replied, by the mouth of the biſhop of Coutances, that his conduct ſhould be influenced by the advice of the princes of the blood, and the members of the council, and that it ſhould be ſuch as would content every body. To avert his indignation, however, the moſt powerful ſolicitations were employed. The ducheſs of Alençon repaired to Brittany, and prevailed on the count of Richemont to exert his influence with Charles in favour of a prince, for whom he had ever evinced the ſincereſt attachment. The conſtable accordingly haſtened to Vendôme, where he had ſeveral conferences with the king on the ſubject.

At length, on the tenth of October, ſentence was pronounced by the chancellor, William Juvenal des Urſins; by which the duke of Alençon was declared guilty of leze-majeſty; and, in conſequence thereof, he was degraded from the honour and dignity of a peer of France; his property was confiſcated; and he was condemned to die by the hands of the executioner. The king, however, remitted that part of his ſentence which affected his life, and conſigned him to perpetual impriſonment, in the citadel of Loches, where he remained until the end of the preſent reign. The duchy of Alençon was annexed to the crown, but all the other poſſeſſions of the duke were reſtored to his wife and children, in conſideration of the ſervices which his anceſtors had rendered the ſtate.

A. D. 1457.] The conſpiracy and impriſonment of the duke of Alençon produced no commotions in the kingdom, and the princes of the blood, though intereſted in balancing a power which threatened to keep them in awe, confined their efforts to ſupplications in behalf of the culprit†. Neither this affair, nor the uneaſineſs which the king experienced on account of his ſon's conduct, prevented him from ordering preparations to be made, at the beginning of this year, for a deſcent on the Engliſh coaſt. Brezé, ſeneſchal of Normandy, was appointed to command this expedition, with a body of four thouſand men. He accordingly embarked at Honfleur, but he was forced by contrary winds into the

* Hiſtoire de Bretagne, tom. xviii. † Chron. de France—Continuation de Monſtrelet.

port of Nantes, whence he ſailed for England, and arrived off Sandwich, in Kent, on the twenty-eight of Auguſt. The ſeneſchal landed his troops without oppoſition, but was obliged to ſuſtain a long and bloody conflict before he could obtain poſſeſſion of the town of Sandwich, which he plundered, and then immediately re-embarked his men, not daring to remain on ſhore ſo much as one night *. About the ſame time, a body of Bretons landed in Cornwal, plunderd a few villages, and re-embarked with equal precipitation†.

Arthur, count of Richemont and conſtable of France, ſucceeded to the duchy of Brittany, on the death of his nephew, which happened on the twenty-ſecond of September, 1457; on this occaſion he was urged by the nobility of Brittany to reſign a charge which they deemed incompatible with his preſent dignity; but the conſtable rejected their ſolicitations, and obſerved, "that he was determined "to do honour, in his old age, to a poſt, which had done him honour in his "youth." He died, however, ſoon after his acceſſion to the duchy, and was ſucceeded by the count of Etampes and Vertus, who aſſumed the appellation of Francis the Second.

A. D. 1458, 1459, 1460.] In the month of July, 1458, the dauphineſs, having attained to years of maturity, was conducted to Namur, where ſhe was received by her huſband, and the marriage was conſummated. The duke of Burgundy immediately ſettled on her a penſion of thirty-ſix-thouſand livres.

Charles was greatly incenſed at the encouragement given by the duke of Burgundy to the dauphin; but he had the moſt powerful inducements to preſerve that tranquillity which had proved ſo highly beneficial to the ſtate. The laſt years, indeed, of this monarch's reign, though they preſent none of thoſe ſtriking objects which ſo ſtrongly mark the greater part of his life, exhibit a ſight far more intereſting to humanity—A happy people finally united under the beneficent authority of their lawful ſovereign. Thus, after a long ſtorm, the eye, tired with contemplating the dreadful ſhock of warring elements, venting their fury on the rocks and mountains, repoſes, with exquiſite delight, on the leſs varied proſpect of an uniform and tranquil plain. The tranquillity which France now enjoyed, was the happy offspring of her ſovereign's moderation, juſtice, and paternal benevolonce. In the exerciſe of thoſe peaceful virtues, Charles proved himſelf worthy of the reſpect, of mankind.

At a public feaſt which the duke of Burgundy gave on a new promotion of knights of the order of the Golden Fleece, the repreſentative of the duke of Alençon was admitted ‡; and although that prince had been found guilty of high treaſon, he was, neverthelefs, declared by this aſſembly to be a *nobleman of honour and exempt from reproach:* nay, farther, his eulogy was pronounced, and the orator did not fail to exclaim againſt the injuſtice of the ſentence which had been paſſed on him; it was ſcarcely poſſible to attack the king in a more

* Monſtrelet, tom. iii. fol. 71. † Hall, fol. 88. ‡ Continuation de Monſtrelet.

indecent and more inſulting manner. The duke of Burgundy ought to have recollected, that during the trial, which he had been ſummoned to attend as firſt peer of France; he had himſelf acknowledged the notoriety of thoſe crimes of which the duke of Alençon had been guilty; and that he had confined his efforts to entreaties for pardon; and that even the ambaſſadors whom he ſent to Vendóme had publickly made the ſame acknowledgments when they implored the king's clemency.

But while the duke of Burgundy was thus ſtudious to mortify the king, he was not himſelf exempt from alarm. As he had ſpies at the court of France who gave him information of every thing that paſſed there, he could not be ignorant that Charles was inceſſantly ſolicited, by different members of his council, to invade the Low Countries; and the alliances which that monarch had recently contracted with Denmark, the emperor, the elector of Saxony, the Swiſs and the Liegois, made him apprehenſive that a confederacy was formed to diſpoſſeſs him of his dominions. Unable to bear the ſtate of uncertainty in which theſe apprehenſions involved him, he determined to obtain from Charles a poſitive explanation of his intentions. With this view, he diſpatched ambaſſadors to the French court, the oſtenſible object of whoſe miſſion was, to complain of ſeveral pretended infractions of ſubſiſting treaties, but who were ſecretly charged to ſound the diſpoſition of the king, and to get intelligence of his real deſigns."*

Charles reſolved to grant the Burgundian envoys a public audience, in order that no one might doubt the ſincerity of his intentions, and the rectitude of his conduct. The ambaſſadors, after complaining that the duke had been accuſed of ſeveral inſtances of diſobedience (which, by the bye, their obſervations were ill calculated to juſtify) reminded the king of the treaty of Arras, and the ſacrifice which their maſter had, on that occaſion, made of his reſentment for the aſſaſſination of his father. They intimated, that the reduction of Paris, Normandy and Guienne was principally owing to his aſſiſtance: they advanced, that after the king had contracted alliances with the enemies of their maſter, they had farther received intelligence that he was actually engaged in negociating a truce with England, in order that he might be free to invade the Low Countries: that this conduct was the conſequence of a project which had been long conceived, and which formed one of the ſecret articles of the marriage of Margaret of Anjou with the king of England, by which that prince had engaged to reſtore all the places which he poſſeſſed in France, on condition, that he ſhould be aſſiſted in atchieving the conqueſt of Holland and Zealand. Theſe reproaches were wholly unfounded: ſince the peace of Arras more than twenty treaties had been concluded between the Engliſh and the duke of Burgundy, who had juſt renewed the truce with them; while the king carried his ſcrupſes ſo far as even to refuſe to enter into a negociation with them. The Burgundian miniſters added that the duke's ſubjects had daily reaſon to complain of the partiality of the judges of the parliament of

* Continuation de Monſtrelet.

Paris, in every cauſe which they brought before them; that prompt juſtice was never rendered them except when they were deſtined to be condemned; that the moſt inſulting language was employed by the French in ſpeaking of the duke of Burgundy; and that the government took no pains to repreſs the ſpirit of licentiouſneſs, ſo deſtructive of that reſpect which was due to a ſovereign power, a prince of the blood, and the firſt peer of France—characters which were united in the perſon of their maſter:—that the duke could not ſuppoſe the king was offended with him for having afforded an aſylum to the preſumptive heir to the crown; ſince he had taken care to apprize his majeſty of the dauphin's arrival in his dominions, and had not then been deſired to refuſe to receive a prince who was deſtined by providence to become, one day, his ſovereign.

To theſe repreſentations, the king replied with equal moderation and dignity. He juſtly obſerved that the treaty of Arras had, at leaſt, been as advantageous to the duke of Burgundy as to himſelf: that the conditions of that treaty ſufficiently atteſted that the ſacrifice of his reſentment for the death of his father had not been *gratuitous*: that though the mareſchal de L'Iſle Adam had contributed to the reduction of Paris, yet the honour of that atchievement was principally due to the courts of Richemont and Dunois: that the duke's ſubjects, who, ſince that period, had ſerved in the king's armies, were alſo vaſſals of the crown: that the duke of Burgundy had obſerved a ſtrict neutrality during the reduction of Normandy and Guienne: that the alliances which he (the king) had contracted with the neighbouring powers, were in no wiſe prejudicial to the duke, nor did they infringe, in the ſmalleſt degree, on the peace of Arras, which he had ever obſerved with religious ſcrupuloſity: that the project of enabling the Engliſh to reduce Holland was an abſurd ſuppoſition to which the duke himſelf gave no credit; but that the truce which the duke had juſt concluded without the knowledge of France was of a different deſcription: that the accuſations of diſobedience preferred againſt the duke were proved to be valid by juridicial acts: that if the king had not preſcribed to the duke of Burgundy the exact line of conduct which he ought to purſue with regard to the dauphin, he thought he had ſufficiently explained himſelf on that ſubject by ſending him word that he could not pay too much honour to the prince ſo long as he ſhould obſerve that reſpect and obedience which were due from a ſon to a father. The dukes of Orleans and Brittany, with the count of Maine and the other princes of the blood, were preſent while the king delivered this anſwer to the ambaſſadors, who deſired a farther explanation of his ſentiments; Charles, therefore, told them, before their departure, that he would ſend one of the members of his council to the duke to give him all the ſatisfaction he could require.

A. D. 1461.] Had the king only liſtened to the dictates of reſentment, he might eaſily have revenged himſelf of the duke of Burgundy for the uneaſineſs he had cauſed him in affording protection to the dauphin. The court of Philip was not more exempt from domeſtic diſſentions than that of Charles. The count of Charolois, diſcontented with his father and enraged more than ever with the houſe

of Croi, who poſſeſſed all his confidence and favour, had formed a deſign of retiring into France; and he commiſſioned the count of Saint-Paul to make the propoſal to the king. He, at the ſame time, applied for the command of the troops, which France intended to ſend to England to the aſſiſtance of Margaret of Anjou. He was told that with regard to the armament, no deciſive reſolution had been adopted; but that if he choſe to come to France, he would be received with all the reſpect that was due to his rank and birth. Several meſſages paſſed on the ſubject; but as the king found it was the count's intention to ſacrifice the objects of his reſentment before he left his father's dominions, he broke off the negociation with this generous remark:—"*For two kingdoms ſuch as mine I would not conſent to* "*ſo villainous an action.*"

The king had been indiſpoſed for ſome time, and though at an age when the generality of men ſtill retain their faculties, both mental and bodily, unimpaired, he daily experienced a diminution of his ſtrength. That rapid ſucceſſion of events which continued from the commencement to the concluſion of his reign, had ſcarcely permitted him to enjoy an inſtant of repoſe. Inceſſantly obliged to ſtruggle with adverſity, equally haraſſed by the perſecutions of his enemies and by thoſe of his own family; continually thwarted in his deſigns, often reduced to extremities the moſt cruel and diſtreſſing *; only ſurmounting one obſtacle to encounter another; and compelled to fight for almoſt every inch of territory he acquired—Such were the toilſome occupations to which Charles was deſtined. This complication of dangers and fatigues, joined to the weighty cares of government—an immenſe burden of themſelves to a monarch jealous of his duties had weakened the ſprings of life; and an immoderate indulgence in amorous gratifications, to which Charles, particularly in his latter years, had recourſe, as an antidote to the painful anxiety which preyed on his mind, on account of his ſon's miſconduct, greatly accelerated the period of his diſſolution.

About Midſummer he was ſeized with a complaint in his face which was ſuppoſed to proceed from the tooth-ach; but a tooth having been extracted, a fever enſued, and his phyſicians began to be apprehenſive of danger. The king's illneſs produced a general conſternation among the miniſters and courtiers, moſt of whom being objects of hatred to the dauphin, dreaded the effects of his anger and revenge. Meanwhile a council was aſſembled, at which it was reſolved to write to the dauphin without delay, in order to inform him of his father's ſituation, and to know his pleaſure. This letter, ſigned by the counts of Main and Foix; the chancellor des Urſins; the lords of Dunois, Laval, Albert, Chabannes, Eſtouteville, du Chaſtel, and five of the principal miniſters, is dated the ſeventeenth of July. That ſame day all the members of the council adopted a propoſal made by the count of Maine, to exert their utmoſt efforts, ſhould the king recover, to promote a reconciliation between him and his ſon. This engagement they confirmed

* His treaſurer, at the commencement of the ſiege of Orleans, had no more than four crowns in his poſſeſſion—*Poces Juſtif: de Jeanne d'Arc, MS. Bib. R.*

by an oath; they renewed it on the eighteenth, as appears from a letter written by the count of Foix to Lewis the Eleventh*.

Amidſt the tumult which prevailed on the proſpect of a change in the government, a report was raiſed—but on what foundation is not known—that a deſign was formed againſt the king's life; and it has ſince been added, that the dauphin himſelf was the author of it. But an imputation of this nature requires the ſtrongeſt confirmation to enſure belief; whereas, all the contemporary writers are ſilent on the ſubject. An officer of the king's houſhold—whoſe name has not been preſerved in hiſtory—thought it his duty to inform Charles of the danger which threatened him. The agitation into which the unhappy monarch was thrown by the dreadful intelligence, is more eaſily conceived than expreſſed; after reſcuing his country from the oppreſſion of her hereditary foes, after promoting, to the utmoſt of his power, the welfare and happineſs of his ſubjects, to ſee himſelf reduced to the deplorable ſtate of a tyrant trembling with the apprehenſion of meeting the fate he merited, was too much for his fortitude to ſupport. He ſunk beneath the weight of his affliction; and, ſeeing nothing that could endear him to life, in the diſmal proſpect which now preſented itſelf to his view, he reſolved to die. In vain did his miniſters and the members of his council employ the moſt ſtrenuous ſolicitations to diſſuade him from adhering to this fatal reſolution; he was deaf to their remonſtrances, and obſtinately perſiſted in refuſing whatever was offered him. It is not probable that his conduct, in this reſpect, was influenced by the dread of poiſon; ſince, by the rejection of all kind of food, he expoſed himſelf to certain death. To admit ſuch an idea, we muſt ſuppoſe him to have been abſolutely deprived of his ſenſes, and that this was not the caſe is evidently proved by the manner in which he died. At length, the phyſicians, ſeconded by the miniſters of religion, prevailed on him to take ſome nouriſhment; but his ſtomach was now too weak to bear it. Conſcious that his laſt hour was approaching, he fixed his thoughts on a future ſtate; and, after ſettling his wordly affairs, and diſcharging the duties of a chriſtian, he died at Meun-ſur-Yevre, on the twenty-ſecond of July, (1461) in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his reign †.

Charles was equally generous and brave; amidſt the tumult of war his heart was ever open to the dictates of humanity; moderate and juſt, his arms were only employed in defence of his country, and in recovering the patrimony of his anceſtors. But his martial atchievements alone would be inadequate to juſtify that degree of reſpect and admiration, in which his memory is ſtill holden by the French. The wiſdom and mildneſs of his government form a fairer theme for

*Villaret, tom. xvi. p. 301.

† The circumſtance of the king's refuſal to take food for ſome days previous to his death, has been doubted by the author of "Obſervations on the Hiſtory of France," and by Monſieur Duclos, the modern hiſtorian of the reign of Lewis the Eleventh. Its truth, however, is aſſerted by two contemporary writers—the Continuator of Mouſtrelet, and the author of the Chronicle of Saint-Dennis. To which of theſe moſt credit is due, we pretend not to decide; we ſhall only obſerve, that the *improbability* of a fact is, of itſelf, inſufficient to counterbalance the poſitive aſſertion of perſons, who may *miſrepreſent* but who cannot be *miſtaken*.

exultation, and a nobler ſubject of applauſe. To the laws he has not only reſtored their ancient vigour, but gave freſh force. The many ſalutary edicts that were publiſhed, and regulations that were adopted, during his reign, ſufficiently atteſt the truth of this obſervation. In his ſelection of magiſtrates—an object of the higheſt importance to the community—he diſplayed the moſt vigilant attention to the intereſts and happineſs of the people; in inveſtigating the qualifications of the rival candidates, he always made birth give place to genius, and talents to integrity. Sincerely pious, but exempt from bigotry, he ſtrenuouſly defended the rights and liberties of the Gallican church, even from the invaſions of the holy ſee. At the commencement of his reign an exceſſive facility of diſpoſition expoſed him to all the dangers which generally reſult from an implicit confidence in *favourites;* and betrayed him into the commiſſion of numerous errors; but convinced by experience he corrected his conduct, while the native excellence of his mind ſecured him from falling into the oppoſite extreme: He ſtill remained courteous, affable, merciful and mild. The chief defect in the character of this monarch was a violent propenſity to amorous enjoyments, which in the early part of his life, rendered him indolent and effeminate; and even to the laſt period of his exiſtence, betrayed him into conſtant violations of conjugal duty.

Whenever Charles travelled from one part of his dominions to another, he took ſeveral perſons in his retinue to make clothes, which he diſtributed to the poor. His mode of living was ſuitable to his dignity, though his annual expences never exceeded one hundred thouſand livres; and ſuch prudence was diſplayed in the economy of his houſhold, that he had ſaved at his death, two hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which he deſtined to pay a part of the four hundred thouſand crowns, for which the towns ſituated on the river Somme had been pledged to the duke of Burgundy by the treaty of Arras. He was a moſt rigid obſerver of his word: "*Sa parole*"—ſays a contemporary writer *—"*etoit parole* "*de roi, et tenue pour loi;*" in ſhort, he diſplayed ſuch juſtice and moderation, and was ſo anxious to reſtrain the diſorders of the ſoldiery, that his ſubjects may be ſaid to have enjoyed, even amidſt the tumult of war, all the bleſſings of peace.

The inſtant Charles had reſigned his breath, the count of Maine diſpatched three couriers, ſucceſſively, to the dauphin, to inform him of his father's death, and to receive his orders ‡. Meanwhile the miniſters and nobility who were then at Meun appeared loſt in conſternation; whether from a cowardly apprehenſion of exciting the diſpleaſure of his ſucceſſor, or from a criminal neglect which nothing could juſtify nor even palliate, no preparations were made for the interment of the deceaſed monarch. Tannegui du Chatel—nephew to the nobleman of that name, who had ſaved the dauphin from the Burgundian faction at the reduction of Paris—was the only perſon who had the virtue and reſolution to fulfil a duty that was deemed dangerous: By his orders, and at his expence, the body of Charles was firſt conveyed on the (ſixth of Auguſt) to the cathedral at

* Chron. de St. Denis. ‡ Continuation de Monſtrelet.—Chron. de St. Denis.

Paris, where the funeral obſequies were performed, and then depoſited in the royal vault at Saint Denis: Immediately after the ceremony, the count of Dunois, who was preſent, exclaimed, "*We have loſt our maſter, let every man pro-*"*vide for his own ſafety.*"—An exclamation which only ſerved to encreaſe their regret for the paſt, and their apprehenſions of the future. The money which Du Chatel expended on this occaſion was not repaid him by Lewis till ten years after the preſent period *.

The troubles, by which France had been convulſed, for the long ſpace of eighty years, had thrown every part of the kingdom into the moſt dreadful confuſion: and the annihilation of the ſovereign authority appeared to be an almoſt neceſſary conſequence of thoſe civil commotions which raged with ſuch unexampled violence. But they, fortunately, produced a contrary effect; from this dreadful ſtate of anarchy, a new order aroſe in the ſtate, a ſyſtem quite different from the ancient government, and highly advantageous to the extenſion of monarchical influence. By the adoption of a ſyſtem of policy, unknown to their predeceſſors, that of ſowing diſſention among their enemies, the French monarchs ſucceeded in their attempts to curtail the moſt dangerous prerogatives of the nobility, and by the deſtruction of the Ariſtocratic power, confirmed and ſtrengthened the royal authority. They opened the eyes of the people to their true intereſts, which had been ſo long ſacrificed to thoſe of the nobility. The nation, torn by inteſtine commotion, ſought for a ſupport, which they could only find in a ſovereign, always armed, and conſequently in a condition to afford them protection: they accuſtomed themſelves to conſider the king as the *centre* of the ſtate, as *the only point of union* to which every member of the community ought to tend. Experience of the paſt muſt neceſſarily have given ſtrength and effect to an opinion which was found to be favourable to public tranquillity. Already had moſt of the great vaſſals of the crown begun to loſe that tyrannical empire which they had ever been accuſtomed to exert over their inferiors, whom they rendered the ſlaves, and victims of their paſſions. It is true, indeed, that the encouragement of appeals from the courts of the barons to that of the king had, in earlier times, given the firſt blow to this monſtrous deſpotiſm; but that cuſtom, introduced for the purpoſe of counteracting the evil effects of the partial and unjuſt proceedings of the feudal juriſdictions, was confined in its influence; it extended only to particular caſes, and conſeqnently afforded relief only to a few individuals, without affecting the generality of the nation. Motives of greater efficacy were requiſite to weaken and curtail the exhorbitant power of the holders of extenſive fiefs, and theſe motives were ſupplied by themſelves. Their reſtleſs ambition, their reciprocal jealouſies, their eternal diſſentions, their frequent revolts, and their flagrant crimes, began to expoſe them to the indignation and even to the contempt, of their own ſubjects. That complication of calamities to which the people had ſo long been expoſed; the many ruinous wars in which they had been compelled

* Villaret.

to engage; towns reduced to aſhes, villages depopulated, and lands laid waſte;—all theſe tended to demonſtrate, beyond the reach of confutation, the horrid abuſe which the feudal nobles had made of their power. The people, ſorely oppreſſed by a multitude of petty tyrants, inſenſibly began to loſe that reſpect they had been accuſtomed to entertain for their maſters, and, feeling, at once, their ſituation and their conſequence, reſolved to reſiſt a yoke which tyranny had rendered intolerable. The nobility could no longer ſecure any thing more than a conſtrained and precarious obedience; and they were only indebted, for the continuance of their power, to the feeble ſupport of an ancient prejudice which a riſing ſpirit of rational freedom was labouring to deſtroy. Whenever the princes of the blood, and the great vaſſals of the crown, were attacked, their dependents would only render them ſuch ſervices as they had hitherto found it impoſſible to aboliſh. The nobles had diſdained to ſecure the affections of their vaſſals; and they were no longer poſſeſſed of ſufficient authority to extort an implicit ſubmiſſion. The dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the count of Foix, were almoſt the only noblemen who ſtill retained an abſolute power in their reſpective territories; and their right to the poſſeſſion of that power the ſovereign conteſted, though he had never attempted to deprive them of it by exertions of violence. The authority of the reſt was extremely limited, and ſoon died away. They were wholly unable to ſupport a war; they could not even take up arms, without ſubjecting themſelves to the riſk of being tried as rebels, and condemned as traitors. The domains of the count of Armagnac and the duke of Alençon had been confiſcated and ſeized, by a legal proceſs; and no oppoſition had been made either to the ſentence or its execution; whereas, but a few years before, it would have been neceſſary to ſubdue the confiſcated territory by force of arms. Such was the rapid progreſs which the royal authority had already made; by the moderation with which it was exerciſed by Charles the Seventh, the nation were prevented from perceiving its whole extent; but under the ſucceeding reign its effects became more ſenſible.

Charles the Seventh was the firſt of the French monarchs who impoſed a new tax, without the conſent of the ſtates general. This innovation did not excite the ſmalleſt murmur; becauſe—ſay the French hiſtorians—the nation were convinced of the neceſſity of an impoſt, deſtined to maintain the tranquillity of the ſtate; but it certainly tended to eſtabliſh a dangerous precedent, as the power of impoſing taxes without the conſent of the people forms one of the leading features of deſpotiſm. Whenever a tax had been raiſed, before this period, for the payment of the troops, the provinces were previouſly applied to for their concurrence, and the duration of the impoſt was generally regulated by the neceſſity which gave riſe to it; but when Charles eſtabliſhed a ſtanding army, he found it neceſſary to ſecure a regular fund, and therefore, of his own authority, rendered the impoſt, levied for that purpoſe, perpetual. The rectitude of his intentions and the prudence of his adminiſtration, having ſecured the confidence of his ſubjects, he met with no oppoſition to his plan; and, indeed, it muſt be obſerved,

to his credit, that he adopted every poſſible means to prevent any kind of impoſition on the people. No more money was raiſed than was abſolutely neceſſary for the purpoſe; and the tax was collected in the moſt unexceptionable manner; each pariſh chuſing its own collectors. It was never augmented during the reign of Charles the Seventh; and under Francis the Firſt it was ſtill ſo moderate, that thoſe who were rated higheſt could purchaſe an exemption for twenty ſols each.

It cannot be ſuppoſed that the arts could make any rapid progreſs in times of tumult and diſorder. The art of war, being moſt in uſe, was, of courſe, purſued with the greateſt ardour; and ſome improvement appears to have been made in the means of deſtruction. The uſe of artillery had become common in France, and a ſeparate fund of eighty thouſand livres annually—equivalent to upwards of thirty-three thouſand pounds ſterling—was provided for the ordnance department. The author of the Chronicles of France,* mentions a cannon caſt by John Maugué, at Tours, in 1478, that threw a ball of five hundred pounds from the Baſtile to the bridge at Charenton.

It is probable that bombs and mortars were invented during this period. At the ſiege of Bourdeaux, Bureau, the maſter of the artillery, made uſe of certain flying machines—*engins volans*—with which he expected to reduce the town to aſhes; and it appears that they produced the ſame effects as the bombs which are now in uſe. Several proofs adduced in ſupport of this opinion may be ſeen in the Memoirs of Literature†; one of theſe will ſuffice to demonſtrate its validity. Robert Valthurius, in a treatiſe on the military art, dedicated to Sigiſmund Pandolphus Malateſta, prince of Rimini, who died in 1475, aſcribes to that prince the invention of the mortar and the bomb, the effects whereof he deſcribes with ſuch preciſion,‡ that it is impoſſible to miſtake him. But if any thing reſembling bombs had really been uſed in France during the reign of Charles the Seventh, it is certain they were ſoon laid aſide, for we find no mention afterward made of that dreadful inſtrument of deſtruction, till the year 1634.

As ſoon as tranquillity was reſtored to the kingdom, the taſte for literature revived. On the death of Charles the Seventh, the rector of the univerſity of Paris offered to attend the funeral proceſſion, with *five-and twenty thouſand* ſtudents. But the progreſs that was made in the ſciences was but ill proportioned to the ardour with which they appear to have been cultivated; indeed, in no one branch of literature, is it poſſible to diſcover the ſmalleſt ſymptom of improvement.

The admirable art of printing was invented during the fifteenth century, though where, or by whom is not preciſely known. On reading Meerman, Mattaire, Marchand, Palmer, and ſome others, who have written on the ſubject, it appears moſt probable that Laurentius Coſter, keeper of the cathedral at

* Chron. de France. tom. iii. fol. 240. † tom. xxvii. p. 206. ‡ Inventum eſt quoque machinae bujuſce tuum, Sigiſmunde Paudulphe qua pilae aeneae tormentarii pulveris plenae cum fungi aridi fomite urentis emittuntur. Rob. Valthurius de re militari. p. 266, quoted in the twenty-ſeventh volume of the memoirs of the French academy.

Haerlem, conceived the firſt idea of printing, about the year 1430; and between that time and his death, which occurred in 1440, printed ſeveral ſmall books in that city, with wooden types tied together with threads. As conſiderable emolument was likely to accrue from the knowledge of this art, Coſter was anxious to prevent its promulgation, and to tranſmit it to his family; but in this he was diſappointed, as, about the time of his death, John Geinsfleich, one of his workmen, eſcaped from Haerlem, and taking with him ſome of his maſter's types, retired to Mentz, where, being encouraged and ſupplied with money, by John Fuſt, an opulent citizen, he began to print in 1441: two years after this man, or *his aſſiſtant*, John Guttemberg, is ſaid to have invented metal types and to have ſet them in frames, an improvement of ſuch importance, that the city of Mentz was thence induced to claim the honour of being the place where printing was invented.

But according to the accounts contained in the memoirs of the French academy, and in the hiſtorical treatiſe on the art of printing, written by M. Fournier, the invention of that art is to be ſolely aſcribed to John Guttemberg, *a gentleman of Mentz*, who diſcovered it in 1440, during his reſidence at Straſburg, where the event is ſtill commemorated by a jubilee, celebrated in the fortieth year of every century, called the *typographical jubilee*. Having ſpent his own fortune, and the fortunes of ſome of his aſſociates who had entered into his ſchemes, in attempts to perfect the art he had diſcovered, Guttemberg retired to Mentz, his native place, where he took *John Fuſt* as a partner. The firſt work of conſequence which iſſued from their preſs was a Bible, bearing no date, but ſuppoſed to have been printed in 1450. The types, *although of wood*, were made to imitate writing ſo perfectly, that ſeveral copies were ſold as manuſcripts, at an exorbitant price. Fuſt diſpoſed of ſeveral at Paris; where he was proſecuted for having ſold a great number of the ſame work at different prices*. From Mentz this noble art, notwithſtanding the pains which the inventor took to prevent its propagation, by exacting an oath of ſecrecy from all his workmen, was conveyed to other cities of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, where preſſes were eſtabliſhed nearly at the ſame time.

The improvement of caſting metal types and ſetting them in forms is aſcribed to Schoeffer, ſon-in-law to Fuſt. Fuſt and Schoeffer are ſaid to have been the firſt printers who prefixed their names to the works they publiſhed; and the firſt book to which their name appeared was a Pſalter, in Folio, printed in 1457. The art of printing was introduced into France by Ulric Gering, Martin Krants, and Michael Friburger, three printers of Mentz, who, on the invitation of William Fichet and John de la Pierre, doctors of divinity, went to ſettle at Paris. They had convenient appartments aſſigned them in the college of the Sorbonne, where they continued till 1483, when Gering took a houſe in the rue de Sorbonne, in which he remained till his death. This founder of French typography

* Villaret.

acquired a conſiderable fortune, one half of which he bequeathed, as a token of his gratitude, to the college of the Sorbonne.

As Charles the Seventh was of low ſtature and had very ſhort legs, he generally wore ſuch a dreſs as was beſt calculated for concealing the defects of his perſon. The faſhion of long garments was accordingly revived during his reign; but, in the firſt years of the reign of Lewis the Eleventh, a total revolution occurred in the article of dreſs. The women, who had been accuſtomed to wear gowns of an immenſe length, cut off their enormous trains, as well as their ſleeves which ſwept the ground. For theſe ridiculous ſuperfluities they ſubſtituted deep borders that were equally prepoſterous. On their heads they wore enormous caps ſurrounded with folds of ſilk or other light materials,—in the form of a turban—almoſt a yard in heighth. In the reign of Charles the Sixth, the head dreſſes of the women were ſo broad—being two yards in breadth *—that it was found neceſſary to make the doors wider in order to admit them; whereas now they were obliged to make them higher.

The change that took place in the men's dreſſes was not leſs remarkable. The long robes were ſucceeded by ſhort jackets that ſcarcely reached the waiſt, which ſat quite cloſe to the body, and were faſtened by a lace to the breeches, which were equally tight. The front of the breeches was decorated with an ornament bearing an exact reſemblance to thoſe parts which decency forbids to name, and for which it ſerved as a caſe. Theſe extraordinary decorations which were called *braguettes*, were ornamented with fringe and ribbands. To make themſelves appear *broad-cheſted* the men wore falſe ſhoulders, called *mahoitres;* their hair was long before, ſo as to ſhade their eye-brows; and the faſhion of wearing long pointed ſhoes was revived. Such was the faſhionable dreſs of the fifteenth century. The contemporary writers, from whom this account is taken add that every body was eager to follow this extravagant mode of dreſs; that even men whoſe profeſſion compelled them to pay more regard to decency in public were no longer aſhamed of an affectation which ceaſed to appear ridiculous becauſe it had become general; ſo that a grave perſonage, who had been ſeen in the morning with a long robe, paraded the ſtreets in an afternoon "*dreſſed* "*like an ape.*" The ſame authors complain that private citizens adorned themſelves with golden chains, in imitation of kights; that they were no longer able to diſtinguiſh the gentleman from the tradeſman; and that valets as well as their maſters, were covered with ſatin, damaſk and velvet. Theſe particulars by no means tend to confirm the opinion of thoſe who maintain that luxury is the moſt certain indication of opulence in a ſtate. It is impoſſible to diſcover, in the hiſtory of the preſent period, any ſources whence France could have derived ſuperfluous wealth. The arts were ſtill in their infancy; no progreſs had been made in induſtry; no eſtabliſhment of new manufactures had taken place; her commerce was confined, and her navy in ſuch a languiſhing ſtate, that when any

* Villaret, tom. xxxvi. p. 367. Monſtrelet, fol. 39. Col. 2. Paſquier, p. 578.

naval expedition was projected ſhe was compelled to hire foreign veſſels. Such was the ſituation of France, confined to her territorial riches; yet did ſhe exhibit every external ſymptom of opulence. The precious metals, which were diſplayed with ſuch oſtantatious profuſſion, were then very ſcarce; as muſt appear from the price of every article of conſumption, which ſold, on an average, for ten times leſs than what it produced a century after. Soldiers were the only people who earned more money than men of the ſame claſs do now. That deſcription of impoſts, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *tailles*, only amounted to ſeventeen hundred thouſand livres, whereas, under the following reign, they were augmented to almoſt five millions. In the marriage-contract of Margaret de Rohan, daughter to the viſcount de Rohan, and John, count of Angoulême, grandfather to Francis the Firſt, it was mentioned, that the prince ſhould be paid the ſum of nine tnouſand crowns, part of his wife's fortune which amounted to twenty thouſand: and in the ſame deed, the viſcount, in conſideration of this alliance, ceded to his ſon-in-law the poſſeſſion of certain eſtates, reſerving however, to himſelf the liberty of redeeming them on paying forty thouſand crowns. Theſe two ſums put together formed a capital of ſixty thouſand crowns, or ſeventy five thouſand livres, for the crown was then worth five-and-twenty ſols Tournois. Such was the portion of a princeſs, whoſe grandſon was deſtined to aſcend the throne.

It was during the reign of Charles the Seventh, that the domain of the crown, which had been extremely limited ſince the death of Hugh Capet, began to experience a conſiderable augmentation. That prince, who on his acceſſion to the throne, was confined to the poſſeſſion of the Orleanois Touraine, Berry and a part of Foitou, left his ſucceſſor the free and quiet enjoyment of the patrimony of his anceſtors, encreaſed by the acquiſition of all that part of France which extends from the confines of Poitou to the bay of Biſcay.

LEWIS THE ELEVENTH.

A. D. 1461.] LEWIS was at Geneppe when he received the news of his father's death, and the intelligence is ſaid to have inſpired him with a joy which he affected not to conceal; but though his eagerneſs to ſway the ſceptre was unqueſtionably great, it can ſcarcely be conceived, that a prince who was the moſt conſummate hypocrite of the age, would have ſuffered ſymptoms of exultation, the moſt indecent and unnatural; to eſcape him; ſymptoms, too, which muſt have made the moſt unfavourable impreſſion on all who witneſſed them. This charge, indeed, appears to have been founded rather on a ſuppoſition of what Lewis *felt*

at the time, than on a knowledge of what he diſplayed; and it is worthy of remark, that, though it has been conſtantly advanced by later hiſtorians, it is not even mentioned by one contemporary writer*.

From Geneppe the king went to Maubeuge upon the Sambre, where he performed the firſt act of ſovereignty, by ſummoning the governors of certain provinces to exact from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance, and to ſend him two deputies from each of the principal towns. He then proceeded to Aveſnes, where he had appointed the duke of Burgundy to meet him. A report prevailed that the late king had taken ſome ſteps to deprive Lewis of his lawful inheritance; and, though the conſtitutional laws of the realm preſented an inſurmountable bar to ſuch a proceeding, that prince, conſcious he had given but too juſt grounds of offence to his father, ſeemed to entertain apprehenſions that his ſucceſſion would be diſputed: at leaſt, his conduct, and that of the duke of Burgundy, were calculated to authorize ſuch an opinion. As the duke was to accompany the king to Rheims he ſummoned all the nobility in his dominions to meet him at Saint-Quentin; and the citation was ſo punctually obeyed, that no leſs than one hundred thouſand armed men attended at the appointed randezvous. Such a prodigious number of attendants rather bore the appearance of an hoſtile army preaparing to atchieve the conqueſt of a kingdom, than of the retinue of a ſovereign going to receive the crown, and to take peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors. But whatever apprehenſions Lewis might have been led to entertain, they were ſpeedily diſpelled by the zealous loyalty which every claſs of people haſtened to ſignalize. No ſooner, however, was one object of apprehenſion removed, than another preſented itſelf to his mind; for it was the fate of this prince to be inceſſantly a prey to ſuſpicion, inquietude, and terror. the duke of Burgundy, at the head of an army of one hundred thouſand men, appeared to be a dangerous friend. His benefactor in adverſity had now become his vaſſal; and this change in their relative ſituations neceſſarily produced, at leaſt on one ſide, a change of ſentiment; the intereſts of the king were far different from thoſe of the dauphin, when a fugitive, and in diſgrace. The embarraſſment of Lewis was greatly encreaſed by the critical ſituation in which he was placed; ſince by betraying ſymptoms of diſtruſt, muſt have inevitably have incurred the cenſure of ingratitude, and moreover expoſed himſelf to the danger of making a formidable enemy, whoſe efforts he would have been wholly unable to reſiſt. But he extricated himſelf from this dilemma by artfully inſinuating to the duke of Burgundy, that the appearance of ſuch a numerous army would, he feared, inſpire his ſubjects with unfavourable ſentiments, which at the commencement of his reign, it was peculiarly his intereſt to avert. The duke, who harboured no ſiniſter intentions immediately diſmiſſed his troops, and took the road to Rheims, accompanied only by four thouſand of his nobles.

* Contin. de Monſtrelet—Chronique de Saint Denis—Chronique de France—Preface de Commines—Pieces Juſtificatives—Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par M. Duclos.—Hiſtoire de la Ville de Paris—Regiſtres du Parlement.

At Aveſnes the king received the deputies from the principal towns, and from the ſovereign courts of juſtice. A funeral ſervice was celebrated in the church of that town for the repoſe of the late king's ſoul; and Lewis attended the ceremony, (accompanied by the duke of Burgundy; the counts of Charolois and Etampes; James of Bourbon, and Adolphus of Cleves) dreſſed in deep mourning; but as ſoon as the ſervice was finiſhed, he aſſumed the regal purple; not, as has falſely been aſſerted, in contempt of his father's memory, but in compliance with a cuſtom which had been adopted in the early ages of the monarchy, and which his predeceſſors had invariably obſerved*.

Nothing remarkable occurred at the coronation of Lewis, which took place at Rheims, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, except that, before he was anointed, he inſiſted on receiving the honour of knighthood from the hands of the duke of Burgundy, which greatly ſurprized all the nobility; becauſe, ſay the contemporary authors, "The king's ſons were always knighted at the baptiſmal font." Indeed the marks of attention which he beſtowed on the duke were carried to a degree of affectation which ſtrongly ſavoured of inſincerity. By his orders, the principal inhabitants of Rheims went to meet the duke at a conſiderable diſtance from the town; at the gates of the city, he was received by the archbiſhop of Rheims, who preſented him with the keys; and a complimentary oration was delivered in his preſence, in which it was obſerved, that to him were the people indebted for the preſervation of their ſovereign. During the whole time that the court remained at Rheims, all orders were received from the duke himſelf.

By theſe extraordinary marks of condeſcenſion, the king thought he amply diſcharged the debts he had contracted as dauphin; but the duke of Burgundy knew him too well to be deceived by his proofs of attention, and profeſſions of friendſhip. "*That man*," ſaid he, ſpeaking of Lewis to a perſon whom the count of Dammartin had ſent to Rheims to entreat his good offices with the king, "*will "not reign long without involving his kingdom in great troubles.*"

By the twenty-fifth article of the treaty of Arras† it was formally ſtipulated, that the duke of Burgundy ſhould not, during his life, be compelled to pay homage to Charles the Seventh, *nor to his ſucceſſors, kings of France;* and if in the ſaid treaty, or in any other act whatever, the king had been ſtiled his ſovereign, ſuch title could have no effect on this total exemption from the duties of a vaſſal. If the king ſtrictly adhered to a convention thus preciſe, he could have no poſſible right to exact homage from the duke, unleſs, indeed, the right of Charles to bind his ſucceſſors had been called in queſtion. The duke, however, in order to avoid all poſſibility of a diſpute on the ſubject, voluntarily paid homage to Lewis, not only for thoſe domains which he held of the crown, but for all his poſſeſſions generally and indiſcriminately.

On the day of the coronation, immediately after dinner, the duke of Burgundy knelt to the king, and conjured him, by the ſacred ties of religion and humanity,

* Villaret, tom. xvi. page 399. † Treſor des Chartres.



CATHARINE OF MEDICIS.

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to pardon all thoſe who, in the preceding reign, had been ſo unfortunate as to incur his diſpl aſure, and to continue in their different poſts ſuch officers as had ſerved the king his father with fidelity. This ſalutary advice, delivered in the humble form of a ſupplication, Lewis would have done well to adopt; but he was too intent on the gratification of his reſentment to comply with a requeſt that interfered with his projects of revenge. His ſoul was a ſtranger to that chriſtian virtue, the forgiveneſs of injuries. He affected, however, to be moved by the duke's entreaties, and accordingly promiſed to pardon what was paſt, excepting only, from the general amneſty, ſeven perſons, whom he did not name. By means of this reſtriction, he reſerved to himſelf the choice of his victims.

On the laſt day of Auguſt* Lewis made his public entry into Paris, where he was received by the inhabitants with every demonſtration of joy, reſpect, and loyalty. When he arrived at the gate of Saint Denis, two children, repreſenting angels, deſcended and placed a crown on his head. A herald, whoſe dreſs was adorned with the arms of the city, introduced to him five ladies on horſeback, who repreſented the five letters which form the word *Paris;* and recited complimentary verſes. *Actors*, repreſenting the clergy, nobility, and the third-eſtate appeared in a veſſel fixed againſt the gate, from the maſt whereof iſſued a king, decorated with all the attributes of royalty. All the ſtreets were adorned with pantomimical repreſentations of myſteries; but the moſt extraordinary ſight which attracted the new monarch's attention, was that of three beautiful girls, perfectly naked, ſtationed at a fountain by which he paſſed, in the character of ſyrens, ſinging ruſtic airs accompanied by muſical inſtruments†. After the uſual ceremonies were finiſhed, the king repaired to the hotel des Tournelles, where he eſtabliſhed his reſidence.

Lewis, on his acceſſion to the throne, had entered his thirty-ninth year, an age when youth can no longer be pleaded in extenuation of error. The kingdom was in a flouriſhing and tranquil ſtate; free from domeſtic commotions, and exempt from the danger of foreign invaſion. The ſovereign authority was more extenſive and more reſpected than it had been under any one of his predeceſſors, ſince the elevation of the third race of kings. The errors of his own youth, and the wiſdom and virtues of his father, might have ſerved him as inſtructive leſſons, pointing out what to avoid, and what to imitate. No monarch had ever ſucceeded to the throne with ſimilar advantages, and under circumſtances more propitious. It only depended on himſelf to become happy, by completing the felicity of his ſubjects; aſſured of their attachment, he might eaſily have commanded the eſteem of the neighbouring powers, the admiration of his contemporaries, and the applauſe of poſterity.

With the exception of a few individuals, whoſe laudable attachment to Charles the Seventh had excited the avowed hatred of his ſon, none of the great officers

* Mezeray, tom. vi. page 411. † Villaret.

of ſtate, or chief magiſtrates, had any reaſon to apprehend a removal from their ſtations, which they had long enjoyed with honour to themſelves, and advantage to their country. The king had been hitherto ſilent on this head, but immediately after his entry into the capital, he made known his intenſions. He deprived Juvenal des Urſins of the dignity of chancellor, which he conferred on Peter de Morvillers. John de Rohan, baron of Mantauban, was appointed to ſucceed John de Bueil, in the office of admiral, and William de Harcourt in that of chamberlain. The mareſchal de Loheac was ſucceeded by the baſtard of Armagnac, who had juſt been created count of Comminges. The provoſt of Paris, moſt of the judges of the different courts, and the officers of the mint, alſo loſt their places. It ſeemed as if Lewis had reſolved to retain none of the ſervants of his father; and, from the apprehenſion that any one of them ſhould elude his reſearches, he included them all in one general proſcription.

Couſinot, bailiff of Rouen, a magiſtrate of great merit, who had rendered very eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, was impriſioned; and Chabannes, count of Dammartin, was obliged to conceal himſelf in order to avoid a ſimiliar fate. This almoſt total ſubverſion of fortunes and dignities, kept the minds of the public in a ſtate of continual agitation, while the perſon who occaſioned it was not more tranquil himſelf. The prince who ſuffers the ſuggeſtions of caprice to ſilence the dictates of reaſon and equity, and whoſe conduct is influenced by the prevailing paſſion of the moment, can neither be happy nor free. wretched, indeed, muſt be his ſituation, who with the inclination poſſeſſes the ability to oppreſs.

Lewis was not more anxious to ruin all ſuch as had enjoyed the favour of his father, than to protect thoſe who had incurred his diſpleaſure. On his acceſſion to the throne, he ordered the duke of Alençon to be releaſed, and he, ſoon after, reſtored him to all his former poſſeſſions, honours and dignities. John of Armagnac, who had been condemned by the parliament, alſo obtained the reſtitution of his confiſcated territories. Such were the firſt exertions which Lewis made of his power; and but a ſhort time elapſed before he found reaſon to repent a conduct, which was equally impolitic and unjuſt.

While he was thus occupied in incurring the hatred of his ſubjects, he ſpared no pains to eſtabliſh harmony and tranquillity among his neighbours. By his urgent ſolicitations with the duke of Burgundy, he induced him to receive the count of Saint Paul into favour, and he likewiſe effected a reconciliation between that nobleman and the houſe of Croi; though he muſt have known that, by ſuch a meaſure, he could not fail to excite the ſecret reſentment of the count of Charolois. In ſhort, before he had completed the firſt month of his reign, he had contrived to lay the foundation of an almoſt general diſcontent.

At length, Lewis left Paris to viſit his mother at Amboiſe; but before his departure, he had an interview with the duke of Burgundy, to whom, in the preſence of the princes of the blood, and many of the nobility, he renewed his pro-

feſſions of friendſhip and eſteem, repeating his declarations, that to him he was indebted for his crown and his life. The three princes parted with every appearance of mutual ſatisfaction; and after this interview the duke returned to Flanders, and the count of Charolois repaired to Burgundy.

Among the numerous complaints preferred by the factious and diſcontented againſt the old adminiſtration, the want of economy in the management of the revenue, and the intolerable weight of taxes, had not been forgotten. Such accuſations, indeed, have in all ages, and in almoſt all countries, been the inſtruments employed by wicked and deſigning men to ſeduce the people from their duty, by impoſing on their credulity; knowing their aptitude to believe that all who are diſaffected to the government, muſt be anxious to promote *their* welfare and to afford *them* relief. As theſe reports had been propagated by the adherents of Lewis, it was expected that, on his acceſſion to the throne, he would rather diminiſh than augment the taxes; but almoſt immediately after he had received the intelligence of his father's death, he ordered a freſh tax to be levied throughout his dominions. On his arrival at Rheims, he made the moſt magnificent promiſes to the inhabitants, and ſolemnly ſwore that he would never ſubject them to any new impoſt; but when he left the town, he forgot his oath. The inhabitants, ſurpriſed to find the leaſe of the *Gabelles* and other *exactions*, publickly renewed, in direct violation of the king's promiſe, flew to arms, broke open the offices where the regiſters were kept, tore the regiſters, maſſacred the *revenue-farmers*, and burnt their contracts. This ſedition, however, was ſoon repreſſed; eighty of the inſurgents were ſeized by the troops; and ſix of them, with the leaders of the revolt, were hanged. The ſame ſpirit of oppoſition evinced itſelf in ſeveral other towns, particularly in Angers, Alençon, and Aurillac in Auvergne; but by timely exertions of vigour it was ſpeedily quelled.

The king ſtopped but a few days with his mother, and then repaired to Tours, where he received a viſit from the count of Charolois, on his return to Burgundy. That prince experienced the moſt extraordinary marks of diſtinction during his reſidence at the French court: Lewis, not content with defraying his expences, and thoſe of his houſhold, and with procuring him every amuſement the age would afford, diſplayed an anxiety to gratify every wiſh he expreſſed. On his departure, he appointed him his lieutenant-general in Normandy, with a ſalary of ſix-and-thirty thouſand livres. Before the count returned to Bruxelles, he went to take poſſeſſion of his new government, where the inhabitants, by the king's expreſs orders, paid him the ſame honours as if he had been their ſovereign. But while Lewis thus loaded the count of Charolois with careſſes, he ſecretly confirmed, in violation of the moſt ſolemn oaths, the alliance which Charles the Seventh had contracted with the people of Liege, the avowed enemies of the houſe of Burgundy.

Now that he was poſſeſſed of ſupreme power, and, conſequently, free to diſplay his humours without fear of contradiction, Lewis betrayed a decided preference for thoſe diſhonourable intrigues, and crooked ſyſtems of policy, to

which he had been addicted from his youth. Inconſtant and capricious, his actions ſeemed to be regulated by the whim of the moment, without any regard to propriety, or conſideration for the future*. Pope Pius the Second had made ſeveral vain attempts, during the late reign, to procure the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction; and being acquainted with the diſpoſition of the new monarch, who, while dauphin, had promiſed to give him ſatisfaction on that head, he ordered the biſhop of Arras, whom he had recently appointed his legate *à latere* in France, to remind him of his promiſe. That prelate accordingly repreſented to the king, that, by a compliance with the requeſt of his holineſs, he would ſtrengthen his own authority; that he would always be able to diſpoſe of the livings, by his recommendation to the pope, who would be bound in gratitude not to refuſe him any thing he might aſk; that when the princes and nobility had no longer any influence in the elections, they would loſe the only means they poſſeſſed of acquiring partiſans among the clergy; and that there would always be a legate in France, to whom his majeſty might apply for all the favours he wiſhed to obtain from the holy ſee.

The kingdom of Naples, which had formerly belonged to the houſe of Anjou, had been uſurped by that of Arragon, and was now poſſeſſed by Ferdinand, a natural ſon of Alphonſo, the late king. The duke of Calabria, ſon to René, the titular monarch of Naples, Sicily, and Jeruſalem, found the inclinations of the Neapolitans favourable to his pretenſions; and the biſhop of Arras, imagining that Lewis would be anxious to place his kinſman on the throne of Naples, aſſured him, that the pope had reſolved to inveſt the duke with that kingdom. His holineſs, indeed, had no ſuch intention; but the prelate would have promiſed ſtill more, had he deemed it neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his project.

In ſhort, the biſhop exerted his eloquence with ſuch effect, that the king, who ever diſplayed a willingneſs to revoke any act of his father's, granted all he requeſted. Had the pontiff himſelf dictated the letters of revocation, he could not have made uſe of expreſſions more favourable to the unlimited authority of the holy ſee, and more repugnant to the dignity of the throne, the rights and prerogatives of the Gallican church, the wiſdom of the laws, and the honour of the magiſtracy. The king, after aſſuring the pope of his filial obedience, declared that he deſired nothing more earneſtly than to fulfil the promiſe he had made before his acceſſion to the throne, to aboliſh the Pragmatic Sanction, which, having been eſtabliſhed in a time of revolt, was injurious to the holy ſee. "Our counſellor," ſays Lewis, alluding to the biſhop of Arras; "has convinced us that "this conſtitution, while it attacks your authority, tends to encourage the licentiouſneſs of our prelates."—"Although moſt men of knowledge endeavour to "diſſuade us from our deſign, we have, according to your requeſt, abrogated "this Pragmatic Sanction, and caſt it out from our dominions. Exert then your

* Du Tillet—Paſquier—Treſor des Chartres—Cont. des Ordonnances—Loix Eccleſiaſtiques—Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique—Hiſtoire de l'Univerſite—Hiſtoire de Louis XI.—Preuves Juſtificatives de Philippe de Commines—Spicilegium.

" power, in future, in our kingdom as you pleaſe; and if any perſons ſhall re-
" ſiſt you, we promiſe your holineſs, on the word of a king, to execute your
" commands, in ſpite of all oppoſition or appeal, and we will repreſs and
" reſtrain all thoſe who ſhall diſobey your orders *." It was thus that the king, by the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of unlimited obedience, anſwered the ambiguous careſſes of the artful pontiff, who, in a brief addreſſed to the biſhop of Arras, charged that prelate to aſſure his deareſt ſon, the king of France, *that he began to feel an inclination to love him wonderfully* †.

But Lewis, who believed himſelf to be the moſt ſkilful and profound politician of the age, had ſoon the mortification to find, that he had been duped by the pope; for Pius, having obtained his ends, refuſed to ratify the engagement which his legate had contracted for placing the duke of Calabria on the throne of Naples. Enraged at the diſcovery, he reſolved to turn the pontiff's arts againſt himſelf; and he accordingly ſuffered his parliament to carry into execution the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had ſo ſolemnly revoked.

While the king was at Tours, he received ambaſſadors from the duke of Brittany, who came to regulate the form of homage their ſovereign was to pay for his duchy ‡; this point being ſettled, the duke himſelf went to Tours, and ſubmitted to the uſual ceremony. The king, who was jealous of his intimacy with the count of Charolois, ſpared no pains to gain his confidence. In the hope of attaching him to his intereſts, he declared him his lieutenant-general in Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Normandy, although he had juſt conferred the government of this laſt province on the count of Charolois. If his object was to ſow diſſention between the two princes, he did not reap from this ſhallow artifice the advantage he expected. Soon after the duke's departure, the king repaired to Brittany, under pretence of performing a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of ſome ſaint; but the real object of his journey was, to examine the ſtate of the duchy, and to promote a marriage between Frances of Amboiſe, ducheſs-dowager of Brittany, and the duke of Savoy §; but the duke of Brittany, aware of his deſigns, found means to prevent their execution.

Previous to his journey to Brittany, the king had aſſigned the duchy of Berri, as an appanage to his brother Charles, with the uſual clauſe of reverſion to the crown in default of male heirs; and accompanied by a promiſe to make ſome more ample proviſion for him at a future time. This promiſe ſupplied the young prince with a pretext to prefer ſuch claims as beſt coincided with his ambitious plans;

* " Dum per pragmaticam ipſam ſumma in eccleſia tuae ſedis autoritas minuitur, praelatis in reg-
" no noſtro quoddam licentiae templum per illam praeſtruitur . . . utere igitur deinceps in regno
" noſtro poteſtate tua ut voles . . . quod ſi forte obnitentur aliqui aut reclamabunt, nos in verbo
" regio pollicemur tuae beatitudini exequi tua mandata omni appellationis aut oppoſitionis obſtaculo
" prorſus excluſo, eoſque qui tibi contumaces fuerint pro tuo juſſu comprimemus et refraenabimus."
Preuves de Commines, p. 357.—M. S. de la Bib. Roy.

† Spicil. Miſcellan. Epiſt. Diplomat. ‡ D'Argente—Hiſt. de Bret.—Nouv. Hiſt. de Bretagne, 1 18.—Preuves de L'Hiſt. de Bret.—Tres des Chart. § Preuves Juſtif. de Commines—Preuves de L'Hiſt. de Bret.

and a penſion of twelve thouſand livres, in addition to his duchy, being deemed an inſufficient income for th ſon of a king, the public, diſguſted with Lewis, loudly exclaimed againſt that monarch's injuſtice to his brother.

The conduct of Lewis to Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, was calculated to encreaſe ſtill farther the popular diſcontents. That nobleman, tired with the life of a fugitive, repaired to court, and deſired the king would immediately order him to be tried with the utmoſt rigour of the law. He was charged with having falſely accuſed the king, while he was dauphin, of having conſpired againſt his father; and on this charge his judges were baſe enough to pronounce him guilty of high treaſon, in conſequence of which he was condemned to die; but Lewis changed his puniſhment into perpetual impriſonment, and he was accordingly commited to the Baſtile; his effects were confiſcated, and moſt of his eſtates were given to Charles de Melun, governor of Paris, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in procuring his condemnation.

A. D. 1462, 1463.] Margaret of Anjou, the unhappy queen of England, had embarked for the continent, ſome time after the fatal battle of Touton, to ſolicit ſuccours and aſſiſtance from her foreign connections. She paid a viſit to the king at Chinon, who expreſſed the greateſt concern for her misfortunes. During her reſidence at the French court, ſhe ſtood godmother to the only ſon of Charles, duke of Orleans, by Mary of Cleves, his third wife: the king was the godfather, and he gave his own name to the young prince, who afterward aſcended the throne of France, under the appellation of Lewis the Twelfth. But, notwithſtanding the profeſſions of friendſhip which the king made to Margaret, all he could be perſuaded to grant to her earneſt ſolicitations, were a loan of twenty thouſand livres, and a ſupply of two thouſand troops, under the command of Brezé, ſeneſchal of Normandy, who is ſaid to have entertained for the queen more tender ſentiments than pity and compaſſion *. With this inadequate ſuccour—for which too, the intereſted monarch made her ſign, in her huſband's name, a truce for one hundred years, and a promiſe to reſtore the city of Calais; Margaret embarked for England about the end of the year 1462; and, after a tedious and tempeſtuous paſſage, arrived off Tinmouth; but being prevented from landing there, ſhe again put to ſea, and her fleet being overtaken by a ſtorm, many of the ſhips were ſtranded near Bamburgh Caſtle, and the veſſel in which the queen was, with difficulty, reached the port of Berwick. The French troops effected a landing in Holy Iſland, where they were ſoon attacked by a ſuperior force, and moſt of them either killed or taken; but their leader, with ſome other officers, made their eſcape, and joined the queen†.

The defeat of the royaliſts at Hexham completed the misfortunes of Margaret, who, after that battle, ſailed from England with her ſon, and a choſen band of faithful followers, and arrived ſafe at Sluys in Flanders. The duke of Burgundy received her with great hoſpitality; and, after loading her with valuable

* Villaret. tom. xvi. p. 456.

† Monſtrelet, tom. iii. p. 91.—Hall, ed. 4. fol. 2.—Stow, p. 416.

preſents, ſent a guard to eſcort her into Lorrain, where her brother, the duke of Calabria, then reſided. Brezé, who was preſent at the battle, effected his eſcape to Alnwick, where he was beſieged, and, after a brave reſiſtance, conſented to ſurrender the place, on condition of being permitted to return to France with the ſmall remains of his troops.

A revolt of the Catalonians, who had renounced their allegiance to Juan, king of Arragon—a monarch ſtained with the blood of his own ſon—and invited the king of Caſtile to become their ſovereign, now attracted the attention of Lewis. He, at firſt, promiſed protection to the inſurgents; but, ſeduced by the offers of Juan, he had a conference with that monarch between Mauleon and Sauveterre, on the confines of Navarre, where a treaty was concluded, by which Lewis engaged to aſſiſt the king of Arragon with a loan of three hundred and fifty thouſand crowns, and a ſupply of ſeven hundred lances; and the important counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, ſubject to redemption, were transferred to him as a ſecurity for the money he advanced. Theſe the king immediately annexed to the domain of the crown, in virtue of the pretenſions of his mother, Mary of Anjou, ſprung from Yolanp of Arragon; but he ſoon after transferred them to the count of Foix, as an indemnity for his claims to the kingdom of Navarre, founded on the rights of his wife, Leonora, who had poiſoned her eldeſt ſiſter Blanche.

The aſſiſtance of Lewis proved of little advantage to the Arragonian monarch, who was defeated in all quarters, by the active exertions of his opponent, Henry the Fourth, king of Caſtile, ſurnamed the Impotent. But this laſt prince was at length perſuaded by his miniſters, who had been ſeduced by Juan, to ſubmit their diſpute to the arbitration of the French king; who pronounced a deciſion, equally diſpleaſing to both parties, and which was reſpected by neither. An interview, on the frontiers of their reſpective dominions, having been agreed upon between Lewis and Henry, the former repaired to Saint Jean de Luz, and the latter to Fontarabia. They advanced to the oppoſite banks of the Bidaſſoa, which ſeparates France from Spain; and their contraſted appearance ſtrongly atteſted the difference of their diſpoſitions.—Henry, luxurious, magnificent, and vain, was arrayed in the richeſt ſtuffs, embelliſhed with gold and precious ſtones, and attended by a numerous train, all equally brilliant. The ſails of the barks, which conveyed them to the French ſide of the river, were alſo decorated with a profuſion of the precious metals. Lewis, whoſe pride, certainly leſs reſpectable, was diſplayed in a ſtudied affectation of the oppoſite extreme, had encreaſed the natural uncouthneſs of his perſon, by a dreſs the moſt vulgar and unbecoming. His under garment, which ſate cloſe to his body, was made of coarſe cloth; and over it he wore a doublet of fuſtian. His hat was extremely ſmall, reſembling the *calotte*, uſually worn by prieſts, and decorated with a leaden image of the Virgin. The few nobles who attended him, imitated their maſter in the meanneſs of their dreſs. But the wealth which Henry had expended in his ſumptuous preparations, Lewis employed to bribe the miniſters of Caſtile—for the art of

making traitors always formed a leading feature in his illiberal and dishoneſt ſyſtem of policy. The two monarchs had a ſhort conference together; and, after a formal renewal of the ancient treaties between the two crowns, they parted with a thorough contempt of each other.

The king had lately reſigned all his pretenſions to the duchy of Luxembourg, in favour of the duke of Burgundy; as well as to the reſtitution of the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns, which his father had paid to the duke of Saxony, and his co-heirs, for the renunciation of their claims. But while he appeared thus anxious to court the favour of Philip, he obſerved a very different line of conduct with his ſon Charles. Uneaſy at the intimate connection which ſubſiſted between that prince and the duke of Brittany, he inceſſantly laboured to promote a breach between them, or at leaſt, to counteract the dangerous deſigns which he imputed to them, by creating embarraſſments which might divert their attention elſewhere. He beſtowed every mark of diſtinction on the lord of Croi; not content with raiſing him to the high office of Grand Maſter, he ceded to him the town and territory of Guines; and, convinced that nothing could give greater offence to the count of Charolois, he ordered this extraordinary inſtance of his favour to be publiſhed by ſound of trumpet, in the ſtreets of his capital. He alſo extended his protection to every perſon indiſcriminately, who had incurred the diſpleaſure of Charles. To this period may be traced the origin of that inveterate enmity which ſoon prevailed between thoſe rival princes, and which only expired with life.

The duke of Burgundy had flattered himſelf that the unconditional homage which he had paid to the king, would be conſidered rather as a mark of reſpect, than as an eſſential obligation; and that no duties of vaſſalage would be required from him that could tend to derogate, in any degree, from the character of an independent prince, which he had ſo long maintained, and was ſtill determined to preſerve*. Some Engliſh ſhips of war having been ſeen cruizing in the channel, the king ſent an ambaſſador to Lewis to ſummon him to declare war againſt Edward, and to publiſh an expreſs prohibition to all his ſubjects to afford that prince any kind of aſſiſtance. This was a mere pretext to ſound the intentions of the duke, ſince, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, no dread of an invaſion could poſſibly exiſt. The moſt important, and indeed, the real object of the embaſſy, was to engage Philip to permit the eſtabliſhment of the Gabelle in his dominions; a propoſition which he rejected in the moſt poſitive terms. He even ſent the lord of Chimey to the king to complain of this conduct, and to beg he would, *for the love of him*, deſiſt from a pretenſion which he could never admit.

The Burgundian envoy remained ſome time at the French court before he could procure an audience of the king. At length, tired with the delays which he was made to experience, he placed himſelf at the door of the king's apartment, and re-

* Contin. de Monſtrelet—Preuves de Phil. de Commines--Chron. de France.

ſolved not to quit his poſt until he had fulfilled his commiſſion. The monarch, no longer able to avoid him, for once ſuffered his impatience to get the better of his policy, and exclaimed, "*What ſort of man then is this duke of Burgundy? Is he "different, or made of different metal from all the other princes and nobility of my king-"dom?*" "*Yes ſire,*" replied Chimey, "*the duke of Burgundy is indeed different, and "made of different metal from all the other princes of your kingdom, or of the neigh-"bouring countries, for he kept you ſafe, and ſupported you againſt the will and pleaſure "of king Charles your father, whom God pardon, which none of the other princes had "either the inclination or ſpirit to do.*" The king, confuſed at this unexpected reply, immediately returned to his apartment. The count of Dunois, approaching the lord of Chimey, aſked him how he had dared to expreſs himſelf with ſuch freedom to a prince ſo abſolute as Lewis the Eleventh. "*Had I been fifty leagues from "hence,*" replied the brave Burgundian, "*and had thought that the king wiſhed to "ſay to me what he has juſt ſaid of my maſter, I would have inſtantly returned to "make him the ſame anſwer as I have juſt made him.*" As neither the king nor the duke deemed it prudent to come to an open rupture, this affair was attended with no farther conſequences.

Convinced of the impoſſibility of enforcing his pretenſions by arms, Lewis appeared to renounce them; and this tacit diſavowal ſatisfied Philip, who was already too much haraſſed by the indocility of the count of Charolois, to think of encreaſing his embarraſſment by involving himſelf in freſh difficulties. The favour ſhewn to the houſe of Croi was ſtill the cauſe of that diviſion which prevailed between the father and ſon. As the duke advanced in years, the influence of his favourites encreaſed; and as Lewis, by his liberal donations, had attached thoſe favourites to his intereſt, he might probably have obtained what he aſked, had not the eſtabliſhment of the Gabelle been attended with difficulties almoſt inſurmountable. The bare propoſal to levy that impoſt had formerly occaſioned a general inſurrection in the Low Countries.

But Lewis was more ſucceſsful in another negociation with the duke of Burgundy, the object of which was, to procure the reſtitution of thoſe towns on the river Somme, which had been ceded by Charles the Seventh, at the treaty of Arras: and which, in effect, rendered Philip maſter of Picardy. The meaſure was oppoſed by the count of Charolois; but the influence of John de Croi, the duke's miniſter, and the king's friend, prevailed, and four hundred thouſand crowns were given to recover theſe valuable pledges. Even in this tranſaction, Lewis diſplayed his duplicity: he had promiſed to retain the officers appointed by the duke as governors of theſe towns; but no ſooner was he in poſſeſſion than he diſplaced them, and, at the ſame time, nominated others, whom he knew would be equally acceptable to Philip.

Soon after this negociation was completed, Lewis loſt his mother, Mary of Anjou, who died on the twenty-ninth of November, 1463, in the ſixtieth year of her age. The exemplary conduct, the ſignal virtues, and fervent piety

of this amiable princeſs, had attracted univerſal reſpect and eſteem; and her loſs was deeply regretted by the nation. Her death, indeed, could not have happened at a more unfortunate period; for as the king paid conſiderable deference to her advice, ſhe might, poſſibly, have been able to prevent thoſe troubles of which his improper conduct and reſtleſs diſpoſition had laid the foundation. Since his acceſſion to the throne, Lewis ſeemed to have wholly neglected an art the moſt eaſily acquired, and the moſt neceſſary for a monarch to learn, that of ſecuring the affections of his ſubjects.—The prince who ſeeks to confirm his power by the influence of fear, at once betrays the tyrant and the fool; alike ignorant of his duties and his intereſt, he is equally a ſtranger to the obligations impoſed on himſelf, and to the feelings implanted in the heart of man; fortunately for the happineſs of the world, ſuch a flagrant violation of moral rectitude generally carries its own puniſhment along with it. It cannot be too often repeated, nor too ſtrongly impreſſed on the minds of monarchs, that the love of the people conſtitutes the ſureſt and firmeſt ſupport of the throne.

Lewis, by his conduct, had naturally excited the deteſtation of the French; and being conſcious that he merited their hatred, he was in continual dread of feeling its effects. Tormented by the moſt alarming apprehenſions, he was inceſſantly employed in the adoption of means for averting the ſtorm that threatened him. The malecontents were numerous; and, headed by the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility, they only waited for a favourable opportunity to give a free ſcope to their reſentment. The king, meanwhile, though ſenſible of his danger, knew not *who* were his enemies; he had been apprized, that ſecret aſſociations were formed in different parts of the kingdom; but all his endeavours to diſcover the members of them had proved inefficacious.

The penſioners whom Lewis maintained at the Burgundian court aſſured him, that he had nothing to apprehend from Philip, at leaſt, ſo long as the miſunderſtanding continued to ſubſiſt between that prince and his ſon. The duke had already addreſſed ſome complaints on this ſubject to the ſtates of Flanders aſſembled at Bruges; and deputies were appointed to wait on the count of Charolois, and invite him to return to court. The count received them with kindneſs; and after he had explained the cauſe of his diſcontent, complied with their invitation, and went to his father at Bruges. But this reconciliation proved of ſhort continuance. The ſame ſubject for diſſention ſtill ſubſiſted; the count's averſion for the houſe of Croi was inſurmountable; he had declared them to be his mortal enemies; he had openly accuſed them of conſpiring againſt his life; and he even ſeemed directly to include the king in his accuſations, by obſerving, that he would not deſignate the moſt dangerous enemies who ſought for his death, on account of the horror that muſt neceſſarily be experienced if he named them.

Thus relieved from all dread of interruption from that quarter, Lewis reſolved to direct his attacks againſt the duke of Brittany, who, next to Philip, had inſpired him with the moſt ſerious apprehenſions*. His conduct in this reſpect was

* D'Argentre--Hiſt. Mod. de Bretagne--Preuves Juſtific.

influenced as much by the perſonal hatred he had conceived againſt the duke, as by the dread of the connection he knew to ſubſiſt between Francis and the count of Charolois. In order to take the duke of Brittany by ſurprize, he had ſent a ſtrong body of troops, in different detachments, and at different times, to the frontiers of the duchy; and all his meaſures were adopted, and plans conducted with ſo much ſecrecy, that the duke was not apprized of the danger which threatened him, till the arrival of the French chancellor, Peter de Morvilliers, who was ſent to inform him, that the king, "forbade him in future to entitle himſelf, "*duke by the grace of God*; to coin gold; to levy extraordinary taxes in his do- "minions; to exact from his vaſſals the accuſtomed homage, and to receive "the oaths of allegiance from his prelates." In caſe of a refuſal to comply with theſe deſpotic mandates, the chancellor had orders to declare war againſt the duke.

Francis, who was a weak though a generous prince, was extremely embarraſſed at this unexpected declaration; deſtitute of troops, he affected to ſubmit to the power he was unable to oppoſe, and, by the advice of Tannegui du Chaſtel, who, at the death of Charles the Seventh, had engaged in his ſervice, he told the chancellor, that he did not refuſe to comply with the king's demands, but that they related to objects of ſuch importance, that his conſent alone would be inſufficient to enſure their accompliſhment; that the laws of the country required the concurrence of the different orders of the province; and that he therefore beſought his majeſty to allow him time to aſſemble the ſtates, that he might communicate his intentions to them, ſince by adopting a different line of conduct he ſhould deceive the king, which he would not do on any account. This appearance of condeſcenſion ſo faſcinated Lewis, that he granted the duke a delay of three months, and immediately diſmiſſed his troops.

The count of Maine, and four other commiſſioners, were appointed to regulate the affairs of Brittany. The principal accuſations preferred by Lewis againſt the duke, are too curious to be ommitted, inaſmuch as they diſplay the character of the monarch, and the true motives by which his conduct was influenced in the preſent inſtance. He complained, "That while he was dauphin, the duke "had refuſed to lend him four thouſand crowns; that he had given him no "aſſiſtance in the war with the Catalonians; that he had ſeized the temporalities "of the biſhop of Nantes, *which was a thing unexampled in the chriſtian world,* "*ſince biſhops took the precedency of dukes, and could not poſſibly become their ſubjects;* "that he had given orders to his vaſſals to take up arms; and that the duke's "attorney had declared, at Rome, that his maſter was no ſubject of the king's, "and that he would rather receive the Engliſh in his dominions than the French." There were ſeveral other charges, to all of which the duke replied: delays were neceſſarily occaſioned by this means; and, before the matter could be brought to a deciſion, the king's attention was called to another quarter, which compelled him to defer the gratification of his reſentment to a future period.

Lewis had received information that ambaſſadors from the count of Charolois had attended an aſſembly of the ſtates at Nantes, where they had renewed, by two ſeparate treaties, the alliance between Charles and Francis. The count of Saint Paul, and his brother, James of Luxembourg, Tanneguy Duchaſtel, Genlis and Romillé, vice-chancellor of Brittany, were the agents employed to conduct this ſecret negociation. Lewis, reſolved at all events to penetrate the myſtery, cited the count of St. Paul and Genlis to appear before him, to do homage for certain eſtates which they held of the crown of France. After ſome difficulty the latter obeyed the citation; but Lewis had the mortification to find all his ſtratagems for diſcovering the ſecret eluded, and all his efforts to detach the count of Saint Paul from the intereſt of the count of Charolois, fruitleſs and unavailing.

While the king was thus employed, the number of his enemies daily encreaſed. The duke of Brittany no ſooner found himſelf extricated from the embarraſſment into which he had been ſo unexpectedly thrown, than, in conformity to the advice of Duchaſtel, he began to think of providing againſt any future attack. He wrote to all the princes of the blood, and chief nobility; and his letters which were conveyed by meſſengers diſguiſed like monks, contained the moſt urgent exhortations to unite in defence of the common cauſe. He warned them of the king's intention to deſtroy them all one after the other; obſerving, that they might judge, by the treatment which he had recently experienced, of the fate that awaited them; and that the only means of preventing a diſgrace which threatened them all individually, was to act in concert, for the purpoſe of reſiſting oppreſſion. The general diſcontent which prevailed in the kingdom had ſufficiently prepared the minds of the public for the impreſſions which the duke wiſhed them to receive. His emiſſaries returned with the moſt poſitive aſſurances of efficacious ſupport from all thoſe whom he ſolicited to enter into his projects. The confederates reciprocally exchanged vows of fidelity; and the king might count for his enemies moſt of the princes of the blood, and the principal nobility of the kingdom.

A. D. 1464.] Nothing was now wanting to complete the danger to which France was expoſed of a total revolution, but the junction of the duke of Burgundy. Hitherto that prince, who was fond of repoſe, had refuſed to enter into this formidable aſſociation. It even ſeemed impoſſible to perſuade him to ſuch a meaſure, notwithſtanding all the efforts of his ſon for that purpoſe. One falſe ſtep, however, produced what the moſt urgent ſolicitations had failed to effect. The king having received information that the vice-chancellor of Brittany had performed ſeveral voyages to England, Holland and Flanders, thought it would be eaſy to diſcover the views of the princes, if he could once get their agent into his power; he therefore formed the deſign of ſeizing Romillé, who was then in England, on his return to Brittany. This commiſſion was entruſted to the baſtard of Rubempré, a man of bad character; and a ſmall veſſel was accordingly prepared for him, whoſe crew conſiſted of forty determined men.

Rubempré, after cruiſing ſome time in the channel, put into the port of Gorkum, a ſmall town in Holland, ſituated on the river Wael, where the count of Charolois had arrived a few days before. As it was highly improbable that Rubempré ſhould ſtation himſelf at the extremity of Holland, in order to intercept a veſſel on her way from England to Brittany, it has been *conjectured* *, that he had received intelligence that Romillé was to pay a viſit to the count on his return. Be that as it may, Rubempré having landed with a part of his crew, was known, ſeized, and thrown into priſon, under pretence that he had come to Gorkum with the deſign to carry off the count, and deliver him up to Lewis.

Moſt of the modern hiſtorians of France, and ſome contemporary writers †, have attempted to juſtify Lewis from this accuſation; but all they have been able to alledge in his favour, rather tends to involve the matter in obſcurity than to prove his innocence. Appearances were moſt certainly againſt him. The character of the baſtard of Rubempré; the profound ſecrecy obſerved even by his crew, who received orders to pay him implicit obedience; the place fixed on for the execution of the plan, at which the count of Charolois had but recently arrived; the conduct of Rubempré, who was ſeen loitering about the count's houſe, and examining every part of it; his alarm, which had led him to take refuge in a church, when he thought he was diſcovered; add to theſe conſiderations, the illiberal policy of Lewis, who had recently cauſed Philip, ſecond ſon to the duke of Savoy, to be arreſted, and ſent to Loches, where he was confined for five years, although he had come to the court of France on an expreſs invitation from the king, and under the protection of a ſafe conduct—this combination of circumſtances forms ſtrongeſt preſumptive proof of the guilt of Lewis; a proof which his own diſavowal of the deed is wholly inſufficient to overturn.

At the very time that this plan was diſcovered, the frontiers of Picardy were lined with French troops. The king had repaired to Heſdin, to viſit the duke of Burgundy, who received him with all the honours that were due to his rank. He there requeſted Philip to conſent to the reſtitution of Lille, Douay, and Orchies, which had been pledged to the ancient counts of Flanders for four hundred thouſand livres Tournois, and an annual tribute of ten thouſand; but the duke replied, that thoſe towns had been ceded by the king of France to his grandfather, Philip, duke of Burgundy, on his marriage with Margaret, heireſs to the county of Flanders; and that it was ſpecified in the deed of conveyance, that they ſhould only revert to the crown in default of male heirs on the part of Philip. Some other demands preferred by the king were likewiſe rejected. The duke, on his ſide, requeſted the king to receive the count of Charolois into favour; to deſiſt from exacting an engagement from the Flemiſh and Burgundian nobles, on their performance of homage, to ſerve him *againſt all men living;*

* Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 34. † Coutin. de Monſtrelet, vol. iii. fol. 103.

and, laſtly, to fulfil ſeveral articles of the treaty of Arras, which had not yet been carried into execution. Lewis immediately left the duke without giving him any anſwer, and the next day ſet out for Abbeville. After remaining a ſhort time at that city, he went to Rouen, and from thence returned into Ponthieu, and ſtopped at the village of Novian, near the foreſt of Creſſy, ſix leagues from Heſdin, where the duke ſtill remained. The two princes did not viſit, and all the correſpondence that paſſed between them was carried on through the means of Anthony de Croi. This coolneſs ſubſiſted till the tenth of October, when the king ſent word to Philip, that he would pay him a viſit the next day.

The count of Charolois, who had juſt cauſed Rubempré to be apprehended, haſtened to inform his father of the circumſtance; for which purpoſe he diſpatched Oliver de la Manche, an officer of his houſhold, with a letter to the duke, containing a particular account of the conſpiracy which, he ſaid, he had detected. He not only accuſed the king of an attempt to ſeize his own perſon, but added, that it was alſo his intention to get the duke of Burgundy himſelf into his power; that it was with this view he had advanced ſo near to the place of the duke's reſidence; and that he had ſtationed ſeveral bodies of troops on the banks of the Somme, who were ready to aſſemble at the firſt notice.

Philip received the count's letter on the very day which the king had appointed for his viſit. Not thinking himſelf in ſafety at Heſdin, where he expected every moment to be ſurrounded, he haſtened to St. Paul, in Artois, leaving the town to the care of his nephew, Adolphus of Cleves, with orders to receive the king in caſe he kept his appointment; but Lewis, being appriſed of his retreat, returned to Normandy. The news of the project which had been formed for ſeizing the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Charolois, was ſoon rendered public by the pains that were taken to promote its circulation. The count's emiſſaries made it the theme of their converſation in all companies; the clergy made the pulpits reſound with it; and the intelligence was quickly conveyed to foreign courts. Meanwhile, Montauban, admiral of France, wrote to the lord of Croi, to engage him to huſh up the affair,* and to releaſe the baſtard of Rubempré; but that nobleman ſent back the letter, and refuſed to interfere in the buſineſs.

The king ſpared no pains to counteract the effects of theſe injurious reports. He ſummoned the deputies from the city of Rouen to attend him, and cauſed an apologetical diſcourſe to be pronounced in their preſence by the chancellor, containing a juſtification of his conduct, and a contradiction of the charge that had been preferred againſt him. Not content with this, he determined to demand ſatisfaction of the duke of Burgundy for the affront he had ſuſtained, and for this purpoſe he ſent the count of Eu, the archbiſhop of Narbonne, and Morvilliers, the chancellor, to Lille, where the count of Charolois had already arrived. The common danger to which they had been expoſed, had produced a reconcilia-

* Villaret, tom. xvii. page 40.

tion between Philip and his ſon. The duke gave audience to the French ambaſſadors the day after their arrival, when he was addreſſed by Morvilliers, who began his ſpeech by reproaching the duke of Brittany, who, he obſerved, had ſolicited the alliance of the Engliſh, the ancient enemies of the crown, and had, conſequently, incurred *the forfeiture of his life and property*, as being guilty of high treaſon: that the king, being informed that this prince had ſent the vice-chancellor of Brittany to England, had thought himſelf entitled to impede the progreſs of ſuch a negociation, for which purpoſe he had commiſſioned the baſtard of Rubempré to intercept "that pernicious agent of the duke's evil deſigns" on his return to Brittany: that the count of Charolois, not content with violating the laws of nations, by impriſoning a man who was entruſted with a commiſſion from the king, had cauſed it to be reported, that Rubempré had gone to Gorkum for the purpoſe of ſeizing his perſon: that Oliver de la Manche, who had been ſent by the count to his father, had been careful to propagate theſe injurious reports in all the towns through which he paſſed: that a monk of Bruges had had the temerity to accuſe his majeſty, in a ſermon, of an attempt on the liberty of the duke and his ſon: that the duke's haſty departure from Heſdin, afforded a ſufficient proof, that this odious accuſation had experienced too much credit: and that the king was of opinion, ſuch a proceeding could originate with no other than the count of Charolois, who was doubtleſs diſcontented at the loſs of his ſalary as lieutenant-general in Normandy. Morvilliers concluded his harrange by demanding, in the king's name, that Oliver de la Manche, and the monk, ſhould be delivered up to him, in order to be puniſhed as calumniators; and that the baſtard of Rubempré ſhould be ſet at liberty. While the chancellor was ſpeaking, the count of Charolois exhibited evident marks of impatience, and was repeatedly on the point of interrupting him; but his father interfered, and ordered him to defer his reply to the next day, and, for the preſent, to leave the taſk of defending his conduct to himſelf.

The duke then addreſſed the ambaſſadors, and began by declaring, in the moſt poſitive terms, that he could not releaſe Rubempré, ſince he had been arreſted in Holland, a principality independent of the king: he then obſerved, that Oliver de la Manche was an officer of the count's houſhold, that he would enquire into his guilt, and adminiſter juſtice accordingly; and, that the monk was "a man "of the church, whom he would not touch on any account."—"*I wiſh every* "*one to know*, (continued Philip with warmth) *that I never made a promiſe to man or* "*prince but I performed it to the utmoſt of my power.*" To ſoften this reproach, which appeared to be indirectly addreſſed to Lewis, he added, with a ſmile, "Tell "the king, *I never broke my word, except with the ladies.*" Philip, it ſeems, was of a facetious diſpoſition; in another part of his anſwer he obſerved, "If my ſon "be *ſuſpicious*, he does not take after me, who never entertained *ſuſpicions* of any "man; but he takes after his mother, who often *ſuſpected* me of loving other "women." Philip concluded his reply by complaining that the king, on almoſt all occaſions, failed to keep his word. A knight then exclaimed, "My lord,

" who is here preſent, only holds the duchy of Burgundy, with the counties of " Flanders and Artois, of the king; but he poſſeſſes, out of the kingdom, the " duchies of Brabant, Luxembourg, Limbourg, and Lotrich; the counties of " Burgundy, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Namur; beſides many other ex- " tenſive lordſhips, all of which he holds of God alone, although he be not a " king." " I would have it known," interrupted the duke, " *that I could have* " *been a king, had I choſen it.*"

At the conference that was holden on the ſucceeding day, the chancellor of France renewed his complaints, and repeated his demands of ſatisfaction; but the duke perſiſted in the anſwer he had already delivered, only adding, that he could not diſapprove of his ſon's conduct, in apprehending Rubempré, who, by his ſtrange behaviour, had laid himſelf open to ſuſpicion; that if that ci-devant adventurer, on whom the title of king's envoy had been conferred, was really innocent of the crime imputed to him, he had nothing to apprehend; and that, at all events, he might depend on juſtice being done him.

At length the count of Charolois having obtained permiſſion to ſpeak, began by juſtifying the duke of Brittany, between whom and himſelf, he acknowledged, a cloſe alliance ſubſiſted, but it was a connection of ſuch a nature, as could by no means affect the king. He declared, that he did not complain of the loſs of his ſalary, as lieutenant-general in Normandy, of which he had never received more than one quarter; for that ſince he had recovered his father's favour, he could very eaſily diſpenſe with the benefactions of any other perſon. He obſerved, that the baſtard of Rubempré, whom he had ordered to be impriſoned, was a man of infamous character; that if he were really " *the king's legate*," as the ambaſſadors had aſſerted, he ought to have paid him a viſit on his arrival at *Gorkum*, which was certainly not a proper place for the purpoſe of watching a man on his return from England to Brittany; and that it was not probable the duke's envoy ſhould paſs through that town on his way home.

At the laſt audience the chancellor renewed his demands for the releaſe of the priſoner, with which the duke peremptorily refuſed to comply, telling him that he would ſoon ſend ambaſſadors to the king, and that he hoped his majeſty would expect nothing farther from him. Such was the iſſue of an embaſſy, into the particulars of which it was neceſſary to enter, that the reader might be enabled to form ſome judgment of an affair, which had a conſiderable influence on the commotions which ſoon after appeared. When the ambaſſadors took leave of the count of Charolois, he ſaid to the archbiſhop of Narbonne, " Recommend me " moſt humbly to the king's favour, and tell him, that he has made the chancellor " *trim me*; but that before the expiration of a year, he will repent his conduct." Theſe threats, which were faithfully reported to the king, ought to have opened his eyes; but they had a very different effect on him; he thought that he had nothing to fear from a prince, who had recourſe to vain bravadoes, and whoſe reſentment exhaled in words.

Meanwhile the French malecontents daily acquired freſh ſtrength, and additional

confidence; and ſo diſguſted were the people with the tyrannical government of Lewis, that the diſaffection appears to have extended from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. Still Lewis was in the dark as to the authors of theſe dangerous commotions; and, if we except the duke of Burgundy and count of Charolois, he was ſurrounded by enemies the more dangerous, as they were all unknown to him. The intelligence he received from different quarters encreaſed his alarms, but gave him no information. Though the conſpiracy was formed in his capital, at his court, nay almoſt in his preſence, yet he did not perceive it. Contemporary writers relate, that the confederates frequently met in the cathedral at Paris; where a green ſilk lace, faſtened to the girdle, ſerved as their mark of diſtinction. It ſeems wonderful, that a ſecret which had been imparted to ſo many perſons, ſhould be inviolably preſerved for ſo long a ſpace of time. The duke of Bourbon, one of the leaders of the conſpiracy, had paſſed ſome time at court, in order to watch the king's motions. On his departure, he repaired to Lille, in order to fix the wavering reſolution of the duke of Burgundy, who had hitherto refuſed to declare himſelf, notwithſtanding the urgent ſolicitations of his ſon. And he probably would have continued to temporize but for the arrival of the duke of Bourbon, who was himſelf diſpleaſed with the king, for having refuſed to promote him to the dignity of conſtable. This nobleman, who was nephew to the duke of Burgundy by his mother's ſide, had acquired a great aſcendancy over the mind of Philip. He now repreſented to him, in ſuch ſtrong terms, the danger to which all the princes were expoſed, from a monarch, unjuſt and ambitious, who only ſought to raiſe himſelf by humbling them; he urged, with ſo much energy, the neceſſity of uniting their efforts againſt a power that daily became more formidable, that the duke, at length, conſented to levy troops, and to ſend orders to his vaſſals to arm. This was all that the count of Charolois required, from the conviction, that ſuch a proceeding conſtituted an engagement, which precluded the poſſibility of retraction. He now found himſelf at the head of all the forces in his father's dominions, and this important command rendered him, in a certain degree, independant on paternal authority. The firſt exertion of his power was directed againſt the lords of Croi, whom he declared his perſonal enemies, as well as enemies to the ſtate; commanding them, under pain of death, to quit the court, and the ſervice of his father, whoſe favour and confidence they had abuſed. The order was ſo peremptory, that they thought it prudent to ſubmit, and accordingly left the country, without even daring to take leave of the duke. Philip, notwithſtanding the debility occaſioned by the natural infirmities of age, which had almoſt deſtroyed the vigour of his mind, was no ſooner apprized of his ſon's imperious conduct, than he flew into a moſt violent paſſion. In the firſt tranſport of his rage he ſeized a ſpear, and ruſhing out of his apartment, ran from room to room, exclaiming aloud, that he would ſoon ſee whether his ſon would have the audacity to kill his officers in his preſence. His ſervants had the prudence to conceal the keys of the palace gates; and while he was inſiſting on having them broken open, his ſiſter, the du-

chefs of Bourbon, came up with the ladies of her retinue, and with fome difficulty prevailed on him to return to his chamber. During three weeks he would not fuffer any one to mention his fon's name to him; but having attended a public fermon on the forgivenefs of injuries, he was moved by the arguments employed by the chriftian orator, and, at length, confented to a reconciliation with the count.

A. D. 1465.] The king, convinced of his imprudence, in having allowed time to the duke of Brittany to make preparations for refifting his attack, now refolved to difpoffefs him of his dominions; but before he would proceed to extremities, he deemed it neceffary to offer fome kind of excufe for his conduct. With this view he convened an affembly of the nobles at Tours, which was attended by the king of Sicily; the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, and Nemours; the counts of Angoulême, Eu, Maine, Nevers, St. Paul, Penthievre, and Tancarville, with many others of the principal nobility. The chancellor Morvilliers, and Dauvet the attorney-general, explained the charges exhibited againft the duke of Brittany, and the arguments which had been offered in his defence. This artful manner of fubmitting the queftion to the decifion of the affembly, feemed the moft likely means of fecuring all their fuffrages. They, accordingly, expreffed their unanimous approbation of the king's refentment, and all joined in condemning the duke, though many of them had already entered into engagements with him. The next day the king himfelf addreffed the affembly; his fpeech contained an apology for his own government fince his acceffion to the throne, and an attack on the adminiftration of the preceding reign. The king of Sicily affured him, in the name of the affembly, that they were all entirely devoted to his fervice; though, at the fame time they offered their mediation to engage the duke of Brittany to return to his duty.

But though Lewis appeared to pay fo much deference to the opinions of his nobles, he very foon took an opportunity of convincing them, that by fo doing he had impofed on himfelf a conftraint which his haughty difpofition could but ill brook. Before the diffolution of the affembly, Charles, duke of Orleans, deceived by the appearance of mildnefs which Lewis had affumed, determined to intercede for the duke of Brittany; he accordingly fpoke in favour of that prince, and endeavoured to extenuate the faults of which he was accufed. The age, fervices, unfhaken fidelity, and irreproachable conduct of the duke of Orleans, had given him the privilege of delivering his fentiments with manly freedom. Conficious of this, he ventured to remonftrate againft fome of the numerous abufes which prevailed in the government. Lewis, who had pronounced a panegyric upon himfelf, could not bear with patience any reflections which tended to convey an indirect cenfure on his own conduct; his ear, unaccuftomed to the voice of truth, was fhocked at its awful found. He loaded the venerable prince with the moft infulting reproaches, publickly accufing him of harbouring criminal defigns, and of taking the part of infurgents, in oppofition to his fovereign. The duke immediately withdrew; and as his mind was too fenfible of difhonour, he funk

beneath the preſſure of unmerited inſult, and on the fourth of January expired, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, regretted by the whole nation. Beſides two daughters, one of whom was abbeſs of Fontevraud, and the other wife to John de Foix, viſcount of Narbonne, the duke left, by his third wife, Mary of Cleves, one ſon, named Lewis, who had been affianced, in the preceding year, to Jane, the infant daughter of the king.

The duke of Brittany, apprized of the king's intentions to invade his dominions without delay, again endeavoured to ward off the blow by negociation. The confederates had at length completed their long projected ſcheme, and only waited for the ſignal to declare themſelves. At ſuch a conjuncture every moment was precious: the duke therefore diſpatched Tanneguy Du Chaſtel and the vice-chancellor of Brittany, to Lewis; and in order to gain time, theſe ambaſſadors acceded to whatever the king required of them. The duke engaged to comply with moſt of his demands, and very ſoon to pay a viſit to the king at Poitiers. Lewis again ſuffered himſelf to be deceived, and truſting he had at length brought the duke to accede to his own terms, he loaded his ambaſſadors with careſſes; and ſet out on a pilgrimage to Notre-Dame du Pont, in the Limouſin.

As ſoon as the king was gone, his brother Charles, duke of Berry, accompanied by the lord of L'Eſcun, joined the Breton ambaſſadors, who had waited for him at ſome diſtance from Poitiers, and fled to Brittany; breaking down all the bridges he paſſed on the road, from the apprehenſion of being purſued. The retreat of Charles was the ſignal of revolt; and the flames of civil diſcord accordingly burſt out in every part of the kingdom, almoſt at the ſame inſtant.

A manifeſto was immediately publiſhed in the name of the duke of Berry, who, it muſt be obſerved, was only in his ſeventeenth year, explaining the motives of his flight. "He had left Poitiers," he ſaid, "becauſe he had been "apprized of the calamities which prevailed in the kingdom, through the miſ-"conduct of the king's miniſters, who made juſtice ſubſervient to their caprice, "and compelled the judges of the parliament, and other tribunals, to pronounce "ſuch ſentences as they choſe to dictate." After ſtating ſome other grievances, which, he ſaid, diſhonoured the kingdom, and expoſed it to the contempt of foreign powers; he concluded by obſerving, that his ſole object was to procure the diſmiſſion of evil counſellors, and to relieve the people from oppreſſion. All the other princes of the blood diſtributed manifeſtoes to the ſame purport; and as the *avowed* object of the confederacy was to enforce a ſalutary reform in the government, with a view to eſtabliſh the happineſs and welfare of the nation, on a ſolid and permanent baſis, they gave it the high-ſounding title of THE LEAGUE FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.

Lewis reſolved to direct his firſt attacks againſt the duke of Brittany; and, with that view, he wrote to the duke of Bourbon to raiſe a body of troops in his domains, and join with him without delay. But he was greatly ſurprized to re-

ceive an anſwer from the duke, in which he not only refuſed, in the moſt peremptory terms, to comply with his orders; but proceeded to load him with the moſt bitter reproaches, directing his cenſure againſt every act of his government; accuſing him of having ſubſtituted his own arbitrary will for the laws of the realm; of keeping the princes of the blood, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the nobility, at a diſtance from his perſon; of proſtituting his confidence to men who were unworthy to enjoy it; and of treating with contempt all remonſtrance and advice. He then told him, that with a view to correct theſe flagrant abuſes, and to relieve an oppreſſed people, the princes and nobles had entered into a confederacy, in order to enforce a change of meaſures, which would equally tend *to his own good, and to the good of his crown.* The duke, at the ſame time, took poſſeſſion of the treaſury, ſeized all the money he found there, and put the receiver-general of the finances under arreſt.

Although the duke of Bourbon, in his anſwer to the king, had not mentioned the names of the confederate princes, they ſoon made themſelves known. John, duke of Calabria, Lorraine, and Bar, being diſcontented with Lewis for having refuſed to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of Naples, was one of the firſt to take up arms, notwithſtanding the exhortations of his father, the king of Sicily. The duke of Nemours, the lord of Albret, the count of Dunois, and even the duke of Alençon, and the count of Armagnac, who were indebted to Lewis for the reſtitution of their honours and eſtates, were among the chiefs of the league, which was ſoon ſtrengthened by the preſence of the count of Dammartin, who effected his eſcape from the Baſtille.

While the princes were engaged in collecting their troops, the moſt formidable of all the confederates, the count of Charolois, had already aſſembled all the forces of the Low Countries, and juſt ſent orders to the mareſchal of Burgundy to ſummon the nobility of that province, as well as of Franche-Comté, to march at a moment's warning. Hitherto the duke of Burgundy had been a ſtranger to the true object of the league; he had given his conſent to levy troops, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the tranquillity of his own dominions againſt the reſtleſs ambition of the king, and had expected that the confederates would act merely on the defenſive *. But as ſoon as the count of Charolois had made every neceſſary preparation, he informed his father of his intention to invade France; telling him, that all the chiefs of the confederacy, united by the ſtrong ties of intereſt, were eager to revenge their common injuries; that their place of rendezvous was under the walls of Paris; and, that all their plans were ſo well concerted, it would be impoſſible for the king to reſiſt their efforts. The duke, at this period, received the duke of Berry's manifeſto, accompanied by a private letter from that prince, which immediately removed his ſcruples, and ſuperinduced his conſent to the adoption of deciſive meaſures. When the count

* Villaret.

took leave of his father, before he joined the army, the old duke ſaid to him, "*Do your duty, my ſon; behave valiantly, and prefer death to flight.*"

All the malecontents in the kingdom haſtened to join the confederates. The veteran troops, the moſt courageous officers and the moſt experienced commanders quited the king's ſervice, and enliſted under the banners of his opponents. Never had the kingdom been threatened with a revolution more ſudden and complete. From the extremity of Holland and Zealand, from the frontiers of Germany, and the banks of the Maeſe, to the foot of the Pyrenees, the whole ſtrength of the monarchy was united to cruſh the king. Nothing could have ſaved Lewis from deſtruction, had the conduct of his enemies been equal to their reſentment.

Amidſt this alarming concurrence of circumſtances, the genius of Lewis, active, penetrating, and peculiarly calculated to extricate him from difficulties, eminently appeared. He had concluded various treaties with the German and Italian princes; but the only one of his allies on whom he could depend was Franciſco Sforza, duke of Milan, one of the moſt ſkilful politicians, and greateſt generals of the age, who had uſurped that duchy from the houſe of Orleans. To this prince, Lewis had ceded the lordſhip of Genoa, and the town of Savona, to be holden, as fiefs, of the crown of France; on which condition Sforza had accepted them, and his ambaſſadors had done homage for them to the king in his name.

Lewis immediately iſſued orders to the governors of the different towns and fortreſſes in his dominions, to defend them to the utmoſt againſt the attacks of the confederates. Charles de Melun, governor of Paris, armed the citizens of the capital, who, for once, ſignalized their loyalty and zeal. The city was put in the beſt poſſible ſtate of defence; the chains were fixed at the ends of the ſtreets; all the gates but two were blocked up; and proviſions provided for ſeveral months. Some days afterthefe precautions had been taken, the mareſchal de Gamaches reinforced the garriſon with a ſtrong body of regular troops. The king was ſo well pleaſed with the conduct of the inhabitants of Paris, that he ſent four of his principal officers to return them thanks for the zeal they had diſplayed; and, at the ſame time, to inform them, "*that the Queen intended to "lie in at Paris, as ſhe preferred that city to all the cities in the world.*" The counts of Nevers and Eu had orders to defend the towns on the Somme, and to oppoſe the count of Charolois, who was expected to make his firſt attack in that quarter; while the count of Maine led a conſiderable detachment into Normandy, to deter the Bretons from inſulting the frontiers of that province. The king, at the ſame time, publiſhed a declaration, promiſing a free pardon to all who, before the expiration of ſix weeks, ſhould quit the rebel army, and return to their duty.

Lewis, after theſe preparatory meaſures, the only ones which, under ſuch circumſtances, he could adopt, placed himſelf at the head of his army, which conſiſted of fourteen thouſand well-diſciplined and experienced troops. As he

intended firſt to attack the duke of Bourbon, the leaſt powerful of the confederates, he marched, with great rapidity, through Poitou and Berry, and, after making an unſucceſsful attempt upon Bourges, entered the Bourbonnois, to the great aſtoniſhment of the duke, who was totally diſconcerted by ſuch an unexpected attack.

When the duke of Bourbon firſt raiſed the ſtandard of revolt, he had wholly forgotten to provide for his own ſafety. He had but few troops; his towns, ill garriſoned, and badly fortified, were expoſed to the attacks of a formidable army, for the king's forces were, by this time, encreaſed to twenty-five-thouſand men. In ſuch emergency, his only alternative was flight or ſubmiſſion. The ducheſs of Bourbon, who was ſiſter to the king, went to meet her brother, and exerted her influence with ſo much zeal and addreſs, that ſhe prevailed on him to liſten to terms of accommodation. The arrival of the duke of Nemours, with a body of troops, and of another detachment, ſent by the mareſchal of Burgundy, which was ſpeedily to be followed by a more conſiderable force, rendered the duke difficult as to the conditions of the treaty, and proved the means of prolonging the negociation. He conſented, however, to diſarm; but he broke this convention as ſoon as he found that the count of Armagnac was haſtening to his aſſiſtance, at the head of ſix thouſand horſe. The truce was, accordingly at an end; and the king, vexed at having loſt ſo much time, preſſed the confederates with vigour and effect. The duke, though ſupported by the count of Armagnac, the duke of Nemours, and the lord of Albert, was compelled to fly before the royal army, and ſoon found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of quitting the Bourbonnois, and ſhutting himſelf up, with his allies, in the town of Rom. Lewis immediately formed the ſiege of that place; with the reſolution, at all events, to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion; the princes were obliged to ſubmit, and to conclude a truce, during which it was agreed to adopt the neceſſary meaſures for effecting a general pacification: they engaged to declare againſt the other chiefs of the confederacy, ſhould they ſtill perſiſt in their revolt, and alſo to make the duke of Bourbon, who during the negociation had fled to Moulins, ſign theſe conditions. The king could not place much reliance on the execution of a treaty which was only conditional, and which, in fact, was ſoon violated; but the accounts he received of the motions of the count of Charolois and the duke of Brittany, did not permit him to prolong his ſtay in that quarter. He left a few troops to keep the duke of Bourbon in awe on the ſide of Auvergne and Berry, while Galeazzo, ſon to Franciſco Sforza, his friend and ally, laid waſte Le Foreſt and Le Beaujolois.

The count of Charolois, with an army of twenty-ſix thouſand men, advanced towards the river Somme, while the duke of Brittany directed his march to the banks of the Loire. The confederated princes had fixed their rendezvous in the iſle of France, which was deſtined to be the ſcene of action. The king's object was to prevent a junction, on which the fate of the kingdom evidently depended. At a conjuncture thus delicate, when the ſmalleſt delay might be productive of

the moſt important effects, the count of Vendome rendered the moſt eſſential ſervice to Lewis, by refuſing a paſſage through his territories to the Breton troops. This impediment, by occaſioning a loſs of time, proved highly prejudicial to the intereſts of the confederates.

The Burgundian army paſſed the Somme at Bray; and the count of Nevers, and the mareſchal de Gamaches, who had thrown themſelves into Amiens with two thouſand men, in the expectation that the count of Charolois would form the ſiege of that city, ſallied forth for the purpoſe of harraſſing the enemy on their march; but finding all their efforts fruſtrated by the vigilance of the count, the mareſchal made the beſt of his way to the capital.

The count of Charolois met with but few obſtacles to impede his progreſs. The towns of Picardy did not openly declare in his favour, but they admitted his troops, and ſupplied them with proviſions. Neſle, Roye, Montidier, Beaulieu, and Pont-Saint-Maixence, were either taken by ſurprize, or elſe ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons. In all thoſe places, the count, ſtyling himſelf lieutenant-general of the kingdom, under the command of the duke of Berry, publiſhed a general abolition of impoſts, accompanied by a declaration, that the ſole object of the confederated princes was to promote the public good, by effecting a reform in the government. The count continued his march to the iſle of France, where he halted, and eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Saint Denis. He there expected to find the body of troops which he had ordered the mareſchal of Burgundy to levy in that province, and likewiſe to be met by the duke of Brittany, according to appointment, and his aſtoniſhment could only be equalled by his diſappointment, when he had heard that the duke was ſtill at Nantes, and that the forces from Burgundy, finding every paſſage occupied by the royaliſts, could not poſſibly join him. Enraged at this unexpected check, he would have returned to Flanders, had he not been reſtrained by ſhame. Romillé, the vice-chancellor of Brittany, who was with him, endeavoured to moderate his anger, by aſſuring him, that his maſter would ſpeedily join him with a powerful army. That miniſter had ſeveral *blank letters*, ſigned by the duke, which he filled up with falſe intelligence; by which artifice he amuſed the count, and induced him to give up all thoughts of a retreat, which muſt have entirely diſconcerted the plans of the confederates.

It was propoſed, in a council of war, to endeavour, by a general aſſault, to get poſſeſſion of the capital; but the town was too well fortified to hazard ſuch an attempt. The count of Charolois drew up his troops in order of battle, within ſight of the ramparts, in the hope of intimidating the inhabitants by a diſplay of his power, and of reviving the ancient factions of the Burgundians, of which the remains were ſtill perceptible; but this manœuvre failed of ſucceſs. The mareſchal de Rohaut made a ſally, but was driven back with ſome loſs. A few days after, the count ſent four heralds at arms to the gate of Saint Denis, to demand proviſions, and a paſſage for his troops; while he attacked the ſuburb of

Saint-Lazarus, and had nearly forced the barrier, when the arrival of the troops compelled him to retreat.

The king had ſent word to the Pariſians, by Couſinot, bailiff of Rouen, that he would ſoon come to their relief with his whole army; and, indeed, he conſidered the preſervation of the capital as the moſt important object of the war. The count of Charolois had ordered ſome of his emiſſaries to introduce themſelves into the town, and found the diſpoſition of the inhabitants. One of theſe agents, a canon of Arras, was diſcovered by the mareſchal, who allowed him to return to the Burgundian camp, on condition that he would tell the count that letters had juſt been received from the *king*, containing poſitive information, that he would be at Paris in four days, and *then it would be ſeen who was ſtrongeſt*. The count pretended to diſbelieve the intelligence, obſerving, that the mareſchal had deceived him too often already.

The Burgundians called another council of war, to deliberate on the meaſures to be purſued at the preſent conjuncture. Many officers were of opinion, that it would be moſt prudent to return, ſince their allies had not fulfilled their engagement; and they obſerved, that if they deferred their retreat, they would find all the paſſages cloſed, from their neglect to ſecure the frontier-towns of Artois and Picardy *; but the count of Charolois rejected theſe timid propoſals, and immediately gave orders to his troops to hold themſelves in readineſs to march, to meet the duke of Brittany. With this view he forced a paſſage over the bridge of Saint Cloud, and croſſed the Seine, in full expectation of being ſpeedily met by the Breton troops.

The king, meanwhile, had left the Bourbonnois, and was advancing, by rapid marches, with the reſolution to prevent a junction that muſt give a decided ſuperiority to his enemies. He called a council, in order to determine whether it would be moſt prudent to attack the duke of Brittany, who was the weakeſt of his adverſaries, and whoſe defeat might intimidate the allies, or to march immediately againſt the Burgundians. The king adopted the latter opinion, the moſt dangerous to follow, but yet the moſt deciſive; ſince, by obtaining a victory over the count of Charolois, the diſſolution of the league, of which he was the principal ſupport, might, it was conceived, be eaſily effected. The monarch's advice was unanimouſly embraced, except by Brezé, ſeneſchal of Normandy, who maintained a contrary opinion: he obſerved, that the count of Charolois was at the head of an army who idolized him; and every man of which would deem it his duty to ſacrifice his life in his defence: that the caſe was very different with the duke of Brittany, whoſe troops were leſs devoted to their leader, and many of whom, having ſerved under Charles the Seventh, would feel a repugnance at fighting againſt his ſon, and might reaſonably be expected to deſert to the royaliſts; and that, by conquering the Bretons, the duke of Berry, whoſe name afforded a ſpecious pretext to the meaſures of the confederates, would fall into the

* Phil. de Commines.

king's power. Theſe reaſons, however, proved inſufficient to ſhake the king's reſolution. Brezé was even accuſed of timidity; but to ſuch accuſations the gallant veteran replied, "That if a battle enſued, he would convince his accuſers "his ſoul was a ſtranger to fear, and that his advice to the king had been influenced by the pureſt ſentiments of loyalty.

The royal army arrived at *Châtres*, now *Arpajon*, at the ſame time that the Burgundians reached Longjumeau. The count of Saint Paul, who commanded the van of the latter, advanced as far as Montlhery, where he firſt received intelligence that the king was within half a day's march of him: he immediately communicated this information to the count of Charolois, who choſe the plain of Longjumeau for the ſcene of action, and ordered the count of Saint Paul to quit the poſt of Montlhery, and join the main body.

On the ſixteenth of July (1465) the two armies came in ſight of each other, prepared to decide the fate of the monarchy, and the fortune of Lewis. The royal army was compoſed of warlike troops, well-appointed, and well-diſciplined; the Burgundians, though ſuperior in numbers by one-third, were more formidable in appearance than effect: the nobility, long accuſtomed to repoſe, were wholly inexperienced in the art of war; few of the troops had ſeen any ſervice; and moſt of the men at arms were ill-equipped, and undiſciplined.

Lewis, reflecting on the fatal conſequences of a defeat, was ſtill at a loſs how to act. On the evening of the fifteenth, he had called a council of war, in which it was decided, that the troops ſhould continue their march to Paris, and avoid an action, unleſs the enemy ſhould attack them on the road. The ſeneſchal of Normandy had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this plan; which made Lewis aſk, "Whether he had not ſubſcribed the league of his enemies?" "They have, indeed, "my ſignature," replied Brezé, "but my perſon is your's." As he left the council he was heard to ſay, that he would bring the king and the count of Charolois ſo near to each other, that it ſhould require the exertion of wonderful ſkill to prevent them from meeting; and he was the better enabled to perform this promiſe, as the command of the van of the army was entruſted to him.

Some awkward manœuvres in the Burgundian army made the count of Charolois loſe the opportunity of attacking the French as they paſſed through the wood of *Torſou* into the plain. The royaliſts, therefore, had ample time to range themſelves in order of battle behind a thick hedge, that was ſkirted by a wide ditch. The king drew up his troops in three diviſions, forming a centre, commanded by himſelf, and two wings, which he entruſted to the conduct of Brezé, and the count of Maine.

The whole morning of the ſixteenth was paſſed by the two armies in obſerving each other's motions. The royaliſts, who had but little artillery, were extremely galled by the enemies fire. The count of Charolois, having flattered himſelf that the king would begin the attack, had ordered his archers, who were placed in the van, to fix ſtakes, pointed with iron, in the ground before them, to check the enemy's cavalry; but finding the royaliſts determined to remain where they were,

he changed his plan, and about one o'clock gave the ſignal of attack. But the troops, inſtead of advancing ſlowly towards the enemy, as they were ordered to do, ruſhed impetuouſly forward through the fields of ſtanding corn which lay between the two armies; ſo that when they reached the ſpot where the French were ſtationed they were quite out of breath. The count of Saint Paul, however, and the lord of Raveſtein, who commanded the left wing of the Burgundians, attacked the French with great fury. Brezé was killed at the firſt onſet; but, undiſmayed by the loſs of their leader, the troops ſuſtained, with great reſolution, the impetuous efforts of the enemy, until the king came to ſupply the place of the ſeneſchal: inſpirited by the preſence of their ſovereign, they preſſed the Burgundians in their turn, and after an obſtinate conteſt, in which Saint Paul and Raveſtein ſignalized their courage, compelled them to retreat to their camp. While the king defeated the left wing of the Burgundians, the count of Charolois attacked the centre diviſion of the royaliſts, which he ſoon routed, and purſued the fugitives half a league beyond the village of Montlhery. He thought himſelf ſure of the victory, when he was told, that the French, after defeating his left wing, were advancing to attack him, and that if he did not ſpeedily retreat, he would be inevitably ſurrounded.

The king, meanwhile, having returned to the field of battle, where he had to ſuſtain a freſh attack from a body of troops, commanded by the baſtard of Burgundy, which had not yet engaged. In this conflict, moſt of the archers of his guards were ſlain, and his own horſe was killed under him, by the baſtard himſelf. This accident occaſioned a general alarm, and it was believed that the king was dead; but his guards reſcued him from the enemy, and carried him in their arms to Montlhery, where ſuch of his troops as had not been totally diſperſed, rallied. Lewis was in the caſtle of Montlhery with his guards, when the count of Charolois, on his return from the purſuit, paſſed by the gates; and that prince muſt inevitably have been taken, ſince he had very few attendants with him, had a proper force been ſent to attack him; but only fifteen or ſixteen archers were employed on a ſervice of this importance, and the count defended himſelf againſt them with incredible valour: notwithſtanding his exertions, however, his attendants were almoſt ſlain; and Saint Belin, bailiff of Chaumont, laying hold of him, exclaimed, "Yield, my lord, I know you well; do not lay us under the neceſſity of putting you to death." At that inſtant, a man at arms, extremely well mounted, arrived to his aſſiſtance, and ruſhing on the French archers, flew moſt of them, and put the reſt to flight. The count immediately haſtened to the field of battle, and knighted his deliverer. He had ſcarcely time to collect a few of his men, before the king returned to the charge, and he again found himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded. Perceiving the count of Saint Paul at a diſtance, with a part of the left wing, which he had rallied, he ſent to him to quicken his pace, but the count continued to move ſlowly forward; and this manœuvre, as Duclos judiciouſly obſerves, ſaved the Burgundians from deſtruction. The corps which Saint Paul commanded did not, when the prince firſt perceived him, exceed

fifty men; but by the flowneſs of his pace he had given time to others to come up with him, ſo that when he joined the count of Charolois, he was accompanied by no leſs than eight hundred men at arms. This unexpected ſuccour enabled the prince to renew the combat, and even gave him an advantage, in point of numbers, over the king, who in vain employed the moſt courageous efforts to recover the ſuperiority he had loſt. Three times did he rally his troops; but being deſerted by the count of Maine, and the admiral de Montauban, who fled with their reſpective detachments, the conteſt became very unequal, and had not the day been ſo far advanced, he muſt probably have ſuſtained a total defeat.

The combatants were at length compelled to ſeparate, by the approach of night. The king retired to Montlhery, while the count of Charolois remained in his camp. They had both diſplayed the moſt unequivocal proofs of perſonal valour, though their exertions were but ill ſeconded by their troops. It would de difficult to ſay which obtained the victory; certain it is, that they both thought themſelves defeated at the time; though, the next day, each of them claimed the honour of the triumph*. In the courſe of the battle, in which neither ſkill nor order had been diſplayed, both the French and Burgundians committed a multiplicity of errors, alternately exhibiting exertions of heroic valour, and acts of the baſeſt cowardice. Lewis, though brave himſelf, viewed with indifference the courage of others. "He frequently deprvied one man,"—ſays Commines—"of his place and eſtates, for having run away, to confer them on another, "who had run ten leagues farther." The ſame author relates, that a ſtateſman in the royal army fled as far as Luzignan without ſtopping; while a man of diſtinction on the Burgundian ſide quitted the field, and galloped with equal ſpeed to Queſnoy. The loſs on both ſides, at the battle of Montlhery, did not exceed three thouſand ſix hundred men. A party of the Burgundian fugitives were intercepted by the Pariſians, and all of them maſſacred or taken priſoners. The booty acquired by the aſſailants on this occaſion is ſaid to have been eſtimated at two hundred thouſand crowns of gold†.

The king, overpowered by fatigue, with a mind labouring under the moſt dreadful anxiety, could not contemplate, without horror, the danger of his ſituation. He had but a very ſmall number of troops with him, and he was wholly ignorant of the ſtate of his enemies, who, he had every reaſon to believe had obtained a complete victory. Montlhery was not a poſt of ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt the attacks of a victorious army, he therefore reſolved on an immediate retreat; and the darkneſs of the night favouring the attempt, he had the good fortune to arrive ſafe at Corbeil early the next morning.

While Lewis was thus anxious to fly from the Burgundians, a council of war was called by the count of Charolois, at which it was propoſed by the count of Saint Paul to burn all the baggage, and retire with precipitation into Burgundy

* Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 94. † Idem.

This propoſal was unanimouſly adopted by all the officers preſent, except the lord of Contay, who maintained, that it would be impoſſible to execute ſuch a plan, ſince it would expoſe the prince to the danger of being deſerted by all his followers; that moſt of them, being natives of the Low Countries, would retire to that quarter, on the very firſt orders they received for decamping; that it would be infinitely more eligible to run the riſk of a ſecond battle, than to incur the danger of a general defection; and, in ſhort, that the only alternative now left them, was conqueſt or death. The count of Charolois immediately embraced an opinion ſo conſonant with his courage, and general orders were accordingly iſſued to prepare for action at break of day; but at the time appointed for a renewal of the conflict, the flight of Lewis was firſt diſcovered by the Burgundians, who aſſerted their claim to victory, by paſſing the whole day under arms. The king, on his ſide, advanced the ſame pretenſions, though on what they could be founded it is impoſſible to conceive. As he had left the enemy maſters of the field, he thought to obviate that plauſive objection to his claims, by the ridiculous obſervation, that "it was not to be wondered at that the count of "Charolois ſhould remain in the fields, ſince he had neither town nor fortreſs "to afford him ſhelter." It muſt be confeſſed, however, that neither party had much cauſe for exultation; though both of them ſecured by the conflict the ſame advantage they had hoped to derive from victory: the king had opened himſelf a paſſage to the metropolis; and the count of Charolois had removed all obſtacles to his junction with the duke of Brittany, who had juſt arrived at Etampes.

Lewis entered Paris on the eighteenth of July, two days after the battle; when he ſupped with Charles of Melun, and ſeveral of the nobility, and ſome of *the citizen's wives* were admitted to his table. Though on his arrival he was only accompanied by one hundred horſe, he was ſoon joined by ſo many of his troops, that, being unable to find quarters for them all in the city, he was under the neceſſity of forming a camp on the banks of the Seine. He expreſſed his determination to collect his ſcattered forces, and once more to try the fortune of war; but he was ſoon induced to give up a deſign, which prudence forbade him to accompliſh. His preſent object was to provide for the ſafety of the capital. Some partizans of the league having been arreſted, were immediately put to death; and the monarch attended their execution, and urged the executioner to perform his duty with ſpirit and effect.*

Influenced by the ſame motives, he courted the affection of the Pariſians with incredible zeal, neglecting no meaſure which his ſagacity could ſuggeſt for the acquiſition of popularity. He viſited all the principal citizens, entered into familiar converſation with them, and admitted them to his table: he alſo aboliſhed moſt of the impoſts, and confirmed the privileges of the city. At the ſuggeſtion of William Chartier, biſhop of Paris, ſix citizens, ſix members of the univerſity,

* Chron. de Saint Denis.

and ſix judges of the parliament, were appointed to manage the moſt important and moſt urgent buſineſs of the ſtate. When the king had regulated all theſe matters, he went into Normandy, with a view to arm the nobility, and to bring back with him moſt of the troops which he had left for the defence of that province, which, from the abſence of the duke of Brittany he no longer conceived to be in danger.

Meanwhile the count of Charolois having collected his forces, which had been diſperſed at the battle of Montlhery, and effected a junction with the Bretons, advanced towards Paris, accompanied by the dukes of Berry and Brittany. The duke of Burgundy had ſent a conſiderable body of calvary, under the command of Saveuſes, to join him at the gates of the capital: he was farther reinforced by the duke of Bourbon; the count of Armagnac; the duke of Nemours; and the lord of Albret. The duke of Calabria, too, haſtened to join the confederates with a ſmall body of well-diſciplined troops, who had ſerved under him in the Italian wars, and five hundred Swiſs infantry, the firſt ever ſeen in France. The iſle of France was ſcarcely capable of containing this immenſe army, the calvary whereof amounted to one hundred thouſand men. As the princes, in hope that the inhabitants would admit them into the capital, wiſhed to ſpare their property; they made their troops obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline; except the forces of the count of Armagnac, who, receiving no pay, were compelled to live at diſcretion; and theſe were ſtationed in the province of Brie, which they laid waſte.

The Pariſians having taken the bridges at Saint Cloud and Charenton, at the time of the battle of Montlhery, the count of Charolois cauſed a bridge of boats to be conſtructed, over which his troops paſſed the Seine: he then retook Charenton and Saint Cloud, and formed a ſemicircular camp, commanding all the northern part of the city, while the king's troops were ſtationed on the oppoſite ſide. The loſs of Charenton might have occaſioned a ſcarcity of proviſions in the capital, but ſuch care had been taken to provide an ample ſtock, that no apprehenſions of that kind were entertained.

Though all the efforts which the count of Charolois had hitherto made to obtain admiſſion into Paris, had proved fruitleſs, yet he did not deſpair of finally accompliſhing his project. He thought that the name of the duke of Berry, on whom the confederates had conferred the title of regent of the kingdom, joined to ſpecious promiſes the hope of a ſalutary reform; and, that the preſence of a formidable army, commanded by the moſt diſtinguiſhed captains in France, would intimidate or ſeduce the inhabitants of the capital, and engage them to declare in favour of a league, which had for its object the public good. It was reſolved to demand a conference with the Pariſians, in order to explain to them the motives which had determined the princes to take up arms; for this purpoſe, letters ſigned by the duke of Berry, were ſent to the parliament, the municipal body, and the univerſity, inviting them to appoint deputies for conducting a negociation.

Deputies were accordingly chosen, who proceeded to the Burgundian camp, under the conduct of the bishop of Paris, where they were received by the duke of Berry, as the representative of the sovereign, attended by the count of Charolois, the dukes of Brittany and Calabria, and others of the princes and nobility. The count of Dunois addressed the deputies in the name of the confederated princes, "Who," he observed, "had long considered, with attention, the man-"ners of Lewis, who not only oppressed the people by superfluous taxes, and "the exaction of unusual services, but treated them with the same contempt "which he bestowed on all the nobles of the realm, and deprived them of all au-"thority. They reproached him with making his own will the sole rule of his "actions; *he was the law, the judge, and the parliament.*" The count remarked, "That he only sought to secure his power by the force of arms, and the exertions "of his troops; that his person was surrounded, and his favour monopolized, "by persons of the lowest extraction, who were meanly obsequious to his wishes, "and passively obedient to his commands, on which account he raised them to an "equality with the princes of his blood: that the kingdom was filled with spies "and informers, so that no man's life nor property was secure: that suspicions the "most frivolous were admitted as sufficient for punishing the citizens with exile or "death: that the wild beasts enjoyed greater freedom and safety in France than "men: that the wealth of the kingdom was thrown away on persons destitute of "honour and probity: that they alone obtained pensions; and that the period "was arrived, when almost *all the property in the kingdom was at the disposal of one* "*man*: that these numerous abuses had induced the princes to take up arms, and "to repair to Paris, to take the general opinion of the French, and to call an "assembly of the states, in order to correct the vices which prevailed in the go-"vernment: that Lewis was indeed their king, but that it became their dignity "to exhort and admonish him to follow the steps of his predecessors, to conform "to the laws, and to have compassion on the people.*"

The deputies, on their return, repaired to the town-house, and reported the result of their conference to the inhabitants; adding, that the princes threatened to lay waste the environs of the capital, if they still persisted in refusing them admission. After some deliberation, it was agreed, that the deputies should return to the princes, and assure them, that if they would bind themselves by an oath, to commit no kind of violence, and to pay for every thing they wanted, they were willing, with the king's consent, to admit them into the town.

At this juncture, the admiral de Montauban arrived at Paris, with a strong reinforcement of troops; and advice was received, at the same time, that the king might be soon expected. In fact, he arrived a few days after, accompanied by the count of Maine, and all the troops he could collect in Normandy. Lewis being informed of the negociations which had been carried on in his absence, was

* Villaret.

extremely enraged at the inhabitants for having preſumed to deliberate without his orders, on the propoſals of the princes. He did not, however, think it prudent to give a full ſcope to his reſentment, but contented himſelf with paſſing a ſentence of baniſhment on the principal conductors of the negociation. He took the government of Paris from Charles of Melun, and beſtowed that poſt, which at this period he conſidered as the moſt important one in his gift, on the count of Eu.

On the king's arrival, the royaliſts, who had hitherto ſtood on the defenſive, made frequent ſallies on the enemy, though Lewis was careful not to riſk a deciſive action. The confederates, finding there were little hopes of reducing the capital, began to be tired of the war; the count of Charolois, too, was anxious to return to the Low Countries, where the people of Liege, at the inſtigation of Lewis, had committed the moſt dreadful depredations. The conſequence of this diſpoſition was, the concluſion of a truce for ſome days, during which it was propoſed to effect a final accommodation. The truce, however, was ill obſerved, eſpecially by the confederates, whoſe troops, no longer ſubmiſſive to the reſtraint of diſcipline, laid waſte the environs of Paris. The king himſelf could ſcarcely contain his troops within the bounds of moderation; thoſe who were ſtationed in the vicinity of the metropolis did as much damage to the farmers as the enemies themſelves did; while the garriſon of Paris, rendered inſolent by a conſciouſneſs of their own importance, treated the citizens with a degree of pride and inſolence, that, under the preſent circumſtances, it was difficult to repreſs *.

The count of Saint Paul having requeſted the king to grant him a conference without the walls, Lewis met him near the ramparts; and on his return he aſſured the Pariſians, that they would not be long troubled with the Burgundians. An attorney who was preſent when he made this declaration, exclaimed, "That "may be, ſire; but meanwhile they are entering our vineyards, and eating our "grapes, and we are not able to prevent them." "It is better," replied the king, "that they ſhould enter your vineyards, and eat your grapes, than that "they ſhould enter Paris, and take your money, and your plate, which you "have concealed in your cellars, and even in the bowels of the earth."

Serious negociations for a peace were now carried on by the count of Maine, and the lord of Précigny, ſecond preſident of the parliament of Toulouſe, on the part of the king; and the duke of Calabria, and the counts of Saint Paul and Dunois, on the part of the confederates. As Lewis was reſolved to effect an accommodation at all events, he only ſtarted difficulties the better to conceal his real deſigns. The princes were ſo exorbitant in their demands, that had he

* The inſolence of the ſoldiers may be collected from the following account of a contemporary author: "Neither the wealth which Paris contains," ſaid they to the citizens, "nor the town "itſelf, belongs to thoſe who reſide in it, but to us ſoldiers; and we would have you to know, that "in ſpite of your faces, (molgre vos viſages) we will keep the keys of your houſes, and turn you "and yours into the ſtreet." Of their licentiouſneſs, the following extract, from the ſame author, may convey ſome idea: "The ſame day two hundred archers arrived at Paris, under the com"mand of captain Mignon; and they were followed by eight bad women on horſeback, accompa"nied by a monk, who was their confeſſor." Chron. de Saint Denis.

granted them without hesi'ation, the sincerity of his conduct might have been justly suspected. Philip de Commines assures us, that he had been advised by his friend, the duke of Milan, to grant every demand which the confederates might be tempted to make, in order to dissolve the league, and to leave it to time to supply him with the means of breaking his promises. A scheme of this nature, in which honour and justice were sacrificed to policy, required no uncommon exertion of genius to invent; and it was so consonant to the disposition of Lewis, that it must naturally have occurred to him.

The only point which was suffered to protract the conclusion of the treaty, was the augmentation of the duke of Berry's appanage. The princes insisted, that the province of Normandy should be ceded to him; but with this demand the king could not prevail upon himself to comply. The situation of that province, which on one side joined the dominions of the duke of Brittany, and on the other extended to within a short distance of those towns on the river Somme, the restitution of which was now required by the count of Charolois, rendered it of the utmost importance; as the possession of it would make it an easy matter for the three princes to join their forces at the first signal, and thus keep the king constantly besieged, as it were, in the centre of the kingdom. Instead of Normandy, Lewis offered to cede the provinces of Champagne and Brie to his brother, reserving only to himself the towns of Montereau—Fautyonne, Meaux and Melun. His offers, however, were rejected, the negociations broken off, and hostilities renewed.

During this war, a custom prevailed, of which we find no example at any earlier period of the French history. The prisoners were exposed to public sale. The chroniclers of the times relate, that several Calabrians were sold at *six sols six deniers per head*. They were purchased with the view to make a profit by their ransom; and such of the unfortunate victims as were unable to pay their ransom, or as nobody claimed, were hanged§. This was a new branch of commerce, the accursed offspring of avarice, which, like some that are still suffered to subsist, tended to gratify the rapacity of individuals, in contempt of religion, and at the expence of humanity!

The confederates were induced, by a scarcity of provisions, to renew the negociations for a peace; but when it appeared on the point of conclusion, some new incidents occurred to break off the conferences. The governor of Boulogne-sur-Mer had just been executed for a design to set that town on fire, and during the confusion which such an event must necessarily occasion, to surrender the place to the English. Saveuses, a Burgundian general, having frequently obtained permission to go to Peronne to see the count of Nevers, took an opportunity of introducing six hundred men into the town during the night, with whose assistance he secured the citadel. The count of Nevers was suspected of being an ac-

§ "On Sunday, at break of day, seven men came to the Boulevard, near the tower of Billy, who "had been taken by the Burgundians, and by them condemned to be hanged, because, since they "had been taken, nobody had offered to purchase them." Additions a la Chronique de Monstrelet.

complice in the plot, though he was made priſoner and ſent to the caſtle of Bethune. Lewis Sobier, governor of Pontoiſe, delivered that place to the duke of Brittany, who, a few days after, was admitted, by a ſimilar inſtance of treachery, into Evreux. The duke of Calabria took Giſors, and the duke of Bourbon reduced Rouen.

In preceding wars, occaſioned by internal diſſentions, the nation had been reduced to a more deplorable ſtate; but it never was ſunk ſo low, in point of degradation, as at preſent. Falſehood and treachery appeared on every ſide, nor was the dark proſpect relieved by a ſingle act of virtue *. The French hiſtorians have neglected to trace the ſource of this national corruption; but ſurely it may, with juſtice, be aſcribed to the ſhameful depravity of the monarch himſelf: deſtitute of truth, honour, or probity, Lewis made diſſimulation his ſtudy, and gloried in deceit. That the conduct of a ſovereign has an eſſential influence on the manners of a people, cannot be denied; the diſpenſer of honours and rewards, his favour muſt be courted by ſuch men as are known to correſpond with his taſte, and coincide with his wiſhes: when abſolute,—puniſhment, too, muſt be avoided by a ſimilar attention to his will and caprice; thus are habits, as it were, imperceptibly contracted; and, though in every nation there are, doubtleſs, many individuals who eſcape the general contagion, who acquire not the general biaſs, yet, from the natural propenſity of man to imitate his ſuperiors, the impulſe ſoon becomes univerſal, and conſtitutes what may juſtly be termed the national character. On the minds of thoſe who are born to fill the elevated ſtation of royalty, this important conſideration cannot be too ſtrongly impreſſed; let them reflect, *moſt ſeriouſly* reflect, on the full extent of their influence: not an action they commit is unobſerved, or indifferent; their vices may tend to involve thouſands in guilt; their virtues may prove the means of happineſs to millions; when *ſuch* motives to rectitude are duly *weighed*, they muſt be found irreſiſtible. It is thus that, by the all-wiſe diſpenſations of Providence, to the enjoyment of a ſuperior ſtation the diſcharge of ſuperior duties is *invariably* annexed.

Preſſed on all ſides, ſurrounded by enemies or traitors, the king reſolved to extricate himſelf from a ſituation thus dangerous, by concluding a peace, which he reſolved to break as ſoon as circumſtances would permit. It was neceſſary, indeed, to adopt ſome deciſive meaſure, for he received daily information of plots formed againſt his perſon. The enemy had found means to circulate ſeditious libels, in which neither the king nor his miniſters were ſpared; and a diſpoſition to tumult appeared in the capital, where Balue, biſhop of Evreux, the king's confidential friend, was attacked, and wounded; and that prelate was only indebted for his life to the ſwiftneſs of his mule.

Lewis now granted all the demands of the confederates, and even ſeemed to anticipate their wiſhes. He told the count of Charolois, who, notwithſtanding a ceſſation of arms which had been agreed on, had made an attempt on the town

* Villaret.

of Beauvais, that if he were not ſatisfied with the conditions propoſed, he was willing to add the entire ceſſion of the Beauvoiſis. At length peace was concluded on the following terms * :—The duchy of Normandy was ſeized as an appanage, to the duke of Berry, together with the ſovereignty of the duchies of Alençon and Brittany. The count of Charolois obtained all the towns on the Somme, which had been formerly pledged to the duke of Burgundy, to be enenjoyed by him and his immediate ſucceſſor, after whoſe death they might be redeemed by the king of France, on the payment of two hundred thouſand crowns of gold: Lewis likewiſe ceded to the count, as a perpetual inheritance, the diſtricts of Peronne, Roye, and Montdidier, with the counties of Guines and Boulogne-ſur-Mer. The duke of Calabria acquired the towns of Mouſon, Sainte-Menehould, Vaucouleurs, and Epinal, a guard of five hundred lances, to be maintained at the king's expence, and the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns towards defraying the expences of an expedition for the recovery of the kingdom of Naples. The duke of Brittany had for his ſhare the counties of Etampes and Montfort, with the government of Lower Normandy; he likewiſe obtained a renunciation of the king's claims to the right of *regale* within the duchy of Brittany. To the duke of Bourbon were allotted the diſtrict of Uſſon, aud a part of Auvergne. The count of Armagnac obtained the reſtitution of certain territories, of which he had been deprived in the preceding reign, with a penſion, and a company of regular troops. The duke of Nemours was appointed governor of Paris, and the iſle of France, with a penſion, and a guard of two hundred lances. The count of Dunois was reſtored to his poſſeſſions, as was alſo the count of Dammartin. The lord of Albret had his claims allowed to certain eſtates, which joined his domains. The count of Saint Paul was inveſted with the dignity of conſtable, which had remained vacant ever ſince the death of Arthur, duke of Brittany; and the lord of Bueil was promoted to the high office of admiral of France. The lord of Loheac was reſtored to the rank of mareſchal of France, and Tanneguy Du Chatel to the poſt of *grand ecuyer;* and the king alſo engaged to give each of theſe noblemen the command of a company of regulars, by which means they would obtain the diſpoſal of the principal forces in the kingdom. It was farther agreed, that the Pragmatic Sanction ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in its full vigour, and that a council ſhould be appointed for correcting the abuſes in the government, to conſiſt of thirty-ſix members, to be choſen from the three orders of the ſtate.

Such were the principal conditions of the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur des Foſſes, which, had they been faithfully executed, would have left Lewis but the vain title of king, deſtitute of authority. Some of his moſt intimate friends having enquired what motives could induce him to ſubmit to ſuch diſadvantageous terms? Lewis replied—"*The youth of my brother of Berry; the prudence of my fair* "*couſin of Calabria; the good ſenſe of my fair brother of Bourbon; the malice of*

* Treſor des Chartres—Mem. de la Chamb. des Com.—Chron. de France—Phil de Commines—Pieces Juſtific. de l'Hiſtoire de Louis XI.

"*the count of Armagnac; the great pride of my fair couſin of Brittany; and the in-*
"*vincible power of my fair brother of Charolois* *. The king, before he concluded this treaty, entered a formal proteſt againſt it in the court of parliament, as being the reſult of force, and contrary to the rights and intereſts of the crown.

At this period, Iſabella of Bourbon, counteſs of Charolois, died at Bruxelles, leaving only one daughter, named Mary, then in her ninth year, who afterward became ſole heireſs to the vaſt poſſeſſions of her family; and who by her marriage with Maximilian, transferred her rights to the houſe of Auſtria; rights which proved an inexhauſtible ſource of diſpute, and occaſioned the moſt bloody wars, that continued for nearly three centuries.

The chief advantage which Lewis derived from this diſhonourable peace, was a conſciouſneſs of his paſt errors. For ſome time he appeared ſtudious to regain the attachment of the malecontents, by a conduct diametrically oppoſite to that which he had obſerved on his acceſſion to the throne. He aſſumed an affability of manners, and ſeemed to breathe nothing but benevolence, candour, and friendſhip. He liſtened to advice with the apparent docility of a prince diſtruſtful of his own abilities on an object of ſuch importance as the government of a nation. Even his external appearance was changed; he exchanged the mean dreſs he had been accuſtomed to wear, for an apparel more ſuitable to his dignity. He loaded the princes, and other chiefs of the confederacy, with careſſes; received them at his palace, and attended the feaſts to which they were invited by the principal citizens. To pleaſe the count of Charolois, he deprived Morvilliers of the office of chancellor, and conferred it on William Juvenal des Urſins, who had enjoyed it on his acceſſion.

But notwithſtanding theſe appearances of content and ſatisfaction, the king could ſcarcely conceal his impatience to witneſs the ſeparation and retreat of the confederates, Peace was proclaimed at Paris, on the twenty-ninth of October; and the laſt day of that month was appointed by Lewis to receive the homage of the princes, at the caſtle of Vincennes, which the count of Charolois inſiſted ſhould be delivered up to him, as a pledge for the ſafety of his perſon, and thoſe of his allies. His guards were accordingly ſtationed in the avenues, and at the gates of the fortreſs, when the king arrived, attended by a ſlender eſcort. By this appearance of confidence, he wiſhed to inſpire his enemies with an opinion of his candour and ſincerity; and he carried his diſſimulation ſo far, that he had reſolved to ſleep at Vincennes, and had given orders for his bed to be brought from Paris; but the arrival of a meſſenger from the aldermen and provoſt of Paris, requeſting he would return before night, prevented him from accompliſhing his deſign. After the new duke of Normandy, the count of Charolois, and the other princes, had done homage for the poſſeſſions which had been ceded to them by the treaty, the count of Saint-Paul took the oath of allegiance as conſtable of France. An act of oblivion was then paſſed, and the chiefs of the confederacy received a formal pardon from the king for their conduct during the revolt.

* Villaret, tom. xvii. page 138.

On the third of November the long wiſhed-for ſeparation of the princes took place: the duke of Normandy, accompanied by the duke of Brittany, repaired to the province which he had newly acquired; while the count of Charolois took the road to Flanders. The king accompanied the count as far as Villiers-le-Bel, where the two princes paſſed three days, during which time they were equally profuſe of their profeſſions of friendſhip and eſteem, and equally ſuſpicious of each other's deſigns. Lewis, who on his departure from Paris was only accompanied by a ſmall retinue, had left orders for two hundred lances to follow him, in order to eſcort him on his return. The arrival of theſe, juſt as the count of Charolois was going to bed, threw that prince into the moſt dreadful conſternation; and, apprehenſive that the king had formed ſome deſign againſt him, he commanded his troops to arm. Philip de Commines, who was preſent at the time, and who lived alternately at the French and Burgundian courts, obſerves, that the too great familiarity with which they converſed together during three days, far from inſpiring them with friendſhip for each other, only ſerved to encreaſe their diſtruſt, and confirm their mutual averſion. They had acquired too deep a knowledge of each other's ſentiments not to perceive that inſurmountable antipathy which the difference of their diſpoſitions muſt naturally produce. The king, aware of the count's impatience to attack the people of Liege, offered to give them up, and even to aſſiſt him in revenging the injury he had ſuſtained from them—though Lewis himſelf had inſtigated them to the commiſſion of that injury—on condition that the count would renounce all alliance with the other princes, and particularly with the duke of Brittany. The artifice was too ſhallow to impoſe on the count of Charolois, who immediately replied, that nothing could diſſolve the bond of friendſhip which ſubſiſted between him and the duke of Brittany, that he ſhould always be ready to leave the people of Liege to themſelves, in order to fly to the aſſiſtance of that prince whenever the king ſhould attempt to attack him; in ſhort, that their cauſe was the ſame, and their intereſts were inſeparable. This refuſal, however, did not prevent Lewis and Charles from renewing, when they parted, their profeſſions of mutual eſteem, and their proteſtations of living in future in the utmoſt harmony.

Thus terminated the war for the public good, in which, it muſt be confeſſed, the confederates appear rather to have conſulted their own private intereſt, than the welfare or relief of the people. The chiefs of the league, indeed, ſeemed to have forgotten the nation, whoſe welfare had furniſhed them with a ſpecious pretext for taking up arms. The count of Charolois, immediately after he had ratified the treaty of Conflans, ordered that, in all the towns which had been ceded to him, the taxes ſhould be renewed, although at the commencement of the war, he had himſelf aboliſhed them. The other chiefs followed his example; and as the ſupport of ſo large an army on either ſide, had alike exhauſted the finances of the king and of the princes, the kingdom was more burdened with impoſts after the troubles were at an end, than before they began.

Lewis, releaſed from the danger which threatened him, did not think of the ſacrifices he had made—important as they were—too great for the time he had thereby gained to recover from his fears, and to concert his meaſures with more prudence and addreſs. If we except Guienne, and the iſle of France, he now found himſelf almoſt as much confined in his territories, as was Charles the Seventh at the commencement of his reign. Intent on recovering by degrees what he had loſt at once by a ruinous treaty, his only motives for conſolation were derived from his hopes, that the future would make amends for the paſt. The conduct of the princes had reduced him to the neceſſity of conſidering them as the irreconcileable enemies of his power; but ſo long as they remained in a ſtate of union, it was impoſſible to attack any one of them ſingly, without ſpreading an inſtant alarm among the reſt. The king's ſole reſource, therefore, conſiſted in their diviſion, which he could only expect from time and circumſtances, and particularly from the oppoſition of their various intereſts. The ſeeds of that diviſion indeed he had already contrived to ſow, by means of the private treaties, which had been concluded in conſequence of the general agreement *. This multiplicity of conventions, diſtinct from each other, proved an inexhauſtible ſource of difficulties and diſputes, by leaving the contracting parties an opening, either to interpret them to their own advantage, or elude the execution of them.

Lewis haſtened to expreſs his gratitude for the zeal and fidelity of the Pariſians during the late troubles, by confirming all their privileges, aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that ſo far from ever thinking of curtailing their immunities in future, under the idea that they had been extorted from the neceſſity of the times, they would always find him ready to grant them new favours. The particular prerogatives enjoyed by the Pariſians, conſiſted in an exemption from providing quarters for the troops; a liberation from the neceſſity of attending the Ban and Aarriere-Ban, for all ſuch citizens as poſſeſſed fiefs ſubject to military ſervice; and the privilege of not being compelled to anſwer any action brought againſt them elſewhere than in the courts at Paris. The king was now fully aware, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure the favour of the people, before he could hope to accompliſh the deſign he had formed on his acceſſion to the throne, to raiſe—in imitation of his father—the ſovereign power on the ruins of the ariſtocracy, a plan of which he never loſt ſight, and for the execution whereof he employed ſuch means as beſt correſponded to his humour and diſpoſition: he viſited the pooreſt citizens, invited them to his table, ſtood godfather to their children, and became a member of their different companies.

* The chief conditions of the accommodation were ſettled at Conflans. It is probable, that all the princes who had joined the league, concluded each of them a ſeparate treaty, in conformity to the generel convention. which is to be ſeen in the proofs annexed to the memoirs of Philip de Commines, without either date or the name of the place at which it was ſigned. The treaty of Saint-Maur muſt be conſidered only as a confirmation and interpretation of ſeveral articles of the peace: ſince peace had been proclaimed at Paris before that treaty was drawn up. Vid. Pieces Juſtificat. pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire de Louis XI.—Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 155.

But the exercise of absolute power was so congenial to the soul of Lewis, that he was the first to violate the salutary regulations he had adopted, and to exemplify by his conduct the common observation, that between practice and professions the difference is great. Although he had declared, that in future the ancient custom of appointing magistrates, by a plurality of suffrages, should be observed; he now by his own authority removed several, against whom no objection could be made, and replaced them with others of his own nomination. He dismissed Matthew de Nanterre, first president of the parliament, and appointed John Dauvet to succeed him; and, lest any opposition should be made to this appointment, Lewis attended in person while the new president was sworn into office. Robert d'Estouteville was also appointed to the place of provost of Paris, and was admitted, notwithstanding the opposition of James de Villiers, the actual possessor of that post, who *appealed* from the king's nomination. Several other magistrates and judges belonging to the different courts were likewise dismissed in the same arbitrary manner; and as soon as Lewis had made all the arrangements he thought necessary, he left the capital, and repaired to Orleans. He staid some time in that city, waiting the issue of his secret intrigues for promoting a quarrel between the dukes of Normandy and Brittany, and in order to profit by the divisions which jealousy and avarice had already excited between the dependants of those princes.

The duke of Normandy, in going to take possession of his appange, was accompanied by the duke of Brittany, who in consequence of the services he had rendered him, thought himself entitled to have the entire guidance of his conduct *: the two princes were still at Pontoise, when the king sent the chancellor des Ursins to exact from them a new oath to observe the peace, in conformity to the conditions agreed on, as well at Conflans as at Saint-Maur des Fosses, and at Paris. The duke of Normandy immediately complied with his brother's demand, but the duke of Brittany, refused to give any thing more than a verbal promise; protesting at the same time against that article of the treaty, which provided for the establishment of thirty-six commissioners, who were to reform all abuses in the government, as he could not, he said, acknowledge their authority, without subjecting the independence of his dominions to be called in question. This protest of the duke's supplied the king with a pretext for renewing the protest which he had himself made against the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur.

It was easy to foresee that things could not long remain in their present situation. The duke of Normandy was surrounded by a number of noblemen and officers, who had only embraced his cause from the hope of reward. All the places he could bestow were insufficient to gratify their rapacity; while on the other hand the Norman nobility thought themselves entitled to the exclusive possession of all honourable and lucrative posts. They were all equally inimical to the duke of

* Pieces Justif. de l'Hist. de Louis XI.

Brittany, who ſought to diſpoſe of every thing at his pleaſure; and this tyrannical behaviour excited a general diſcontent, the dangerous conſequences whereof his friends in vain endeavoured to impreſs on his mind. Tanneguy Duchatel, whoſe prudent advice had already proved of ſuch eſſential ſervice to the duke, having remonſtrated with him on the ſubject, and attempted to diſſuade him from accompanying the duke of Normandy, was diſmiſſed; and the king, ever attentive to profit by the faults of others, embraced this opportunity to regain Duchatel, who ſerved him with zeal and fidelity.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, when the two princes arrived at Sainte-Catherine du Mont, in the vicinity of Rouen, where they intended to ſtop a few days, while the neceſſary preparations were making for the entry of the duke of Normandy into his capital. The premature nomination of Leſcun, by the duke of Brittany, to the government of Rouen, completed the diſaffection which was generally borne to that prince. The murmurs of diſcontent became louder and louder, and at length reached the ears of the duke of Normandy, who was given to underſtand, that it was the duke of Brittany's intention, under the maſk of friendſhip, to keep him in a continual ſtate of dependence. This gave riſe to a diſpute between the princes, which foretold an approaching rupture. John of Lorrain, lord of Harcourt, a nobleman of the firſt diſtinction in the province, aſſembled the inhabitants of Rouen at the town-houſe, where he declared, that the duke of Brittany had formed a deſign for ſecuring the perſon of their prince, and conveying him to his own dominions. The news of this pretended conſpiracy, though wholly deſtitute of probability, ſpread a general alarm: a part of the inhabitants immediately flew to arms, and, haſtening to Sainte-Catherine du Mont, prevailed on the duke of Normandy to return with them to Rouen, leaving the duke of Brittany in the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at this ſudden reſolution. That prince immediately retired to Caen.

The king during theſe tranſactions had remained at Orleans, where he made various changes in the different departments of the ſtate, concealing his real deſigns beneath the veil of apparent tranquillity. As ſoon as he was appriſed of the diſpute between his brother and the duke of Brittany, and of the retreat of the latter, he advanced to the frontiers of Normandy with all his forces, and a formidable train of artillery. At his approach, either treachery or fear procured him admiſſion into the different towns, and he proceeded, without encountering any obſtacle, as far as Pont-à-l'Arche, within three leagues of Rouen. In order to attach the duke of Brittany to his intereſt, or at leaſt to deter him from any attempt to impede the progreſs of his arms, he paid him a viſit at Caen, where a treaty was concluded between them. The duke promiſed to conduct himſelf in future as a ſteady friend and faithful ally, and to ſerve the king againſt all men, except the duke of Calabria and the count of Charolois. Lewis on his part declared, that the proteſt which he had entered againſt the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur, was not meant to invalidate thoſe articles which affected the duke, and particularly that which related to the *regale*. All

the nobility who had joined the duke of Brittany, and who ſtill preſerved their attachment to his cauſe—among whom were the counts of Dunois and Dammartin; the mareſchal de Loheac, and the lord of Leſcun—were expreſsly included in the treaty; which, however, was drawn up in ſuch ambiguous terms, that Philip de Commines, on the authority of Lewis himſelf, aſſures us, that neither the king nor the duke perfectly underſtood it.

Lewis returned to Pont-à-l'Arche, in order to preſs the reduction of Rouen, where his brother remained, without friends or experience, and relying ſolely for aſſiſtance on the fidelity of the inhabitants. In this emergency, he firſt applied to the count of Charolois, who being engaged in a war with the people of Liege, was unable to afford him that ſpeedy ſuccour which his ſituation required: he ſent, however, a part of the troops, which were ſtationed on the frontiers of Picardy and Artois, to enter Normandy, and ſecure the town of Dieppe; but the governor of that place had already ſurrendered it to the king. The duke of Normany finding himſelf wholly unable to reſiſt, and being afraid of falling into his brother's hands, reſolved to provide for his perſonal ſafety by a timely flight. He was at firſt tempted to repair to the Low Countries, but the dread of being intercepted by the French troops made him give up that deſign; and, after much heſitation, he applied to the duke of Brittany for a paſſport. The duke granted his requeſt, by deſire of the king, who was fearful of driving the prince to deſpair, leſt he ſhould be tempted, in ſpite of all impediments, to fly for protection to the count of Charolois.

Before the departure of the duke of Normandy, the inhabitants of Rouen had ſent deputies to the king to obtain a general amneſty, and a grant of the ſame privileges which he had confirmed to the Pariſians; but the king replied, that he would conſult with his council, and make them acquainted with his will. The duke's departure put an end to the negociation, and the town immediately ſurrendered. Thus in leſs than ſix weeks was the whole province of Normandy recovered by the king, except the towns of Caen and Honfleur, which were ſequeſtered in the hands of the lord of Leſcun. In the treaty lately concluded between Lewis and the duke of Brittany, it was ſtipulated, that all thoſe who had followed the fortunes of the duke of Normandy ſhould be allowed to retire to Honfleur, there to remain till ſuch time as they obtained a pardon from the king.

A. D. 1466.] Had the king's clemency been equal to his good fortune, this rapid revolution would have been effected without the ſmalleſt effuſion of blood; but, little accuſtomed to pardon, the recollection of his paſt danger, and of the diſhonourable peace which he had been forced to conclude, ſeemed to have redoubled the natural ſeverity of his temper. Thoſe officers and gentlmen who in the late commotions had joined the confederates, and who were not of ſufficient conſequence, of themſelves, to preſcribe terms to the king, were arreſted, and put to death in various ways, without any previous trial. After theſe acts of cruelty, which ſo ſtrongly marked the ſavage diſpoſition of this royal aſſaſſin, Lewis appointed new governors in all the towns he had recovered; and concluded

his expedition to Normandy, by a *pilgrimage* to Mont Saint-Michel, whence he returned to Orleans.

The news of the duke of Normandy's flight, and of the loſs of his new appanage, gave the deepeſt diſpleaſure to the count of Charolois. By compelling the king to cede that province to his brother, he thought he had effectually humbled his pride, and curtailed his power. In fact, both with regard to the revenue it afforded, and the troops it ſupplied, Normandy was always conſidered as equal to one third of the whole French monarchy. The count's mortification too was encreaſed by his total inability, at this period, to enforce a rigid obſervance of the peace; for the war in which he was engaged with the people of Liege took up all his attention. The Liegeois had firſt been inſtigated to attack him by the king of France, who had promiſed them, in letters written with his own hand, ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance; but when they found no mention made of them in the treaty of peace, they were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, and, on the return of the count of Charolois from Paris, they had recourſe to entreaties and ſupplications, and, after various negociations, they were finally compelled to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the prince choſe to impoſe.

Lewis, meanwhile, highly pleaſed with his recent ſucceſs, continued to purſue his plan for ſecuring the favour of the people, and for attaching to his intereſt as many of the nobility as he could *. Deeply verſed in the arts of diſſimulation, he frequently beſtowed his warmeſt careſſes on thoſe whom he had devoted to deſtruction. Anxious to gain the houſe of Bourbon, he gave the hand of his natural daughter, Jane, to Lewis, baſtard of Bourbon, with a dower of a hundred thouſand crowns, and an eſtate which produced ſix thouſand livres a year. He alſo ſecretly aſſured the duke of Bourbon, that he deſigned his eldeſt daughter, Anne, for Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu. Theſe marks of diſtinction had the deſired effect on the duke, who immediately renounced all his engagements, and ſwore an inviolable fidelity to the king, which he preſerved till his death. The duke was immediately appointed governor of Languedoc, in the place of the count of Maine, who was charged with having maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the confederates, and with various other crimes and miſdemeanours. That nobleman would, probably, have experienced a more ſevere puniſhment, but for the interpoſition of the king of Sicily, whoſe friendſhip Lewis was anxious to preſerve. He had, indeed, juſt agreed to confirm the good underſtanding that ſubſiſted between them, by a marriage between the marquis of Pont, grandſon to the Sicilian monarch, and his own daughter Anne, whom he had ſecretly promiſed to the lord of Beaujeu. The count of Maine was reſtored to favour the following year, at the ſolicitation of the king of Scicily, who pledged himſelf for his fidelity, and engaged, in caſe he ſhould again deviate from his duty, to declare againſt him. About this period, Lewis, who was diſpleaſed with the conduct of Charles de Melun, deprived him of the command of the Baſtille.

* Chron. de France—Cont. de Monſtrelet—Phil. de Com.—Hiſtoire de Louis XI—Pieces Juſtific.

Anthony de Châteauneuf, lord of Lau, was the next perſon who was deſtined to feel the weight of the king's reſentment: this nobleman had enjoyed ſeveral of the firſt offices in the ſtate, and had acquired immenſe wealth; but though he was ſo highly diſtinguiſhed by the favour of his ſovereign, he was nevertheleſs accuſed of maintaining a criminal correſpondence with the enemies of the ſtate. Lewis, at firſt, only paſſed a ſentence of baniſhment upon him, but being found in diſguiſe in the vicinity of Orleans, while the court reſided in that city, he was ſeized and conveyed to the caſtle of Mehun. He was afterward removed to the caſtle of Uſſon in Auvergne, which belonged to the baſtard of Bourbon. The king, being afraid that he would effect his eſcape, ordered that nobleman to confine him in an iron cage; but the baſtard refuſed to execute the commiſſion, and replied, "that if it was his intention to treat his priſoners in that manner, his "majeſty might turn gaoler himſelf." After he had been confined two years, he found means to eſcape; when the chief magiſtrate of Uſſon, the governor of the caſtle, and his ſon, were all hanged for having favoured his evaſion; yet the lord of Lau was afterwards reſtored to favour. But ſuch contradictions perpetually occur in the hiſtory of the preſent reign; and indeed, when a monarch ceaſes to make reaſon and juſtice the rules of his conduct, it cannot well be otherwiſe.

The admiral de Montauban dying about this time, his poſt was conferred on the baſtard of Bourbon. In the month of July, Francis d'Orleans, ſon to the count of Dunois, who had recently returned to court, married Agnes of Savoy, ſiſter to the queen of France: and the king preſented the new-married couple with forty-thouſand crowns, and ſeveral eſtates in Dauphiné. Another of the queen's ſiſters was married to the conſtable Saint Paul. Lewis, anxious to detach that prince from the intereſts of the houſe of Burgundy, gave him the county of Guines, with the lordſhip of Novion, and alſo ſettled on him the reverſion of the county of Eu, in caſe the preſent count ſhould die without male iſſue; but as the king had no right to make ſuch ſettlement, the ſucceſſion of the county devolving to another branch of the family, it never took place. Among other noblemen who were reſtored to favour at this period, was Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin; the ſentence which had been pronounced againſt him, having been previouſly annulled.

The king's brother, meanwhile, deſpoiled of his appanage, and even reduced to the neceſſity of ſelling his plate to procure a wretched ſubſiſtence, complained alike of the indifference of his allies, and the ſeverity of Lewis. The king was uneaſy leſt his reſidence in Brittany might afford the malecontents a pretext to excite a freſh revolt, under the ſanction of his name: he therefore ſent the duke of Calabria to engage him to return to France, with an offer of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, or the counties of Valentinois and Dios at his option; but Charles had already rejected theſe offers, and even the wretchedneſs of his preſent ſituation could not induce him to accept them. The duke of Calabria had orders in caſe he ſhould fail in his negociation, to ſecure the young prince, and, if

poſſible, to take him to Orleans; but he was compelled to return without having fulfilled either part of his commiſſion.

The king at the ſame time ſent La Tremoille to the count of Charolois, to juſtify his conduct to his brother; and though the count was not convinced of its propriety, from the apology offered by the ambaſſador, yet he did not appear inclined to interfere in their quarrel. This was all the king required; and in order to keep the court of Burgundy in the ſame diſpoſition, he again ratified the ceſſion of the towns on the Somme, to which he added ſeveral villages in the Vermandois; he likewiſe endeavoured to keep the attention of the count of Charolois confined to another quarter, by ſecretly engaging the Liegeois and the inhabitants of Dinant to break the peace which had been concluded the preceding year, promiſing to afford them effectual aſſiſtance; while, under pretence of an expected invaſion of France by the Engliſh, with whom he had juſt concluded a truce, he ordered all the troops in the kingdom to aſſemble, and ſuch a prodigious quantity of artillery to be founded, that the church-bells were melted down to ſupply the neceſſary quantity of metal. The count of Charolois, who was then at Peronne, alarmed at theſe formidable preparations, iſſued orders to all his vaſſals to take up arms; but though both princes were fully prepared for the renewal of hoſtilities, the ſeaſon paſſed away in embaſſies and negociations, calculated to amuſe and deceive.

The Liegeois, immediately after they had confirmed their alliance with Lewis, attempted, at his inſtigation, to ſeize the count of Charolois at Saintron; but as they were not ſufficiently ſtrong, they failed in the attempt. As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the count levied a powerful army, and was fully determined to make them feel the weight of his reſentment; but he firſt reſolved to puniſh the inhabitants of Dinant, who had alſo violated the treaty which they had concluded with the duk eof Burgundy, by making an irruption into the county of Namur: he accordingly formed the ſiege of that city, whoſe inhabitants relying on the protection of the king of France, and the aſſiſtance of their allies, the Liegeois, ſeemed determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. Some of the neighbouring towns, wiſhing to ſave them from the deſtruction with which they were threatened, exhorted them to ſubmit; but they hanged the meſſenger who was ſent with the advice. A young child was then ſent with a letter, from the idea that they would reſpect his innocence; but the inhuman ſavages tore him to pieces.

The count of Charolois, burning with rage and indignation, determined to inflict a puniſhment equal to their crimes. He collected a prodigious train of artillery and ſuch a continual and well-directed fire was kept up from the batteries, that not an edifice in the town eſcaped its effects. In three days the walls were laid open on every ſide, and the towers, ſhaken to their foundations, ſeemed ready to fall. The count had cauſed two bridges to be thrown over the Maeſe, in order to ſurround the city, and to prepare for a general aſſault. The garriſon, aware of their danger, had made their eſcape, and left the inhabitants to encounter the ſtorm, which their raſhneſs had provoked. Conſcious of their inability to

reſiſt; they now offered to ſurrender, on conpition that their lives ſhould be ſafe: this propoſal, however, was rejected by the count, who inſiſted on unconditional ſubmiſſion. They accordingly delivered to him the keys of thhe town, which experienced the fate of a place taken by aſſault. The pillage laſted three days; all the male inhabitants, except the old men and children, were then maſſacred, and the town ſet on fire; what the flames had ſpared, the peaſants were employed to demoliſh, ſo that not a veſtige remained to diſcover the place where Dinant had ſtood.

Meanwhile the Liegeois, alarmed at the ardour diſplayed by the count of Charolois in purſuing the operations of the war, had ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Burgundy, with propoſals for an accommodation. On their arrival at Bovines, where the duke then was, they could ſee the flames reducing to aſhes the habitations of their allies, The terror with which this ſevere chaſtiſement had inſpired them, contributed not a little to make them accept the terms that were offered them, and which were more rigorous than any they had yet ſubmitted to. They accordingly laid down their arms, and delivered hoſtages for the performance of a treaty, which they reſolved to break at the firſt opportunity.

Although the king had apparently obſerved a ſtrict neutrality during this conteſt, yet it was well known that he had inſtigated the Liegeois to take up arms. He ſecretly congratulated himſelf on having found out the means of keeping his rival employed, without any other expence than that of promiſes; for the fate of thoſe whom he ſacrificed to his own intereſted views gave him but little concern. The conſtable Saint-Paul was himſelf too artful not to ſee through the dark policy of Lewis; but, at the ſame time, he entertained too lofty an idea of his own importance to condeſcend to obſerve that nice circumſpection in his conduct, which ſuch a knowledge ſhould naturally have led him to adopt. He accompanied the count of Charolois to the ſiege of Dinant, not with the king's troops, indeed, but with thoſe which he had aſſembled in his own domains. Ambitious to diſplay his power, and anxious to be conſidered rather as a neceſſary ally than as a vaſſal, he was blind to the danger of appearing in the light of a *formidable* ſubject; for though too weak to ſupport the independence he affected, he was ſtill too great, from the luſtre of his birth, and the extent of his poſſeſſions, to confine himſelf within the narrow limits of paſſive obedience. The king, however, concealed his diſpleaſure, and even appointed the count to the government of Normandy, which he had juſt reunited by his letters patent, to the domain of the crown.

Inceſſant rains, ſucceeded by exceſſive heat, brought on an epidemic diſtemper in France this year, which the people did not fail to aſcribe to the malignant influence of a comet which had appeared ſome time before. In Paris, alone, during the months of Auguſt and September, upwards of forty thouſand perſons periſhed by this dreadful diſtemper, which continued to rage, though with abated violence till the approach of winter. In order to repair the loſs which the capital had thus ſuſtained, Lewis, in the ſucceedidg year, had recourſe to an expedient more ſingular than worthy of imitation: he iſſued a general invitation to

perſons of every peſcription to repair to Paris, where, he ſaid, they ſhould be exempt from proſecution for all paſt offences, and admitted to the rights of citizens. The metropolis, by this means, became an aſylum for debtors, thieves and aſſaſſins; none were excepted from the general invitation, but thoſe who had been guilty of high-treaſon. Such an expedient had never ſuggeſted itſelf to the imagination of man, ſince the foundation of Rome; nor is it poſſible to conceive what advantage the king could expect to derive from aſſociating with the Pariſians theſe new inhabitants, who were more capable of corrupting them by the depravity of their manners, than of becoming uſeful to their imprudent protector, or to their fellow citizens.

By the treaty of Conflans it had been ſtipulated, that a council ſhould be formed of thirty-ſix perſons, choſen from the three orders of the ſtate, for the purpoſe of correcting the abuſes in the government; but though a year had paſſed ſince the concluſion of that treaty, no mention had been made of this article, which was almoſt the only one that had the good of the public for its object. The king, in order to efface, in a certain degree, the ſiniſter impreſſions which his conduct was but too well calculated to raiſe, reſolved to ſatisfy the people in this reſpect, at the ſame time he thought, by ſuch a proceeding, to caſt a reflection on his enemies: with this view he appointed *twenty* commiſſioners, and named the count of Dunois for their preſident. They firſt met at the palace, but the epidemic diſtemper, which raged in the metropolis, compelled them to remove to Pontoiſe. It ſoon, however, became apparent that the king only meant, as a contemporary writer juſtly obſerves, to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar. All the remonſtrances and complaints that were addreſſed to him, he referred to the council, the members whereof were devoted to his will; and not a ſingle reſolution was adopted towards fulfilling the object for which they had met.

A. D. 1467.] In the ſpring of this year the court repaired to Rouen, in order to receive the famous earl of Warwick, ambaſſador from England *. The termination of the ancient diſputes between the two crowns was the avowed object of this embaſſy, which Warwick had ſolicited. That nobleman received the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours from Lewis †, with whom he had ſeveral private conferences, the ſubject whereof was then a ſecret, though it was ſufficiently explained by ſubſequent events. After the earl's departure, who concluded a truce between England and France for eighteen months, the king ſent the archbiſhop of Narbonne and the baſtard of Bourbon to the Engliſh court. Theſe ambaſſadors were highly diſcontented with the reception they experienced from Edward, who made them wait ſix weeks before he granted them audience, and he then referred them for an anſwer to their propoſals, (which related to the eſtabliſhment of a laſting peace,) to commiſſioners whom he promiſed to appoint, though he never fulfilled his promiſe. The ambaſſadors, during their ſtay in England, witneſſed the com-

* Rymer's Foedera, t. xi. p. 578. † Contin. de Monſtrelet, p. 73.

mencement of a conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh monarch, to which they contributed by their intrigues *.

Lewis, on his return from Rouen, received intelligence of the death of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, who expired on the fifteenth of June. His body was conveyed to Dijon, where it was depoſited in the convent of Carthuſians. The ſurname beſtowed on this prince appears to have been merited by the wiſdom and moderation of his government, as diſplayed in the continued proſperity and happineſs of his ſubjects. He was generous, magnificent, liberal and brave; a ſincere friend, and, his amorous irregularities excepted, a good chriſtian. He had upwards of thirty natural children, but only one legitimate ſon: though he had ever lived in a ſtile of magnificence ſuperior to any monarch in Europe, yet he left immenſe riches; his treaſury was found to contain, at his death, four hundred thouſand crowns of gold, ſeventy-two thouſand marks of ſilver, and other effects to the amount of two millions of livres; all of which, together with his extenſive dominions, devolved on his ſon Charles, count of Charolois.

Lewis, ſuſpecting the duke of Brittany of ſtimulating his brother Charles to reject his propoſals for an accommodation, was anxious to puniſh him by invading his country; but he was deterred from purſuing his ſchemes of revenge, through the fear of an attack from the new duke of Burgundy, whom he could neither ſoothe nor intimidate. That prince was, at preſent, employed in repreſſing an incurſion of the Liegeois, who, regardleſs of their oaths, and incited, as uſual, by the inſidious arts and fallacious promiſes of Lewis, had juſt attacked and taken the ſmall town of Huy, ſituated on the Maeſe, between Liege and Namur.

The duke of Burgundy, juſtly enraged at this infraction of the treaty, would have inſtantly put to death the three hundred hoſtages whom he had received from the people of Liege the year before, but for the interceſſion of the lord of Imbercourt, whom they had taken at Huy, and releaſed on his parole †. He was preparing, however, to march againſt the Liegeois, when the count of the Saint Paul, and Balue, biſhop of Evreux (who had been lately promoted to the rank of cardinal) were ſent to him by Lewis, to inform him, that he muſt deſiſt from all hoſtilities againſt a people who were the allies of his majeſty, and whom his majeſty was bound by treaty to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of his power; but the conſtable added, that if the duke would permit the king to wage war againſt the Bretons, he would willingly renounce his alliance with the Liegeois; to this the duke replied, that as the Liegeois had wantonly violated the truce which they had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve, he was reſolved to march againſt them, and inflict on them a puniſhment adequate to the offence: with regard to the king's propoſals, he ſhould only obſerve, that he was determined to abide by the conditions of the treaty of Conflans, and that no conſideration ſhould induce him to ſeparate his intereſts from thoſe of the duke of Brittany. Two days after, when he mounted his horſe, and was ſetting out on his expedition, he diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors,

* Villaret, tom. xvii, p. 239. † Villaret.

desiring them "to beseech the king not to engage in any enterprize against the "duke of Brittany." "My lord," said the count of Saint Paul, "you wage "war at your pleasure against our friends, and yet wish us to remain quiet, with- "out daring to attack our enemies; this cannot be allowed; the king will never "suffer it." "The Liegeois," replied the duke, "are already assembled, and "expect me to bring them to action, before the expiration of three days. If I "lose the battle, I am well persuaded you will do as you please; but if I gain it, "you will leave the Bretons at peace." In a private conversation with the count of Saint Paul, "Fair cousin," said the duke, "you are my friend and my re- "lation; let me, therefore, advise you to take care lest the king should serve you "as he has already served so many others; if you will remain with me, you "shall be welcome." The constable rejected the duke's invitation, but he had afterward reason to repent his refusal.

The town of Saintron being invested by the Burgundians, the Liegeois, with an army of thirty thousand men, hastened to raise the siege; when a desperate action took place, in which the duke of Burgundy obtained a complete victory, killing six thousand of the enemy, and putting the rest to flight. Two ambassadors of the king of France had appeared in person, animating the Liegeois during the battle, though that faithless monarch had refused to send his allies those succours which, by a solemn treaty still extant, he had engaged to supply. After the victory, the garrison of Saintron surrendered at discretion, and ten victims were sent to the duke of Burgundy, to be disposed of at his pleasure: they were all hanged, agreeably to a savage custom which was but too common in the times we are delineating. Tongres experienced a similar fate; and Charles, pursuing his march to Liege, entered that city, levied a contribution on the inhabitants, filled up the ditches, demolished the fortifications, and carried off all the artillery and arms he could find.

The duke of Burgundy immediately marched with his victorious army from the Maese, to the banks of the Somme; and, at the same time, he issued orders to all his vassals, both in Burgundy and the Low Countries, to arm and join him in the environs of Saint Quentin. The duke of Brittany, meanwhile, had made an irruption into Lower Normandy, where he reduced the towns of Bayeux, Caen, and Avranches; the only resistance he experienced was at Saint Lo, whose inhabitants, incited by the exhortations, and encouraged by the example of a woman who resided in the town, flew to arms, and under her conduct attacked and defeated the Bretons. This heroine, whose name has not been preserved in history, is said to have killed several of the enemy with her own hand. Lewis, passing through Saint Lo some years after this event, had the curiosity to enquire after her, and when she came into his presence, he had the meanness to present her, as a reward for her courage and fidelity, with the pitiful sum of twenty crowns*. The duke of Alençon, having joined the duke of Brittany, surrendered to him all the towns in his possession.

* About fifty shillings English.

On the firſt news of this invaſion, the king ſent a ſmall body of troops, under the command of the mareſchal de Loheac, and the baſtard of Bourbon, to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy. He ſoon followed, himſelf, with a more conſiderable force, and having in a ſhort time retaken all the places of which the Bretons had made themſelves maſters, he formed the ſiege of Alençon, which the count du Perche, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Alençon, ſurrendered to him, after expelling the garriſon. The king then entered Brittany, at the head of forty thouſand men, and committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations. Theſe mutual incurſions, by which a tract of country, forty leagues in extent, was laid waſte, were ſuſpended by a truce, during which it was agreed to adopt proper meaſures, as well for ſettling all diſputes between the king and the duke, as for fixing the appanage of prince Charles.

Eager as was the king's deſire to extend his conqueſts, and to humble the duke of Brittany, he had found himſelf compelled to haſten the concluſion of the treaty, by the intelligence he received of the prodigious number of troops which the duke of Burgundy was collecting in Picardy. Alternately preſſed by theſe two princes, he had no ſooner made terms with one than the other renewed his alarms; though he might certainly think himſelf fortunate, in not being expoſed to more ſerious danger, which muſt inevitably have been the caſe, had they combined their projects with greater ſkill, and always acted in conjunction. Such was the king's ſituation during the greater part of his reign, which led a biſhop, who had been long harraſſed by the the litigious diſpoſition of his grand-vicar, to obſerve, that the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were the king's two grand-vicars. The neceſſary preparations were made for defending the frontiers, and freſh troops were raiſed in every province. The Paris militia were reviewed by commiſſioners appointed by the king; and it was proved, by the muſter-roll, that the capital, notwithſtanding the number of inhabitants which had periſhed during the epidemic diſorder of the preceding year, could ſupply eighty thouſand fighting men, thirty thouſand of whom were campletely armed: the king, however, who was preſent at the review, could not forbear to expreſs his contempt of theſe *citizen-ſoldiers*, and, with more juſtice than policy, perhaps, to compare them, in certain reſpects, to their wives; and he concluded his ill-timed remarks with ſome obſcene jokes, which it was not becoming in him to utter, nor would it be decent in us to repeat. But while every diſpoſition was making for purſuing the war with vigour, the king, ſenſible of the importance of avoiding a deciſive action, employed every means in his power to effect an accommodation; and as the duke of Burgundy found himſelf left to ſupport the conteſt alone, he was prevailed on, without much difficulty, to conclude a truce.

The king's conduct evidently tended to render the power of the monarch wholly independent of all other authority; and this diſpoſition to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government was, indeed, viſible in all his actions. Yet was he now induced to liſten to the remonſtrances of the parliament, and to paſs the memorable edict, which ſecured, to magiſtrates and other officers of juſtice, the poſſeſ-



CHARLES IX.

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ſion of their places for life, unleſs vacated by voluntary reſignation, or legal forfeiture*.

A. D. 1468.] In order to juſtify his behaviour to his brother, which had repeatedly ſerved as a pretext both for domeſtic commotions and foreign invaſions, Lewis convened an aſſembly of the three orders of the ſtate, at the city of Tours†. All the princes and nobles of the realm were invited to attend; and ſuch as did not chuſe to be preſent ſent their ambaſſadors and repreſentatives. The king, it is ſaid, named the perſons himſelf whom he wiſhed to be appointed deputies from the different towns; certain it is, that the aſſembly were wholly devoted to his will. The chancellor, Des Urſins, after a prefatory encomium on the nation, and its *ſovereign*, explained the motives which had induced the king to convene the repreſentatives of the ſtate, in order to conſult on the moſt efficacious means of enſuring the tranquillity of the kingdom. He expatiated on the impoſſibility of defraying the neceſſary expences of the government, if the extenſive province of Normandy were diſmembered from the monarchy, and aſſigned, as an apanage, to his majeſty's brother; obſerving, that the authors of thoſe troubles, by which the ſtate was convulſed, only ſought to render them perpetual, by urging that prince to perſiſt in a pretention which deprived the ſovereign of one-third of the revenues of the crown, and which opened to the enemy one of the moſt important barriers of the kingdom. The aſſembly betrayed no diſpoſition to *deliberate* or *diſcuſs*, but acted as if they had only met for the purpoſe of affording a ſanction to the reſolutions which had been previouſly adopted by the king‡. It was unanimouſly decided, "That the province of Normandy could "not, on any pretext whatever, be ſeparated from the domain of the crown; "that, ſince its reunion to the body of the monarchy, the ſovereigns had depri-"ved themſelves, by an *irrevocable* law, of the power of alienating it; that "Charles the Wiſe had fixed the apanage of a king's ſon at an eſtate producing "twelve thouſand livres a year, and conferring the title of Duke or Count; that "his majeſty, by adding a penſion of ſixty thouſand livres tournois, had given "an *uncommon* proof of his affection for his brother, and that he ſhould be ur-"gently entreated to declare, that his conduct, in that reſpect, ſhould never be "conſidered as a precedent." It wasthen determined, that the duke of Burgundy, and the other princes of the blood, ſhould be invited to confirm the reſolution of

* Conference des Ordonnances, Lib. x. Lit. 5. † Chronologie de France—Contin. de Monſtrelet—Chronique Scandaleuſe—Preuves de Phil. de Commines.

‡ Nothing can ſet the mean obſequiouſneſs of this ſervile aſſembly in a ſtronger point of view, than the conſideration of their conduct with regard to the king's brother. The duchy of Normandy had been ceded to prince Charles, by the treaty of Conflans; he had ſtrictly complied with the terms of that treaty; he had ſworn to obſerve it; he had renewd his oath when called on by the king for that purpoſe; and he had commited no one act which could, even by the ingenuity of malice itſelf, be conſtrued into an inſtance of diſloyalty: yet had Lewis, in violation of a ſolemn oath, and without the ſmalleſt provocation, commenced hoſtilities againſt him, diſpoſſeſſed him, and treated his adherents as rebels. though every member of the aſſembly was acquainted with theſe circumſtances, not one of them had the ſpirit or honeſty to ſtand forward and avow the truth: on the contrary, they all united in giving their ſanction to the perjury of their ſovereign, and, by equivocation and falſehood, to juſtify what it was their duty to condemn.

the ſtates, with regard to the appanage of prince Charles. The conduct of the duke of Brittany was loudly cenſured: he was accuſed of ſeducing and detaining the king's brother; of taking ſeveral towns in Normandy; and of maintaining a criminal correſpondence with the Engliſh, the ancient and irreconcileable enemies of France. Each of theſe attempts was ſtated to amount to high-treaſon; and the aſſembly unanimouſly decreed, that the duke ſhould be ſummoned to reſtore the places he had *uſurped;* that in caſe he ſhould refuſe, and that ſufficient proof of his alliance with the Engliſh ſhould be obtained, the king ſhould immediately declare war againſt him. Before the aſſembly was diſſolved, the members promiſed to devote their lives and fortunes to the promotion of the king's deſigns*.

While the ſtates were aſſembld at Tours, Charles de Melun, whoſe deſtruction had long been reſolved on by the king, was brought to trial, for having maintained a correſpondence with, and favoured the plans of, the confederated princes, during the time of the war for the publick good. Some other charges of inferor magnitude were preferred againſt him; and after an irregular trial, and a confeſſion, extorted by the pangs of the rack, he was ſentenced to die, and accordingly ſuffered decapitation.

On the concluſion of the truce, at the cloſe of the preceding campaign, it had been ſettled, that the princes ſhould ſend deputies to Cambray, to endeavour to reſtore tranquillity to the nation through the medium of a general convention. The king, who placed but little reliance on the ſucceſs of theſe conferences, thought of employing more efficacious means for enforcing the reſolutions adopted by the ſtates at Tours. He had the addreſs, in a prorogation of the truce which the conſtable had juſt negociated with the duke of Burgundy, to omit the duke of Brittany, who had always been included in every treaty as the ally of Charles; conſenting, at the ſame time, that no mention ſhould be made of the Liegeois. The duke's conduct in this reſpect did not proceed from neglect or indifference for an ally, whoſe intereſts he had hitherto conſidered as inſeparable from his own, but from a belief that the alliance which the duke of Brittany had recently concluded with the Engliſh monarch, would enable him, without farther aſſiſtance, to check the progreſs of the French arms.

A marriage having been agreed on in the preceding year between the duke of Burgundy and the princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to Edward the Fourth of England, Lewis had exerted his utmoſt influence with the court of Rome to prevent the projected alliance from taking effect; but all his endeavors for that purpoſe having proved ineffectual, and all the preliminaries being finally ſettled, the princeſs embarked at Margate, on the firſt of July, arrived next day at Sluys, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Dam, on the ninth of that month†.

* Chron. de France—Additions de Monſtrelet—Preuves de Commines—Nouvelles Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire de France—Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par Duclos.

† Stow, p. 421.—W. Wyrceſter, p. 515.

Edward, by his treaty with the duke of Brittany, had engaged to furniſh that prince with three thouſand archers for ſix months, on condition that all the conquered places ſhould be delivered to the Engliſh; but Lewis being appriſed of this convention, averted its effects, by the promtitude of his attacks. The French troops under the conduct of the Marquis de Pont, grandſon to the king of Sicily, entered Brittany, while the count of Rouſſillon completed the expulſion of the Bretons from Lower Normandy. The duke immediately aſſembled the provincial militia, and ſent a courier to haſten the departure of the Engliſh auxiliaries. The king, meanwhile, in order perſonally to mortify the duke, had confiſcated all the eſtates belonging to Antoniette de Maignelais, his fovorite miſtreſs, that were ſituated in France, and beſtowed them on Tanneguy du Chatel, of whoſe diſgrace ſhe had been the principal cauſe. The king by this act of injuſtice at once gratified his reſentment, and ſecured the attachment of a man, who was capable of rendering him eſſential ſervice.

The French army, daily encreaſing in numbers, continued to advance by rapid marches into the heart of Brittany. No ſuccours arrived, and the capture of Chantocé and Ancenis, two of the ſtrongeſt towns in his dominions, compelled the duke, however reluctantly, to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the king thought proper to impoſe on him. Some heſitation indeed was produced by the difficulty attending the appanage of prince Charles; but this was ſpeedily removed by the influence of Odet Daidie, lord of Leſcun, who had acquired an abſolute aſcendency over the mind of the prince, and who, being bribed by Lewis, perſuaded him to leave the ſettlement of his apanage to the duke of Calabria, and the conſtable Saint-Paul, and to accept the penſion which had been offered him, till ſuch time as a final arrangement could take place. The duke of Baittany then ratified the treaty, the conditions whereof had been ſettled by the French and Breton plenipotentiaries at Ancenis. He agreed to renounce all alliance whatever that was prejudicial to the king, not even excepting that with the duke of Burgundy. To give greater force to the treaty, it was agreed that the principal nobility on both ſides ſhould affix their ſeals to it.

During theſe tranſactions, the king was at Compiégne, employed in a negociation with the duke of Burgundy, who, on the news of the irruption of the French into Brittany, had reaſſembled his army, and advanced as far as Saint-Quentin. As ſoon as Lewis received the treaty of Ancenis, which was brought to him by a Breton herald, he forwarded it by the ſame meſſenger to the duke of Burgundy. Charles on receiving it could ſcarcely credit his ſenſes; he even threatened to puniſh the herald as an impoſtor; but when he found the proofs too ſtrong to be doubted, his ſurpriſe and indignation were extreme; he vented his rage in reproaches againſt the inſidious policy of Lewis, and the weakneſs of the duke of Brittany. Still, however, he appeared reſolved to purſue his enterpriſe; and the king was obliged to ſubmit to the degrading expedient of *purchaſing* a peace, for which the duke exacted the ſum of one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns of gold, half of which was paid immediately.

The king was always vain of his talents, and thought it impoſſible to reſiſt the ſuperiority of his genius in political negociations; Cardinal Balue, his favourite miniſter, encouraged this opinion, and endeavoured to perſuade his maſter, that if he could once obtain an interview with the duke of Burgundy, there could be no doubt but that he might turn it to his advantage, by the facility with which he could bend to his views a mind ſo greatly inferior to his own. The propoſal was too flattering to the vanity of Lewis, not to be adopted with eagerneſs; he therefore haſtened to inform the duke of Burgundy, that he was extremely anxious to terminate, by a perſonal conference, all the diſputes which ſtill ſubſiſted between them. Charles was by no means inclined to accept the propoſal; and, as the motive of his refuſal, he alledged his apprehenſions, that the Liegeois might again attack him. Cardinal Balue replied, that he ought to be above any apprehenſions of that kind, ſince in the laſt campaign he had diſarmed them, razed their walls, demoliſhed their fortifications, and totally diſabled them from attempting any thing to his prejudice——Yet the king had juſt ſent agents privately to Liege to excite the turbulent inhabitants of that town to renew hoſtilities againſt the duke; and to aſſure them, at the ſame time, that they might depend on receiving effectual aſſiſtance from France. The duke, however, ignorant of this circumſtance, was at length perſuaded to conſent to the interview; and Peronne, a town of Picardy, in his own poſſeſſion, was accordingly fixed on as the place of conference.

But the king, who had hitherto appeared ſo anxious to promote the interview, now began to heſitate. Some of his moſt faithful miniſters had repreſented to him the dangerous conſequences of the ſtep he was about to take; and on conſulting his own conſcience, he could find no motive for aſſurance. In ſhort, he was on the point of giving up his deſign, when Cardinal Balue, who had conducted the negociation, and was conſequently intereſted in its ſucceſs, uſed all the arguments he could think of to inſpire him with confidence. A letter which the king received at this juncture, from the conſtable, rendered the efforts of the cardinal ſucceſsful *. The count of Saint-Paul informed Lewis, that the duke of Burgundy was reſolved in future to have no other friend or ally than himſelf; and that, beſides thoſe general affairs, the diſcuſſion of which might be left to their miniſters, there were others of ſuch a private nature, that it would be neither ſafe nor proper to entruſt them to any agents whatever. By theſe ſolicitations was the moſt ſuſpicious and deceitful of mankind induced to commit himſelf to the faith of a prince, whom he had invariably endeavoured to delude, and againſt whoſe repoſe his inſidious machinations were at that very moment directed.

Lewis, having entruſted the count of Dammartin with the command of his troops, left Noyon at the beginning of October (1468), and arrived the ſame day at Peronne. He was accompanied by the duke of Bourbon; Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu; the archbiſhop of Lyons; the count of Perche; the conſtable; the lords of Laigle, Lyon, and Longueville; cardinal Balue; and his confeſſor, the biſhop of Avranches. A few ſervants, eighty archers of the Scotch

* Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par Duclos.

guard, and ſixty horſe, compoſed his eſcort. On the road he was received by a body of two hundred lances, ſent by the duke of Burgundy to attend him; and that prince alſo went to meet the king. They entered the town, converſing together in a familiar manner, the king's hand being placed on the duke's ſhoulder. Lewis was conducted to an extenſive building, near the caſtle gate, which had been prepared for his reception.

Before the firſt day was paſt, the king began to be ſenſible of the danger into which his imprudence had betrayed him. The troops, which the duke had ordered to be raiſed in his duchy of Burgundy, arrived at Peronne ſoon after Lewis, under the conduct of the mareſchal of that province, who was the king's perſonal enemy. And, as if all thoſe whom he had reaſon to fear, had combined to torment him, Prince Philip of Savoy, whom he had ſo long detained in captiaity, in violation of his proffered word, and of the laws of hoſpitality, entered the town at the ſame time, accompanied by the lord of Lau, who had but juſt eſcaped from confinement; Poncet de la Riviere and Durfé, all ſworn enemies to Lewis. When he ſaw this formidable troop paſs under his window, he was unable to conceal his apprehenſions, nor could the duke by any means quiet him, till he aſſigned him an apartment in the caſtle. As that fortreſs was not ſufficiently ſpacious to contain all his retinue, he took with him only twelve attendants; ſo that he reſigned himſelf entirely to the duke's diſcretion, and deprived himſelf of every reſource, in caſe any attempt ſhould be made to abuſe his confidence. The two firſt days paſſed in conferences between the French and Burgundian miniſters. The king offered to accede to all the demands of the duke of Burgundy, provided that, when ſatisfied with the conditions which immediately affected his own intereſts, he would renounce every other alliance, and bind himſelf, by a ſimilar oath to that which the duke of Brittany had taken, to ſerve him againſt all men. The duke, however, poſitively rejected this condition, obſerving, that he could never think of forſaking his friends and allies.

While the agents on either ſide were employed in deviſing means for removing theſe difficulties, Lewis and Charles appeared perfectly ſattisfied with each other, and the mutual profeſſions of eſteem that paſſed between them, gave reaſon to hope, that a ſpeedy and effectual accommodation would be the conſequence of their interview; but a ſudden and unexpected event occurred to deſtroy theſe pleaſing hopes. The ambaſſadors whom the king had ſent to Liege to excite the inhabitants to take up arms, had fulfilled their commiſſion with alacrity and effect. Lewis, previous to his departure from Peronne, had diſpatched meſſengers with freſh orders to the Liegeois, enjoining them to ſuſpend the projected revolution *; but they arrived too late. The Liegeois, inflamed by his arts, and eager to retrieve the loſs, and to wipe out the diſgrace they had ſuſtained in the preceding campaign, had obeyed his ſummons with promptitude and zeal; and haſtening to Tongres, took poſſeſſion of that town, captured their biſhop, and maſſacred ſix-

* Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 278.

teen canons of the cathedral in his preſence. The unhappy prelate had the mortification to ſee one of theſe eccleſiaſtics, for whom he entertained a particular friendſhip, torn to pieces by the barbarians, who amuſed themſelves by toſſing his palpitating limbs from one to another. The French ambaſſadors were preſent at the time; and not content with being paſſive ſpectators of theſe inhuman acts, they approved them by their ſmiles, and encouraged them by their exhortations.

Intelligence of this event was received at Peronne, on the third day after the king's arrival. Language, the moſt expreſſive would convey but an imperfect idea of the duke of Burgundy's rage: he openly accuſed the king, and after branding him for *a perjured traitor*, confined him to his apartment. In vain did Lewis call heaven to witneſs his innocence; in vain did he ſwear by *The Lamb of God*, (his favourite adjuration) that, ſo far from having contributed to the revolt of the Liegeois, if the duke of Burgundy would lay ſiege to that city, he would willingly aſſiſt him. His oaths and proteſtations were alike treated with contempt, and the duke breathed nothing but fury and revenge.

The king's life appears at this period to have been in imminent danger, as moſt of the officers who attended the duke of Burgundy endeavoured to aggravate his reſentment. The next day the duke aſſembled his council, when opinions were divided; ſome of the members adviſed him to make the king conſent to ſuch terms as beſt ſuited his intereſt; while others propoſed to keep him in captivity, to ſend for prince Charles, and to conclude a treaty, in which the intereſt of all the princes of the blood ſhould be equally conſulted. Commines obſerves, that he ſaw the courier ready to depart for Britany with letters to the duke of Normandy; but the duke changed his mind, and the deliberations were renewed.

Meanwhile the captive monarch, alternately preyed upon by fear and repentance, underwent by anticipation all the horrors of death. The dupe of his own miſtaken policy, he found himſelf in the power of an enemy, violent in his temper, and whoſe indignation he had excited by the moſt treacherous conduct. The author of his own deſtruction, the ſhame he experienced at having, himſelf, laid the ſnare into which he had fallen, encreaſed the acuteneſs of his feelings. The ſight of the tower of Peronne, which he could ſee from his windows, made him ſhudder; it was the very place in which the unhappy Charles the Simple had been confined by Herbert, count of Vermandois. Reduced to this dreadful extremity by his own imprudence, he ſpared no pains to repair the error he had committed. He diſtributed large ſums of money among thoſe officers whoſe opinions were moſt likely to influence the duke of Burgundy, by which means he engaged them to preſent his propoſals. He offered to ſubmit to any conditions which the duke might wiſh to impoſe, and to deliver, as hoſtages, for his obſervance of the treaty, the duke of Bourbon and his brother, the count of Saint-Paul, and ſeveral other noblemen. He required that, after the treaty ſhould be ſigned, he ſhould be permitted to retire to Compiégne, whence he engaged to ſend to the Liegeois, and either make them repair the diſorders they had committed, or elſe declare war againſt them. The hoſtages ſeemed to conſent to his propoſals; but Commines,

who knew both them and the king, was of opinion, that had they been put to the trial, they would have retracted; and that the king himſelf would have made no ſcruple to break his engagements, and leave them expoſed to the reſentment of the duke of Burgundy. The ſame author, who was at that time chamberlain to the duke, inſinuates, that he was one of thoſe who moſt contributed to moderate the anger of Charles; and this act of friendſhip was afterwards acknowledged by Lewis himſelf.

At length the duke was prevailed on to conſent to an accommodation, the plan of which was immediately preſented to the king, who, after ſome heſitation, ſigned it. But ſtill the danger was not over; Charles, agitated by the moſt violent paſſions, paſſed the third night without undreſſing: he threw himſelf from time to time on the bed; then, ſuddenly ſtarting up, walked to and fro in the room, followed by Commines, who waited for a favourable moment to quell the violence of his tranſports. In the morning his anger ſeemed to be raiſed to the higheſt pitch; he broke out into threats, and appeard prepared to proceed to the moſt dreadful extremities. After pauſing a ſhort time, he ruſhed out of the room, and repaired to the king's apartment; where Lewis, who had been informed of all his motions, was waiting his determination, in a ſtate of anxiety inconceivably wretched. Neither the looks nor geſtures of the duke were calculated to inſpire him with confidence. With a gloomy, but determined countenance, Charles approached, and aſked him, Whether he meant to fulfil the treaty of peace which he had ſigned, and whether he was prepared to bind himſelf by an oath to obſerve it? The monarch, without heſitation, replied in the affirmative. Charles, continuing his interrogations, next enquired, Whether he was determined—agreeably to the offer he had made—to accompany him to Liege, and to aſſiſt him in puniſhing the Liegeois for the inſults offered to him, as well as to all the royal family of France, in the perſon of the biſhop of Liege, who was brother to the duke of Bourbon? The king promiſed to accompany him, and to aſſiſt him in extirminating his ancient allies with any number of troops which the duke ſhould think requiſite. Every obſtacle to an accommodation being now removed, both princes ſwore, on the croſs of Charlemagne, which was called *The Croſs of Victory**, to fulfil the terms of the treaty.

The treaty of Peronne was in fact only a renewal of the treaty of Arras, with the addition of ſuch articles of the treaty of Conflans as had not yet been fulfilled. The king, however, farther conſented, by the preſent convention, that the duke of Burgundy ſhould be at liberty to maintain any alliance which he had contracted with the king of England, provided only, that he ſhould not afford any aſſiſtance to that monarch in caſe he ſhould invade France; he alſo releaſed the duke from the obligation of homage for all the territories which had been ceded to him by the treaty of Conflans. In caſe of any violation of the preſent treaty, on the part of the king, it was ſtipulated, that the duke of Burgundy ſhould be abſolved from his oath of allegiance, and exempted from all the duties of vaſſalage; and, that the princes who guaranteed the treaty, releaſed from all obligation to their

* Philippe de Commines.

ſovereign, ſhould be at liberty to join the duke; who on his ſide conſented, in caſe he ſhould fail to fulfil his engagement, that all his dominions ſhould be confiſcated and annexed to the crown.

The appanage of prince Charles, brother to the king, was ſettled at the ſame time, Lewis conſidered it as a ſingular favour, that the duke of Burgundy no longer inſiſted on the ceſſion of Normandy, but contented himſelf with demanding for his friend the provinces of Champagne and Brie. The fact is, that the duke had been led to change his mind in this reſpect, from the recent conduct of his ally, the duke of Brittany, in being frightened into a treaty without waiting for his aſſiſtance. He was aware that the king would always be able to recover Normandy with the ſame facility, and that it would not be poſſible for him to prevent it. This conſideration induced him to believe, that it would be more advantageous to him to procure for the prince the provinces of Champagne and Brie, which would ſecure him a communication between his dominions in the Low Countries, and his duchy of Burgundy. This matter being ſettled, the treaty was ſent to prince Charles, and the duke of Brittany, in order to obtain their acceſſion to ſuch articles as concerned themſelves.

Lewis and Charles now began their march to Liege; and, as that town was ſaid to be in no condition to ſtand a ſiege, it was propoſed, in a council of war, to diſmiſs a part of the troops. Lewis ſupported the propoſal, but it was rejected by the duke; and the event proved the wiſdom of his conduct. The Liegeois having received intelligence of the king's detention, and its conſequences, became ſenſible of their error, when too late to repair it. They now ſaw themſelves expoſed to the rage of a prince whom they had offended beyond all hopes of forgiveneſs, by a repetition of injuries the moſt groſs, and by perpetual violations of treaties the moſt ſolemn. In this emergency they had recourſe to their biſhop, whom they releaſed from captivity, on condition of becoming their mediator with the duke of Burgundy. As their reconciliation was cemented by intereſt, its ſincerity cannot be doubted; for, if the town was drſtroyed, the prelate muſt loſe all he poſſeſſed.

But all the prayers and ſolicitations of the biſhop were ſternly rejected by Charles, who had determined to inflict an exemplary vengeance on that ferocious and turbulent people. The ſituation of the Liegeois had now become deſperate: hopeleſs of aſſiſtance; deſtitute of regular troops; and even unprovided with fortifications, they had no other reſource but what their own courage could ſupply. Their whole garriſon conſiſted of ſix hundred militia, from the diſtrict of Franchemont, a ſmall country in the territory of Liege. With theſe forces they reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. This reſolution, indeed, was the effect of neceſſity; for they could expect no quarter, ſince they knew that the duke had made a vow to exterminate them.

The mareſchal of Burgundy, who commanded the advanced guard, had eſtabliſhed his quarters in one of the ſuburbs, where he was attacked by the Liegeois, who made a ſally, under the conduct of *John Wild*, provoſt of the city, and

ruſhed on the Burgudians with ſuch reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, that they bore down all before them: after killing eight hundred, and putting the infantry to flight, Wild retreated in good order, and died, two days after, of the wounds he received in the action. The death of this brave man, the only perſon in the town who was capable of acting as a commander, proved an irreparable loſs to the Liegeois.

The news of this check, of which an exaggerated account was conveyed to the duke of Burgundy at Namur, induced that prince to haſten his march. The ſeaſon was far advanced; the weather was extremely cold; the autumnal rains had rendered the roads almoſt impaſſable, and the troops were encamped in the environs of the city, on a marſhy ground, where they were compelled, in ſome places, to make a circuit of three leagues, in order to keep up the communication between the different poſts. The troops were exhauſted with fatigue, and in want of proviſion, ſo that the duke of Burgundy was almoſt as unable to form a ſiege, as the Liegeois were to ſuſtain one. On the firſt night after his arrival, that prince was attacked in the ſuburbs where he had fixed his reſidence; and though he defended himſelf with great valour, he would have had ſome difficulty in repulſing the enemy, but for the timely arrival of the king, who haſtened to his aſſiſtance with three hundred men at arms, and the archers belonging to his guards, which were the only troops he had been ſuffered to bring with him.

The day after this action, Lewis took poſſeſſion of a ſmall houſe in the ſupurbs, which was only ſeperated from the duke's quarters by a barn, where three hundred Burgundian men at arms were poſted, at once to watch the enemy and the king. The two princes, though apparently reconciled, were ſtill miſtruſtful of each other; Lewis was apprehenſive, that if the Liegeois ſhould prove victorious, the duke would wreak his vengence upon him; and Charles was afraid that the king would take an opportunity to eſcape, or, perhaps attack him in the rear while he was fighting the enemy. Theſe mutual ſuſpicions ocaſioned the aſſault to be delayed, although the ſeverity of the ſeaſon called for the moſt ſpeedy and deciſive meaſures.

Meanwile the inhabitants of Leige, conceiving it impoſſible to prevent the deſtruction of the town, were careful to provide for their perſonal ſafety by a timely departure. Eight days paſſed in trifling ſkirmiſhes, which only tended to fatigue the troops, who, with the duke, remained under arms during the whole time. At length Charles in oppoſiton to the king's advice, reſolved to make a general aſſault; and the army had orders to reſt that day, and to be in readineſs to commence the attack the next morning at eight o'clock. The Liegeois having received advice of this reſolution, determined to anticipate the attack and to profit by that interval of repoſe to execute a plan, which notwithſtanding its temerity had nearly been juſtified by its ſucceſs. In the midle of the night, the ſix hundred militia, all that now remained to defend the place, men of intrepid ſouls, reſolved to conquer or to die,

fallied forth from the town, with intent to ſeize the perſons of the king and the duke of Burgandy. The landlords of the two houſes in which thoſe princes were quartered, ſerved them for guides; the night was extremely dark, and as they marched through a hollow way, cut out of a rock, which led from the town to the ſuburb, they paſſed unperceived, and, after they had maſſacred a few centinels, by whom they were challenged, they arrived at the appointed place, where the moſt perfect ſilence and ſecurity prevailed. They muſt infallibly have ſucceeded in their attempt, if they had not ſtopped at a tent which was occupied by the count of Perche, ſon to the duke of Alençon. They ſoon became ſenſible of their error, but it was too late to repair it: the critical moment was paſt; the noiſe they made had ſpread the alarm; and the three hundred men at arms, who were poſted in the barn, were prepared to receive them. The Liegeois ſtill loſt more time, in attempting to force theſe troops; and when they came to attack the two houſes, the king and the duke of Burgundy, whom a quarter of an hour before they might have ſurpriſed in their beds were armed, and in a condition to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, and to defend themſelves till their troops ſhould come to their relief. On one ſide, deſpair at having ſuffered ſo glorious an opportunity to eſcape, and the greatneſs of the danger on the other, rendered the combat dreadful; and for ſome minutes the victory was doubtful. As Lewis and Charles had only a part of the guards with them, all they could do was to prevent the enemy from forcing their apartments. Even this was a matter of extreme difficulty, and, in ſpite of their utmoſt exertions, the landlord of the houſe where Lewis was quartered, burſt open the door, and made his way to the king's chamber, where he was killed: the monarch, on this occaſion, diſplayed great perſonal courage, and being ably ſeconded by the archers of his Scotch guards, he drove the enemy back; while the duke of Burgundy was equally ſucceſsful on his part. The ſound of arms, the uncertainty whence the danger proceeded, or who was the enemy; the repeated cries of "*Long live the king; long live the duke "of Burgundy! kill, kill!*" the darkneſs of the night, all tended to encreaſe the confuſion of this dreadful ſcene. The Liegeois, now certain of being defeated, fought like men in deſpair, nor did they ſhrink from the unequal conteſt, till every one of them was maſſacred. The king and the duke of Burgundy met ſword in hand in the middle of the ſtreet, at the head of their reſpective guards; the ſuſpicions which each had entertained of the other, as being the author of this unexpected attack, now vaniſhed, and, after reciprocal congratulations on their happy eſcape, they parted with mutual ſatisfaction.

The duke immediately called a council, in which it was determined to make a general aſſault at the appointed time. The king, who had not been preſent when this reſolution was adopted, ſpared no pains to diſſuade the duke from putting it in force, as well from the wiſh to procure favourable terms for a people whom he was the means of bringing into their preſent perilous ſituation, as from the dread that Charles might make him anſwerable for the conſepuences, ſhould he fail in his attempt. But the remonſtrances which the duke's principal

confidents, who had been bribed by Lewis, made on the ſubject, were ſo ill received, that they were not tempted to renew them; Charles obſerved, tha nothing ſhould engage him to defer his attack on a town that had neither gates nor walls; that ſuch advice could only be the effect of ill-timed fear, or of a deſign formed to betray him; that the king, however, was at liberty to retire to Namur, and there wait till the town was taken. When the duke's anſwer was reported to Lewis, he replied, "That he would not go to Namur, but remain "where he was, to ſhare the dangers of the day."

While the duke was employed in adopting ſuch meaſures as he thought requiſite to enſure ſucceſs to his plan, ſuch of the Liegeois as had not fled haſtened to leave the town, taking with them as many of their effects as they were able to carry. In ſhort, none were left behind, but old men, women and children, and thoſe whom extreme indigence had rendered, in a manner, inſenſible to the general miſery. That ſuperb city, which but a few months before had reſounded with the rude clamours of ſedition, was now buried, as it were, in conſternation and ſilence. When the troops advanced to the attack, they met with none to oppoſe them; the wretched inhabitants who ſtill remained in the town had fled for ſhelter to the churches; vainly imagining to obtain, from the ſacredneſs of the place, ſecurity againſt the brutal attempts of a licentious ſoldiery.

The town was reſigned to pillage; every diſorder that uſually occurs on ſuch occaſions was committed; every ſpecies of violence which the imagination can conceive was practiſed. Lewis, from the windows of the epiſcopal palace, whither he had retired, beheld the horrid ſcene of deſolation; while his ears were aſſailed by the groans of murdered age, and the ſcreams of violated chaſtity. Conſcious, as he muſt be, that he was the principal author of theſe calamities, his mind, unleſs he were callous to the common feelings of human nature, muſt have been a prey to reflections the moſt horrid; but, faithful to his maxims of policy, he concealed his ſhame and remorſe beneath an appearance of ſerenity, of which no one was the dupe. He dined with the utmoſt tranquillity during the tumult, and expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction at the ſucceſs of the day. He launched out into the moſt extravagent commendations of the duke of Burgundy's wiſdom and proweſs; and, leſt they ſhould not be faithfully reported to Charles, he took care to repeat them in his preſence.

A few days after the reduction of Lege, the king ventured to aſk permiſſion to retire; telling the duke, that if he had any farther occaſion for him, he begged he might not be ſpared, but that if that was not the caſe, he ſhould wiſh to go to Paris, in order to regiſter their late convention in the court of parliament. He expreſſed a wiſh, at the ſame time, that they might meet again the following ſummer in Burgundy, and paſs a month together, *faiſant bonne chere*. Charles, however, was not to be deceived by theſe demonſtrations of friendſhip; Commines, who was preſent, ſays, that he had frequent ſtarts of ill-humour, and could ſeldom refrain from murmuring; yet he complied with the king's requeſt, contenting himſelf with ordering the treaty of Peronne to be again read to him before his depar-

ture, and with making him again ſwear to obſerve it. The duke accompanied the king to ſome diſtance from Liege, and when they parted, Lewis enquired of Charles what conduct he expected him to obſerve, if his brother ſhould not be ſatisfied with the counties of Champagne and Brie? "In that caſe," replied the duke," I ſhall "leave you to ſettle the matter by yourſelves, provided, however, that you find "the means of contenting your brother;" an important anſwer, which ſupplied the king with a pretext for eluding the execution of promiſes: but the duke, intent on higher ſchemes, diſdained ſuch vain ſubtilties, convinced of his own ability to *make* his rival true to his word.

Soon after the king's departure, the duke of Burgundy ordered the city of Liege to be demoliſhed, excepting only, from the general ruin, the churches, and the houſes belonging to the clergy. He then entered the diſtrict of Franchimont, and laid waſte the whole country.

Lewis, meanwhile, continued his march, with incredible rapidity, to the frontiers of his own dominions. The deputies from the parliament, and the other ſovereign courts, had received orders to meet him at Senlis, where the treaty he had concluded with the duke of Burgundy, was read to them by cardinal Balue; and, in order to avoid all remonſtrance on the ſubject, he ſtrictly enjoined them to regiſter it without reſtriction, and in the moſt authentic manner*. This appearance of honour proceeded from the influence of ſhame; he wiſhed to bury in oblivion the late tranſaction at Peronne, and could not ſupport the idea of becoming, from his own folly and imprudence, an object of public deriſion. The magiſtrates did not oppoſe his will, though they delayed to regiſter the treaty for upwards of four months. The proclamation of peace was followed by an ordinance, forbidding all perſons, under the ſevereſt penalties, to utter or publiſh any thing injurious to the honour of the duke of Burgundy.

So truly aſhamed was Lewis, at this period, of having become a dupe to his own arts, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to viſit the metropolis, with the volatile and inconſtant diſpoſition of whoſe inhabitants he was perfectly acquainted; though, in the preſent inſtance, he probably dreaded their propenſity to ridicule more than their promptneſs to revolt. Whether from a wiſh to divert the attention of the Pariſians to other objects, or from a whimſical curioſity to be informed of any jokes that might eſcape them, he ordered all their houſes to be ſearched, and all magpies, jays, and other birds, which ſhould be found there, to be ſeized; and the perſon who was employed to execute this ridiculous commiſſion, had orders to regiſter the names of the citizens, to whom the birds belonged, as well as the words which they had been taught to repeat. Some days after this ſingular ſeizure, he iſſued a proſcription againſt the ſtags, fawns, and cranes, which the citizens uſed to train up in their houſes, as domeſtic animals†.

* Villaret.

† Villaret, tom. xvii, p. 319.—Mezeray, tom. p. 452—This laſt author is of opinion, that ſome Pariſian had taught his parrot to ſay, "Peronne," which induced the king to adopt this ſtrange mode of checking their raillery.

A. D. 1469] Though Lewis expreſſed his readineſs to comply with that article of the treaty of Peronne, which had ſtipulated for the ceſſion of Champagne and Brie to his brother, he ſecretly adopted every meaſure which could ſeem to render it illuſive; his agents found little difficulty to ſhake the reſolution of prince Charles, whoſe young mind was ſtill ſuſceptible of any impreſſions which his friends and confidents might ſeek to give it. The Lord of Leſcun, who afterwards enjoyed the title of count of Comminges, was his principal adviſer. This nobleman, being bribed by the king, repreſented to his maſter, that as he was the preſumptive heir to the throne, Lewis having yet no male child, it was his intereſt to reſiſt every effort that could tend to weaken the power, and curtail the influence of the crown; and Charles, perplexed by arguments more ſpecious than ſolid, was eaſily prevailed on to renounce all claims to the ceded provinces, and to accept, in lieu of them, the duchy of Guienne. As ſoon as the duke of Burgundy was appriſed of this negociation, he exerted himſelf with vigour to impede its concluſion. With this view he ſent ambaſſadors to Brittany, who repreſented to the prince, that the proximity of the Low Countries to Champagne would, at all times, enable him to receive aſſiſtance, ſhould his brother be induced, as heretofore, to give him diſturbance; whereas, by accepting, as his appanage, a province that was diſtant from the domains of his allies, he would effectually deprive himſelf of every reſource.

This affair engroſſed the attention of the courts of France and Burgundy for for ſome time. The king maintained, that ſo long as his brother ſhould remain in the power of his enemies, it would not be poſſible for him to enjoy one moment of repoſe; but while he was congratulating himſelf on the ſucceſs of his efforts to detach the prince from their intereſts, he detected an intrigue, the object of which was the deſtruction of all his plans. This incident amply confirms the obſervation we have before had occaſion to make, that it is as much the intereſt as it is the *duty* of ſovereigns to ſet an example of candour and juſtice to their ſubjects, and to be careful that, in the ſelection of friends and miniſters, purity of manners, rectitude of conduct, and integrity of mind, combine to juſtify their choice. The artful and hypocritical diſpoſition of Lewis had rendered perfidy and deceit the faſhionable vices of the court. Never were ſo many traitors ſeen in France as appeared during his reign. Though fully convinced of the ſuperiority of his penetration, never was prince ſo often deceived! He continually proſtituted his favour to thoſe who were unworthy to enjoy it, and raiſed thoſe to ſplendour and truſt, whom nature deſigned to remain in perpetual obſcurity. Cardinal Balue was now his prime miniſter and chief confident; the management of affairs, both domeſtic and foreign, was entruſted to him; and the king, ſuſpicious as he was, and jealous of his authority, would rather follow the advice of that prelate, than liſten to the perſuaſions of the princes of his blood, or of his moſt faithful ſervants. The reſult of this miſplaced confidence was ſuch as might naturally have been expected from a man deſtitute of principle, and inured to vice: his crimes, indeed, had firſt recommended him to the notice of Lewis;

and, as he was apprehenſive that the reconciliation of that monarch with his brother, might effect a diminution of his own credit, he reſolved to prevent it. He had engaged William d'Harancourt, biſhop of Verdun, who was attached to prince Charles, to ſecond his deſign. The king, who made a point of bribing all thoſe who enjoyed his brother's confidence, ſpared no pains to gain this prelate to his intereſts; and the biſhop accordingly promiſed to comply with his wiſhes, though, at the ſame time, he was engaged in aſſiſting the cardinal to counteract them. While the two aſſociates were flattering themſelves with the idea that their perfidious machinations would prove ſucceſsful, and that their characters and their ſituation in life would exempt them from ſuſpicion, a ſervant belonging to the biſhop of Verdun was ſtopped with a packet of letters from cardinal Balue. Among theſe letters, written by the cardinal himſelf, (according to Commines) was one directed to the king's brother, exhorting him to accept no other appanage than that which the duke of Burgundy had obtained for him by the peace of Peronne. This letter was probably intended to be forwarded by ſome other perſon, ſince it is certain, that the meſſenger, when he left Tours, did not take the road to Brittany, and that he had other letters with him, addreſed to the duke of Burgundy, in which the duke was informed, that prince Charles was on the point of concluding an accommodation with his brother; that the king had ſigned a treaty with England and the duke of Brittany, merely with the view of directing his hoſtile operations againſt Flanders; and that if the duke wiſhed to avert the danger with which he was threatened, he had no time to loſe. He was adviſed to fortify his towns in Picardy, to perſuade the king's brother to retire to the Low Countries, and then openly to inſiſt on the full execution of the treaty of Peronne. He was aſſured, that, by the adoption of theſe meaſures, he would be enabled to impoſe ſuch terms as he might chuſe to preſcribe; that the time was favourable for the accompliſhment of his plans; that the counts of Foix and Armagnac were only waiting for a proper opportunity to declare themſelves; that the duke of Bourbon's loyalty was of a doubtful complexion, and that nothing would be more eaſy than to gain the conſtable. That nothing might be left unnoticed which could tend to irritate the duke of Burgundy, Balue gave him an account of all the attacks which the king made on his honour, affirming, that not a day paſſed but Lewis reproached him with the commiſſion of ſome groſs fault, or ſome flagrant crime.

The meſſenger was conducted to Amboiſe, where the court then reſided, and the letters were delivered to Lewis, the violence of whoſe indignation may be conceived from the nature of the offence. The two miniſters were immediately ſummoned to attend him, and they accordingly made their appearance with an air of confidence, that guilt, from long habit and impunity, is too apt to aſſume. But all their impudence forſook them as ſoon as the proofs of their crime were exhibited to their ſight. The culprits were firſt taken to Tours, and from thence were conveyed to the caſtle of Montbazon, where they were committed to the care of John d'Eſtouteville, lord of Torcy. All ſuch as were ſuſpected of being

accomplices in their crime, or as were ſuppoſed to be able to throw any light on the ſubject, were likewiſe apprehended. Commiſſioners, preſided by the chancellor, were appointed to try them. The biſhop of Verdun, in the hope of moving the king to mercy, confeſſed his guilt; but cardinal Balue perſiſted for ſome time in his denial of the crimes that were laid to his charge, but finding the proofs too ſtrong to be reſiſted, he at length conſented to make a confeſſion, on condition that he ſhould obtain a pardon. This the king promiſed, but without any intention of keeping his word.

Balue acknowledged, that all the letters and memorials which had been intercepted, were written by him. His wretched ambition had led him to break through all ties of honour and honeſty, in order to maintain the credit he had acquired. By him the duke of Burgundy had been informed of all the ſecrets of government; he had adopted every plan which his ſagacity could deviſe for perpetuating the diſputes between prince Charles and his brother, for encreaſing the hatred which ſubſiſted between the king and the duke of Burgundy, and for extending the power of the latter, in order to render his own ſervices neceſſary to Lewis, and by that means to ſecure his continuance in office. He had encouraged the king to attend the fatal interview at Peronne, in order that the enmity between the two princes might become irreconcilable. He foreſaw the conſequences of that interview*, and he drew up the diſhonourable treaty to which it gave riſe. He, too, was the man who adviſed the duke of Burgundy to accept the king's propoſal to accompany him to Liege, and to make him adhere to it, in order that he might aſſiſt in the deſtruction of his own allies.

Crimes of this magnitude were certainly deſerving of the ſevereſt puniſhment, but the interference of the pope ſaved the lives of the culprits, who were confined in two iron cages, eight feet ſquare†, which they had themſelves invented. After a captivity of twelve years they both obtained their liberty, and the cardinal was even reinſtated in the biſhoprick of Angers, and in ſome other of his church preferments.

Soon after the detection of this plot, the king concluded the negociation with his brother, who, at length, was prevailed on to accept the duchy of Guienne, and to reſign all pretenſions to the more important provinces of Champagne and Brie. But before prince Charles left Brittany, he ſigned a private treaty with the duke, of which the king received immediate information, although he concealed his knowledge of it.

The two brothers were ſo miſtruſtful af each other's integrity, that precautions

* Villaret.

† One of theſe iron cages which has preſerved the appellation of Cage Balue, is ſtill to be ſeen at the caſtle of Loches. Theſe horrid places of confinement were much in vogue during the reign of Lewis the Eleventh. That monarch cauſed a vaulted dungeon to be conſtructed at the caſtle of Pleſſis-les-Tours, immediately under his own ſtudy, ſo that he could diſtinctly hear the groans and complaints of the wretched priſoners. This dreadful abode of miſery was provided with an iron door, and the aperture for the admiſſion of light and air was extremely ſmall. The dungeon ſubſiſted ſo late as the middle of the preſent century. Nouvelles Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire de France.

the moſt extraordinary were deemed requiſite to provide againſt he machinations of treachery and fraud. *The croſs of Saint Lo*, a ſacred relic, holden in the higheſt eſtimation, and to which the ſuperſtitious terrors of the age had attached the power of inflicting death, within the year, on any one who, after having invoked it to ſanction an oath, ſhould be guilty of perjury, was conveyed, with great ſolemniny, by two prieſts, from Angers to the epiſcopal palace at Xaintes; where the duke of Guienne ſwore by it, in preſence of the count of Dammartin, and others of the French nobility, *never to make, himſelf, nor to conſent to the making by others, any attempt on the liberty or life of his brother, king Lewis* *: he farther engaged never to liſten to any propoſal conconcerning his marriage with the princeſs Mary, daughter to the duke of Burgundy, without the expreſs and *free* conſent of his brother. Lewis, by impoſing this laſt condition on Charles, exacted from that prince a degree of ſubmiſſion, which, when dauphin, he himſelf had refuſed to pay to his father; though, it is certain, that the conſequences to be dreaded from ſuch an alliance juſtified his interpoſition, in the preſent inſtance.

After this agreement had taken place, the king propoſed an interview with his brother; for which purpoſe he cauſed a bridge to be conſtructed over the river Bron, near the caſtle of Charon; in the center whereof a loſy barrier was erected, with a grated window. Thither the king repaired, attended only by the duke of Bourbon; the lord of Bueil; Charles de Cruſſol, feneſchal of Poitou, and nine other perſons, all unarmed. His guard conſiſted only of four Scotch archers, without their bows and quivers. The reſt of his troops, to the number of four thouſand, were ſtationed at the diſtance of a mile from the bridge: the retinue of prince Charles was equally ſlender; he was welcomed, by Lewis, with profeſſions of eſteem and fraternal affection, but all his ſolicitations for permiſſion to paſs the barrier, were firmly rejected by the ſuſpicious monarch. The next day, however, they had a ſecond interview, in which none of thoſe precautions were obſerved. It paſſed, like the firſt, in abject ſupplications for pardon, on the one ſide, and the warmeſt teſtimonies of friendſhip and attachment on the other.

Prince Charles now viſited his new apanage, and could not forbear expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the limits which his brother had aſſigned to the duchy of Guienne; he found himſelf ſurrounded, on all ſides, by ſtrong fortreſſes, which, though properly belonging to the province, the king had reſerved for himſelf; the towns which had been ceded to him had, after the expulſion of the Engliſh, obtained ſuch conſiderable privileges, that the revenue of the duchy was reduced almoſt to nothing; Lewis, too, had taken from the prince the direct homage of the counts of Foix, Armagnac, and Albret, who had always holden immediately of the dukes of Guienne. By this new arrangement, the prince was deprived of his moſt powerful vaſſals, and his revenues were rendered inſufficient for the proper ſupport of his rank and conſequence, ſo that he was wholly expoſed to the mercy of the king, who might, whenever he choſe, deſpoil him of his apanage.

* Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 342.

The complaints preferred by the prince, on this occaſion, greatly embarraſſed the king, who was determined to make no conceſſion which might prove a ſource of anxiety to himſelf, and who yet perceived the neceſſity of ſatisfying his brother*. In order to accompliſh this object, he conferred ſome farther favours on Charles, which, while they wore an appearance of liberality, could not fail to render odious the perſon who received them, ſince he muſt infallibly be ſuſpected of having ſolicited them. Lewis ceded to his brother the county of Soule, and the town of Mauleon, which were in poſſeſſion of the count of Foix; the diſtricts of Verdun and Riviere, with the county of Gaure, which he detached from the province of Languedoc; the ſovereignty of the counties of Eſtrac, Perdriac, and Bigorre; and, in order to increaſe the duke's revenue, he revoked the privileges which had been granted to the different towns in Guienne, and reſigned them to him in the ſame ſtate in which they were under the domination of the Engliſh. In return for theſe conceſſions, he exacted from his brother a formal renunciation not only of all his pretentions to the Limouſin, Angoumois, and Poitou, but likewiſe to the homage of the counts of Foix, Armagnac, and Albret; promiſing, at the ſame time, that if his future conduct was ſuch as he ſhould approve, he might depend on feeling, in a ſtill more extenſive degree, the effects of his liberality. The young prince, moved by theſe ſpecious profeſſions, promiſed all he deſired, and ſeemed reſolved to deſerve his confidence and eſteem.

But the principal difficulty was yet to be removed; Lewis had no male child; his brother, who was preſumtive heir to the throne, was of a proper age to be married, and the malecontents had urged him to caſt his eyes on the only daughter of the duke of Burgundy. From this, however, he had been deterred, by the interpoſition of Lewis, who now flattered him with the proſpect of obtaining the crown of Caſtile†. Henry the Impotent, the preſent king of Caſtile, had only one daughter, whoſe title to the crown no one could have diſputed, if the legitimacy of her birth had not been expoſed to ſerious doubts. It was reported, that Henry, who had, by exceſs of debauchery, deſtroyed his own powers of generation, anxious to have an heir, had introduced one of his favourites into the queen's bed, and that the princeſs Jane was the offspring of that infamous connection. This report obtained ſuch general credit, that the ſtates of the kingdom made no ſcruple, even during the king's life, to declare his ſiſter Iſabella ſole heireſs to the crown of Caſtle. From that moment the hand of Iſabella was eagerly courted by various princes; but Ferdinand, only ſon to the king of Arragon, was preferred to the reſt by the princeſs and her partiſans; though her brother Henry ſpared no pains to prevent an union with a prince, who, he feared, might become a too formidable neighbour. Affairs were in this ſituation, when Lewis ſent the cardinal of Albi to Madrid, to propoſe the marriage of the duke of Guienne with one of the two princeſſes. He had orders firſt to aſk the hand of Iſabella, but if his ſuit were rejected, to conclude an alliance with Jane; only

* Hiſtoire de Languedoc, par Dom Vaiſſette—Preuves des Memoirs de Commines.
† Manuſcr. de Le Grand—Ferreras, Hiſtory of Spain.

exacting from her father a promiſe, that he would publicly acknowledge her for his daughter and heireſs. Henry liſtened to the ambaſſador's propoſals, without betraying any diſpleaſure at the preference that was given to his ſiſter over his daughter; and he permitted the cardinal to apply to Iſabella for her conſent to the marriage. The princeſs, however, who had retired to Madrigal, where her partiſans were aſſembled, not only rejected the propoſals of the French ambaſſador, but, in diſobedience to the orders of her brother, celebrated her marriage with Ferdinand. The cardinal then proceeded, in compliance with his inſtructions, to demand the hand of Jane, and to exact from Henry a public acknowledgment of her legitimacy; with which demands the Caſtilian monarch chearfully complied.

This embaſſy alarmed the enemies of Lewis; and the duke of Burgundy, aware of the importance of interrupting that harmony which ſeemed to ſubſiſt between the two brothers, preſſed the duke of Guienne to accept the hand of his daughter; though he by no means intended to beſtow it on him*. Lewis, who had ſpies in all the neighbouring courts, was ſoon apprized of the duke of Burgundy's intentions; and as he knew the mind of his brother to be weak and irreſolute, he immediately diſpatched de Bueil, du Bouchag, and Doriole to remonſtrate with him on the impropriety of confiding in the promiſes of a prince who under the ſpecious maſk of friendſhip, endeavoured to diſmember the monarchy, and probaly hoped to get poſſeſſion of the throne. Soon after this, the count of Saint Paul, brother to the conſtable, and the lord of Remiremont, arrived at the court of the duke of Guienne, as ambaſſadors from the duke of Burgundy. They complimented the prince on the acquiſition of his new appanage, and enquired whether the king had fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty of Peronne; they then complained of certain reports which had been propagated to the prejudice of their maſter, accuſing him of having been deſirous to ſecure the king's perſon for a time, in order to have a favourable opportunity for deſtroying his brother. They obſerved, that the duke's conduct ſet him too far above imputations of that nature, to permit him to believe that he ſtood in need of juſtificaton; all his actions tended to demonſtrate, that he had ever had the intereſts of the prince, his ally, more at heart than his own; and in order to prove, they ſaid, the warmth of his friendſhip, in a manner more unequivocal, their maſter had ſent him the order of the Golden Fleece, with an offer of his daugther's hand, and the liberty of fixing the terms on which their alliance ſhould be contracted.

The duke of Guienne, after he had privately conferred with his brother's ambaſſadors, on the ſubject of theſe propoſals, replied to the count of Saint Paul and the lord of Remiremont, that he was highly obliged to his couſin, the duke of Burgundy, for this new mark of attention; that having met with nothing that ſuited him in the different treaties which had been made for ſettling his apanage, he had accepted the duchy of Guienne, where he lived contented; that the reports of which the duke complained had never reached his ears, and, he was convinced,

* Manuſcr. de le Grand—Cabinet de Louis XI.

they were wholly undeſerving of attention; that having been honoured by his brother with the collar of the order of Saint Michael, he neither would nor could wear any other; that he was fully ſenſible of the advantages of the propoſed alliance, but that he could not contract an engagement of that nature without the king's conſent; that he was reſolved, in future, to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies; and not doubting that the duke of Burgundy entertained the ſame ſentiments, he ſhould certainly preſerve his friendſhip for him.

This anſwer, ſo far from being ſatisfactory in itſelf, was followed by a circumſtance, which ſeemed to promiſe an open rupture: the duke of Guienne, when the Burgundian ambaſſadors took their leave, neglected to make them the uſual preſents. Lewis triumphed at this circumſtance, and his joy encreaſed when he learnt that his brother was coming to pay him a friendly viſit. The queen, the ducheſs of Bourbon and her daughter, with every perſon of diſtinction then at court, went forth to meet the duke; the king loaded him with careſſes, and during the whole time that he remained at court, Lewis paid all the expences of his houſehold, and made conſiderable preſents to his officers; Garnier remarks*, that he did not even forget *his waſherwoman*, to whom he gave fifty crowns. Perhaps ſhe was handſome, and might therefore be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs ſome influence over the mind of her maſter.

In the midſt of amuſements, Lewis never loſt ſight of buſineſs; he now reſolved to profit by the favourable diſpoſition of his brother, to intereſt him in the re-eſtabliſhment of the ſovereign authority, in the ſouthern provinces†. Gaſcony was, at this time, divided between ſeveral potent vaſſals, whoſe ſituation, at the extremity of the kingdom, joined to the calamities of former reigns, had rendered them almoſt independent of the crown. At the head of the moſt ſeditious of theſe were the princes of Armagnac. John the Fifth, chief of this illuſtrious houſe, the moſt ancient in Europe, had excited the public indignation by revolting againſt his ſovereign; by his marriage with his own ſiſter, and by the depredations and other acts of violence which he continually committed on his neighbours; he kept a ſtanding army, and being unable to ſupport them by other means, he ſuffered them to commit what devaſtations they choſe on the ſurrounding country. While the king was in confinement at Peronne, he had ſecretly endeavoured to perſuade the Engliſh monarch to attempt the recovery of Guienne, offering to admit him into all the towns in his poſſeſſion, and to join the Engliſh with fifteen thouſand diſciplined troops; but having failed in his efforts to ſtimulate Edward to this enterpriſe, he had maintained a criminal correſpondence with the enemies of the ſtate, and fomented new diſorders in the interior parts of the kingdom. Lewis, appriſed of theſe attempts, but unable, at the time, to apply an effectual remedy, offered the count ten thouſand livres to diſmiſs his troops. The count took the money, but kept his men. This conduct rouſed the king's reſentment, and he had now an additional cauſe for anxiety; he was afraid that the

* Hiſtoire de France, tom. xvii. p. 361. † Manuſcr. de le Grand—Hiſt. de Languedoc, par Naiſſatte.

count of Armagnac, notwithſtanding the precautions he had taken to prevent him, would have art enough to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of the duke of Guienne, by chuſing him for his Lord Paramount, and would, by that means, ſooner or later, excite him to revolt. Lewis, while he carefully concealed this laſt ſubject of apprehenſion from his brother, repreſented to him of what conſequence it was to the good order and tranquillity of the ſtate, not to ſuffer ſuch attempts to paſs with impunity; and, for the purpoſe of engaging him to ſecond his views, he promiſed to augment his appanage with the ſpoils of the culprit. He then ſent the count of Dammartin, with a ſtrong body of forces, to execute his orders, after inveſting him with more ample powers than ever were eutruſted by a monarch to a ſubject. Dammartin was authoriſed to receive informations againſt the rebel and all his accomplices; to confiſcate their property; to prohibit the count of Foix, the lord of Albret, and the duke of Nemours, from raiſing troops, in future, without an expreſs commiſſion from the king: in ſhort, he was empowered to diſpoſe, at his pleaſure, of the eſtates and effects of the parties accuſed; to puniſh, pardon, or reward. The king promiſed to ratify all the proceedings of his general.

At the approach of a formidable army, commanded by an experienced captain, the count of Armagnac loſt his courage, and only thought of providing for his own perſonal ſafety, by retiring into the territories of his ally, the king of Arragon. The garriſons and inhabitants of the different towns, finding themſelves forſaken, only reſiſted long enough to ſecure their pardon and the preſervation of their privileges, ſo that Lewis, in a very ſhort time, and without bloodſhed, obtained poſſeſſion of the whole country.

By the count of Armagnac's precipitate flight, the duke of Nemours was left to ſuſtain the whole weight of the monarch's reſentment. This nobleman, ſon to Bernard d'Armagnac, governor to Lewis, had been brought up with the king, and was long honoured with his favour: he had even been created duke and peer of France, an honour which was, in thoſe days, confined to the princes of the blood. But theſe marks of friendſhip having proved inſufficient to ſecure his attachment, he had ſtood forward as one of the moſt zealous promoters of the league for the public good. Surrounded in the Bourbonnois, and reduced to the neceſſity of negociating with the king, he had ſworn, on the croſs of Charlemagne, to obſerve an inviolable fidelity towards him; yet, in violation of his oath, he had joined the army of the confederated princes at the ſiege of Paris; and at the councils, which were holden under the walls of the capital, he had ever adviſed the rejection of all moderate meaſures. Compelled to acquieſce in the treaty which put an end to that conteſt, he had again ſworn, on the Crown of Thorns, and all the ſacred relics contained in the royal chapel, that nothing ſhould, in future, induce him to ſwerve from his attachment to the king; and that, ſhould he ever be apprized of any plot againſt his ſacred perſon, he would inſtantly reveal it: this oath was no better obſerved than the former. The duke

had been an accomplice in all the acts of violence committed by the count of Armagnac, the head of his houſe; and Lewis, enraged at ſuch repeated inſtances of perfidy, had cauſed him to be declared guilty of high-treaſon, and publicly proclaimed a traitor. Dammartin now advanced with his troops in order to enforce this ſentence, while Nemours, juſtly alarmed at his ſituation, employed the protection of thoſe very men who had been ſent to puniſh him. He was allied to the houſe of Bourbon; three of whoſe members, Gilbert de Bourbon, dauphin of Auvergne; Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeau; and the baſtard of Bourbon, admiral of France, were with the royal army: theſe powerful friends, who were joined by the count of Dammartin, ſucceeded in their efforts to appeaſe the king's indignation; but while Lewis pardoned the paſt offences of the duke, all poſſible care was taken to deprive him of the ability to renew them.

It was ſtipulated, that if at any future period he ſhould violate the oath that was now exacted from him, he ſhould be liable to be tried even for the crimes for which he had received a pardon; that he ſhould not avail himſelf of his privilege as a peer, but muſt conſent to be tried as a private individual; that his lands and lordſhips ſhould be confiſcated, and irrevocably united to the crown; and, that all his officers, both civil and military, ſhould ſwear to obey him no longer than he himſelf ſhould continue to pay proper obedience to his ſovereign. Farther to enſure his fidelity, the king placed a garriſon of his own in moſt of his fortreſſes, which the duke was compelled to maintain. While Dammartin was employed in reducing to obedience the refractory vaſſals of the crown, the king ordered the parliament of Paris to proceed againſt the fugitive count of Armagnac; who was accordingly convicted of high treaſon, and all his property confiſcated; but Lewis, faithleſs to his word, diſtributed his eſtates among the principal officers who had ſerved in the expedition, and only aſſigned to the duke of Guienne the ſtrong fortreſs of Lectoure.

This ſtroke of authority, at a time when the king was ſuppoſed to be rendered incapable of any exertion of vigour, excited the moſt ſerious alarms at the court of Brittany*. That province was expoſed, from its ſituation, to the danger of a ſudden invaſion, ſimilar to that which had juſt completed the ruin of the houſe of Armagnac; the duke, therefore, haſtened to adopt ſuch meaſures as he deemed neceſſary for his own defence. He ſtrengthened the fortifications of his towns; he applied for aſſiſtance to England; he ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Burgundy; and he endeavoured to communicate a portion of his own anxiety to all the neighbouring powers. In fact, Lewis would certainly have treated him with as little ceremony as the count of Armagnac, had the reduction of Brittany been a matter of equal facility with the confiſcation of that nobleman's territories; but that not being the caſe, he reſolved to humble the prince he could not ſubdue.

* Hiſtoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau.

As ſome pretext, however, was neceſſary for attacking him, he had recourſe to an expedient which no one but himſelf could have deviſed; this was, to ſend the duke the order of Saint-Michael (which Lewis had lately inſtituted:) if he accepted it, he muſt bind himſelf to the king by new oaths, the execution of which he would immediately be called on to fulfil; and if he refuſed it, his refuſal would be conſtrued into an affront, for which the king would demand ſatisfaction. Ambaſſadors were accordingly diſpatched to Brittany with the inſidious offer: the duke, extremely ſurpriſed, ſuffered ſome petulant expreſſions to eſcape him; but, on cool reflection, he rejected the proffered mark of diſtinction with firmneſs and reſpect: alledging, as the motive of his refuſal, that his unwillingneſs to contract an obligation, with the extent whereof he was unacquainted, had induced him to ſubmit the ſtatutes of the order of Saint-Michael to the examination of his council, who had found ſeveral of the articles—which he ſpecified—to be incompatible with his rank and privileges.

Lewis did not ſtop to diſcuſs the validity of theſe objections, but immediately cauſed a report to be propagated of a projected invaſion of Normandy by the Engliſh; and having collected the troops of the neighbouring provinces, he advanced to the frontiers of Brittany. The duke, perceiving his intentions, prepared to defend himſelf, and claimed the aſſiſtance of his allies. The duke of Guienne repreſented to the king, that after the engagements he had contracted with the duke of Brittany, he could not abandon him without covering himſelf with ſhame; he, therefore, exhorted him not to interrupt the harmony which prevailed in every part of his dominions, but to terminate, by a treaty, any diſputes which might have ariſen between him and the duke. This was all Lewis deſired; the French and Breton plenipotentiaries accordingly met at Angers, where a treaty was concluded, by which the duke of Brittany formally renounced every alliance which could tend to diſturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. Lewis inſiſted that all the Breton nobility ſhould gurantee the treaty, in the hope of alluring ſome of them to enter into his ſervice. Among thoſe who took this ſtep was the viſcount of Rohan, a young nobleman of the moſt promiſing abilities, who was afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed under the appellation of mareſchal de Gié.

A. D. 147c.] Three days after the concluſion of the treaty of Angers, the duke of Brittany concluded another treaty, at Etampes, with the duke of Burgundy*. Lewis, however, felt no anxiety on this account, as he flattered himſelf that he had effectually ſecured the attachment of the lord of Leſcun, who governed Brittany, while the duke paſſed his time in amorous dalliance with his fair miſtreſs, Antoinette de Magnelais.

The duke of Burgundy, however, continued to watch with attention all the motions of Lewis; and that monarch, when he aſſembled his troops to attack the duke of Brittany, having ſummoned ſeveral Burgundian nobles to ſerve in perſon

* Preuves de l'Hiſtoire de Bretagne.

in his army, under pain of losing the fiefs which they enjoyed in France, Charles took that opportunity to send an embassy to the French court. His ambassadors, Crequi, Carondelet, and Murin, complained of the conduct of the king's officers, in demanding the personal attendance of the Burgundian nobility, as a manifest violation of the treaty of Peronne; and of the attack made by the king on the duke of Brittany, who was in such strict alliance with the duke their master, that their cause was the same. The king, they said, could not plead ignorance of that alliance, since he had himself approved and confirmed it by the treaty of Peronne. On these two points, therefore, they demanded immediate and complete satisfaction.

Lewis, having heard their complaints, immediately dispatched Guy Pot, bailiff of Vermandois; William de Courcillon, and James Fournier, with his answer to the duke. On their arrival at the Burgundian court, they declared to Charles, that on a report being propagated of a projected invasion of Normandy by the English, the king had issued the usual orders to his vassals, without either specifying or excepting any person whatever; that nevertheless, it had not been his intention to molest the subjects of the duke; and that he had just given the most positive orders to prevent any such molestation.

"As to what has passed in Brittany," said the ambassador, "the king cannot "conceive what objections you can start to his conduct. Has he injured the duke "in any manner? Has he even threatened him? The duke alarmed himself "without reason; he was, probably, discontented with some of the clauses of "the treaty of Ancenis, and therefore besought the king to conclude a new "treaty. How did his majesty act on the occasion? Although he knows that the "duke is his subject; and that, after all, he is neither one of the first princes "of the blood, nor one of the most powerful vassals of the crown, yet he con-"descended to comply with his requests, and to give him this new mark of his "friendship. The treaty was concluded at Angers, where every point was "settled by mutual consent.

"After having thus answered your complaints," pursued the ambassador, "permit the king to ask you, in his turn, What he ought to think of the warmth "with which you espouse the quarrels of the duke of Brittany? What relation "have the duchies of Burgundy and Brittany to each other? On what is this "strange union founded, and what can be its object? The king himself, you say, "acknowledged its validity, by signing the treaty at Conflans: you certainly "know, that the king entered a protest against that treay, which he declared null "and abusive, as being the work of violence and rebellion. If, notwithstanding "its invalidity, the king has still inviolably fulfilled every article which relates to "yourself, you must regard his conduct, in this respect, as a flattering distinction, "for which you ought to be obliged to him; but which cannot, by any means, "authorise you to demand its observance in every point. Let us suppose, how-"ever, for a moment, that this treaty exists in full force, and has not been "affected by subsequent treaties; what advantage can you expect to derive from

"it? Though the duke of Brittany and yourſelf engaged mutually to aſſiſt "each other, yet both of you ſwore allegiance and obedience to the king, "your ſovereign. Which of the two oaths ought to be moſt reſpected? One "is only an arbitrary convention, ſubordinate to a firſt engagement; while the "other is a ſacred duty, contracted at your birth, not to be diſpenſed with on "any account, not to be limited by any other convention; a duty, in ſhort, in-"herent in the domain, in the rank, and in the perſon. The nearer a ſubject is "placed to the throne, by his birth and dignities, the ſtronger are the engage-"ments which he contracts with his ſovereign; and what man in France has en-"gagements of more importnnce than the duke of Burgundy, a prince of the "blood, and the firſt peer of the realm?

"Recollect your origin, prince, and the titles on which your greatneſs is "founded, and you will then feel more ſenſibly the whole extent of your duties: "the air which you breathe, the rank which you enjoy, the power to which "you have atained—you are indebted for them all to the monarchs of France. "King John conferred the duchy of Burgundy on the founder of your family: "Charles the Wiſe obtained for him the heireſs of Flanders; and in order to "facilitate the marriage, he generouſly ceded to him the towns of Douai, Lille, "and Orchies. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the dukes of Burgundy "never would have maintained the dignity to which they had been exalted, had "not Charles the Sixth gone in perſon to ſubdue the Flemiſh rebels, and to "re-eſtabliſh your grand-father in the poſſeſſion of his dominions. Services of "ſuch importance cannot be ſo ſoon effaced from your memory; but, were "it neceſſary to recall them to your mind, and to adduce the moſt authentic "proofs in ſupport of our aſſertions, we need only to refer to the archives of "the chamber of accounts at Paris, where thoſe proofs have been carefully "preſerved. But, in reminding you, prince, of the benefactions of his an-"ceſtors, the king has no intention of reproaching you: on the contrary, he "is ready to confer freſh favours on you, whenever, from a due attention to "your real intereſts, you ſhall convince the French, that you have not forgotten "who you are, nor from whom you are deſcended."

As ſoon as the ambaſſador had concluded his ſpeech, Hugonet, bailiff of Charolois, began a methodical reply; but the duke, tired with his prolixity, interrupted him, and finiſhed the anſwer himſelf. "The king," "ſaid Charles, reminds "me that I am of the blood of France: is not the duke of Brittany, then, "whoſe deſtruction he has reſolved on, of the ſame blood? He declares, that "he has entered a proteſt againſt the treaty of Peronne; as if the faith of "treaties could be annulled by ſuch vain formalities. He has, doubtleſs, forgot-"ten that precious maxim of one of his anceſtors—*That, though good faith were "baniſhed from the reſt of the earth, ſhe ought ſtill to retain her habitation in the breaſt "of princes.*" He adds, "That I owe him loyalty and obedience; but do the "titles he has aſſumed give him the right to excite my ſubjects to revolt, "and to take under his protection all the criminals in my dominions? He relates

" the ſervices which his anceſtors have rendered to mine; but does he then make " no account of the ſervices of equal importance which mine have rendered to " his? Services by which they acquired, and deſerved the fortune which they " have tranſmitted to me, and of which he now wiſhes to diſpoſſeſs me. Will " he dare deny, that he has opened his dominions to the perfidious Liegeois, and " aſſigned them an eſtabliſhment on the frontiers of my provinces? How many " of them are now reſident in the county of Rhetel? Let him, therefore, no longer " hope to deceive me by artful ſpeeches, and deceitful profeſſions: the duke of " Brittany is my ally; and I will defend him!"

From ſuch warm remonſtrances on both ſides, the moſt ſerious conſequences were to be apprehended; but Lewis; who had already ſacrificed ſo much to obtain a peace, was reſolved not to engage in a war, unleſs with a certainty of conſiderable advantage. Fortune ſoon furniſhed him with ſuch an opportunity, and it came from a quarter whence he had leaſt reaſon to expect it.

Richard Nevile, the famous earl of Warwick, whoſe valour and popularity had ſo eminently contributed to the depoſition of his lawful ſovereign, and the elevation of his rival, the uſurper Edward, to the throne of England, being diſguſted with the conduct of the latter, had recently deſerted his cauſe, and was now labouring to deſtroy that very fabric which he had taken ſuch pains to erect. In the proſecution of this plan he was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the duke of Clarence, (Edward's brother) who had married his eldeſt daughter, and who was highly diſcontended with the king for the decided preference which he gave to the queen's relations over his own. On the twenty-fourth of March, (1470) the Engliſh monarch publiſhed a long declaration at York, ſummoning his brother and Warwick to appear before him on the twenty-eighth, to anſwer to the charges which had been exhibited againſt them; and, as they did not chuſe to obey the citation, a ſecond declaration was publiſhed at Nottingham, on the thirty-firſt of March, proclaiming them rebels and traitors, offering rewards for apprehending them; and prohibiting all perſons, under the ſevereſt penalties, from aſſiſting them and their adherents*.

Clarence and Warwick, unable to reſiſt the ſuperior forces of Edward, were compelled to leave the kingdom; and having effected their eſcape to Dartmouth, they there embarked for Calais, of which Warwick was governor. The deputy governor, to whom the earl had entruſted the command of the place during his abſence, was one Vauclair, a Gaſcon, who ſeeing Warwick return in the deplorable ſtate of an exile, refuſed him admittance, and would not even ſuffer the ducheſs of Clarence to land, though ſhe had been taken in labour, and delivered of a ſon, on ſhip-board. With difficulty was permiſſion extorted from him to carry two flaſks of wine to the veſſel for her uſe; but as he was a man of ſagacity, he deemed it prudent to make a ſecret apology to Warwick, whom he aſſured, that his conduct was entirely influenced by motives of perſonal

* Clauſ. 10 Edw. IV. apud Caite, page 780.

regard and zeal for his ſervice. He ſaid, that the fortreſs was ill-ſupplied with proviſions; that he could place no reliance on the fidelity of the garriſon; that the inhabitants, deriving their principal means of ſubſiſtence from their commercial intercourſe with England, would certainly declare for the eſtabliſhed government; that the place, in its preſent ſituation, was unable to reſiſt the attacks of the duke of Burgundy on the one hand, and thoſe of England on the other; and that, by ſeeming to preſerve his loyalty to Edward, he ſhould acquire the confidence of that prince, and ſtill keep it in his power, when a proper opportunity ſhould occur, to reſtore Calais to its ancient maſter. Whatever were the real intentions of Vauclair, his conduct was ſo highly approved both by Edward and the duke of Burgundy, that the former gave him the government of Calais, and the latter granted him a penſion of one thouſand crowns; on which he took a ſolemn oath to remain faithful to the king, and to reſiſt every ſolicitation that could tempt him to ſwerve from his duty.*

It is uncertain whether Warwick was ſatisfied with the apology of Vauclair, or ſuſpected him to be guilty of a double infidelity; but he ſeemed to be entirely convinced by his arguments; and having ſeized ſome Flemiſh veſſels, which he found laying off Calais he ſailed towards the coaſt of Normandy, and arrived at Honfleur on the ſecond of May.

Lewis, alarmed at the cloſe connection of Edward with his two inveterate enemies, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, received with tranſport the only man who was capable of effecting a revolution in England. He could have wiſhed, indeed, that inſtead of diſembarking at the mouth of the Seine, Warwick had retired to the leſs-frequented ports of Cherbourg and Grandville, which belonged to the Baſtard of Bourbon, admiral of France; for foreſeeing the complants and reproaches to which the protection afforded to the earl would neceſſarily give riſe, he was anxious to have it in his power to ſay, that that protection was probably the conſequence of a private aſſociation, and confraternity of arms between the admiral and Warwick; an aſſociation, authorized by the laws of chivalry, and of which the ſovereign ought not to take cognizance. He, therefore, ordered Dupleſſis Bouré to engage Warwick to proceed to the ports of Lower Normandy, under pretext that he would there be leſs expoſed to the obſervations of the conſtable, who acted as a ſpy to the duke of Burgundy†.

The predictions of Lewis were ſpeedily verified, by the receipt of a letter from the duke of Burgundy, who, at the ſame time, wrote to the parliament, and to the citizens of Rouen, to demand reſtitution of the prizes which had been made on his ſubjects, and to complain of the protection accorded to his enemy, the earl of Warwick. This letter, from a ſovereign prince to a ſubject town, may appear extraordinary; but it muſt be remembered, that, in thoſe times, the municipal towns bore a ſtrong reſemblance to ſmall republics, ſubordinate to the ſame monarchy. They raiſed taxes for their own uſe; had land and ſea forces, which

* Phil. de Commines, tom. i. p. 188. 189. † Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 396.

they had the right to employ in revenging their own quarrels; and some of them even concluded commercial treaties, and treaties of alliance, with foreign powers *. The citizens of Rouen, after they had acquainted the king with the contents of the duke's letters, replied, that it was not their province to take cognizance of any disputes which might have arisen between the earl of Warwick and the duke of Burgundy; that they were convinced the king, their sovereign, would do nothing contrary to subsisting treaties; that it was a matter of public notoriety, that the Burgundian vessels, which had been taken by the earl, had been afterward re-taken by the English fleet, and restored to their true owners, so that they could not possibly, as the duke, deceived probably by false reports, had represented, have been exposed to public sale. Charles, dissatisfied with this answer, wrote to them a second time, observing, that it appeared strange to him, that the citizens of Rouen should be so well acquainted with what passed at sea between Warwick and the English fleet, and yet be so ignorant of what was actually passing under their eyes on the river Seine, where three large Burgundian vessels were then laying; that, if any opinion might be formed of the future by the past, it was clear that Warwick would be careful not to offend his good friends in England, and would seek to make himself amends for such restraint, by attacking the Flemish; but that, with the aid of God, he would put a stop to his depredations, and would neither spare his enemy, nor those who should give him assistance.

In proportion as the duke's warmth and impetuosity encreased in this business, the greater appearance of moderation and impartiality did Lewis affect. He told the Burgundian envoys, who had been sent to claim the prizes, that the demand was a just one; but that, in an affair of which he was wholly ignorant, he could not possibly dispense with the observance of the usual forms of justice; he, therefore, referred them to the judges of the admiralty, who, being apprised of his intentions, contrived, by various expedients, to prolong the cause, and, at last, came to no decisive resolution. Meanwhile, a number of French privateers secretly joined Warwick's squadron, and daily made fresh captures. The duke, who saw the drift of this conduct, wrote the following laconic epistle to the Bastard of Bourbon, and the archbishop of Narbonne, who were at the head of the admiralty.

"Archbishop, and you, admiral—the ships which you tell me have been equip-
"ped by the king for the purpose of cruising against the English, have already
"attacked the vessels of my subjects on their return to my dominions; but, by
"St. George, if an immediate stop be not put to such proceedings, I will my-
"self—with the aid of God—supply the remedy—without your permission or
"your reasons, or your forms of justice, for they are too arbitrary, and too
"long. CHARLES."

* Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 396.

The duke ſoon put his threats in execution; and without any other declaration of war, ſeized and confiſcated all the goods belonging to the French, throughout the whole extent of his dominions; and, on a vague report that the admiral of France was watching an opportunity to ſet fire to the Flemiſh fleet, in the ports of Holland, he ordered all his officers to get their ſhips in immediate readineſs, to form a junction with the combined fleets of England and Brittany, and to attack Warwick wherever they might find him. On the receipt of this news, Lewis became ſenſible, that his perfidious conduct would no longer be tolerated, and that he muſt either diſmiſs Warwick, or ſubmit to have the coaſt of Normandy inſulted by the three combined ſquadrons; but before he parted from the earl, he reſolved to bind him more forcibly to his intereſts; hoping, through his means, to overturn the eſtabliſhed government of England, and to effect the reſtoration of the exiled houſe of Lancaſter. The animoſity which had ever ſubſiſted between that unfortunate family and this powerful earl was ſo inveterate, as ſcarcely to allow a hope that a reconciliation could ever take place. The father of Warwick had been executed by orders from Margaret of Anjou; he had himſelf twice reduced Henry to a ſtate of captivity; had promoted the baniſhment of the queen; had put to death all her moſt zealous partiſans, either in the field or on the ſcaffold; and, in ſhort, had drawn down ſuch calamities on her houſe, as no future ſervices could, in appearance, poſſibly compenſate. For this reaſon, when Warwick had firſt adopted the reſolution of depoſing Edward, he had no intention of reſtoring his rival to the throne; but meant to confer the regal dignity on his own ſon-in-law, the duke of Clarence. Of this deſign he was accuſed by Edward, in his long declaration, publiſhed at York; and it had obtained univerſal credit with the people of England. Finding, however, that his project was ill-received, and would be equally oppoſed by the Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians, he was now reduced to the neceſſity of adopting the plan propoſed by Lewis, which was, to effect the reſtoration of king Henry. To render this more palatable to Warwick, and to reconcile him, in ſome meaſure, to that flagrant contradiction of principles which his conduct muſt neceſſarily diſplay to the world, it was propoſed, that the adminiſtration of government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's ſon, ſhould be entruſted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that the prince of Wales ſhould eſpouſe the lady Anne, Warwick's ſecond daughter, and that the crown, in failure of male iſſue from that prince, ſhould deſcend, at his death, to the duke of Clarence, to the total excluſion of Edward and his poſterity.

When theſe arrangements were fixed, meſſengers were ſent to conduct queen Margaret, and her ſon Edward, from their obſcure reſidence in Lorraine, to the court of France. An union of intereſts ſuperinduced an union of ſentiments in the queen and Warwick, which effectually ſtifled all emotions of hatred. Margaret willingly acceded to the terms propoſed; the marriage of the prince of Wales with the lady Anna Neville was celebrated, to the apparent ſatisfaction of all the parties concerned in this unexpected alliance; a treaty, offenſive and

defenſive was concluded between young Edward. in the name of his father, and Lewis, which was to remain in force *till the total deſtruction of the houſe of Burgundy ſhould be effected* * ; and the whole was confirmed, on either ſide, by the moſt ſolemn oaths.

The joy which Lewis experienced on the ſucceſs of his project, was greatly encreaſed by the birth of a ſon, who afterwards ſucceeded to the throne, under the appellation of Charles the Eighth. As the king had long been extremely anxious for this event, he had made a vow, in caſe it ſhould occur. to offer up, at the ſhrine of the Virgin, at Pui in Anjou, the image of a child, compoſed of ſolid ſilver, and in weight equal to the weight of his ſon, when he ſhould have attained his eleventh year. He accordingly appropriated the ſum of one hundred and ſixty thouſand crowns of gold for that purpoſe.

As ſoon as the rejoicings that took place on this occaſion were over, the king, under pretext of performing a pilgrimage to Saint Michael's Mount, went into Normandy, in order to ſuperintend the embarkation of Warwick, and to be ready to provide a remedy for any accident that might occur. On his return to the caſtle of Pleſſis-les-Tours, his uſual place of reſidence, he addreſſed a circular letter to all the principal towns in the kingdom, commanding each of them to ſend him two of their beſt informed merchants, whom he wiſhed to conſult on the intereſts of commerce. When theſe deputies were aſſembled, he explained to them the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, and the riſks they muſt run by continuing to repair to the dominions of a prince who had juſt confiſcated, in violation of every principle of juſtice, all the merchandize belonging to the French ; he then expatiated on the advantages to be derived from his alliance with England, and concluded by aſking their advice. In conſequence of the deciſions of this aſſembly, he forbade all future intercourſe between his ſubjects and thoſe of th duke of Burgundy; and in order to repair, as much as poſſible, the loſſes which the merchants and others would ſuſtain, from ceaſing to frequent the fairs at Antwerp, he eſtabliſhed two free fairs in the city of Caen, where all foreign coins were to paſs ; and, for the purpoſe of inducing foreigners to attend theſe fairs, he renounced, in their favour, the *Droit d'Aubaine*, and accorded them the privileges of natives.

The king of England, meanwhile, ſecure in the imaginary inability of Warwick to diſturb his government, had diſbanded his army, and reſigned himſelf wholly to the enjoyment of thoſe ſenſual pleaſures, to which he was ſo much addicted. Even the frequent warnings of the duke of Burgundy, who apprized him of the ſtorm that was gathering †, were inadequate to rouze him from this dangerous ſtate of ſecurity. A vain confidence in his own proweſs, and in the affections of his ſubjects, had rendered him incapable of ſound reflection, and induced him to declare, that he ſhould be perfectly ſatisfied could he once ſee Warwick ſet foot on Engliſh ground.

* Garnier. † Phil. de Commines, tom. i. p. 193.

Edward had not long to wait for his defired fatisfaction; Warwick landed at Dartmouth on the thirteenth of September, where he was joined by fuch numbers of his adherents, that in a few days he was at the head of a formidable army. The Engliſh monarch was then in the north of England, when he received the news of Warwick's deſcent; and ſo far was he from being diſcouraged at this event, that he ſent a meſſage to the duke of Burgundy, whoſe fleet was then at ſea, to keep a ſtrict watch, that he might prevent the earl's eſcape. A few days, however, proved ſufficient to convince him, that his expectations were vain as his confidence was groundleſs. His camp was betrayed, in the vicinity of Nottingham, by the ſecret adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter, and the partizans of Warwick; and Edward himſelf, with difficulty, effected his eſcape to the coaſt of Norfolk, where he put to ſea on the third of October.

But Edward's danger did not ceaſe with his embarkation: The Eaſterlings' or Hanſe Towns, were at war both with France and England; and ſome of their ſhips hovering on the Engliſh coſt, eſpied the king's veſſels, gave chaſe to them, and had nearly overtaken them, when they were ſo fortunate, as to enter, in ſafety, the port of Alcmaer in Frieſland. He had fled from England with ſuch precipitation that he had carried nothing of value along with him; and the only reward which he could beſtow on the captain of the veſſel that brought him over was a robe lined with ſable, and the promiſe of an ample recompence, if fortune ſhould ever become propitious to him.

The unexpected arrival of Edward greatly embarraſſed the duke of Burgundy, who heſitated, for ſome time, whether he ſhould afford protection to the fugitive monarch, or abandon him to his fate. There were ſtrong arguments to be offered on both ſides of this queſtion. During the bloody wars between the rival houſes of York and Lancaſter, Charles had long eſpouſed the cauſe of the latter, from which he was himſelf deſcended by his mother's ſide. At his court, the wretched remains of the Lancaſtrian party found refuge. "I have ſeen them in ſuch great "poverty," ſays Philip de Commines, "before the ſaid duke (*of Burgundy*) knew "they were there, that thoſe who aſk alms are not ſo poor; for I have ſeen a "duke of Cheſter walking without ſhoes, in the train of the ſaid duke, begging "his bread from houſe to houſe, without making himſelf known." The hope of acquiring the ability to keep France in awe, and to repel the inſidious machinations of her unprincipled monarch, had induced the duke of Burgundy to court the alliance of the victorious party. He had married Edward's ſiſter, and though he did not withdraw his protection from the Lancaſtrian fugitives, he had neglected no meaſure which could tend to concilitate the friendſhip of the Engliſh monarch. He had recently accepted the order of the Garter, and, ſo long as fortune continued to ſmile on Edward, Charles, from policy, though not from inclination, had remained firmly attached to him; the caſe was now different, that prince was in a perilous ſituation, and it was even poſſible that he might involve, in his own ruin, whoever ſhould attempt to afford him protection. Flan-

ders, the richeſt province in the dominions of Charles, was indebted for its opulence and its exceſſive population to its numerous manufactures, the raw materials for which were imported from England; if Charles ſhould come to an open rupture with that kingdom, he was aware that the commmerce carried on by his Flemiſh ſubjects muſt experience an interruption, and in that caſe it was much to be apprehended, that that turbulent people, already diſcontented with the loſs of a part of their privileges, would ſecretly favour the inſidious intrigues of Lewis, and eagerly embrace ſuch an opportunity for revolt. To what dangers muſt Charles have been expoſed, if, while his fronti rs were attacked by the combined forces of England and France, he ſhould likewiſe have the enmity of his own ſubjects to encounter? All theſe conſiderations urged him not to receive Edward. On the other hand, his mind revolted at the idea of reſigning to his evil fortune a ſuppliant prince, his kinſman and ally; nor was he wholly without his fears, that ſuch an ungenerous mode of proceeding might even prove prejudicial to his intereſt. Warwick was his perſonal enemy, and a forced reconciliation appeared to be almoſt equally dangerous with an avowed enmity. In this delicate conjuncture the duke ſteered a middle courſe, which, though on great occaſions, it ſeldom proves ſucceſsful, and generally, indeed, is the expedient of a weak mind, anſwered his purpoſe. He received Edward in private, and, in public, affected to eſpouſe the victorious party; he ſent Commines to Vauclair, the governor of Calais, whoſe time-ſerving diſpoſition had now led him to declare for Warwick, to repreſent, that the alliance which ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and Burgundians was of a nature not to be broken by a change of ſovereigns; that it was an alliance between the two nations, and had for its excluſive objects the intereſts of commerce; that the Burgundians were didifferent whether Henry or Edward ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre, and they would not interfere in revolutions which only affected the private fortune of a monarch. Charles likewiſe addreſſed a letter to the people of England, with this ſingular ſuperſcription, *To you my friends**, in which he repeated the ſame arguments, adding, that being himſelf deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter, he had never failed to intereſt himſelf deeply in every thing which affected the fortunes of that family; that the moſt diſtinguiſhed chiefs of the party were ſtill at his court; and that his only object in contracting an alliance with the oppoſite party, was to favour and confirm the commercial intercourſe that ſubſiſted between the two nations.

Lewis, during theſe tranſactions, had not remained inactive; he had concluded a new alliance with the Swiſs; he had diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to Henry the Sixth, who had heen recently taken from priſon, and replaced on the throne, and procured that monarch's ratification of the treaty which had been ſigned, in his name, by Warwick and young Edward; he cauſed the greateſt honours to be paid to that prince and his mother, Margaret of Anjou, and had made

* Phil. de Commines.

preparations for ſending them to England, to the aſſiſtance of a monarch, too feeble of himſelf to direct the helm of ſtate: nor was he leſs attentive to domeſtic arrangements; the utmoſt efforts of his policy were requiſite to fix the wavering mind of his brother; to repreſs the attempts of the duke of Brittany, his rival's avowed partizan; to ſecure the attachment of the duke of Bourbon, and of the princes of the houſe of Anjou, who dreaded any augmentation of the ſovereign power; and, finally, to inſpire the nation with a deſire of renewing the war, ſo that, whatever might be the event, he ſhould himſelf be exempt from reproach.

Hitherto the king had ſtrictly forbidden all obſervations and ſtrictures on the treaty of Peronne, but he now began to cauſe writings to be circulated, in which the perfidy of the duke of Burgundy, and the treachery of cardinal Balue, were cenſured in the ſtrongeſt terms. The parliament of Paris, who had evinced the greateſt repugnance at regiſtring the treaty, ſeized, with avidity, the opportunity which now occured for violating its conditions: they encouraged appeals from the Flemiſh tribunals, and ſent one of their officers to Flanders, with citations to ſome of the duke's ſubjects to appear at Paris; Charles very properly threw the officer into priſon, as well as one of the preſidents of the parliament of Paris, who had been ſent to receive informations, while ſuch of the Flemings as had appealed to the parliament were executed as traitors to their country. Theſe acts of violence were highly pleaſing to Lewis, as he imagined they would furniſh him with a pretext for reproaching his rival with being the cauſe of the rupture he meditated. The diſtricts of Vimieu, Foulois, and Beauvois, had been ceded to the duke of Burgundy by the treaty of Peronne, ſubject to the obligation of homage; and as Charles had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe diſtricts without complying with the ſtipulated condition, which, indeed, he had never been called on to fulfil, the parliament declared that he had forfeited all right to them, and, accordingly, ſent two of their members to take poſſeſſion of them.

Haraſſed by theſe attempts, Charles wrote to the king and to the parliament; but finding his remonſtrances treated with contempt, he ſummoned the king of Sicily and the duke of Brittany, either to enforce the obſervance of the treaty of Peronne, which they had guaranteed, or to declare in his favour, according to the engagement which they had contracted. Lewis, on his ſide, immediately ſent envoys into Brittany, with orders, after concerting meaſures with the lord of Leſcun, to repreſent to the duke, that while the king was ſtudious to fulfil, with the utmoſt punctuality, all the terms of the treaty of Peronne, Charles had not yet done homage for the terrritories which had been ceded to him; that he had even neglected to procure the ſignatures of the Burgundian nobles, who were to have guaranteed the treaty; that, without any previous declaration of war, he had confiſcated all the merchandiſe belonging to the French merchants, throughout his dominions; that he had recently impriſoned two officers of the parliament of Paris; that he had accepted the order of the Garter, and had, conſequently, declared himſelf the

knight of an Engliſh monarch; and, finally, that he afforded protection to Edward, the uſurper of the Engliſh throne, and the avowed enemy of the houſe of Lancaſter. The envoys required, that the duke of Brittany, as a vaſſal of the crown, ſhould join his arms to the king's, in order to compel Charles to give full ſatisfaction for all theſe offences.

Though the charges exhibited by the king againſt the duke of Burgundy were all of them falſe, frivolous, or miſrepreſented, they nevertheleſs threw the duke of Brittany into the greateſt embarraſſment. His inclination prompted him to an immediate declaration in favour of Charles, his friend and ally; but ſome prudential conſiderations led him to reject all precipitate meaſures, and to act with more than uſual moderation. For more than a century, the dukes of Brittany had been chiefly indebted for the ſupport of their power and independence, to the aſſiſtance which they derived from England, and from their alliance with the dukes of Burgundy; but Francis the Second now found himſelf in a ſituation, in which he had nothing to expect from the Engliſh, but to ſee his coaſts inſulted by their ſquadrons, while the armies of France forced an entrance into the heart of his dominions. He had no forces to oppoſe to ſuch a powerful combination, and the duke of Burgundy was too much embarraſſed with his own affairs, to afford him that ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance which his circumſtances ſeemed to require. Reduced to this dilemma, Francis reſolved to temporiſe; he determined to deceive the king, by appearing to declare in his favour, and by actually endeavouring to give him a temporary advantage over his rival, with the view to bring them both, imperceptibly, as it were, to liſten to ſuch terms as would occaſion much future embarraſſment to Lewis, at the ſame time that they would ſecure, from regal encroachments, all the princes and nobility in the kingdom. This he meant to effect, by renewing the propoſal for a marriage between the duke of Guienne and the heireſs of Burgundy: the repugnance of Charles to that connexion was well known, but it was ſuppoſed, that in his preſent embarraſſed ſituation he would rather liſten to the ſuggeſtions of intereſt than the dictates of inclination*. The duke of Guienne, who, ſince the birth of a dauphin, had no longer the ſame motives for wiſhing to inſinuate himſelf into the king's good graces, was extremely anxious for the alliance. The French princes and nobles, who held penſions, places, or domains under the crown, and who only expected to be favoured by the king ſo long as their ſervices ſhould be neceſſary to him, were ſtudious to alarm his fears, and to increaſe his inquietude. The principal author and ſecret contriver of this intrigue, was the famous conſtable de Saint Paul, a man of genious, deep, artful, and deſigning, who having more to loſe or to hope for than the reſt of the nobility, was always careful to ſupply matter for diſſention between Charles and Lewis: brother-in-law to the king, firſt officer of the crown; an able politician, and an intrepid warrior; he poſſeſſed greater conſequence than any ſubject in the realm. His credit at the Burgundian court, where he had alſo enjoyed places of

* Commines—Manuſ. de le Grand.

the higheſt importance, was equally great; his ſons and his brother ſtill commanded the troops of Charles; and as he was himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong fortreſſes on the confines of either territory, he hoped to derive from the troubles which he ſought to promote, a conſiderable augmentation of fortune, and the eſtabliſhment of an independent ſtate. After he had exhauſted all the arts of perſuaſion to obtain the duke of Burgundy's conſent to a marriage, which he repreſented as the only poſſible ſecurity for public freedom, he had recourſe to more powerful means; and ſeeking to make Lewis the inſtrument of his deſigns, he urged the neceſſity of profiting by a conjuncture, which might never more occur, when England and France were about to unite their forces, for humbling a proud prince, who threatened the monarchy with a total ſubverſion; and the better to remove the king's miſtruſt, and to fix his irreſolution, he promiſed not only to put him in poſſeſſion of the towns on the Somme, but to make all Flanders, and the principal towns in Brabant, riſe in his favour.

Lewis, with all his boaſted penetration, was unable to pierce this myſtery; he lent a favourable ear to the ſolicitations of the conſtable, and engaged in a war, with the ſecret motives for which he was totally unacquainted. Already were his troops advancing towards the confines of Picardy, while a great number of emiſſaries were ſent into Burgundy and Flanders, to corrupt the fidelity of the officers and citizens, when a ſcruple occurred to the mind of Lewis, and retarded his operations. The treaty of Peronne had been regiſtered, without any reſtriction, in the ſovereign courts, and guaranteed by all the princes and nobility in the kingdom. Whether Lewis was afraid to break, of his own authority, an act which had thus become in a certain degree, a national act, or whether, from the uncertainty of his ſucceſs in the war, in which he was about to engage, he was unwilling to take the conſequence upon himſelf; he convened an aſſembly of the notables at Tours. Before this aſſembly, the duke of Burgundy's conduct, both previous to, and after the treaty of Peronne, was ſet forth; the king's impriſonment, in violation of a promiſe confirmed by an oath; the odious conditions ſtipulated for his releaſe; the rights of the crown openly violated; the French merchants deſpoiled of their effects; the officers of juſtice thrown into confinement; hoſtilities committed on the coaſt of Normandy, without any previous declaration of war; and the order of the Garter accepted from the hands of the moſt formidable enemy to the French nation. To theſe complaints, which were preferred in the king's name, the count of Eu, the laſt deſcendant of the houſe of Artois, added another of a more private nature; he ſaid, that the duke of Burgundy unjuſtly held from him the town of Saint Valeri, which conſtituted a part of his lawful inheritance, becauſe he had refuſed to take an unconditional oath of allegiance to him. After hearing theſe charges, this proſtituted aſſembly, without any inveſtigation of their merits, and, indeed, with a certain knowledge that many of them were falſe, and others, far from being criminal, were perfectly juſtifiable, declared the duke of Burgundy to be duly *convicted of high trea-*

*ſon**, and referred all farther proceedings, in this caſe, to the parliament of Paris. The parliament ſent one of their bailiffs to cite the duke to appear before them, but Charles threw the man into priſon, and after keeping him ſome days in confinement, diſmiſſed him without an anſwer. Although the duke was now fully aware of the king's deſigns, he did not expect to be attacked before ſpring, and had, therefore, as the winter was already far advanced, diſmiſſed his troops. But he was extremely ſurpriſed to learn, from a private meſſenger, diſpatched to him by the duke of Bourbon, that he had not a moment to loſe, as the royal army had actually marched, and his ſubjects were ripe for a revolt. He was alſo informed, that ſome traitors had been ſuborned to make an attempt on his life; and this information was ſoon confirmed by the ſudden evaſion of the duke's natural brother Baldwin, who eſcaped to the court of France, where Lewis aſſigned him a ſplendid eſtabliſhment, in reward of his infamous conduct†.

Charles immediately iſſued the neceſſary orders for re-aſſembling his troops; and, in the mean time, he advanced, at the head of five hundred horſe, to the frontiers of Picardy. Here he had the mortification to learn, that the town of Saint-Quentin had opened its gates to the conſtable of France‡; enraged at the news, he ſent a herald to ſummon the conſtable, as his ſubject, to repair to his army, and on a refuſal, couched in terms of inſolence, he confiſcated all his eſtates in Picardy and Artois. The conſtable revenged himſelf on his own children, who were in the duke's ſervice, by ſeizing all the lands they poſſeſſed in France.

A. D. 1471.] Roye was the next town which, through the perfidy of its governor, the lord of Foix, ſurrendered to the French arms§; and Amiens ſoon followed its example. Charles, after the loſs of this laſt place, no longer thinking himſelf in ſafety at Dourlens, retired to Arras, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of his troops. As the enemy had already paſſed his frontiers in Picardy and Burgundy, he was aware of the danger to which he ſhould be expoſed, if, while he was oppoſing the French in thoſe quarters with all his forces, the Engliſh ſhould make an attack either on Flanders or Holland. In order, therefore, to avert that danger, he reſolved to find them employment at home, and, if poſſible, to promote a ſecond revolution in England.

Edward, who, ſince his flight, had hitherto reſided in Holland, after his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Burgundy, had in vain ſolicited her huſband to take ſome deciſive ſteps in his favour, demanded an interview with Charles, which his preſent apprehenſions induced him willingly to grant. At this conference, Edward repreſented that delays muſt prove extremely prejudicial to his intereſts, as his friends and adherents in England would gradually forſake his cauſe, while the power of his enemy Warwick would daily receive confirmation and ſtrength: that the duke, therefore, ought either to afford him ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance, or wholly abandon him to his evil fate. In order to inforce this remonſtrance, he imparted to Charles a ſecret engagement which his brother Clarence had contracted with

* Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 423. Scandal—Manuſ. de le Grand.
† Meyer—Manuſ. de le Grand.
‡ Commines—Chron.
§ Preuves de Commines, No. 165—St. Hermite de Voliers.

him; he reminded him of the oath which he himſelf had taken to aſſiſt him, ſhould he ever ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance; and he deſired him to conſider, that, by aiding him in his diſtreſs, he would act for the benefit of his own family, which might one day be in want of equal ſupport, and, at the ſame time, reap the glory of having reſtored a near relation to his throne. He ſolemnly promiſed to unite with him, in oppoſition to France, as ſoon as he ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in his regal dignity; he remarked, that the neutrality which the duke had hitherto obſerved, could be productive of no poſſible advantage, nor even prevent Lewis and the earl of Warwick from adopting ſuch meaſures as would be equally deſtructive to his power and repoſe. This expoſtulation was not fruitleſs; the duke of Burgundy tho' ſtill afraid to furniſh Warwick with a plauſible pretext for attacking his dominions, contrived an expedient, which enabled him to accommodate the fugitive king without incurring the riſk of a rupture with England. He cauſed four large veſſels to be equipped, in the names of ſome private merchants, at the free port of Terveer in Zealand; to which he added fourteen ſhips, ſecretly hired from the Eaſterlings, or Hanſe-Towns*. This ſquadron, together with a ſum of money, he delivered to Edward, who immediately ſet ſail for England, on the eleventh of March (1471), with an army of fifteen hundred men, partly compoſed of Engliſh fugitives, and partly of Flemiſh. No ſooner was Charles informed of his departure, than he iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting all his ſubjects from affording him aſſiſtance, under the ſevereſt penalties. He then haſtened to place himſelf at the head of his army, which was now aſſembling, and amounted to eighty thouſand fighting men.

In the French army, commanded by the king himſelf, where the young duke of Lorraine; the lord of Leſcun, with a body of Breton nobles; and the duke of Guienne, who, in the belief that the war had been undertaken on his account, had thought his preſence neceſſary to accelerate its concluſion. This laſt prince, during the march, diſpatched a private meſſenger to the duke of Burgundy, with theſe words written with his own hand, and encloſed in a ball of wax:—*Take care to ſatisfy your ſubjects, and be under no uneaſineſs, for you will find friends.* Charles could not miſtake the meaning of this meſſage, he knew what was required of him; the conſtable, with whom he was apparently reconciled, inceſſantly urged him to avert the ſtorm which threatened him by giving his conſent to his daughter's marriage with the king's brother, aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that the French nobility only waited for that event to abandon the king, and form a freſh union more durable than that which had ſhaken the throne during the war for the public good. The duke of Brittany had entered into the conſtable's views, and in order to ſuperinduce the compliance of Charles, he exaggerated the danger of his ſituation; ſent him word, by a meſſenger, that the king maintained a coreſpondence with the citizens of Antwerp, Bruges, and Bruxelles; and that he had even determined to beſiege the city of Ghent, where the duke then was. But Charles ordered the

* Phil de Commines, tom. i. 206.

meſſenger to tell his maſter that he was miſinformed, and that he (the duke) was then on his road to paſs the Somme, and offer the king battle.

In fact, after various feints, he ſuddenly attacked Pequigni, a well-fortified town, which commanded a bridge on the Somme. The place was taken by aſſault, and ſuch of the garriſon as eſcaped the ſword, were made priſoners; the the citadel, after a ſiege of three days, was likewiſe reduced*. Charles, encouraged by the ſucceſs of this firſt attempt, made his whole army paſs the Somme, and continuing his march towards Amiens, fixed his camp between that city and the royal army. Never did he prove the juſtice of the epithet *raſh*, which had been beſtowed on him, better than at preſent; his anxiety to bring Lewis to action made him forget that, by thus leading his whole force beyond the Somme, he left his dominions open to the excurſions of the garriſons of Amiens and Saint-Quentin; rendered the opproach of convoys a matter of extreme difficulty, and expoſed his troops to the danger of periſhing by famine. This ſingle error decided the fate of the campaign, and might, poſſibly, have effected the total ruin of Charles, had he had an enemy to encounter leſs miſtruſtful, and leſs cautious, than Lewis. The conſtable, the mareſchal de Rohault, and the lord of Cruſſol, left Saint-Quentin, pillaged the rich provinces of Artois, and returned, laden with booty. Dammartin ſallied forth from Amiens to attack a large convoy, which he diſperſed, and conducted ſixty waggons into the town, laden with all kinds of ammunition; frequent ſkirmiſhes occured, in which the Burgundians were generally defeated; one, however, of a different deſcription took place, in which the French, under the conduct of Dammartin, were worſted, and that nobleman with difficulty ſaved his life.

The diſadvantageous poſt which the duke of Burgundy had inconſiderately choſen between the royal camp, and a garriſon ſo numerous as that of Amiens, made moſt of the French officers urgent with the king to accept the battle, which Charles daily offered; this was particularly the advice of Dammartin, the moſt experienced general of the age, who offered to make a ſally with his garriſon, and attack the enemy in the rear, while Lewis engaged them in front. This project had ſo many partizans, that Lewis could not refuſe to aſſemble a council of war, in order to deliberate thereon. De Beuil, who was the firſt that was called upon for his opinion, obſerved, that having never ſerved with ſo large an army, he had not learned in what manner the manœuvres of ſuch a cumbrous maſs were to be regulated; that the French and Engliſh armies, which had ſignalized themſelves by ſuch famous exploits in the preceding reign, had ſeldom exceeded ten thouſand men, and bore no reſemblance to "that horrible multitude "which was now aſſembled, and which might, with greater propriety, be termed "a people than an army;" that he could not foreſee what would be the event of a battle, but he was ſtill leſs able to conceive by what means diſorder and confuſion would be avoided. Dammartin repreſented, that the enemy would be expoſed to

* Commines—Meyer—Le Grand.

the ſame inconvenience, ſince they were equally numerous, and not ſo well diſciplined; he obſerved, that, in order to avoid all partiality, it would be proper for every man to deliver his opinion in writing. This advice was adopted, and it was determined by a majority of voices, to bring the enemy to battle; but when they came to regulate the plan and order of attack, the diſpute was renewed, and the council ſeparated without coming to any concluſion. Lewis, who had only aſſembled a council of war, out of deference to thoſe who had propoſed to fight, and who had no ſerious intention of expoſing himſelf to the riſk of an action, was highly pleaſed with this difference of opinion. He perſiſted in his firſt deſign, continuing to haraſs the enemy, by intercepting their convoys, and confining his own troops within fortified camps, where he could not be compelled to engage againſt his will. Plenty reigned in his camp, as well as in his walled towns; while the Burgundians were expoſed to all the horrors of famine, and their numbers daily diminiſhed by deſertion and diſeaſe. The uneaſineſs which Charles experienced on this account, was greatly encreaſed by the intelligence which he received from Burgundy: the troops which he had left for the defence of that duchy, had been defeated in ſeveral rencontres with the French, who were commanded by the dauphin of Auvergne, and the mareſchal of Comminges; and the whole province was now expoſed to the deſtructive excurſions of the enemy, without the ſmalleſt proſpect of relief. Charles carefully concealed this news from his army, whom he amuſed with fictitious accounts of imaginary victories; but, ſenſible that the diſſipation of this error, which could not long be avoided, would only render the truth more dreadful, he was compelled to have recourſe to a meaſure, which, though his haughty diſpoſition could ill brook it, neceſſity enforced. He condeſcended to ſolicit a truce, and, in order to enſure a compliance with his requeſt, he ſent word to Lewis, that he was ſurpriſed a prince ſo wiſe as himſelf ſhould have engaged in a war, of the true motives whereof he was ignorant; but, that he was willing to communicate to him the particulars of an intrigue, which would equally excite his diſpleaſure and aſtoniſhment: the duke then entered into an explanation of ſeveral circumſtances relating to the plan of the French nobles, and concluded by aſking him, whether, after what he had heard, he meant to drive him to extremities? Lewis was mortified and aſhamed at having become a dupe to his brother, and repented of his conduct in having haſtily engaged in an enterpriſe, whence, he now conceived, that nothing but diſgrace could enſue. His natural proneneſs to ſuſpicion and miſtruſt, made him exaggerate the danger of his preſent ſituation; he loſt ſight of his enemy, though reduced to a ſtate of humiliation, and to the neceſſity of ſuing for a favour, to think only of the perils to which he had been expoſed, and with which he was ſtill threatened. It occurred to his mind, that Edward, after he had triumphed over his enemies in England, might ſeek to recover Normandy; that the duke of Burgundy, conſulting his real intereſts, might accede to the wiſhes of the duke of Guienne, and his partiſans; and, that they might all join in a confederacy to deſpoil him of his authority, and, perhaps, of his rank.

On the other hand, he could not perceive, that Charles had only applied for a truce, in order to extricate himſelf from a perilous ſituation, and to put himſelf in a condition to renew the war with greater advantage; but the danger, from this quarter, was diſtant, whereas the other was urgent; it was neceſſary to come to a deciſion, and Lewis conceived that the beſt thing he could do, under the preſent circumſtances, was to comply with the duke's requeſt for a truce, which was accordingly concluded, on the twelfth of May, for one year; and the allies of either party were allowed three months to conſider whether they choſe to accede to it or not.*

This truce was equally diſapproved by ſuch of the king's ſubjects as had remained faithful to him, and by thoſe whoſe profeſſions of attachment had only ſerved as a maſk for their treachery. As they were all ignorant of the real motives which had led him to adopt a meaſure ſo contrary, in appearance, to the true intereſts of the ſtate, they aſcribed it to others, which neither did honour to his underſtanding, nor to his courage. The Pariſians ſtuck up papers in the metropolis, in which they inveighed, moſt bitterly, againſt the king's counſellors; while the duke of Brittany, unable to conceal the contempt with which the conduct of Lewis had inſpired him, publicly ſtigmatized him with the ignominious appellation of "The Royal Coward." The duke of Burgundy was, perhaps, the only one who did him juſtice, but he remained ſilent on the ſubject, and was, indeed, ſo humbled at the ſtep he had been compelled, through his own imprudence, to take, that he ſhut himſelf up for ſome time in his tent. Lewis, not thinking it prudent to develope the myſtery diſmiſſed his troops, and took the road to Tours. He paſſed through the metropolis, and being apprized of the general diſcontent of the Pariſians, he viſited the principal citizens, and, by diſplaying that affability of manners which he ſo well knew how to aſſume, endeavoured to quiet their murmurs. On his arrival in Touraine he received intelligence of the new revolution which had juſt taken place in England.

Edward, after an ineffectual attempt on the coaſt of Norfolk, had landed, not without oppoſition, at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire. Finding no inclination in the people to receive him, he publicly declared, that he had relinquiſhed all thoughts of the crown, and came only to recover the eſtates of his family. At York, he could not gain admiſſion till he had taken a ſolemn oath, in the preſence of the mayor and aldermen, that he had no intention to claim the crown, an oath which he renewed at the high altar of the cathedral†. But this perjured uſurper no ſooner found himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to throw off the maſk, than he avowed the true object of his enterpriſe, and aſſumed the title which he had ſolemnly renounced.

The ſubjects of Henry and the friends of Warwick were alike infected with the general ſpirit of perfidy which ſo ſtrongly marked theſe degenerate times: War-

* Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 462.—Mezeray, tom. vi. p. 462— † Hollingſhed, p. 102.

wick's brother, the archbiſhop of York, facilitated the entrance of Edward into London, and delivered his ſovereign into the hands of an implacable rival. At Barnet, the two armies met, but the defection of the duke of Clarence, joined to ſome other untoward and unforeſeen circumſtances, proved fatal to the earl of Warwick, who, after a deſperate action, in which he diſplayed his uſual intrepidity, ſuſtained a total defeat, and periſhed in the field. With him periſhed the hopes of his party. Margaret, the illuſtrious and unhappy conſort of Henry, ſtill deſtined to be the ſport of fortune, had landed at Weymouth, on the evening of this fatal day. Buoyed up as ſhe was with the flattering hopes of being reſtored to the ſplendour of royalty, and to thoſe domeſtic comforts, and that mental felicity, to which ſhe had ſo long been a ſtranger, when appriſed of the fatal events which had juſt taken place, all her wonted fortitude forſook her; ſhe ſunk ſenſeleſs on the floor, and remained ſpeechleſs and inanimate for a conſiderable time. When ſhe revived, yielding to the dictates of deſpair, ſhe took refuge in a ſanctuary, with the deſign to effect her eſcape into France. But on being joined by many of the Lancaſtrian nobles, ſhe reſumed her former ſpirit, and determined to defend, to the utmoſt, the ruins of her fallen fortunes. At Tewkeſbury, however, her hopes were finally deſtroyed; her troops, through the impetuoſity of the duke of Somerſet, were defeated, and ſhe and her only ſon, the prince of Wales, fell into the hands of the victor. Edward, whoſe ſoul was a ſtranger to every virtuous impulſe, whoſe mind never afforded even a momentary reſidence to any principle of honour, threw Margaret into the Tower, where her wretched huſband was already confined, and cauſed her ſon to be murdered in his preſence.—Perjury and aſſaſſination were never neglected by this inhuman prince, when they could tend either to the gratification of his revenge, or his ambition. The death of Henry was all that was now wanting to quiet his apprehenſions and confirm his power; and that monarch was, accordingly, found dead in his apartments in the Tower, in little more than a month after the battle of Tewkeſbury.

This revolution in England was the means of producing another in the fortune and condition of the French princes. The duke of Burgundy, who, during the late campaign, had acted chiefly on the defenſive, was now preparing for a renewal of hoſtilities on a more extenſive plan; while Lewis, who had then profited by his alliance with Henry and Warwick, to keep the duke of Brittany in awe, finding himſelf without allies, and perceiving the number of his enemies daily encreaſe, now renounced all ſchemes of conqueſt, and only thought of diſconcerting the projects of his adverſaries.

Although the unexpected concluſion of a truce had deranged the plans of thoſe who were anxious to promote a marriage between the duke of Guienne and Mary of Burgundy, yet it did not make them deſpair of finally accompliſhing the object of their wiſhes*. They flattered themſelves that the humiliating ſituation to which Charles had been reduced, would convince him of the neceſſity of

* Commines—Godefroi—Le Grand.

ſecuring allies; and, in this hope, they renewed their ſolicitations, and preſſed him, with greater earneſtneſs than before, to comply with the general wiſh of the nobility, and to cement, by a marriage ſo univerſally deſired, a confederacy, of which he himſelf muſt inevitably reap the principal advantages. Thus urged, Charles evinced a diſpoſition to favour their deſigns, though nothing, in fact, was farther from his thoughts. Meanwhile, the duke of Guienne, aſſured of ſucceſs, was no longer ſtudious to preſerve appearances with his brother. In vain did Henry, king of Caſtile, at the inſtigation of Lewis, inſiſt on the celebration of his marriage with his daughter Jane, to whom that prince had been affianced, and urged him to ſhew himſelf to his new ſubjects; the duke, who had only conſented to that alliance the better to deceive his brother, poſitively refuſed to fulfil the engagement which had been contracted in his name. He liſtened only to thoſe who talked to him of his intended connection with the princeſs Mary, which he thought ſo far ſettled, that he ſent the biſhop of Montauban to Rome, to ſolicit the neceſſary diſpenſation from the pope.

Lewis had ſome ſuſpicions of what was going forward, but he was ſtill ignorant of the principal circumſtances of the intrigue, as well as of the names of the parties who were engaged in it; but he obtained, by accident, that information which his utmoſt endeavours had proved inadequate to procure. Oliver le Roux, whom Lewis had ſent to the court of Caſtile, had received orders on his return to ſtop ſome time at the court of the count of Foix, in order to ſound the inclinations of that prince, and, if poſſible, to extort from him ſome uſeful intelligence. It ſo happened, that Le Roux was put into the ſame apartment which had been occupied, but a few days before, by Henry Miles, envoy from the duke of Brittany. In the corner of this chamber he perceived a heap of papers torn in pieces, and being impelled by an irreſiſtible curioſity to read them, he ſucceeded in his attempts to join the different pieces, ſo as to be able to peruſe their contents; and, finding they were diſpatches of importance, he did not fail to communicate them to the king*. From one of theſe diſpatches it was diſcovered, that the duke of Guienne and his partiſans offered, as the firſt condition of the treaty of alliance, to reſtore to the duke of Burgundy the towns of Saint Quentin, Roye, and Amiens. Another contained the plan of an offenſive league between Charles and Edward, who agreed to divide between them the richeſt provinces in the kingdom; Edward was to take poſſeſſion of Normandy and Guienne, while Charles ſecured Champagne and the Iſle of France. Theſe different projects alarmed Lewis, and divided his attention; but what diſturbed him moſt was the fatal marriage of his brother with the heireſs of Burgundy. Having learned that the duke of Guienne had already ſolicited a diſpenſation from the pope, he immediately diſpatched an ambaſſador to his holineſs, to requeſt that he would either refuſe it, or, if he had already granted it, that he would inſtantly revoke it; and,

* Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 453, 454.

in order to ſuperinduce a compliance with his requeſt, he allured the ſovereign pontiff with the proſpect of a revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction.

While the king was thus endeavouring to attach the pope to his intereſt, he ſent the lord of Bouchage into Guienne, with orders to concert his plans with Beauveau, biſhop of Angers, one of his brother's favourites. This envoy repreſented to the prince, that he would expoſe himſelf to inevitable deſtruction, by violating an oath taken upon the true croſs of Saint Lo; "*The danger attending which violation was ſo great, that he would infaillibly die within the year, which had invariably been the caſe with all thoſe who had perjured themſelves upon the ſaid croſs.**" He then obſerved to the prince, that he ought not to conſider the heireſs of Burgundy as ſuch an advantageous match, for, although the duches had hitherto proved ſterrile, it was ſtill poſſible ſhe might give birth to a ſon, in which caſe the young princeſs would have put a very moderate fortune; that he ought not to loſe ſight of his rights to the crown; rights the more important as the king had but one ſon, and he was of a delicate and feeble conſtitution; that it was his intereſt, therefore, to oppoſe, with all his power, the daring enterpriſes of the duke of Burgundy; that he could not be ignorant of the calamities which the houſe of Burgundy had brought upon France, in the preceding reigns; that Charles, who inherited the ambition and the hatred of his anceſtors, no longer admitted any bounds to his pretenſions, but viſibly aimed either at ſecuring the throne for himſelf, or, at leaſt, of diſmembering the monarchy; that the king could ſcarcely perſuade himſelf that his brother had any ſerious intentions of forming an alliance with the common enemy; but that, in order totally to diſpel his fears on that head, he ought to baniſh from his preſence all thoſe faithleſs ſervants who only made uſe of his name to frame the moſt dangerous plots: that they had already preſſed the duke of Calabria, the lord of Beaujeau, and the ducheſs of Savoy, to enter into a league againſt the king; that they even talked of recalling the count of Armagnac, who had been formally proſcribed by repeated ſentences of the ſovereign courts; and that ſuch meaſures were, in fact, to be conſidered as real hoſtilities.

The duke of Guienne made no direct anſwer to theſe obſervations; but the lord of Leſcun to whom he had entruſted the government of his duchy, contrived an effectual expedient for defeating their effects. He propoſed that the prince ſhould marry the younger daughter of the count of Foix, and ſent to aſk the king's conſent to this match, which Lewis was careful not to grant. The count of Foix, independent of the country whence he derived his title, poſſeſſed the county of Bigorre, and the principality of Bearn; his children were heirs to the kingdom of Navarre; he had already married one of his daughters to the duke of Brittany; and if the duke of Guienne had married the other, all thoſe princes might have formed an alliance, which would only have left the monarch a doubtful and precarious authority over a conſiderable part of the kingdom. Unwilling, however, to alie-

* Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 457.

nate the affections of a powerful family, and to augment the number of his enemies, he would not openly reject his brother's demand; but wrote to Bouchage, ordering him artfully to elude the propofal—"*Exert all the five ſenſes which nature has giving you, on this buſineſs,*" ſaid the anxious monarch, "*if you ſucceed, you will put me in paradiſe.*"

Apprehenſive leſt, by his rejection of every match that was propoſed to him, it ſhould be imagined he meant always to keep his brother unmarried, an intention that could not fail to appear odious and tyrannical; and no longer daring to preſs his marriage with Jane of Caſtile, becauſe he knew the prince's repugnance to a wife whoſe very birth was an object of diſpute, Lewis, at length, propoſed his eldeſt daughter, Anne of France, who was already promiſed to Nicholas, duke of Lorraine. To induce his brother to accept this propoſal, he offered to cede to him, on the day of his marriage, Rouergue, Angoumois, the Limouſin, and Poitou; and to appoint him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with a guard of five hundred lances, to be paid out of the royal treaſury. But the duke juſtly concluded that theſe offers were too ſplendid to be ſincere; and as he was aware of the motive which had influenced his brother to make them, he did not condeſcend even to notice them.

After having employed to no purpoſe all the reſources of policy, Lewis, who had now loſt all hopes of either curing his brother's ſuſpicions, or of conquering his obſtinacy turned his batteries againſt the duke of Burgundy himſelf; but as he was ſenſible that Charles was actuated by ſentiments of hatred and revenge, he was afraid to make any direct overtures, which might perhaps be rejected, and would, in that caſe, certainly be rendered public by the duke. In order to obviate this inconvenience, he ſent a private perſon to Burgundy; who had orders to tell the duke, as from himſelf, that having had occaſion to viſit the court of France on ſome affairs of his own, he had an opportunity of entering into familiar converſation with the king, when the duke's name having been caſually mentioned, Lewis had appeared to be impreſſed with ſentiments of eſteem and admiration for that prince; that, agreeably ſurprized at finding the monarch thus favourably diſpoſed, he had ventured to tell him that Charles did not entertain a leſs favourable opinion of him, and that he would prefer his friendſhip to that of the princes who had ſo baſely abandoned him in the hour of neceſſity; that this diſcourſe had given the king ſuch pleaſure, that he could not refrain from obſerving that Charles and he were formed to be friends, and that if they had been more ſenſible of their intereſts, they would have always lived in harmony with each other, and have aggrandiſed themſelves at the expence of their reſpective enemies: that he had drawn up a plan of reconciliation, and that he ſhould already have communicated it to the duke, could he have hoped that it would experience a favourable reception from Charles, but that hitherto he had ſtrong ground for complaining of the unwillingneſs betrayed by that prince to repoſe any degree of confidence in him.

Charles's anſwer, who probably ſaw through this ſhallow artifice, was partly ſerious and partly ironical; he obſerved that theſe fine profeſſions but ill-accorded

with the intelligence which he received from other quarters; that the king, if he had any real deſire to become his friend, had it in his power to prove, in a very obvious manner, the ſincerity of his intentions; that he ſhould begin by reſtoring Saint Quentin, Amiens, and the other places which he had taken from him, in violation of ſubſiſting treaties; and that objects, ſo trifling in their nature, ſhould not be ſuffered to operate as impediments to the deſigns of a prince who had ſuch vaſt projects in contemplation. This anſwer was interſperſed with many popular maxims, and trite obſervations.

Charles had, at this period, attained the ſummit of proſperity; the diſgrace which he had experienced in the laſt campaign having been productive of more ſolid advantages than he could poſſibly have expected to derive from the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. Immediately after the concluſion of the truce, he had convened the ſtates of all the different provinces in his dominions, with the view to convince them that the king had only been induced to attack him in the hope of finding him wholly unprepared for reſiſtance; that he ſhould always be expoſed to the ſame danger, unleſs Burgundy, in imitation of France, ſhould adopt the mode of eſtabliſhing a regular body of troops: he obſerved, that to preclude the poſſibility of being taken by ſurpriſe, and to ſecure the fortunes of individuals from the ſudden depredations of the enemy, it was only neceſſary to grant an adequate ſupply for paying eight hundred lances, the annual expence whereof might amount to one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns. The ſtates accordingly granted the new ſubſidy, without reflecting on the conſequences to which it might lead; they ſoon, however, became ſenſible of the fault they had committed: Charles, whoſe ambition encreaſed in proportion to the means of gratification, doubled and even tripled the ſtipulated number of troops, and encreaſed the original grant of one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns to five hundred thouſand. His court had become the center of political negociations; his alliance was courted by all the neighbouring princes; and the only difficulty he experienced conſiſted in the choice of propoſals, all advantageous in themſelves, but incompatible with each other. The dukes of Guienne and Brittany, the conſtable, and ſeveral other great vaſſals of the crown, urged him to break the truce, and engaged to make the people riſe in his favour: they offered him, as a preliminary to the treaty, the reſtitution of Amiens and Saint Quentin; but they required that the duke ſhould cement the alliance by the marriage of his daughter with the duke of Guienne, and by an abſolute renunciation of his plan for introducing the Engliſh into France.

On the other hand, Edward, who ſeemed diſpoſed to enforce his pretenſions to Guienne and Normandy, and who could not hope to ſucceed in his attempts to ſubdue thoſe provinces, without the aſſiſtanee of the duke of Burgundy, propoſed to divide the kingdom of France between them*; but he wiſhed firſt to be aſſured that the duke would not marry his daughter to the king's brother, otherwiſe he

* Garnier.

declared he would join Lewis in order to prevent an union that muſt prove more fatal to England than to France. The objections of the Engliſh monarch to the projected marriage between the heireſs of Burgundy and the king's brother, were not devoid of foundation: as Lewis had but one ſon, whoſe health was in a doubtful ſtate, the duke of Guienne was ſtill conſidered as heir to the throne; and, on this ſuppoſition, the Engliſh had juſt reaſon to be alarmed at the proſpect of an alliance which muſt one day have united the vaſt poſſeſſions of the houſe of Burgundy to the crown of France, for what hopes could they then entertain of recovering Normandy and Guienne?—How could they even expect to keep Calais, the only place which they now poſſeſſed on the continent?

Edward's demand perfectly accorded with the ſecret views of Charles, who had never any intention of giving his daughter to the duke of Guienne; but he knew not what reliance to place on a political connection with a monarch ſo indolent as Edward, and a government ſo unſettled as the Engliſh. Beſides, in that caſe he muſt renounce all alliance with the French princes, and even expect to ſee them join their ſovereign. Theſe being appriſed of the obſtacles which Edward oppoſed to their plans, ſent the lord D'Urſé to the duke, to repreſent to him, that they were ſufficiently powerful to make the king accede to whatever conditions they might chuſe to impoſe; that his alliance with Edward would only tend to diſgrace him in the opinion of the nation; and, they finally obſerved, that if he ſeriouſly thought of introducing the Engliſh into France, he could have no regard for the welfare of the kingdom:—This reproach appeared ſo extraordinary to the duke, that he could not refrain from laughter:—"*I have a greater "regard,*" ſaid Charles, "*for the welfare of the kingdom than M. D'Urſe imagines, "for inſtead of one king that France now has, I wiſh ſhe had ſix!*"

Lewis, unable to penetrate the ſecret deſigns of the duke of Burgundy, with regard to his daughter's marriage; and ignorant, probably, of the obligations which he had contracted with the king of England, was alſo anxious to open a negociation; not with the intention of concluding any treaty, but merely with the view of amuſing his enemy, and of preventing him, as long as poſſible, from adopting any deciſive meaſure. The anſwer which his obſcure agent had received from Charles, was by no means ſufficient to deter Lewis from the purſuit of his ſcheme; and when he imagined that the duke's curioſity was raiſed to the pitch he wiſhed it to attain, he ſent him the plan of a peace, of which the following were the principal articles: that "*A treaty of confederation and fraternity,*" ſhould be concluded between the king and the duke; that the duke ſhould accept the order of Saint Michael, and the king that of the Golden Fleece; that the dauphin ſhould marry the duke of Burgundy's daughter, and, in caſe any thing ſhould occur to prevent that connection from taking place, that Charles ſhould engage not to give her to the duke of Guienne; that the king ſhould give up the conſtable and the count of Nevers, with all their poſſeſſions, to the duke; in return for which conceſſion the duke ſhould, on his part, equally abandon the dukes of Guienne and Brittany to the king's diſcretion; and, that the king ſhould

reſtore to the duke of Burgundy, the towns of Saint-Quentin, Amiens, Roie, and Montdidier.

Of all theſe conditions, the laſt was the only one which Charles was willing to accept; he therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to ſecure that as a preliminary to the projected treaty, and then to give his ſentiments on the others. With this view he affected to approve the project of reconciliation, and even appointed plenipotentiaries to confer with the king's envoys; but, as he was aware that fear was the only motive which could induce Lewis to court his friendſhip and alliance, he wiſely concluded that by encreaſing his apprehenſions, he ſhould facilitate the concluſion of the treaty; thus while he continued the negociation, he haſtened to conclude an offenſive and deffenſive alliance with Ferdinand and Iſabella, the ſovereigns of Caſtile, and with Juan, king of Arragon, father to Ferdinand. This laſt prince declared, that although in his former treaties with France, he had engaged to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality in any conteſts which might ariſe between Lewis and Charles, yet he thought himſelf ſufficiently authorized, by the conduct of the king of France, to revoke the promiſe he had made; that, in future, he would, on all occaſions, eſpouſe the quarrels of the duke of Burgundy, who, on his ſide, engaged to conſider the intereſts of Burgundy and Arragon as inſeparable; and both princes agreed to conclude neither peace nor truce with France, but by mutual conſent.

Strengthened by this alliance, the duke of Burgundy immediately iſſued a declaration, which ſet forth that the king, by an infraction of the treaty of Peronne, had incurred the penalty denounced, by a particular article of that treaty, againſt either of the contracting parties, who ſhould be guilty of any violation of its terms; and that, therefore, all the provinces and dominions of the houſe of Burgundy were wholly exempted from the juriſdiction of the French parliament, and from the obligation of homage to the king. In conſequence of this declaration, the duke erected a ſovereign court at Malines, to decide in all caſes of appeal; and forbade his ſubjects under pain of death, to apply in any caſe whatever to the parliament of Paris.

Lewis, feigning ignorance of this declaration, ſent Peter Doriole, and the lord of Craon, to confer with the duke's miniſters, on the ſubject of the propoſed reconciliation; and theſe envoys had orders to obtain a renewal of the truce which was about to expire, and, at the ſame time, to delay, by every means in their power, the final concluſion of the treaty.

While the king thus ſought to amuſe his moſt formidable enemy, he directed his principal attention to Guienne, which he had reſolved immediately to invade. As he wiſhed to employ Tanneguy du Chatel on this ſervice, and was afraid to leave the province of Rouſſillon, of which that nobleman was governor, without ſome experienced general, eſpecially at a time when it was liable to be attacked by all the forces of Arragon, he engaged du Lau to procure, by an offer of twenty-four thouſand crowns, the ceſſion of that government from du Chatel. The offer was accepted; but du Chatel expreſsly ſtipulated that, in caſe he ſhould

be compelled, on any account, to leave France, he ſhould be at liberty to retire into Rouſſillon, and to exert the authotity of governor; a precaution which plainly ſhews what little confidence was placed in Lewis, even by thoſe whom he honoured with *his* confidence.

All ſuch as were diſcontented with the government, and all the perſonal enemies of Lewis*, now repaired to Guienne, which was deſtined to become the ſcene of war. They were all received with great cordiality by the duke, who, endeavouring to ſtrengthen his party by the acquiſition of allies, had lately recalled the count of Armagnac, and reſtored to him a part of his former poſſeſſions. The duke of Nemours and the count of Foix ſecretly ſupported his cauſe, and incited the nobility and inhabitants of the principal towns in the neighbouring provinces to riſe in his favour. In ſhort, the duke and his friends appeared firmly reſolved to repel with the utmoſt vigour any attack that might be made by his brother, and even to revenge ſuch an inſult by carrying the war into the heart of his dominions. The determined ſpirit, and the general fermentation which prevailed on this occaſion, were chiefly owing to the indefatigable exertions of the lord of Leſcun, whoſe active genius and intriguing diſpoſition rendered him a worthy opponent of the artful and hypocritical Lewis. This nobleman had endeavoured to incite to an unanimity of ſentiment and action, the courts of Guienne, Brittany, Arragon, Savoy and Burgundy, whoſe united efforts might threaten France with deſtruction on every ſide. But in Guienne, where oppoſition might have been leaſt expected, he experienced contradictions which his utmoſt zeal and abilities were ſcarcely able to overcome. Colette de Jambes, lady of Monſoreau, being jealous of the miniſter's influence and power, had contrived to form a party againſt him, at the head of which was the lord of Malicorne, the duke's principal favourite. This lady, who, if the accounts of contemporary writers may be credited, was, both in mental and perſonal endowments, the moſt accompliſhed woman of the age, had, at a very early period of her life, been married to Lewis d'Amboiſe, Viſcount of Thouars; but, after her huſband's death, ſhe had conceived an attachment for the duke of Guienne, by whom ſhe had two daughters. As the chief object of Leſcun's plan was to procure a wife for the duke, it is not to be wondered at that ſhe ſhould have raiſed up every oppoſition to it in her power; that miniſter, however, ſeemed to acquire freſh zeal from the obſtacles which he had to encounter, and perſevered, in the purſuit of his ſcheme, with aſtoniſhing diligence. Lewis, on his ſide, made his troops advance, and gave his final orders to his generals; Dammartin was to make an irruption into the duchy on the ſide of Gaſcony, Cruſſol on the ſide of Saintonge, and Tanneguy du Chatel on the ſide of Poitou.

While affairs were in this critical ſituation, and the flames of war were ready to extend from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, while the formidable

* Commines. Belcar. Hiſt. de Languedoc, par Dom Vaiſſette: Chroniq. Scandal. Cabinet de Louis XI. Manuſc. de le Grand.

oppoſition which Lewis had to expect in Guienne, had diſabled him from putting the other parts of his dominions in a proper ſtate of defence, and while that monarch had juſt cauſe to fear the united attacks of three powerful enemies; an event occurred ſo unexpected and myſterious, that it could not fail to be aſcribed to the infernal machinations of a prince, to whom it was productive of ſuch ſignal advantages. Intelligence was received in the French army that the lady of Monſoreau was at the point of death, and that the duke of Guienne was alſo dangerouſly ill. It has always been believed that they were both poiſoned by eating a peach which had been previouſly prepared for the purpoſe; and that John Faure de Vercors or Verſois, a Benedictine monk, abbot of Saint John d'Angeli; and an officer of the duke's houſhold, named Henry de la Roche, were the authors, or rather the inſtruments employed in the perpetration of this crime. It appears, however, that, immediately after its commiſſion, no ſuſpicions were entertained of them, as the monk continued in favour, and was even appointed one of the executors of the lady of Monſoreau; but, it muſt not be forgotten that he wrote to the king on the ſubject, informing him that his brother had but a few hours to live, as appears from a letter written by Lewis to the count of Dammartin.*

In proportion as the duke of Guienne grew weaker, his ardour for the accompliſhment of his plans encreaſed: he diſpatched couriers to his allies; put his towns and fortreſſes in a proper ſtate of defence, and iſſued orders for the immediate collection of his troops in every part of his apanage. Fearful of being abandoned at this critical period, he exacted a new oath of allegiance from his officers, by which they bound themſelves to ſerve him againſt all men, not excepting the king. Many of them, however, ſenſible of his approaching end, refuſed to take the oath, and haſtened to make their peace with Lewis.

A. D. 1472] The king, who only wanted to gain time, ſent freſh ambaſſadors to the duke of Burgundy, with a propoſal to ſubmit the difference between them to arbitration; and with an offer to accept the pope's legate as the umpire. He, at the ſame time, endeavoured to intimidate the duke of Brittany, who was ſtrengthening the fortifications of his towns, and arming his ſubjects. But Francis ſent a ſpirited anſwer to the king, reproaching him with his duplicity, and his inſidious attempts to diſturb the tranquillity of his dominions; after which he conjured the duke of Burgundy not to diſappoint the hopes of his allies by any farther delays.

Lewis, informed of theſe ſolicitations, and perceiving, by the duke of Burgundy's preparations, that he might expect to be immediately attacked, ſent orders to his plenipotentiaries to accede to any terms which Charles might wiſh to impoſe. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the king conſented to reſtore the towns of Amiens, Saint Quentin, Montdidier, and Roye, to the duke of Burgundy; and to give up to him the conſtable, and the count of Nevers, a

* Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 474, 475.



Smither Sculp.

LOUIS XIV

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prince of the houſe of Burgundy, but an avowed enemy to the reigning branch, which had deſpoiled him of a part of his poſſeſſions: the duke, on his ſide, conſented to renounce all alliance with the dukes of Guienne and Brittany. Neither party had the ſmalleſt intention of fulfilling the terms of this agreement; the object of Charles was to get poſſeſſion of the towns which had been taken from him, after which he meant publicly to declare, that he pardoned the conſtable, and the count of Nevers, and therefore expected that the king would be equally indulgent to the dukes of Brittany and Guienne, otherwiſe he ſhould march to their relief. The intention of Lewis was only to gain time, and, immediately after his brother's death, to declare that he did not think himſelf bound to keep his word with a prince who had not dealt openly with him.

The treaty was no ſooner ſigned than Charles demanded immediate poſſeſſion of the towns which were to be reſtored to him; but the plenipotentiaries not being authoriſed to comply with his demand, adviſed him to make his army advance to the frontiers, and to ſend ſome confidential ſervant to the king, to exact from him an oath to obſerve the treaty, and to procure the neceſſary orders for the evacuation of the places in queſtion; but, the lord of Quingei, who was intruſted with this commiſſion, was unable to obtain any ſatisfactory anſwer from Lewis, who continued to put him off from day to day. The duke of Guienne was, by this time, at the point of death, and the natural goodneſs of his diſpoſition led him, in his laſt moments, to diſmiſs all ſentiments of hatred from his mind, and to aſk from his brother the ſame forgiveneſs of injuries which he ſo willingly extended to him: he appointed Lewis his ſole legatee, earneſtly beſeeching him to confirm a few legacies which he had bequeathed to ſome old ſervants of approved fidelity. His death ſpread conſternation and alarm throughout his palace; and moſt of thoſe who had hitherto perſevered in their attachment to the unfortunate prince, now courted the good graces of his tyrannical brother. Malicorne, his chief favourite, was the firſt to convey the *welcome* tidings to Lewis, and to acquaint him with the laſt requeſts of his deceaſed maſter. Leſcun, however, perſiſted in his hatred of a monarch, whom he had now but too great reaſon to deteſt; he had diſcovered the aſſaſſins of the prince, and thrown them into irons, when finding their infamy detected, they confeſſed their guilt, and openly accuſed the king of having inſtigated them to the commiſſion of the dreadful deed. Leſcun being compelled to quit Guienne, took the two criminals with him to Brittany, where he delivered them to the duke, with this ſolemn exhortation: "In order "to revenge the beſt of maſters, and moſt faithful of friends, I reſign into your "hands theſe traitors, who have baſely taken away the life of their lawful prince, "in the hope that you will make a ſignal example of them. Think on what "you owe to the memory of a prince who ſo richly deſerved your friendſhip: "his ſoul now demands from God an exemplary vengeance on theſe his aſſaſſins: "may he ſee, from the manſions of the dead, in what manner I fulfil my en-"gagements!" "They ſhall have the reward they merit," replied the duke;

"and would that thoſe who urged them to the commiſſion of the crime were "equally in my power; they ſhould not eaſily eſcape."

Lewis, pretending that by his brother's death he was releaſed from the neceſſity of fulfilling the engagements which his plenipotentiaries had contracted with the duke of Burgundy, now openly declared to the lord of Quingei, that he ſhould not confirm a treaty, in the concluſion of which the duke had diſplayed a want of candour, and betrayed the moſt pernicious deſigns *. Charles, enraged at the idea of having thus ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the ſhallow arts of his rival, gave a full ſcope to his reſentment, and publiſhed a violent manifeſto, in which he recapitulated the particulars of the plot, which, at the king's inſtigation, had been formed againſt his life, by his natural brother, Baldwin, John de Chaſſa, and John d'Arſon; he added, that Lewis, perſiſting in his infamous deſigns of of deſtroying all the princes of the blood-royal of France, had juſt cauſed his brother to be put to death, by *poiſon, witchcraft, and diabolical invocations*, as was proved by the confeſſion of the two culprits whom he had ſeduced. For theſe two attempts, purſued the duke, one againſt the firſt peer of the realm, the other againſt the firſt prince of the blood, he deſerves to be pronounced guilty of homicide; of high-treaſon againſt the crown, the princes of the blood, and the public welfare; a traitor, a parricide, and an idolator; each of theſe aſſertions he ſupported by quotations from the ſcriptures, from the Decretals, and from the fathers of the the church; and he concluded by exhorting all chriſtian princes to unite their arms againſt this common enemy.

This manifeſto, however, which was diſtributed in every town in the kingdom, produced but little effect. Lewis, intent on the reduction of Guienne, did not deign to anſwer it; and he even ſuffered the long ſpace of eighteen months to elapſe, before he adopted any meaſures for clearing himſelf from the heavy accuſations which had been preferred againſt him. At the expiration of that period, he appointed commiſſioners to try the two criminals, who were ſtill confined in the Breton priſons; but while they were engaged in the inveſtigation of this infamous tranſaction, the abbot of Saint John d'Angell was found dead in his cell, with evident marks of violence about his perſon; what became of the other culprit, Henry de la Roche, is not known; nor have any of the proceedings of the commiſſioners, nor the other examinations of the criminals, been preſerved. It was commonly believed, however, that the king had not ſcrupled to conceal the firſt crime, by the perpetration of a ſecond, and every part of his conduct, no leſs than his character, tended to confirm this belief. It was juſtly obſerved, that he had made no attempt to juſtify himſelf till after he had effected a reconciliation with the duke of Brittany, and had drawn the lord of Leſcun into his ſervice; and that the criminals had diſappeared at ſuch a critical period, it was impoſſible to ſuppoſe they had died a natural death. It was likewiſe remarked, that Lewis d'Amboiſe, one of the commiſſioners, was, ſoon after, promoted to the biſhopric

* Manuſcript de le Grand.

of Albi; and that Peter de Sacierges, who had officiated as ſecretary to the commiſſion, was made a maſter of requeſts. It muſt be confeſſed that all theſe circumſtances amount only to a preſumptive evidence, but then the preſumption is ſo ſtrong, that, combined with the known diſpoſition of Lewis, and other conſiderations which naturally preſent themſelves to the mind, it appears to us irreſiſtible. Brantome relates a ſtory, which, were it better authenticated, would ſettle the matter beyond all poſſibility of diſpute: he pretends, that the ſecret of this murder was diſcovered by means of a fool who had lived with the duke of Guienne, and on his death had been taken into the king's ſervice. "This good king," ſays the jovial hiſtorian, "being one day at Cleri repeating his prayers and oriſons "at the ſhrine of the Virgin, whom he called his good patroneſs, and none being "preſent at the time except this fool, who was at a little diſtance from the king, "and whom his majeſty believed to be ſtupid, ſo vain, and ſo fooliſh, that he "could pay no attention to any thing that was ſaid, he proceeded thus to pray "aloud—Ah! my good lady, my little miſtreſs, my great friend, in whom I "have always placed my truſt, I beſeech you to pray to God for me, and to be-"come my advocate with him, to intreat him to pardon me my brother's death, "whom I cauſed to be poiſoned by that wicked abbot of Saint John: to you, "my good patroneſs and miſtreſs, I confeſs my crime." It is needleſs to comment on the improbability of this ſtory, which Brantome acknowledges to have received from an old canon of eighty, who had, himſelf, heard it from another perſon; but if it does not tend to the confirmation of the king's guilt, it certainly does not diminiſh its probability.

After his brother's death, Lewis entered Guienne, which he reduced without the ſmalleſt oppoſition*; the inhabitants of the different towns only ſtipulating for the preſervation of their privileges. Theſe the king chearfully confirmed, it being a maxim with him to favour the growth of the municipal government, which he juſtly conſidered as the firſt cauſe of the humiliation of the ariſtocracy. He even granted permiſſion to the inhabitants of Rochelle to carry on a free trade with the Engliſh and the other enemies of the ſtate, a privilege which might tend to the introduction of a neutral power, and the eſtabliſhment of an independent republic in the heart of the monarchy. He again made the city of Bourdeaux the ſeat of the parliament, which, on the ceſſion of Guienne to his brother, had been transferred to Poitiers; and finding his preſence neceſſary in another quarter, he even concluded an accommodation with the count of Armagnac, and conſented to leave him in poſſeſſion of that part of his territories to which he had been lately reſtored by the duke of Guienne. He then appointed the lord of Beaujeu, governor of the province, and marched towards Brittany with an army of fifty thouſand men.

The duke of Brittany, though he had ſpared no pains to put his dominions in a proper ſtate of defence, ſtill found himſelf unable to cope with an enemy ſo

* Manuſcr. de le Grand.

powerful as Lewis; and as he was in daily expectation of a ſtrong reinforcement from England, he reſolved to propoſe a ſhort truce to the French monarch, during which, he obſerved, effectual means for a final accommodation might be adopted. The king, conſcious of his ſuperiority in the arts of negociation, accepted the propoſal; not perceiving, that by that means he would loſe the favourable moment for action, and that his enemy was only ſeeking to gain time in order to facilitate the reception of thoſe ſuccours which he expectected from his allies.

The duke of Burgundy, meanwhile, had ſpread devaſtation throughout the fertile province of Picardy; with an army of eighty-thouſand men he had paſſed the Somme, and inveſted the town of Neſle*, whoſe inhabitants maſſacred the herald which he had ſent to ſummon them to ſurrender. In revenge for this barbarous act, Charles, after he had reduced the place, inhumanly ordered the garriſon and citizens to be maſſacred, without diſtinction of age or ſex; ſome few, who had eſcaped the rage of the ſoldiery, had their right hands cut off, and were ſent, in that ſituation, to the king; after which the town was reduced to aſhes.

The garriſons of Roye and Montdidier, terrified by the fate of their fellow ſoldiers, reſigned thoſe towns to the victor, whoſe next attempts were directed againſt Beauvais. That place, though deſtitute of troops, reſiſted his efforts; and neither the demolition of the ſuburbs, nor the formidable force of the enemy could induce the brave citizens to ſurrender. Even the women here performed prodigies of valour; they lined the walls in thoſe parts which were moſt open to attack, and expoſed themſelves to every kind of danger. One of theſe heroines forced a ſtandard from the enemy, and bore it off in triumph to the town. This vigorous and unexpected defence gave time for the arrival of troops, which was facilitated by the neglect of Charles completely to inveſt the place. The duke was now foiled in every attack; a ſtrong body of forces, detached by the king, under the command of Dammartin, harraſſed his troops, and intercepted his convoys; and, after a general aſſault, in which he was repulſed with the loſs of one hundred and twenty killed, and one thouſand wounded †, he raiſed the ſiege, entered the country of Caux, ſeized the towns of Eu, and Saint Vallery, delivered Longueville to the flames, and extended his deveſtations as far as the gates of Rouen, before which city he remained four days, in order to fulfil his engagement with the duke of Brittany, who had appointed that ſpot for the junction of the two armies.

While the duke was thus employed in committing devaſtations in Normandy, the garriſons of Amiens and Saint Quentin had penetrated into the heart of his dominions, and laid waſte the country with fire and ſword. The war, too, raged with equal violence in Champagne and Burgundy: the count of Rouſſi, eldeſt ſon to the conſtable, who commanded the duke's army at the ſame time that

* Meyer—Commines—Le Grand—Chron. Scand.—Cabinet Satyr. † Commines.

his father was placed at the head of the French troops, carried desolation into the environs of Tonnerre, Joigny, Troyes, and Langres, burning all the towns and villages which fell into his hands. The duchy of Burgundy was exposed to similar depredations from the dauphin of Auvergne, who commanded for the king in that quarter; and such were the acts of violence committed on either side, that an ancient chronicler observes, the French and Burgundians, mad with rage, were less eager to make conquests, than intent on mutual destruction*. The duke of Burgundy, urged by the solicitations of his subjects, the ravage of his provinces, the dearth of provisions which prevailed in his army, and his desire of inflicting vengeance on the constable for sacking his towns, at length found himself compelled to leave Normandy, and return to the banks of the Somme, where he reviewed his army, which had suffered so much in this fruitless expedition, as to be wholly inadequate to any enterprise of importance.

Lewis, in reward of the valour and fidelity displayed by the citizens of Beauvais, to whom he chiefly ascribed the success of this campaign, granted them privileges equal, if not superior, to those which were enjoyed by the nobility †: he allowed them to hold fiefs, and rere-fiefs, exempt from the usual contributions, and from all the services attached to that species of possession; he accorded them a general exemption from all imposts whatever, except such as they might levy themselves for the support and repair of their fortifications; and he allowed them a total freedom of choice in the election of their municipal officers. The women, who had signalised their courage and fidelity, in, at least, an equal degree with the men, were not forgotten; it was ordained, that, at an annual festival to be celebrated at Beauvais, in honour of Saint Angadresme, whose relics had been exposed on the walls during the siege, the women should take precedency of the men, both in the procession and at church; that, as well during this ceremony, as at any other time they chose, they might wear silks, furs, and belts of gold; ornaments which had hitherto been confined by the laws to people of distinction, and which the citizens' wives had been long anxious to acquire the privilege of wearing; and, lastly, Lewis granted to Jane Fourquet, the young heroine who had taken the standard from the enemy, and to Colin Pilon, whom she had just married, a total exemption from taxes throughout the kingdom.

The truce between the king and the duke of Brittany having expired, Lewis entered the dominions of Francis, and reduced Chantocé, Machecou, and Ancenis‡. He then advanced as far as Pouancé, and offered battle to the duke, who was alike unwilling to risk an action, and to conclude a peace. Being compeled, however, by his subjects to sue for an accommodation, he appointed Souplainville and Desessarts, two friends of the lord of Lescun, who still governed the councils of Brittany, to treat with the king. Lewis, who was anxious to attach Lescun to his interest, from the conviction that he then should have nothing to apprehend from the side of Brittany, gave the deputies a carte-blanche for themselves and their

* Chron. Manusc.—Commines—Meyer. † Histoire de Beauvais—Manusc. de le Grand—Preuves de l'Histoire de Ducles—Chron. Scandal. ‡ Commines—Meyer—Dom Lobineau—Le Grand.

friends. Leſcun aſked and obtained the government of one half of the duchy of Guienne; the county of Comminges; the order of Saint Michael; a penſion of ſix thouſand livers, and a gratification of twenty-four thouſand crowns. Souplainville procured for himſelf a preſent of ſix thouſand crowns, and a penſion of twelve hundred livers; with the offices of mayor of Bayonne, bailiff of Montargis, and ſome other places of authority in Guienne. Deſeſſarts was appointed bailiff of Meaux, maſter of the rivers and foreſts in Champagne and Brie, with an annual penſion of twelve hundred livres, and an immediate gratification of four thouſand crowns. The duke of Brittany, himſelf, obtained a penſion either of ſixty or eighty thouſand livers, for authors differ as to the ſum; and on theſe conditions he concluded a truce for a year, and conſented to leave the towns which Lewis had reduced in the poſſeſſion of that monarch, till ſuch time as a final treaty of peace ſhould be ſigned. The only ſtipulation which he made in favour of his ally, the duke of Burgundy, was, that he ſhould be allowed to accede to this truce if he choſe it; and of this privilege Charles was induced, by the ſtate of his army, and by ſome other conſiderations, ſo far to avail himſelf, as to conſent to a ceſſation of arms for a few months.

About this period Phillip de Commines, the hiſtorian, quitted the court of Burgundy, and entered the ſervice of Lewis*, as he has neglected to explain, in his memoirs, the reaſons for this deſertion of a maſter who had loaded him with honours and rewards, and to whoſe family he was indebted for the diſtinction which he enjoyed, his conduct is juſtly expoſed to the charge of ingratitude.

A. D. 1473.] The ſucceſs of the king's arms during the laſt campaign, had by no means reſtored tranquillity to France. The count of Armagnac, undiſmayed by his former diſgrace, obſerving that the king was engaged in Brittany, that the duke of Burgundy was ſuffered to ravage Picardy and Normandy, and the king of Arragon was preparing to attack the county of Rouſſillon, thought the moment favourable for obtaining poſſeſſion of Lectoure, which was then regarded as the key to Guienne and Gaſcony. For this purpoſe he corrupted ſome of the officers of the garriſon, by whoſe means he ſecured the place and its governor, the lord of Beaujeu, whom Lewis had appointed his lieutenant-general in Guienne.

At the ſame time, the king of Arragon made an irruption into Rouſſillon, and exhorted his old ſubject to ſhake off the French yoke, and to return to their lawful ſovereign. The citizens if Perpignan, moved by his exhortations, flew to arms, and compelled du Lau, the governor of the province, to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel. The example of the capital was followed by ſeveral other towns; Elne Argiles, and Canet expelled their garriſons, and Salies, Collioure, and the citadel of Perpignan, were ſoon the only places that remained in poſſeſſion of the French.

The uneaſineſs which Lewis experienced on the receipt of this news, was farther encreaſed by entelligence, that the duke of Alençon, a prince of the blood,

* Notes de Godefroi ſur Varillas.

and father-in-law to the count of Armagnac, had entered into a negociation with the duke of Burgundy, for ſurrendering to that prince all the towns and fortreſſes he poſſeſſed in Normandy and Maine; a meaſure which, had it taken effect, muſt have been attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences. In this delicate conjuncture, Lewis was at a loſs how to act; his firſt care, however, was to perſuade the duke of Burgundy to prolong the truce for a year, which he effected, with ſome difficulty, through the mediation of the duke of Brittany, whoſe good offices he had ſecured by the voluntary reſtitution of the town of Ancenis, and by the payment of one quarter of his yearly penſion.

Another enemy which Lewis had to encounter, was Nicholas d'Anjou, duke of Lorraine, and titular duke of Calabria, who had been affianced to the princeſs Anne, daughter to the king, but, who having conceived a diſguſt at the conduct of Lewis, in offering the hand of his deſtined bride to the duke of Guienne, had retired into Flanders; where Charles had ſought to attach him to his intereſt by making him a tender of his daughter, the ſole heireſs to all his dominions. The king, however, was freed from all apprehenſions from that quarter, by the death of Nicholas, who expired ſuddenly, not without ſuſpicions of having been poiſoned.

Immediately after the prolongation of the truce, the king ſecured the perſon of the duke of Alençon, whom he delivered into the hands of the parliament of Paris. But the count of Armagnac was a more formidable enemy, ſince he had thrown a ſtrong garriſon into the caſtle of Lectoure, and made every preparation for an obſtinate defence. Lewis, not daring to leave his frontiers expoſed to the attacks of the duke of Burgundy, employed the militia of the ſouthern provinces to reduce the count; but after that nobleman had ſuſtained a ſiege of two months, the ſeaſon being far advanced, and the king of Arragon having embraced the opportunity to complete the reduction of Rouſſillon, the king ſent orders to his generals to open a negociation with him. The terms required by the count, were theſe: he demanded a ſafe conduct that he might appear at court, and juſtify himſelf to the king, with regard to the crimes of which he was accuſed; ſuch an eſtabliſhment for the counteſs, his wife, as would enable her to live in a manner ſuitable to her rank and birth; a general amneſty for all his followers and partiſans; and a confirmation of the privileges of the citizens and other inhabitants of Lectoure. Theſe conditions were immediately accepted by cardinal Jouffroi, biſhop of Albi, who commanded the expedition, and, in order to give the greater ſolemnity to the agreement, that prelate is ſaid to have broken a conſecrated wafer, one half of which he gave to the count, and the other he ſwallowed himſelf.—Every thing being thus arranged, they were proceeding to fulfil the articles of the capitulation, when the king's troops, profiting by the ſecurity of the garriſon, entered the town, and forced their way to the count's houſe, where one Gorgias maſſacred him with his poignard. For this abominable act of treachery, which Lewis himſelf had doubtleſs commanded, that execrable tyrant rewarded the aſſaſſin with a ſilver cup filled with money, and a commiſſion in his-

own guards. The counteſs of Armagnac, and her female attendants, were ſtripped by a brutal ſoldiery; the houſes of the citizens were pillaged; their wives and daughters raviſhed; and the old men and children inhumanly maſſacred; after which the town was reduced to aſhes. That nothing might be wanting to complete the horror of the ſcene, the counteſs, who was pregnant, was dragged to the caſtle of Buzet, where the ſavages compelled her to ſwallow a noxious draught, calculated to deſtroy the infant in her womb; and which, in the ſhort ſpace of two days, put a period to her own exiſtence. Several of the count's partiſans were afterwards brought to the ſcaffold.

After the death of the count of Armagnac, Lewis made a fruitleſs attempt to recover the county of Rouſſillon; foiled by the talents and courage of the old king of Arragon, he was compelled to accept a truce for two months; and, after throwing ſupplies into the citadel of Perpignan, and the towns of Salies and Callioure, the army returned to France.

The duke of Burgundy had been induced to conſent to the prolongation of the truce with France, by an opportunity which preſented itſelf at that time for extending his dominions on the ſide of the Rhine *. From Sigiſmond, the prodigal and voluptuous duke of Auſtria, he acquired, for the ſum of eighty thouſand German florins, the county of Ferrette or Pfirt, and the Landgraviate of Alſace, ſubject to redemption by that prince or his heirs; and, by the will of Arnou, duke of Gueldres, he ſucceeded to that duchy, and to the county of Zutphen, to the prejudice of Adolphus, who, on account of his unnatural conduct, had been diſinherited by his father.

Lewis profited by this interval of repoſe to marry his two daughters; Anne, the eldeſt, who had been affianced to the duke of Lorraine, he gave to Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu, and preſumptive heir to the duke of Bourbon. The youngeſt, Mary, who was greatly inferior to her ſiſter, both in perſonal and mental endowments, married the duke of Orleans, the firſt prince of the blood, to whom ſhe had been promiſed in her infancy. Each of the princeſſes had one hundred thouſand crowns aſſigned them for their marriage portion.

During a fruitleſs negociation for a peace that was opened between Lewis and the duke of Burgundy, the conſtable perceiving the impoſſibility of a perfect reconciliation between ſuch inveterate rivals, reſolved to make ſome attempt towards the eſtabliſhment of that independence to which he had ſo long aſpired. With this view he had the audacity to expel the king's troops from the town of Saint Quentin, of which he was governor, to introduce a garriſon of his own, and to exact an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants. Lewis, enraged at the rebellious conduct of this powerful ſubject, immediately ſuppreſſed his penſions, and ſeized on all the eſtates which he poſſeſſed in France; but, on cool reflection, theſe proceedings appeared to him imprudent, ſince they might force the conſtable to claim the protection of the duke of Burgundy; he, therefore, determined to

* Hiſtoire de Lorraine, par Dom Calmet—Haroei Annal. Brabant.

temporiſe, and expreſſed a willingneſs to liſten to the conſtable's juſtification.—Saint Paul then informed him, by letter, that having detected a correſpondence between the duke of Burgundy and the garriſon of Saint Quentin, the only mode that occurred to him of preſerving the place from the attempts of the enemy, was to take poſſeſſion of it himſelf, and garriſon it with troops and officers on whoſe fidelity he could rely. Lewis, pretending to be a dupe to this artifice, endeavoured to draw the conſtable to court, by ſending him word that he wiſhed to conſult him on matters of the higheſt importance. But Saint Paul was too well acquainted with the king's diſpoſition to fall into the ſnare; he declined the interview, and entered into a private negociation with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and with ſome of the diſcontented nobility of France.

A. D. 1474.] At the commencement of this year, one John Hardy had formed a plan for poiſoning the king, at the inſtigation, it is ſaid, of Ithier, a rich merchant, who had formerly been in the ſervice of the duke of Guienne, but, ſince the death of that prince, had retired into Flanders. Two of the king's domeſtics, to whom Hardy had applied for aſſiſtance in the proſecution of his ſcheme, revealed it to Lewis, and the criminal was accordingly tried by the municipal officers of Paris, who ſentenced him to be quartered alive. Soon after this event, the truce between the king and the duke of Burgundy was prolonged to the firſt of May, 1475.

The prolongation of this truce alarmed the king of Arragon, with whom Lewis had lately concluded a fraudulent treaty, which he reſolved to break on the firſt favourable opportunity that ſhould occur. In order to ſound his intentions, the Arragonian monarch ſent ambaſſadors to France, to complain of the conduct of the French governors, who were guilty of continual infractions of the treaty; and, if they ſhould find it impoſſible to obtain redreſs, they were then to aſſert the claims of Arragon to Rouſſillon and Cerdagna. Lewis refuſed an audience to theſe ambaſſadors, and referred them to a council whom he had appointed to receive their complaints. The council, in compliance with the inſtructions they had received, put them off from time to time, on the moſt frivolous pretexts, and, in ſhort, convinced them, by their conduct, that the chief object of their embaſſy muſt remain unaccompliſhed. Finding this to be the caſe, they proceeded to enforce the pretenſions of their maſter to the diſputed territories. The counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne had always—they obſerved—formed a part of the kingdom of Arragon, till the treaty of 1462, when they had been firſt ceded to the king of France, on condition that he ſhould pay the Arragonian monarch the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns, and ſupply him with ſix hundred lances, and a ſuitable train of artillery, till ſuch time as he ſhould have completed the reduction of Catalonia; that the king of France, however, had not only neglected to fulfil this laſt part of the agreement, but had even fomented the revolt of the Catalonians, and openly ſent ſuccours to John of Anjou, duke of Lorraine, who had placed himſelf at the head of the rebels.

Theſe were facts that would not admit of confutation; but Lewis was neither to be ſwayed by reaſon or juſtice, in oppoſition to the ſuggeſtions of intereſt. The ambaſſadors therefore were diſmiſſed, but means were found to detain them on the road, till ſuch time as a French army had entered Rouſſillon, and reduced the town of Elne, the governor of which they beheaded. They then took Figuieres, and proceeded to inveſt the ſtrong town of Perpignan.

Freſh conferences were now opened between the king and the duke of Burgundy; and their plenipotentiaries, having met at Bouvines, unanimouſly agreed to conſider the conſtable as the chief obſtacle to the concluſion of a peace; it was he, they obſerved, who, in order to gratify his own inſatiate ambition, had been the firſt promoter of the war for the public good; it was he who had firſt ſuggeſted the idea of a marriage between the duke of Guienne and the princeſs of Burgundy; and it was he who had engaged the king to break the treaty of Peronne, by promiſing to put him in poſſeſſion of Amiens and Saint Quentin: ſince that time, they added, he had been ſtudious to foment the animoſity which ſubſiſted between the king and the duke, by calumnious aſſertions, and by falſe reports; a perfidious friend, a dangerous ſpy, fertile in the invention of plots and ſtratagems, he would never, they averred, permit the reſtoration of peace and concord. His ruin, was therefore, reſolved on; and Lewis, who had not forgotten his audacity, in the affair of Saint Quentin, chearfully confirmed the reſolution of the plenipotentiaries. It was agreed that the king ſhould cede to the duke of Burgundy, Saint Quentin, Ham, and Bohain; and that the duke ſhould, in return, ſecure the conſtable, and deliver him up to Lewis; but notwithſtanding every precaution that prudence could ſuggeſt for keeping ſecret the principal object of this negociation, the conſtable gained intelligence of what was in agitation. He immediately wrote to the king, obſerving, that the duke of Burgundy, enraged at his inability either to ſurpriſe or ſeduce him, was endeavouring to promote his ruin, but as it would be an eaſy matter for him to juſtify his conduct, he entreated the king not to force him to an involuntary acceptance of the duke's offers. Lewis, whoſe ſuſpicions were ever awake, imagined that the duke of Burgundy had, himſelf, informed the conſtable of the object of their negociation, in order to induce him to court his protection; and, under this impreſſion, he diſpatched a courier to his plenipotentiaries, ordering them to retract any offers they might have made; and, at the ſame time, he accepted the conſtable's propoſal for an interview, which accordingly took place, on a bridge, between La Fere and Noyon, where the ſame precautions were adopted that had been employed to ſo little purpoſe, at the fatal conference on the bridge of Montereau.—Lewis liſtened with attention to the conſtable's juſtification of his own conduct, and pretending to be convinced by his arguments, he loaded that imperious vaſſal with careſſes, and permitted him to return. But the deep diſſimulation of Lewis was not unmarked by the penetrating eye of Saint-Paul, who now plainly perceived that his deſtruction was fully reſolved on. He had but one means of averting the impending danger; which was, by ſurrendering the towns in his poſſeſſion to the duke of Burgundy, but in that caſe he muſt have renounced his fa-

vourite project of independence, and have ſubmitted to the mercy and caprice of a maſter to whom he had given juſt cauſe for offence. The obſtinate ſtruggle which took place in his mind between fear and ambition, prevented him from adopting any deciſive reſolution. Three times did he invite the Burgundian troops to take poſſeſſion of Saint Quentin, and as often did he ſhut the gates againſt them.

The duke of Alençon was now brought to trial by the parliament of Paris, and being convicted of conſpiring againſt the ſtate; of maintaining a criminal correſpondence with the enemies of the kingdom; of homicide; of confiſcating the current coin of the realm; and of an intent to deliver his towns to the duke of Burgundy; he was pronounced guilty of high treaſon, and condemned to die.—All his poſſeſſions were declared to be forfeited to the crown *. His puniſhment, however, was changed into perpetual impriſonment, and the greater part of his eſtates were reſtored to his ſon, the count of Perche. The duke died in priſon, about two years after his trial.

An inſurrection of the people of Bourges, on account of an extraordinary tax for the repair and ſupport of the fortifications of that city, though ſpeedily quelled, alarmed the jealous and ſuſpicious temper of Lewis, who conceived it to be the effect of ſome general plan for overturning his government. He therefore eſtabliſhed an armed inquſition in Bourges; the members whereof had full power of life and death over all the inhabitants, of whatever rank; and they were ſtrictly enjoined by Lewis, to be diligent in their ſearch, and ſevere in their puniſhments; the tyrant even deſignated ſome of the principal citizens, who, he deſired, might be hanged at the doors of their own houſes. Fortunately, the commiſſioners were more juſt and merciful than their ſovereign; ſome few only of the inſurgents were executed, though many of the inhabitants were baniſhed, and ſtill more of them fined. The municipal officers were depoſed; and a mayor and twelve aldermen choſen in their ſtead; the king reſerving to himſelf the right of naming them.

But the attention of Lewis was ſoon called to objects of a more alarming nature, to dangers of greater magnitude, which threatened no leſs than the ſubverſion of his throne, and the deſtruction of the monarchy. We have already obſerved, that immediately after the defeat of the Lancaſtrians by Edward the Fourth, that monarch had propoſed to aſſiſt the duke of Burgundy in conquering the kingdom of France, but that the duke had then been induced to reject the propoſal, through fear of offending the French nobility, with whom he had formed an alliance. This objection, however, being now removed by the death of the duke of Guienne, the project was revived. Edward, ſtill ſtimulated by a ſpirit of revenge againſt Lewis, for the aſſiſtance which he had already afforded to the houſe of Lancaſter, and urged by his fears for the protection which he might ſtill afford to the friends of that family, determined to attack his dominions; and, though the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, during Edward's exile, had not been ſuch as could inſpire him with any ſentiments of eſteem for that prince,

* Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 97.

the political intereſts of their ſtates proved the means of maintaining a cloſe connection between them; and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invaſion of France. A league was accordingly formed, in which Edward ſtipulated to paſs the ſeas with an army exceeding ten thouſand men, and to make an incurſion into the territories of Lewis; Charles promiſed to join him with all his forces; the king of England was to lay claim to the crown of France, and to obtain, at leaſt, the provinces of Normandy and Guienne; while the duke was to acquire Champagne, and to exonerate all his dominions from the burthen of homage to the French monarch; and neither party was to make peace without the conſent of the other*.

The duke of Brittany alſo joined the league, and was to obtain the county of Poitou as his portion of the ſpoil; he required to be ſupplied with a body of Engliſh troops, to the amount of three thouſand; and promiſed to do more good to the cauſe of the confederates in one month, by the ſecret correſpondence which he maintained in France, than the combined forces of England and Burgundy could effect in ſix; for which purpoſe, however, he deemed it neceſſary to diſſemble with Lewis †. The conſtable, too, was not idle on this occaſion; he ſecretly engaged to receive the Engliſh into Saint Quentin, and into the other towns which he occupied on the river Somme.

If Charles had been as careful in the regulation of his own conduct, as he was in directing the future operations of his allies; if he had employed the interval of tranquillity allowed him by the truce in forming alliances with the neighbouring princes, in diſciplining his troops, and in preparing magazines; if, intent on his principal object, he had rejected all ſchemes that were foreign from it; it is certain that France would have been expoſed to the moſt eminent danger, and that Lewis, in ſpite of his courage and activity, muſt, infallibly, have been ſubdued. Independent of the combined forces of England, Burgundy, and Brittany, he had to dread the efforts of the conſtable, whoſe office, birth, fortune, and abilities, gave him a great influence over the minds of the French nobility. The duke of Bourbon was diſcontented with the king, and was alſo the friend and ally of the houſe of Burgundy; Rene d'Anjou, titular king of Sicily, aſcribing all his loſſeſs and misfortunes to Lewis, had already conceived a deſign of making Charles his heir; the duke of Nemours was enraged at the humiliation he had lately experienced, and at the aſſaſſination of his kinſman, the count of of Armagnac; the ducheſs of Savoy, ſiſter to Lewis, allured by the hope of marrying her ſon to the heireſs of Burgundy, had embraced the party of Charles, and had prevailed on the duke of Milan to follow her example; the king of Naples, whoſe ſon was at the court of Burgundy, might be reckoned as another enemy; and the king of Arragon, and his ſon prince Ferdinad, were actually at war with France. What forces could Lewis have oppoſed to enemies thus numerous and powerful? His attempts to defend one province muſt have left all the

* Rymer's Foedera, tom. xi. p. 804, 843. † Garnier.

others open to attack; the moſt ſplendid victory could only have ſecured the preſervation of a town, while a ſingle defeat might have proved fatal to the monarchy. Charles, who was the ſoul of the confederacy, had it now in his power to decide on the fate of France; but, hurried away by the native impetuoſity of his mind, and by his inordinate ambition, he had not courage to reſiſt the deceitful allurements of fortune: with a view to extend his dominions on the ſide of Germany, and to forward the accompliſhment of his favourite project, the erection of his territories into a kingdom, he undertook to reſtore the biſhop of Cologne, who had been depoſed by the people *. This engaged him in a war with the whole Germanic body; and the obſtinate defence made by the ſtrong town of Nuiz on the Rhine, in the ſiege of which his whole army was employed, diſabled him from fulfilling his treaty with Edward, and, of courſe, diſconcerted all his projects, with regard to the conqueſt of France.

Lewis, meanwhile, formed an alliance with the Swiſs cantons, and promoted a reconciliation between them and Sigiſmond, duke of Auſtria, who was anxious to recover the county of Ferrette, and the Landgraviate of Alſace, which he had pledged to the duke of Burgundy. All the Imperial towns on the Upper Rhine joined this confederacy, and, as they had an evident intereſt in preventing Charles from forming any eſtabliſhments in their vicinity, they ſupplied Sigiſmond with the ſum that was requiſite for the redemption of his territories. Charles refuſing to accept the money, the allies entered the county of Ferrette, and reſtored it to the duke of Auſtria; the Swiſs then penetrated into Franche-Comte, defeated the provincial militia, took the towns of Blamont and Gramont by aſſault, and, after cutting in pieces a body of troops under the command of the count of Romont, a prince of the houſe of Savoy, returned to their mountains laden with booty.

A. D. 1475] During theſe tranſactions, the king of England had been employed in making the moſt formidable preparations for his projected enterpriſe, and in forming farther alliances in order to enſure its ſucceſs. He concluded treaties with the emperor, and with Ferdinand, king of Sicily; he alſo prolonged the truce with Scotland to the year 1515, and ſecured the friendſhip of the Scots, by concluding a contract of marriage between their prince and his then youngeſt daughter, the princeſs Cecilia, both of them infants. All the neceſſary preparations being, at length, completed, Edward ſailed from Sandwich about midſummer, and landed ſafe at Calais with a powerful army, conſiſting of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thouſand archers, attended by all the principal nobility of England. His firſt ſtep was to diſpatch a herald to Lewis, to claim the crown of France, and to deliver him a defiance, in caſe of refuſal. Lewis, inſtead of ſuffering his reſentment to dictate an anſwer to the proud challange he had received, gave the herald who brought it the moſt cordial reception; he aſſured him that he entertained the higheſt reſpect for his maſter,

* Meyer. Annal. Fland. MS. de le Grand.

the king of England, who, he knew, had been urged to undertake the preſent expedition by the duke of Burgundy, and the conſtable; whoſe advice had been influenced by the moſt intereſted motives, and who would not fail to abandon their ally, the moment their own private views ſhould be gratified. Lewis then made the herald a preſent of three hundred crowns; and promiſed him the farther ſum of one thouſand, if he would employ his good offices in effecting an accommodation. The herald, who was a native of Normandy, won by the condeſcenſion not leſs than the liberality of Lewis, readily promiſed to promote his views to the utmoſt of his power; and adviſed him to addreſs all his propoſals for peace to the lords Howard and Stanley, who had great influence over Edward, and who were averſe from his preſent conduct. The French monarch then committed the herald to the care of Philip de Commines, with a ſtrict charge to ſpare neither pains nor expence in making him contented with his reception.

The king now exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in order to put his kingdom in a proper ſtate of defence, and no reſources were neglected which human foreſight or activity could ſupply. The army which he ſent into Rouſſillon, was ſtill engaged in the ſiege of Perpignan, which would probably have reſiſted every attempt to reduce it, but for the death of Henry, king of Caſtile, which called off the attention of the king of Arragon to another quarter. The dreadful ſituation to which the town was, by this time, reduced, may be conceived from the circumſtance of a woman, who, having loſt one of her children by hunger, cut the body into pieces, and uſed it as the means of preſerving her own life, and that of her remaining child *. The inhabitants, unable any longer to ſupport their complicated diſtreſſes, capitulated, and obtained the liberty, for ſuch as ſhould not chuſe to remain in the town, to retire into the territories of the king of Arragon. Lewis, enraged at the reſiſtance he had experienced, ordered the moſt opulent citizens of Perpignan, and all the principal nobility in the environs, to be maſſacred; but Bouſile, who had been appointed governor of the province, exerted, on this occaſion, the humanity of a Chriſtian, and the dignity of a man; he peremptorily refuſed to obey the orders of this vindictive and blood-thirſty tyrant; and, by a ſpirited remonſtrance, ſaved the deſtined victims from unmerited deſtruction.

The king, by the reduction of Perpignan, being enabled to form a junction of his forces, ordered his whole army to advance to the frontiers of Picardy; where they ſpeedily reduced the towns of Tronquoi, Montdidier, Roie, Brai-upon-Somme, and Corbie. They then penetrated into the province of Artois, burnt a number of fortreſſes, and advanced to the very gates of Arras. The garriſon, of that town, having made an injudicious ſally, ſuſtained a total defeat, and James de Saint-Paul, brother to the conſtable, was taken a priſoner, with ſeveral other officers of rank.

Manuſc. de le Grand.

Edward, in the mean time, had advanced into Picardy, expecting to be joined by the forces of the duke of Burgundy, according to the promiſe of that prince; but the army which Charles had led into Germany was, from the attacks of the enemy, and from the hardſhips of a winter campaign, rendered wholly unfit for farther ſervice. To pacify Edward, who was greatly diſguſted with his conduct, the duke repaired in perſon to the Engliſh camp, apoligized for this breach of treaty, and aſſured him that the conſtable would ſurrender to him the ſtrong town of St. Quentin; but when the Engliſh army approached that place, Saint-Paul fired upon them from the ramparts, and, by an unexpected ſally, put great numbers of them to death. The duke of Burgundy, who was ſtill with the Engliſh army, being neither able to account for this ſingular conduct of the conſtable, nor to ſupport the ſevere reproaches of the Engliſh monarch, departed abruptly, and left Edward in a violent rage, beſtowing execrations on his treacherous allies, and expreſſing his diſguſt at an expedition from which he was not likely to derive either honour or emolument.

During theſe tranſactions, a man arrived at Compiégne, from the Engliſh camp, who aſked to ſpeak with the king; he proved to be a lacquey in the ſervice of the lord of Graſſai, and having been the firſt priſoner that was taken, he was diſmiſſed, according to a cuſtom which then prevailed, without a ranſom. On quiting the camp, he had met the lords Howard and Stanley, who had given him ſome money, and told him to recommend them to the good graces of the king, his maſter, in caſe he ſhould find an opportunity of ſpeaking to him. Proud of his commiſſion, the man reſolved on fulfilling it without delay; and immediately after his arrival at Compiégne; though the night was far advanced, he inſiſted on ſeeing Lewis; but his requeſt was refuſed; and being taken for a ſpy, he was thrown into priſon. Lewis however, having paid him a viſit, ordered him to be releaſed, and determined to ſend him as a herald to Edward. The man, whoſe name was Merindot, having received his inſtructions, and being provided with the dreſs of a herald, which he was ordered not to put on till he ſhould approach the Engliſh camp, leſt, the object of his miſſion being diſcovered by the partiſans of the duke of Burgundy, he ſhould be prevented from proceeding, ſet out on his journey. The preſent diſpoſition of Edward was highly favourable to the ſucceſs of his negociation; and he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that that monarch was induced to hold a council in his camp, near Peronne, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, in which the poverty of the army, the near approach of winter, and the treacherous neglect of his allies, were urged as ſtrong incitements to the negociation of a truce; and a commiſſion was, accordingly, given to lord Howard and three others, for that purpoſe. The admiral of France, Saint-Pierre and the biſhop of Evreux, were appointed by the king to confer with the Engliſh plenipotentiaries.

Lewis, anxious to bring this affair to a ſpeedy termination, ordered Doriole, who had ſucceeded to the high office of Chancellor, on the death of Juvenal

MS. de le Grand.

des Urſins, to affix the great ſeal to ſix blank ſheets of parchment, which he meant to employ for the purpoſe of attaching Edward's chief miniſters and counſellors to his intereſt *. He then ſent the chancellor, with Matthew Beauvarlet, and Michael Gaillard, to Paris, to prepare what money he wanted; and theſe commiſſioners obtained from the parliament all the different ſums which had been lodged in that court till ſuch time as the pretenſions of the various claimants could be eſtabliſhed; but they were obliged to enter into a private obligation to reſtore them, whenever they ſhould be called upon for that purpoſe. The preſidents of the parliament alſo borrowed, in their own names, of James Erlan, two thouſand crowns, which they delivered to the commiſſioners, who pledged themſelves for the repayment of the money before the firſt of October following. Theſe facts, with many others of a ſimilar nature, which occur in the Hiſtory of France, prove that the king never borrowed money in his own name; and that thoſe whom he appointed to borrow for him, were obliged to become ſecurity for the re-payment, and actually to pay the money, if the king neglected to pay it himſelf. By this means the ſtate never contracted any debts.

As Lewis was reſolved on peace, the plenipotentiaries experienced no obſtruction in the accompliſhment of their taſk; and a truce, for ſeven years, was concluded on the nineteenth of Auguſt, on ſuch terms as the Engliſh choſe to preſcribe, which certainly were not very honourable to Lewis. It was ſtipulated—That the king of France ſhould pay the ſum of ſeventy-five thouſand crowns to the king of England, within fifteen days; that he ſhould, moreover, pay him fifty thouſand crowns a-year, during their joint lives; that the dauphin of France, when of age, ſhould marry the princeſs Elizabeth, one of Edward's daughter's; and that Edward ſhould withdraw his army from France, as ſoon as he ſhould have received the ſeventy-five thouſand crowns. In this truce ſuch of the allies as choſe to accede to it were comprehended†. By one article of the treaty, Lewis engaged to pay Edward fifty thouſand crowns, for the releaſe of Margaret of Anjou; in conſequence of which, that unfortunate princeſs was ſuffered to return to her native country, where ſhe ſpent the remainder of her days in tranquil privacy, till the year 1482, when ſhe died. This act of generoſity would reflect honour on Lewis, did not his ſubſequent conduct to the relations of Margaret, afford juſt grounds for believing that he was entirely ſwayed by motives of intereſt ‡.

When every point had thus been amicably adjuſted, an interview took place between the two monarchs, on a bridge over the Somme, at Pequigni, near Amiens, in the center whereof a ſtrong barrier was erected, and where ſuch other precautions were adopted, as the treacherous ſpirit of the times ſeemed to juſtify. Edward and Lewis here ſwore, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to a ſtrict obſervance of the treaty; after which, they paſſed ſome time in friendly and familiar converſation.

* MS. de le Grand. † Rymers' Foed. tom. xii. p. 51, 21.

‡ Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 161.

Lewis was not only anxious to acquire the friendſhip of Edward, but the confidence of the Engliſh nation, and of the chief perſons in the Engliſh court. With this view he was profuſe in the diſtribution of preſents; he beſtowed annual penſions, to the amount of ſixteen thouſand crowns, on ſeveral of Edward's favourites; on lord Haſtings, one of two thouſand crowns; on the lords Howard, Stanley, and others, in proportion; and theſe noblemen were not aſhamed thus to receive the wages of corruption from a foreign potentate. Lord Haſtings, indeed, refuſed for ſome years, to give a receipt for his penſion, that no proof of his infamy might be preſerved in the public regiſters of France. As the two armies, after the concluſion of the truce, remained ſome days in the vicinity of each other, Lewis ſent the Engliſh troops a preſent of three hundred cart-loads of the beſt wine his country produced; he likewiſe admitted them freely into Amiens, the place of his reſidence, where he defrayed all their charges, ordering every inkeeper to ſupply them with whatever they ſhould require, without exacting any payment. In conſequence of this indulgence, they flocked thither in ſuch multitudes, that above nine thouſand of them were once in the town at the ſame time, when they might have eaſily ſecured the king's perſon; but Lewis concluding, from their diſſolute manner of living, that no danger was to be apprehended, was careful not to betray the ſmalleſt ſigns of ſuſpicion or miſtruſt; and when Edward, informed of this diſorder, deſired him to ſhut the gates againſt them, he replied, that he never would conſent to exclude the Engliſh from any place where he reſided; but that Edward, if he pleaſed, might recal them, and fix his own officers at the gates of Amiens to prevent their return*.

The extreme eagerneſs of Lewis to acquire the confidence and friendſhip of the Engliſh, had induced him to make ſome imprudent advances, which afterwards cauſed him no ſmall trouble to evade. During the conference on the bridge of Pequigni, he told Edward, that he ſhould be glad to be favored with a viſit from him at Paris, where he would introduce him to the beauties of that metropolis; and, ſhould any offences requiring pardon be the conſequence of ſuch introduction, he would aſſign him the cardinal de Bourbon for a confeſſor†, who would not fail to give him abſolution. This hint made a deeper impreſſion than Lewis intended. Lord Howard, who accompanied him on his return to Amiens, told him, in confidence, that if he were ſo diſpoſed, it would be very poſſible to perſuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris, where they might indulge themſelves in mirth and recreation. Lewis, at firſt, pretended not to hear the offer, but, on Howard's repeating it, he expreſſed his concern, that the war in which he was engaged with the duke of Burgundy, would not permit him to wait on his royal gueſt, and do him the honours he intended. "Edward," ſaid he, privately, to Commines, "is a very handſome, "and a very amorous prince: ſome lady at Paris may like him as well as he ſhall "like her, and may invite him to return thither in another manner. I am very

* Philip de Commines, l. iv. p. 289.

† This cardinal was Charles of Bourbon, youngeſt brother to John the Second, duke of Bourbon.

" glad to have him, for a friend and brother, beyond the ſea; but I am not fond " of his company; his predeceſſors took up their reſidence ſomewhat too long at " Paris and in Normandy. It is better that the ſea be between us."

Lewis, anxious to haſten the departure of the Engliſh, paid, without delay, the ſtiplated ſum, when the Engliſh monarch embarked at Calais, and arrived at England on the twenty-eighth of September. Thus ended an expedition which had given ſuch ſerious alarm to the king of France, and which had been attended with ſuch conſiderable expence, that the money he had received from Lewis, together with his penſion, formed but a very inadequate compenſation to Edward, who could only boaſt of having humbled his adverſary. But that adverſary, regarding intereſt as the ſole teſt of honour, not only bore his humiliation with patience, but conceived that he had obtained a very important advantage over Edward, by purchaſing his departure on ſuch eaſy terms. This, indeed, was a ſource of triumph to Lewis, though he was careful to conceal his joy, and ſtrictly prohibited his courtiers from treating the Engliſh with that mockery and deriſion to which he thought they had fairly ſubjected themſelves. One evening, however, when he was off his guard, his exultations got the better of his prudence, and he indulged himſelf in raillery at the eaſy ſimplicity of Edward and his council; but, while he was talking, he perceived a man ſtanding in one corner of the room, who had overheard all his converſation. He proved to be a Gaſcon merchant, ſettled in England, who had come to aſk the king's permiſſion to export a few pipes of wine, without paying the uſual duties. Lewis was immediately ſenſible of his indiſcretion, and he offered the Gaſcon ſuch advantages in his own country, as engaged him to remain in France. " It is but juſt," ſaid the king, " that I " ſhould pay the penalty of my talkativeneſs*."

Edward, previous to his embarkation, had ſent to appriſe the duke of Burgundy of the truce which he had concluded with Lewis, and to inform him, that he was at liberty to accede to it if he choſe†. But Charles told his envoys, that he had not invited the Engliſh into France to procure him a truce, but merely to furniſh them with the means of repairing their former loſſes; that he had believed Edward to be worthy of the rank he enjoyed, but after his late conduct, he was at liberty to depart as ſoon as he thought proper; and to convince him, purſued the duke, that I ſtand in no need of his aſſiſtance, I engage to conclude neither peace nor truce with France, till three months after his return to England. He was not, however, faithful to his word; for, yielding to the earneſt ſolicitations of Lewis, he was prevailed on to ſend plenipotentiaries to Soleure, a ſmall town in the duchy of Luxembourg, where a truce for nine years was ſigned between France and Burgundy, on the thirteenth of September. The conſtable was the firſt victim of the reconciliation between the two princes; Charles ſwore never to pardon him, and engaged, if he ſhould fall into his hands, to deliver him up to the king; in return for which Lewis engaged to cede to the duke the towns of Saint

* Commines—Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 171. † Commines—Meyer—Le Grand.

Quentin, Ham and Bohain, with all the treaſures which the conſtable had amaſſed. Lewis farther promiſed to give no aſſiſtance, either directly or indirectly, to the young duke of Lorraine, whom he had incited to take up arms againſt Charles; he alſo engaged to aſſiſt Charles againſt the emperor, the citizens of Cologne, and all their adherents. Edward, who was preparing to embark for England, when he heard of this negociation, ſent Thomas Montgomery to the king, to entreat him to make no conceſſion to his proud vaſſal, and to tell him, that if he ſtood in need of aſſiſtance, he would himſelf return in the enſuing ſpring, with all his forces, and aid him to ſubdue the duke of Burgundy. This offer, however, Lewis deemed it prudent to reject.

At the ſame time that the king ſigned a truce with the duke of Burgundy, he prolonged one which he had concluded, about ſix months before, with the king of Arragon, for a year; and, immediately after, he entered into an offenſive and defenſive league with the king of Portugal, againſt prince Ferdinand and his father; by which he engaged to lead an army into the kingdom of Arragon, after Alphonſo ſhould have effected the expulſion of Ferdinand from the kingdom of Caſtile.

Although the duke of Brittany had, as an ally, been comprehended in the truce which Lewis had ſigned with the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, and although Edward had expreſsly declared to the king himſelf, that if any attack were made on the duke, he would aſſiſt him with all his forces, yet Lewis reſolved to profit by the preſent interval of tranquillity to make him accede to ſuch terms as he ſhould chuſe to dictate. Francis unable to oppoſe his efforts, appointed plenipotentiaries, who ſigned a treaty with Lewis; by which the duke renounced all alliance with the enemies of the ſtate, and engaged to aſſiſt the king with all his forces in defence of the kingdom, whenever called on for that purpoſe, but not to march beyond the limits of his duchy.

Lewis now profitted by the abſence of the duke of Burgundy, who was engaged in an attempt to reduce the ducy of Lorraine, to execute his ſchemes of revenge againſt the conſtable. Saint Paul, appriſed of his intentions, renounced all his projects of independence, and only thought of ſaving his life. In this emergency he applied to Charles, to whom he offered to ſurrender all the places in his poſſeſſion, provided he would afford him protection. The duke, notwithſtanding his late engagements with the king, accepted his offer, granted him a ſafe conduct, and ſent a body of troops to take poſſeſſion of Saint Quentin. But he was anticipated by Lewis, who ſuddenly advanced, with twenty thouſand men, to the gates of that town, ſome of whoſe inhabitants he had previouſly engaged in his intereſt; and, at his approach, Saint-Paul fled to Mons. Saint Quentin then opened its gates to the king, who, with equal facility, acquired poſſeſſion of Ham, Bohain, and Beaurevoir. When Lewis had thus diſpoſſeſſed the conſtable of all his places, he called upon Charles to fulfill the conditions of the treaty of Soleure. Charles was then engaged in the ſiege of Nancy, and as he was at a loſs how to act, he wiſhed to defer his anſwer till he had reduced that city, but

Lewis inſiſted on an immediate reply, and ſent orders to the lord of Craon, to advance, with a ſtrong body of troops, to the confines of Lorraine. The duke of Burgundy, conſcious of his inability to complete the reduction of that province, if oppoſed by the king of France, ordered Hugonet and Imbercourt to repair to Mons, and at the expiration of eight days to deliver up the conſtable to the king's envoys. He expected before that time to be maſter of Nancy, when he might ſend a counter order to his miniſters; but the place held out ſome days longer than he expected, and the counter-order arrived *three hours* too late. The conſtable was delivered into the hands of the admiral of France, and the lord of Saint Pierre, who had advanced to the frontiers to receive him: he was thence conveyed to Paris, and having been convicted of high-treaſon by the parliament, he ſuffered decapitation. Lewis ceded the towns of Saint Quentin, Ham, and Bohain to Charles, with all the treaſures and moveable effects of the conſtable, reſerving only for himſelf the eſtates which Saint-Paul poſſeſſed in France. On this occaſion Lewis obſerved, "*That he and the duke of Burgundy had been engaged in a fox-chace; that Charles had carried off the fox's ſkin, which was valuable, but that the fleſh, which was good for nothing, had fallen to his ſhare**."

A. D. 1476.] Charles had, by this time, added the country of Lorraine to his former dominions; but though he poſſeſſed the courage and ambition of a conquerer, he had neither the prudence nor policy of a ſtateſman. Ever ardent in his enterpriſes, and ſwayed by a reſiſtleſs impetuoſity of temper, he liſtened to the complaints of the count of Romont, whoſe territories the Swiſs had invaded, and inconſiderately engaged in a war with that virtuous and hardy people, who were formidable from the poſſeſſion of that courage which freedom inſpires, as well as from their exemption from the luxurious vices of their continental neighbours.

In vain did the Swiſs endeavour to deprecate the wrath of Charles; he was deaf to every propoſal, however ſubmiſſive or advantageous, and entered, with his troops, a bleak and mountainous country, which could only recompenſe his hazard and toils with an abundant harveſt of barren laurels. After reducing ſome inconſiderable places, he laid ſiege to Granſon, which was defended by a garriſon of five hundred Swiſs, who, after a ſpirited reſiſtance, ſurrendered at diſcretion.—Charles immediately conſigned them to the provoſt of his army, who hanged four hundred on the neighbouring trees, and drowned the reſt in the lake of Neuchatel. Soon after the town had ſurrendered, the duke was informed that an army of Swiſs was advancing to attack him; but he diſregarded the intelligence, and purſued his march. As the chief ſtrength of his army conſiſted in cavalry, he muſt certainly have cruſhed the enemy, could he have drawn them into the even plain; but he was no ſooner convinced they were really approaching, than he imprudently entered the defiles of the mountain, where there was no room for his forces to act; the conſequence of this imprudent ſtep was a general

* Garnier.

diſperſion of his troops, who fled with the utmoſt precipitation. After this victory, the Swiſs re-took Granſon by aſſault, when they took down the bodies of their countrymen from the trees to which they were ſuſpended, and replaced them with an equal number of Burgundians.

Charles had ſo long been accuſtomed to the ſmiles of fortune, that he could ill brook the frowns of the fickle goddeſs. His late diſgrace had ſuch effect on his mind, that it brought on a ſevere fit of ſickneſs; but determined on revenge, he ſpeedily raiſed a freſh army, and formed the ſiege of Morat, in the canton of Friburg, a ſmall town, but ſtrongly fortified, and defended by a garriſon of eighteen hundred men.* The duke was repulſed in three different aſſaults; and, after he had paſſed fifteen days before the place, he was informed that the Swiſs army, reinforced by the confederate cities of the Upper Rhine, was advancing to give him battle. Highly pleaſed at the intelligence, he haſtened to reconnoitre the enemy, but his uſual precipitation prevented him from aſcertaining their numbers, which amounted to thirty thouſand infantry, and four thouſand cavalry, whereas his own forces did not exceed twenty-five thouſand effective men. He was adviſed by his officers, to raiſe the ſiege of Morat, and fix his camp in an open plain, where his cavalry, having full ſcope for exertion, would give him a great advantage over the enemy; but his blind rage led him to reject this prudent council, and leaving two hundred lances to guard his lines, he advanced to meet the Swiſs, who were commanded by Rene, the young duke of Lorraine, whoſe territories the duke of Burgundy had ſeized.

On the approach of Charles, Rene poſted his infantry behind a thick hedge, impervious by the cavalry; while Charles ſent his free archers, ſupported by a body of horſe, to diſlodge them; but this manœuvre, failing of effect, cauſed the loſs of the battle; for attempting to withdraw his archers, who were ſeverely handled by the enemy, protected, themſelves, by the hedge, he threw his whole army into diſorder, and the Swiſs, profiting by the occaſion, ruſhed forward and compleated their confuſion. From ſixteen to eighteen thouſand of the Burgundians were left dead on the field; and amongſt them were the count of Marle, one of the ſons of the late conſtable de Saint Paul; James du Mas; Grinberghe, Roſembois, Mailli and Bournonville, all brave and experienced officers.

Charles was now afraid that Lewis, his iveterate and moſt dangerous enemy, would avail himſelf of the preſent conjuncture to break the truce and attack his dominions; he therefore ſent the lord of Contai to ſound his intentions, and to inſpire him, if poſſible, with ſentiments of juſtice and generoſity †. Lewis promiſed to obſerve the truce, from a conviction, that he could not more effectually atchieve the deſtruction of the duke, than by abandoning him to his own unbridled paſſions, and by leaving him to purſue the war againſt the Swiſs, which he ſtill perſevered in with incredible obſtinacy; but he attacked him in a manner

* Commines—Meyer—Chron. Scand.—Haraeus Annal. Brab. † Commines—Le Grand.

leſs honourable, and more inſidious, by endeavouring to corrupt his beſt officers. The count of Campobaſſo, a native of Naples, and exiled from his country as a partiſan of the houſe of Anjou, held the principal place in the favour of Charles; and Lewis, being informed that this man had ſome cauſe for complaint againſt the duke, endeavoured to ſeduce him from his ſervice. Campobaſſo offered more than was required of him; he promiſed to deliver up his maſter to the king, alive or dead. Lewis, either from abhorrence of his treachery which diſſolved all ties between a prince and his ſervant, or from a belief that the plan had been concerted with the duke himſelf, revealed the deſign to Charles. But the character of Lewis induced the duke to deſpiſe the intelligence: "If it were "true, the king would never impart to me ſo important a ſecret," was the reply of Charles; who even redoubled his marks of confidence and attachment to the perfidious Neapoliton.

The duke of Burgundy, overwhelmed with ſhame and indignation, paſſed his melancholy hours at La Riviere; abandoning himſelf to deſpair, he ſuffered his beard and nails to grow, refuſed to change his dreſs, and ſecluded himſelf from the ſight of his moſt confidential miniſters. His extreme anxiety occaſioned an affection of the heart, which prevented the free circulation of the blood, and reſiſted the efforts of medical ſkill. The duke of Lorraine, ſecretly aſſiſted by Lewis, took this opportunity to recover his native dominions; and the rapid progreſs of his arms, with the reduction of Nancy, roufed Charles from his lethargy, and made him haſten to the relief of that province. He determined to inveſt the capital; but, as the winter was far advanced, his moſt experienced officers adviſed him to ſtation his troops in ſome of the neighbouring towns, and to wait patiently till the garriſon of Nancy ſhould have conſumed all their proviſions, when they would be obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. But theſe tardy meaſures by no means accorded with the eager impatience of Charles, who liſtened only to the dictates of indignation; ſo that, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and the general diſcontent of his troops, he gave orders to open the trenches. He then ſhut himſelf up in his tent, and left Campobaſſo to direct the operations of the ſiege. This Italian traitor, who, it was believed had once ſuffered from the ungovernable rage of Charles the indignity of a blow, determined, at all events, to betray the duke; having failed in the application to Lewis, he now offered his ſervices to the duke of Lorraine, to whom he promiſed to give ſufficient time to collect his troops, and even to deliver, for a ſtipulated reward, his maſter to him, alive or dead.

The money which Rene had received from Lewis had enabled him to raiſe an army of eight thouſand Swiſs, which was joined by conſiderable reinforcements from the confederate cities of Germany, and by ſeveral detachments of French troops, who, by the orders of Lewis demanded to ſerve as volunteers, ſo that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of eighteen or twenty thouſand men. The Burgundian army, on the contrary, was ſo weakened by the loſſes they had ſuſtained during the ſiege, by ſickneſs and deſertion, that when it was reviewed

by the count of Chimai, it was found to contain only three thouſand effective men. When the count informed Charles of this circumſtance, who was wholly ignorant of the ſtate of his camp, that prince burſt into a tranſport of rage, and exclaimed—" Were I alone, I would fight the enemy!"—At length, however, the duke opened his eyes to the danger of his ſituation, when he immediately diſpatched orders to the governors of his provinces, to ſend him a reinforcement of troops, and to arm all his vaſſals without delay; but before theſe orders could even be received by thoſe to whom they were addreſſed, the enemy appeared in ſight. On their approach, the count of Campobaſſo quitted the Burgundinn army with his company, which conſiſted of two hundred lances, and went over to the duke of Lorraine; the next day his example was followed by two other Italian captains. The Germans and Swiſs deteſting this perfidy, and thinking it a diſgrace to hold any commerce with ſuch traitors, refuſed to admit them into their ranks, and compelled Rene to diſmiſs them. Campobaſſo and his treacherons companions, being obliged to leave the camp, took their poſt on the bridge of Bouxieraes, in order to cut off the retreat of ſuch of the Burgundians as ſhould eſcape the ſword of the enemy.

A. D. 1477] Charles, whoſe army was now reduced to little more than two thouſand men, called a council of war, the members whereof were unanimous in their opinion on the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege, and avoiding an action; they adviſed Charles, if he were averſe to the evacuation of the province, to intrench himſelf under the walls of Pont-a-Mouſſon, and there wait for the reinforcements which muſt ſoon arrive from Hainaut, Brabant, and the duchy of Luxembourg; and they repreſented to him, that all delays muſt neceſſarily turn to his advantage, ſince his army would daily acquire an acceſſion of ſtrength; whereas that of the enemy, being chiefly compoſed of mercenary troops, would ſoon diſperſe from want of pay and ſubſiſtance.

The duke of Burgundy, who appears, at this period, to have acted under the influence of infatuation, paid no attention to advice, which nothing but the moſt fatal preſumption, or inſanity itſelf, couuld have rejected. He reminded his officers of the glory they had acquired by their former atchievements, and bade them recollect the ever-memorable ſiege of Nuiz, when, with an army inferior, in the proportion of one to three, he had braved the undivided forces of the empire." If we have ſince, " purſued Charles, " ſuſtained ſome loſſes, they have not " afforded any opportunity of triumph to the enemy, who have hitherto kept " themſelves encloſed in inacceſſible places, not daring to face us in the open " field; ſhall we now then, when the opportunity for which we have been ſo " long anxious occurs, heſitate one mement to attack them?—In ſhort, to " whatever ſituation fortune may reduce me, it ſhall never be ſaid that I fled be- " fore a *child:*"—Alluding to the duke of Lorraine.

On the morning of the fifth of January, Charles left his lines and advanced towards the enemy; the rival armies ſoon met, and though the cold was exceſſive, and the ſnow fell in great abundance, the action immediately commenced. The

event was ſuch as might naturally be expected from the extreme diſproportion of numbers; Charles after fulfilling all the duties of a great general, and a brave ſoldier, was at length attacked by Charles de Beaumont, feneſchal of Saint Die; having already received ſeveral wounds, and now finding himſelf faint with loſs of blood, he called out to his adverſary, who did not know with whom he was engaged—"*Save the duke of Burgundy;*"—but Beaumont, who was deaf, thinking he ſaid "*Long live Burgundy,*" aimed a furious blow at his head, which felled him lifeleſs to the ground. Beſides the duke of Burgundy himſelf, there periſhed in this action, his virtuous kinſman, De Bievres; Contai, diſtinguiſhed for his inviolable attachment to his ſovereign; and the lords of Croi and Vieuville. The principal priſoners were Anthony and Baldwin, baſtards of Burgundy; the counts of Naſſau, Rhetel and Chimai; Joſſe de Lalain; the Marquis of Rothelin; young Montaigue; Oliver de la Marche, and the brave Galliot*.

Immediately after the action, the duke of Lorraine entered his capital, amidſt the acclamations of his ſubjects. It was not known what had become of the duke of Burgundy, as he was not among the priſoners, and no one knew that he was killed; it was generally believed that he had fled. But the next day his death was aſcertained by a page, who had been taken by Campobaſſo on the bridge of Bouxierres, and who had ſeen him fall. Being conducted to the ſpot, the body was found covered with blood and dirt, and the face ſo diſfigured, that his own brother only knew him by ſome private marks; by a ſcar in the neck, from a wound which he had received at the battle of Montlheri, and by the extreme length of his nails, which had not been cut ſince the period of his firſt defeat. While the body laid in ſtate at Nancy, the duke of Lorraine, who went to view it, took the lifeleſs hand of his departed kinſman, and burſting into tears, exclaimed—"*Fair couſin, God reſt your ſoul, you was the cauſe of great uneaſineſs, and of great grief to us.*" Charles was interred, with all the honours due to his rank, in the chapel of Saint Nicholas, whence his remains were transferred, in 1550, to the church of Saint Donatus, at Bruges. Thus periſhed, in the forty-fifth year of his age, Charles, the laſt duke of the royal branch of Burgundy, to whoſe name the juſt appellations of—"*the Bold, the Terrible, and the Raſh*"—had been annexed by his people. The death of this prince forms an epoch in the general hiſtory of Europe; ſince it produced an important change not only in the affairs of his own dominions, but even in thoſe of all the neighbouring princes; and greatly contributed to the formation of a political ſyſtem, which, in ſubſequent times, became an object of univerſal attention.

The king was at the caſtle of Pleſſis-les-Tours, when he received the news of the duke of Burgundy's death: the fall of an enemy affords, to a baſe and abject mind, a theme for exultation, and a ſubject for triumph; ſuch a mind was that of Lewis, who was neither anxious to repreſs, nor careful to conceal

* Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 248, 249.

the ſenſations of joy which he experienced on this occaſion. He immediately diſpatched couriers to all the different towns in the kingdom, to all the perſons of diſtinction, and particularly to the duke of Brittany, to inform them of the *happy* event. He performed a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of the Virgin, at Pui in Anjou, and, as a mark of his gratitude, promiſed to ſurround the tomb of Saint Martin with a ſilver baluſtrade.

The death of Charles opened a wide and flattering proſpect to the ambition of Lewis. His daughter, Mary, ſole heireſs of the houſe of Burgundy, had been ſucceſſively promiſed by her father to ſeveral different princes, according as their alliances were favourable to the ambitious projects he entertained. This rendered the union with her an important object to all the potentates of Chriſtendom; and the eſſential advantages of acquiring poſſeſſion of her territories, at that time the moſt opulent and beſt cultivated of any on this ſide the Alps, were perfectly underſtood. As ſoon, then, as the untimely death of Charles opened the ſucceſſion, the eyes of all the European princes were turned towards Mary; and they felt themſelves deeply intereſted in the choice which ſhe was about to make of the perſon on whom ſhe would beſtow that rich inheritance.

Lewis, from whoſe kingdom ſeveral of the provinces which ſhe poſſeſſed had been diſmembered, and whoſe dominions ſtretched along the frontier of her territories, had every inducement to court her alliance. He had likewiſe a good title to expect the favourable reception of any reaſonable propoſitions he ſhould make with reſpect to the diſpoſal of a princeſs who was the vaſſal of his crown, and deſcended from the royal blood of France. There were only two propoſitions, however, which he could make with propriety: the one was the marriage of the dauphin, the other, that of the count of Angouleme, a prince of the blood, deſcended from a younger branch of the houſe of Orleans, with the heireſs of Burgundy. By the former he would have annexed all her territories to the crown, and have rendered France the moſt reſpectable monarchy in Europe; but the great diſparity of age between the two parties, Mary being twenty, and the dauphin only eight years old; the avowed reſolution of the Flemings, not to chuſe a maſter poſſeſſed of ſuch power as might enable him to form projects dangerous to their liberties, together with their dread of falling under the odious and oppreſſive government of Lewis, were obſtacles in the way of executing this plan, which it was vain to think of ſurmounting. By the latter, which might have been accompliſhed with facility, Mary having diſcovered ſome inclination to a match with the count of Angouleme, Lewis would have prevented the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy from being conveyed to a rival power; and, in return for ſuch a ſplendid eſtabliſhment for the count of Angouleme, he muſt have obtained, or would have extorted from him, conceſſions highly beneficial to the crown of France. But Lewis had ſo long been accuſtomed to the intricacies of

an inſidious policy, that he could not be ſatisfied with what was obvious, and ſimple; and was ſo fond of artifice and refinement, that he brought himſelf to conſider theſe as his ultimate object, not as the means only of conducting affairs.* From this principle, no leſs than from his unwillingneſs to aggrandiſe any of his own ſubjects, or, perhaps, from the deſire of oppreſſing the houſe of Burgundy, which he hated, he neglected the ſtraight path, which would naturally have been purſued by a prince of leſs art and inferior abilities, and followed one more ſuited to his own genius.

He propoſed to render himſelf, by force of arms, maſter of thoſe provinces which Mary held of the crown of France, and even to puſh his conqueſts into her other territories, while he amuſed her with inſiſting on the impracticable match with the dauphin. Having previouſly corrupted the leading men in the provinces of Burgundy and Artois, he ſent an army into the former, under the command of the prince of Orange, whom he had allured into his ſervice by ſplendid promiſes; the lord of Craon, and Charles d'Amboiſe, lord of Chaumont. Theſe generals were accompanied by the biſhop of Langres; John de Caulers, William Allegrin, and Peter Tarquain, judges in the court of parliament; who were inveſted with full powers to take poſſeſſion of the province in the king's name. Theſe deputies addreſſed themſelves to the ſtates of Burgundy, who were then aſſembled at Dijon, and ſummoned them to acknowledge the authority of Lewis, within the ſpace of twelve days at fartheſt.

The king maintained that his claim to the duchy of Burgundy was not to be diſputed, ſince that duchy had been ceded, as an appanage, by king John to his ſon Phillip; and it was a law, generally received, that no appanage could be poſſeſſed by a female, but, in default of heirs male, muſt revert to the crown. To this plea it was objected by Mary, and her council, that the duchy of Burgundy was different from all other appanages, inaſmuch as it never had conſtituted a part of the domain of the crown, and therefore it ought not to be annexed to it; they, moreover, urged, that ſhould this objection with regard to the duchy be over-ruled, ſtill there were ſeveral lordſhips in Burgundy, to which the king could have no poſſible claim; the county of Charolois had been purchaſed of the count of Armagnac by one of Mary's anceſtors; the counties of Maçon and Auxerre, too, had been ceded to her grandfather, Philip the Good, by the treaty of Arras, and it was expreſsly ſtipulated in the deed of ceſſion, that it was to deſcend to his heirs, male *and* female; of this part of her inheritance, therefore, there could be no poſſible pretenſion for deſpoiling her: theſe reaſons, however, were deemed inſufficient by the ſtates, who had been bribed by Lewis to betray their ſovereign, and, on the twenty-ninth of January, the whole province took the oaths of allegiance to the king of France.

During theſe proceedings in Burgundy, another army had advanced to the frontiers of Picardy, ſecured the towns on the Somme, and puſhed its conqueſts into the province of Artois. Abbeville, Arras, Ham, Rohain, Saint Quentin,

* Robertſon.

Montdidier, Montrueil, and Peronne, were either ſurrendered to Lewis through the treachery of their governors, or elſe opened their gates in conſequence of his intrigues with the inhabitants.

In purſuance of the plan which he had adopted for deceiving the heireſs of Burgundy, by proteſtations of friendſhip and propoſals of marriage, while he was employed in deſpoiling her of her provinces; he ſent one Oliver, who from his barber had become his chief favourite, in the capacity of an ambaſſador to Ghent*. This man had orders to ſeduce the inhabitants of Ghent from their duty to Mary, and, if poſſible, to excite an inſurrection; but his deſign being diſcovered, the populace threatened to throw him into the river, ſo that he was obliged to decamp with precipitation.

Soon after this event, Hugonet, chancellor of Burgundy; Guy de Brimieu, lord of Imbercourt; the biſhop of Térouanne; the count of Grandpré, and Gruthuſe, arrived at the French court, as ambaſſadors from Mary. They came to inform the king, that the young princeſs had taken the reigns of government into her own hands, and had appointed a council, conſiſting of the ducheſs-dowager, the lord of Raveſtein, Hugonet, and Imbercourt; ſhe, therefore, requeſted his majeſty to addreſs himſelf to them whenever he had any propoſals to make, or affairs to negociate with her, and to give no credit to applications from any other quarter. The letter, containing this information and this requeſt, was written partly by Mary herſelf, partly by the ducheſs-dowager, and partly by the lord of Raveſtein†. The king, after he had read the letter, aſked the ambaſſadors, What elſe they had to communicate? and on their reply that they had nothing farther to impart, he expreſſed his ſurpriſe, declaring it was his intention to marry the dauphin to their young miſtreſs, and, conſequently, to take charge of her dominions; that he expected to govern all thoſe provinces which were to revert to the crown, in his own name, but that the others he ſhould only keep till the princeſs came of age and did homage to him. The ambaſſadors making no reply, the king added, that the only means of preventing the continuance of a bloody war, and of ſecuring the inheritance of Mary, was by accepting the propoſals he had juſt made. The ambaſſadors perſiſted in affirming that they had no inſtructions on that head; but Hugonet and Imbercourt, who had the chief management of public affairs, thought it prudent to yield to the neceſſity of the times. They ſaw the king at the head of a numerous army, poſſeſſed of greater power than all his enemies united, and he no ſooner appeared than all the towns opened their gates to him: whereas the ducheſs of Burgundy was wholly deſtitute of ſupport; ſhe enjoyed, as yet, but a precarious authority; her country was drained both of men and money; while the towns refuſed to obey her, and inſiſted on the reſtoration of their ancient privileges. In this ſituation, they conceived that a marriage with the dauphin would be the moſt fortunate event that could occur for their ſovereign; and as they had no doubt of the king's ſincerity,

* Commines—Meyer—Le Graud.

† Commines—Chron. Scand.—Le Grand—Heuterus rerum Belgicarum.

they promiſed to acceſerate the concluſion of the buſineſs as much as poſſible; and, for this purpoſe, they conſented to ſurrender the province of Artois into the hands of Lewis, on condition that it ſhould be reſtored to Mary, after ſhe had done homage, unleſs ſhe ſhould marry any of the king's enemies, in which caſe the province was to be annexed to the crown of France.

Although Hugonet and Imbercourt had exceeded their power in ſigning this treaty, yet their conduct had certainly been ſwayed by the beſt of motives. Soon after their return to Flanders, Mary, whoſe only reſource conſiſted in the attachment of her ſubjects, aſſembled the ſtates at Ghent, who promiſed to protect her, but fixed the diminution of her power as the price of their protection. They created a council of regency, who ſeized the reigns of government, and ſent ambaſſadors to the king, to requeſt he would obſerve the treaty of Soleure, and protect the heireſs of Burgundy, as, by that treaty, he was bound to do. Lewis received them with extreme coolneſs; and when they obſerved, that it was the intention of the ducheſs to regulate her conduct, in future, by the advice of the ſtates; the king interrupted them—"Stop"—ſaid he—"you are deceived; I know the "intentions of your miſtreſs better than you do; and, ſo far from ſubmitting to "be guided by the advice of the three eſtates, ſhe has already formed a ſecret "council, compoſed of perſons who are averſe from peace, and who will diſa-"vow you." The ambaſſadors thinking themſelves inſulted, affirmed that they had advanced nothing but what they were able to prove, and offered to ſhew their inſtructions: "And I"—replied Lewis—"can ſhew you a letter, the writing of "which you muſt know, and which will convince you that Mary has repoſed her "confidence in four perſons, by whoſe advice alone her conduct is regulated."—He then not only ſhewed them the letter, but allowed them to take it away with them. The ambaſſadors immediately returned to Ghent, and ſhewed the letter to the ſtates of Flanders, who reproached their ſovereign with duplicity; excited a popular inſurrection; and, having ſeized Hugonet and Imbercourt, brought them immediately to trial, tortured them with extreme cruelty, and, unmoved by the tears and entreaties of Mary, beheaded them in her preſence.*

Lewis, who probably had only meant, by his treacherous conduct, to excite an inſurrection in Flanders, was extremely enraged when he heard of the death of the two miniſters; he declared the inhabitants of Ghent guilty of high treaſon; annulled the ſentence they had pronounced againſt Hugonet and Imbercourt, and took the children of the former under his protection. His indignation was greatly encreaſed by the conſideration that their death diſconcerted the meaſures he had adopted with regard to the province of Artois†. To counteract the efforts of this event, he immediately raiſed a powerful army, and, after leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Arras, advanced againſt Heſdin. In the courſe of this expedition, Lewis diſplayed the cruelty of his diſpoſition; twelve deputies from Arras he cauſed to be ſeized and executed, after he had received them with kindneſs, and regaled them

* Phil. de Commines. † Idem.—Cabinet Satirique.—Heuter. rer. Belg.—Le Grand.

with apparent hoſpitality; he violated the faith of treaties, and after a town had capitulated, he would frequently ſelect ſuch as he knew to be moſt attached to their lawful ſovereign, and put them to death, in cool blood. Yet ſtill his progreſs was rapid; the important city of Cambrai opened her gates to him, while the addreſs of his favourite, Oliver, procured him poſſeſſion of Tournay. At the ſiege of Bouchain, death had nearly put a ſtop to all his ambitious ſchemes, for Tanneguy du Chatel was killed by a cannon ball as the king was leaning on his ſhoulder. Bouchain, however, was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating; and le Queſnoi was taken by aſſault. Aveſne, making an obſtinate reſiſtance, Lewis, who was ever more formidable from his ſtratagems than his arms, invited the principal officers of the garriſon to his camp, under pretence of holding a conference, while Dammartin ſtormed the town, and reſigned it to pillage*.

Another army, under the command of Deſquerdes and du Lude, laid ſiege to Saint Omer, which was valiantly defended by Philip, ſon to Anthony, baſtard of Burgundy. Lewis, enraged at the gallant reſiſtance made by this youthful warrior, threatened to maſſacre his father, before his eyes, unleſs he ſurrendered the place; but Philip replied—That, tenderly as he loved his father, he would ſtill do his duty, nor ever conſent to deliver up a town with the defence whereof he had been entruſted. The king did not think proper to put his threats in execution; but the war continued to rage with greater violence than ever; he ſent four thouſand mowers to Dammartin, adviſing him to treat them with a few barrels of wine, in order to encourage them to deſtroy every thing that came in their way, and he deſired that the country might be ſo effectually deſtroyed, that the inhabitants might never wiſh to return to it†.

So long as the war was confined to the provinces of Burgundy, Luxembourg, Hainaut, and Artois, the Flemings were rather pleaſed than diſpleaſed at the ſucceſs of the French arms; they kept their princeſs in a kind of captivity, and as they did not like to ſee their ſovereigns poſſeſſed of too much power, they would not have been ſorry to ſee her reduced to the rank of counteſs of Flanders. But when the French approached their frontiers, and the garriſon of Tournay ſpread devaſtation throughout their country, they then perceived the neceſſity of defending themſelves from the attacks of ſuch dangerous invaders, and accordingly levied an army of twenty thouſand men. At a loſs for a leader, they fixed their eyes on Adolphus of Gueldres, who, by his unnatural conduct, had obliged his father to diſinherit him. They took him from priſon to place him at the head of their troops; and encouraged him by a promiſe to give him their princeſs in marriage, if he ſucceeded in delivering their country from the deſtructive incurſions of the garriſon of Tournay. Stimulated by ſuch powerful motives, Adolphus directed his march to that city; but a diſpute ariſing between the militia of Ghent and that of Bruges, his army was thrown into confuſion, and the garriſon of

*. Commines—Heuterus—Chron. Scand.—Le Grand. † Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 306.

Tournay ſeized this opportunity to make a vigorous ſally, in which the Flemings were defeated, and Adolphus loſt his life.

While Lewis was thus endeavouring, by a conduct the moſt baſe and perfidious, to diſpoſſeſs the heireſs of Burgundy of her lawful inheritance, the ſtates of Flanders had opened a negociation with the emperor, Frederick the Third; and they now concluded a treaty of marriage—which Lewis in vain attempted to prevent—between their ſovereign, and his ſon, Maximilian, archduke of Auſtria. The illuſtrious birth of that prince, as well as the high dignity to which he had the proſpect of ſucceeding, rendered the alliance honorable for Mary; while, from the diſtance of his hereditary territories, and the ſcantineſs of his revenues, his power was too inconſiderable to excite the jealouſy or fear of the Flemings. Thus Lewis, by the caprice of his temper, and the exceſs of his refinements, put the houſe of Auſtria in poſſeſſion of that noble inheritance; and loſt an opportunity which he never could recal, of making that important acquiſition, which would have rendered him the moſt formidable potentate in Chriſtendom. Thus, too, the ſame monarch who firſt united the interior force of France, and eſtabliſhed it on ſuch a footing, as to make it formidable to the reſt of Europe, contributed, far contrary to his intention, to raiſe up a rival power, which, during two centuries, thwarted the meaſures, oppoſed the arms, and checked the progreſs of his ſucceſſors.

During the celebration of theſe important nuptials, the French troops ſpread over the Netherlands, reduced to aſhes the towns of Orchies, Turquoin, Freſne les Buſſeaux, Saint-Sauveur, Marchiennes, and Harbec. In Burgundy, too, the flames of war raged with equal fury; John, prince of Orange, whom Lewis had allured to his ſervice by a promiſe to make him his lieutenant-general in Burgundy, and to reſtore his family poſſeſſions, finding himſelf deceived by that monarch, who refuſed to fulfil his promiſes, excited a revolution in the duchy, and procured from Mary the dignity which had been withholden from him by Lewis. Two Burgundian captains, Claude and William de Vaudrai, collected a body of troops, and ſeiſed the towns of Veſoul, Rochefort and Axonne. Craon, whom Lewis had appointed governor of Burgundy, with unlimited power, attempted to retake Veſoul, but the garriſon made a ſally during the night, and cut his whole army to peices. When the king was informed of this revolution, he was unable to reſtrain his anger; he wrote immediately to Craon, ordering him, in caſe he could get the prince of Orange into his power, either *to burn him alive, or elſe to hang him firſt, and then commit his body to the flames.* He ordered a criminal proceſs to be inſtituted againſt the prince, who, though abſent, was pronounced a traitor, and as ſuch condemned to die. The prince, however, continued his operations, and, in a ſhort time, expelled the French from all the places they poſſeſſed in the county of Burgundy, except the town of Grai, of which an old warrior, of the name of Salazar, was governor. This place was inveſted by Chateau-Guyon, who had a numerous body of cavalry, and ſome regiments of infantry under his command, and daily expected to be joined by

freſh reinforcements. Craon, however, prevented the junction of theſe troops, by defeating the army under Chateau-Guyon, whom he made priſoner; but, while he was obtaining this advantage in the county of Burgundy, Toulonjon and Marigni entered the duchy, reduced ſeveral towns, and excited a general ferment. The towns, however, were ſoon retaken by Craon, who, having expelled Toulonjon and Marigni from the duchy, returned to the county, and defeated a detachment of the garriſon of Dale. Not doubting but that the inhabitants, alarmed at this diſaſter, would ſoon ſurrender the place, he laid ſiege to it, and, after he had battered the walls for a week, he ordered an aſſault to be made, without conſidering whether the breach was practicable; in conſequence of this neglect, he was repulſed with loſs; in the ſecond aſſault he was equally unſucceſsful, and in the two he loſt a thouſand men. Having received intelligence that the enemy were advancing to give him battle, he raiſed the ſiege with precipitation, and retreated towards the duchy, but he was overtaken by the two brothers, de Vaudrai, who attacked the French, and obtained a complete victory. The victors then formed the ſiege of Grai, but as they could not expect to reduce, by open force, a place ſo ſtrongly fortified, ſo advantageouſly ſituated, ſo well ſupplied with proviſions and ammunition of all kinds, and defended, moreover, by ſuch an experienced officer as Salazar, they began by corrupting the inhabitants, and having eſtabliſhed a correſpondence in the town, they approached the walls one windy night, and, planting their ladders, about ſixty of the moſt determined mounted the wall, and opening one of the gates, introduced their companions. The whole army entered the town, before the French could aſſemble their troops; Salazar, perceiving that the citizens had joined the enemy, ſet fire to the place, in the hope that his men would effect their eſcape, during the confuſion which the conflagration muſt neceſſarily occaſion; but they all of them periſhed; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he could ſave his own life, and reach Dijon in ſafety.

Theſe loſſes made the king determine to attend to the propoſals of Maximilian; although there was no proſpect of concluding a peace, Lewis thought a truce might be of uſe to him, as it would give him time to repair the loſſes he had ſuſtained in Burgundy; to aſcertain with greater preciſion the reſources of his new adverſary; and to ſound the diſpoſitions of the neighbouring powers.

Maximilian, almoſt immediately after the celebration of his nuptials, had ſent ambaſſadors to the king to complain of his violation of the treaty of Soleure, in attacking the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy; at the ſame time, he offered to make peace with Lewis, and declared that if his propoſal ſhould be rejected, the king would find that he neither wanted courage nor ability to defend himſelf. Lewis replied, that he had only taken up arms to defend the rights of his crown, as he was bound to do by his coronation oath; that Mary kept from him provinces which had reverted to the crown on the death of Charles, the late duke of Burgundy; that ſhe was in poſſeſſion of others, for which ſhe ought to pay homage; and that he was willing to conclude a truce, provided the ſacrifice

of his lawful rights ſhould not be required as the price of it. He accordingly appointed plenipotentiaries to confer with thoſe of Maximilian; and theſe miniſters having met at Lens, concluded a truce, without expreſſing any term for its duration, and ſtipu'ating that only four days notice ſhould be given by either party who ſhould be inclined to break it. This truce was ſtrictly obſerved in the Netherlands, but it was not publiſhed in Burgundy. Lewis, inceſſantly harraſſed by complaints from that province againſt Craon, and imputing to the avarice of that general all the calamities of the war, deprived him of his government, and baniſhed him to his own eſtate. He was ſucceeded by Charles D'Amboiſe, better known by the name of Chaumont, who, to great military talents, joined the more amiable endowments of an humane, diſintereſted, and virtuous mind.

The ardour with which Lewis had engaged in the war, had not made him loſe ſight of other matters equally eſſential to the promotion of his ambitious projects. Foreſeeing that the authority of Maximil an would no ſooner be acknowledged in the Netherlands, than that prince would endeavour to ſecure the Engliſh monarch in his intereſt, he prudently reſolved to anticipate him. With this view he ſent the archbiſhop of Vienne, and three other envoys to England; and he took care to embark with them a conſiderable ſum of money, as well for diſcharging arrears of Edward's penſion, as thoſe of his miniſters and favourites. Theſe golden arguments proved ſo convinſive, that the archbiſhop found no difficulty in prolonging the truce, which was originally concluded for only ſeven years, but which it was now agreed to continue during the life of the two kings, and for one year after*. Lewis alſo concluded treaties of alliance with the duke of Lorraine, and the republick of Venice.

Spain was now the only power from whom the king had any reaſon to apprehend an attack; and in order to remove theſe apprehenſions, and to be at liberty to direct his whole force againſt the houſe of Burgundy, he reſolved to acknowledge Ferdinand and Iſabella as the ſovereigns of Caſtile, on which condition he obtained the prolongation of a truce which he had before concluded with thoſe princeſs†. Adolphus, king of Portugal, who had always flattered himſelf that Lewis would enable him to enforce the pretenſions of his neice Jane to the throne of Caſtile, and who had been ſome time at the court of France, ſoliciting the neceſſary aſſiſtance for that purpoſe, was no ſooner appriſed of this treaty, than he gave up his cauſe for loſt, and even began to entertain apprehenſions for his perſonal ſafety, which the coolneſs he experienced at the French court was but too well calculated to confirm. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, and having no other mode of returning to Portugal but by a French veſſel, he gave it out that he intended to retire from the world, and to conſecrate the remainder of his days to prayer and penitence. He wrote to his ſon, prince Juan, bidding him an eternal adieu, and ordering him to proceed to his own coronation without a moment's delay; and after he had ſent

* Commines—Dom Calmet—Ferreras—Le Grand. † Ferreras, Hiſt. D'Eſpagne—Le Grand.

off the letter, he left the court, and retired to ſome private place. It was reported that he had undertaken a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, but he was ſought for with ſuch care, that his reſidence was diſcovered in a village near Honfleur. Lewis, having received intelligence from his ſpies, that Ferdinand and Iſabella were actually engaged in a negociation with Maximilian, became anxious to oppoſe the extenſion of their power, by means of a rival, who, though frequently defeated, was ſtill formidable; he, therefore, preſſed Alphonſo to return to his dominions, and made the province of Normandy defray the expence of his voyage. On the return of Alphonſo, his ſon reſigned, with chearful alacrity, the ſceptre he had ſo lately aſſumed; nor could the reiterated commands of his father ſuffice to make him replace the diadem on his brows.

The ſanguinary diſpoſition of Lewis encreaſed with his years; he had nouriſhed an inceſſant deſire of vengeance againſt James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, one of the firſt nobles of the realm, and who appeared a zealous confederate in the "*League for the public good*:" he was alſo accuſed of having maintained a correſpondence with the late conſtable, and of having joined the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy in inviting the Engliſh into France. The duke, to avoid the reſentment of his implacable maſter, had retired to the fortreſs of Carlat, in the mountains of Auvergne; whither the lord of Beaujeu was ſent with a powerful army. The ducheſs of Nemours, daughter to the count of Maine, and couſin-german to the king, had juſt lain-in; and a falſe report, that her huſband had fallen into the hands of the enemy, having reached her ears, occaſioned her almoſt inſtant death. The duke, diſtracted at the loſs of a conſort whom he highly cheriſhed, gave himſelf up to deſpair; and though Carlat was deemed an impregnable fortreſs, and he had been careful to ſupply it with ſufficient proviſions for a conſiderable length of time, he entered into a negociation with the lord of Beaujeu, and reſigned himſelf into his power, on the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that his life ſhould be ſafe, and that he ſhould be allowed the privilege of juſtifying his conduct. But Lewis, who diſregarded all thoſe ties which even men of common honeſty reſpect, cauſed his noble priſoner, in violation of this ſolemn contract, to be thrown into a cold damp dungeon, at the caſtle of Pierre-enciſe, where, we are told, the hardſhips he ſuſtained made his hair turn perfectly white*; he was then conveyed to the Baſtile, and ſome vague accuſation of an attempt to corrupt his guards were uſed as a pretence for confining him in an iron cage. Commiſſioners were appointed to try him, but the king, diſpleaſed with their diſpoſition to lenity, referred the deciſion of the cauſe to the parliament of Paris, to whom the commiſſioners were afterwards joined, with ſome other judges of the provincial courts. Three members of the parliament, having ſpoken in favour of the priſoner, were immediately deprived of their places by the king's arbitrary will; and when the parliament remonſtrated on the illegality

* Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 330.

of this proceeding, they were fever. ly reprimanded by the tyrant. Not even the ſhadow of a proof was produced againſt the duke: but he was unhappily allured, by the hopes of mercy, to make an ample confeſſion, on which alone his condemnation was pronounced. Being declared guilty of high-treaſon, he was ſentenced to loſe his head, and his property was confiſcated to the crown. The king's inhumanity extended beyond the ſentence; by a refinement of cruelty, unprecedented in the annals of tyranny, he commanded the duke's two ſons—the eldeſt of whom had but juſt completed his ninth year—to be placed immediately under the ſcaffold prepared for the execution, that the blood of the father might drop on the heads of his children*. It is degrading to human nature to find men capable of executing commands ſo truly diabolical!

The inſufficiency of the proofs which had been adduced againſt the duke of Nemours led the king, immediately after his execution, to publiſh an edict, by which all perſons who ſhould be privy to any plot formed againſt the perſon of the king, the queen, or the dauphin, and who ſhould not deliver up the author of ſuch plot to juſtice, were declared guilty of high-treaſon, and ſubjected to the puniſhment annexed to that crime.

A. D. 1478, to 1480] Soon after the publication of this edict, the king annexed the county of Boulogne to the crown; but a difficulty occured on the occaſion: this territory was a fief ſubject to the county of Artois, and as the king was not in poſſeſſion of the whole of that province, and might, poſſibly, on the concluſion of a peace, be compelled to reſtore the towns he had taken to the houſe of Burgundy, Artois being a part of Mary's inheritance, which could not be diſputed on the ſame ground as the duchy of Burgundy, he would, in that caſe, become a vaſſal to one of his own vaſſals. To obviate this objection, Lewis, in virtue of his royal authority, transferred the ſovereignty of the county he had juſt annexed to the crown, to *the Image of the Virgin*, which was holden in great eſtimation at Boulogne; to this image he preſented a golden heart, in weight equal to thirteen marks, as a feudal tribute, and bound his ſucceſſors to do homage to the image, and to pay the ſame tribute on their acceſſion to the throne†.

Of all the alliances which Lewis had been ſtudious to form, the moſt advantageous was that which he concluded with the Swiſs; excluſive of a penſion of twenty thouſand livres which he conſented to pay them, he deſtined an equal ſum to be diſtributed annually among the principal men of the nation, by which well-timed liberality he acquired ſuch credit with the Swiſs, that they not only engaged to make no oppoſition to the conqueſt of Franche-Comté, but even to aſſiſt him in reducing it; and they likewiſe conferred on him the title of Firſt Ally of the cantons.

While the king was thus anxious to ſecure the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of the neighbouring powers, he ſpared neither pains nor expence, to allure to his ſervice

* Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 340. † Idem.

ſuch of the Burgundian nobility as ſtill remained attached to Mary and Maximilian. With this view he ceded to Anthony, Baſtard of Burgundy, the county of Oſtrevant, the hundred of Bapaume, and the lordſhip of Bouchain; and he was equally generous to all the traitors whom he had already detached from the ſervice of their lawful ſovereign. But while he was thus liberal in his gifts, he took care to oppreſs his people, by an almoſt annual increaſe of impoſts. He this year claimed from the ſtates of Languedoc, an additional contribution of two hundred and ſixty thouſand four hundred and twenty-four livres, which ſum, he ſaid, was abſolutely neceſſary to enable him to unite to the crown the provinces of Burgundy, Artois and Flanders, which were *unjuſtly* withholden from him.

Conſcious, however, of the invalidity of his claims to the two laſt provinces, he had recourſe to the moſt curious expedient for procuring a title. He cauſed a criminal proceſs to be inſtituted againſt the late duke of Burgundy, for felony and treaſon, in order to obtain a ſentence of condemnation againſt him, which would be attended with a confiſcation of all the territories which he had holden of the crown of France. The preparations for this trial of a dead vaſſal alarmed Mary and Maximilian, who claimed the aſſiſtance of the empire; and Frederic accordingly ſent a remonſtrance to Lewis on the injuſtice of his conduct, but it was not by arguments that he was to be deterred from the purſuit of his ambitious projects.

The king opened the campaign by the ſiege of Conde, a ſmall town, but important from ſituation, as it lay between Tournay and Valenciennes: as the garriſon only conſiſted of three hundred men, it was ſoon obliged to ſurrender. Immediately after its reduction, Maximilian, having aſſembled the militia of Flanders, and the auxiliary troops which he had received from the emperor, advanced as far as Valenciennes with the view to bring the king to a deciſive action. But Lewis, unwilling to riſk, on the event of a battle, thoſe ſolid advantages which he had derived from his diſhoneſt policy, diſtributed his forces in the fortified towns, and retired to Cambrai. He ſoon after concluded a truce with Maximilian, by which he conſented to reſtore all the places he had taken in Hainaut and Franche-Comté; to withdraw his troops from Tournay, and to evacuate the town of Cambrai.

The public, who were unacquainted with the king's motive for ſigning ſuch a treaty, at a time when he was rather in a ſituation to preſcribe terms than to make conceſſions, loudly cenſured his conduct. But Lewis, alike heedleſs of the cenſures and complaints of his people, continued to purſue his own ſyſtem of policy. The conſiderations by which he had been influenced in the concluſion of the late truce, were theſe: he had received information that Maximilian, profiting by the opportunity afforded him by a meeting of the imperial diet, had repreſented, in ſtrong terms, the conſequences of the king's attempts on provinces which were not holden of the crown of France, and had acquired a great number of partiſans; that the emperor Frederic having terminated all his diſputes with

the king of Hungary, that monarch had engaged to ſend him a ſupply of the empire againſt the Swiſs, if they continued to furniſh France with troops; and, laſtly, that a league was forming againſt France, into which not only the princes of the empire, but the Venetians, the kings of Arragon and Caſtile, had promiſed to enter. He therefore prudently reſolved to diſarm theſe princes by an appearance of moderation, and by a voluntary ceſſion of places which, ſooner or later, he muſt have been compelled to ſurrender, ſince he could have no poſſible pretenſions for retaining them. This ſhew of juſtice and equity, by effecting a diſſolution of the German league, ruined the hopes of Maximilian, and reduced him to the forces of his own territories. The motive which ſuperinduced the evacuation of Tournay was equally politic: the garriſon of that town, by incommoding the Flemings, obliged them, in their own defence, to preſerve their allegiance to Maximilian; the king therefore imagined, that ſo ſoon as the danger ſhould be removed to a greater diſtance, and they ſhould have nothing to fear for themſelves, their ſpirit of ſedition would return, and far from ſeconding the efforts of their prince, they would encreaſe his embarraſſment, and rejoice in his diſgrace. The event juſtified his opinion.

The latter years of the reign of Lewis were paſſed in alternate hoſtilities and negociations, the former marked by no event of importance, the latter diſtinguiſhed only for a ſpirit of treachery and decit, that was viſible in every tranſaction in which that infamous monarch had any concern. His interference in the affairs of Italy forms a ſingle exception to the general remark. The wealth of the family of Medici, acquired by trade, and the magnificent ſpirit of the firſt Coſmo, gave him ſuch an aſcendency over his countrymen, that though the forms of a popular government were preſerved, he was in reality the head of the commonwealth.—A conſiderable degree of his power he tranſmitted to his deſcendants; his grandſons, Laurence and Julian, having rendered themſelves obnoxious to pope Sixtus the Fourth, that pontiff did not ſcruple to engage ſome envious citizens of Florence in a conſpiracy againſt their lives. The church was fixed on as the ſcene of action; Julian periſhed by the daggers of the aſſaſſins, but Laurence was preſerved amidſt the tumult by the zeal and fidelity of his friends. At the ſame moment the troops of Sixtus entered the territories of Florence, and extended their deva ſtations to the gates of the city. The houſe of Medici, unequal to the conteſt, implored the protection of the king of France. Lewis, though the ſlave of ſuperſtition the moſt abject, aſſerted, on this occaſion, the pretenſions of Laurence againſt the ſovereign pontiff; and the court of Rome, after an ineffectual diſplay of thoſe arts for which ſhe was celebrated, was compelled to recall her cenſures, and yield to the powerful mediation of the king of France.

The ſovereignty of Genoa, which had been formerly ceded by France to the duke of Milan, was now again offered to the acceptance of Lewis, who wiſely refuſed the dangerous honour: to the ambaſſadors who were ſent to make him the offer, he returned this laconic anſwer—"*The Genoeſe give themſelves to me, and "I give them to the devil!*"

The king's turbulent and ſuſpicious ſpirit would never ſuffer him to be at eaſe ſo long as there was a prince or nobleman in his dominions, poſſeſſed of ſufficient power and authority to enforce reſpect and to render himſelf formidable. Though the duke of Brittany had obſerved a perfect neutrality during the late hoſtilities, Lewis ſeiſed ſome of his towns, and, in order to intimidate the duke into a compliance with whatever demands he might chuſe to prefer, he purchaſed, of the remaining heirs, all the rights of the houſe of Ponthievre to the duchy of Brittany*. He alſo ſuborned a man of infamous character, whoſe name was Doyac, to ſtand forward as the accuſer of the duke of Bourbon; and the parliament of Paris diſplayed a willingneſs to favour the nefarious projects of their ſovereign. But the popularity of the duke of Bourbon ſecured him from the wicked attempt; while the perjury of Doyac, which ought to have incurred the ſevereſt puniſhment, was rewarded by Lewis with the government of Auvergne.

In 1479, Lewis made an attempt to complete the reduction of Franche-Comté. Chaumont d'Amboiſe, with a ſtrong body of troops, after defeating the militia of the province, laid ſiege to the town of Dole; which, having been betrayed by the garriſon, was immediately reduced to aſhes, while the citizens were inhumanly maſſacred by the French. Moſt of the other towns, intimidated by this act of ſeverity, opened their gates on the approach of the troops. In the Low Countries, however, the French were not equally ſucceſsful. Virton, a ſtrong town in the duchy of Luxembourg, was retaken by the mareſchal of Burgundy; at the ſame time that Maximilian, with an army of twenty thouſand men, laid ſiege to Terouanne. The mareſchals Deſquerdes and de Gié, were ſent to oppoſe this formidable force; and at the village of Guinegatte the hoſtile armies met. The German cavalry were broken by the impetuous charge of the French, who, inconſiderately, purſued them to a great diſtance, while the archers, thinking the day was won, haſtened to ſeize the enemy's baggage; but the count de Romont, who commanded the Flemiſh infantry, immediately attacked them, and put them to flight, ſo that the cavalry, on their return from the purſuit, found the enemy in the poſſeſſion of the field. Yet the ſlaughter appears to have been nearly equal on both ſides. Lewis ſoon obtained a more deciſive advantage, by the capture of fourſcore veſſels belonging to the Flemings, which were taken by admiral Coulon, and carried into the ports of Normandy.

Maximilian, weakened by the loſs he had ſuſtained at the battle of Guinegatte, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Terouanne, and to confine his hoſtile operations to the reduction of the fortreſs of Malaunoi, the governor of which he cauſed to be hanged. Lewis, in revenge, ordered his grand provoſt to ſelect fifty priſoners, of the higheſt rank; ſeven of whom were executed on the ſame ſpot where the governor had ſuffered; ten were hanged before the gates of Douai; ten before Liſle, and as many before Arras. After theſe acts of barbarity, ſo congenial to the ſoul of Lewis, that monarch cloſed the campaign by reducing ſeventeen for-

* Hiſtoire de Britagne par Lobineau—Le Grand.

tified caſtles and villages, in the county of Guines, all of which he firſt plundered and then reduced to aſhes.

A. D. 1481.] Lewis began to be tired of a war whence he could not hope to derive any farther advantage; and the means of retaining the conqueſts he had already made, now ſolely occupied his thoughts. But nature was oppreſſed by this continual and unwearied application to buſineſs; frequent fainting warned him to prepare for a future ſtate; and at a village, near Chinon in Touraine, he was ſeiſed with a fit of apoplexy: he remained ſome time ſpeechleſs and motionleſs, and though his voice and intellects returned, his health was conſiderably impaired.

But this attack, far from inſpiring Lewis with ſentiments adapted to his ſituation, only ſerved to render him more ſuſpicious, miſtruſtful, and deſpotic. When he felt the firſt ſymptoms of the diſorder, he had moved towards the window of the apartment, but his attendants imagining the air would be prejudicial to him, ſeiſed him in their arms, and conveyed him to the fire ſide. This effect of their concern for his ſafety, was now conſtrued into an act of preſumption, that merited puniſhment; and the faithful attendants ware accordingly diſmiſſed from their places, and baniſhed from court. The king, jealous of his authority, was apprehenſive, leſt his officers, by accuſtoming themſelves to contradict him on points of indifference, ſhould, by degrees, take upon themſelves the principal management of affairs, under pretence that he was not in a condition to conduct them himſelf.

The death of Charles, count of Maine, the laſt prince of the ſecond houſe of Anjou, who had lately ſucceeded to a part of the dominions of René, titular king of Sicily, added, at this juncture, the county of Provence to the crown; but while Lewis was employed in ſecuring this new acquiſition, a ſecond ſtroke of an apoplexy again warned him of his approaching end. He revived, however, and performed a pilgrimage to Saint-Claude but though this journey was apparently undertaken from motives of religion, its real object was a matter of policy: viz. to reſtore tranquillity to the dominions of the houſe of Savoy, and to releaſe the young duke from a ſtate of domeſtic captivity. As ſoon as he had accompliſhed this object, and declared himſelf the protector of his infant nephew Charles, he returned, conſiderably exhauſted by a journey, the length of which was ill proportioned to the weak ſtate of his body.

A. D. 1482, 1483.] Though arrived at the laſt ſtage of life, when all ſchemes of ambition ought to have been totally expelled from his mind, the death of Mary of Burgundy, from a wound which ſhe received from a fall from her horſe in hunting, and which her modeſty prevented her from diſcloſing even to her huſband*, again directed his thoughts to the inſidious machinations of a diſhoneſt policy. He excited the inhabitants of Ghent, with whom he had long maintained a ſecret correſpondence, to revolt, and urged them to profit by the preſent occaſion for the full recovery of their ancient privileges. They ſo far liſtened to his

* Commines—Chron. Scand.—Heuter. Rer. Belgic.

advice, as to take the two infant children of Mary from their father, and to ſend a deputation to Paris to ſue for peace.

The deputies were received with the utmoſt magnificence, and though the capital was then expoſed to the deſtructive ravages of peſtilence and famine, falſe joy and artificial plenty were exhibited wherever they went. Soon after their departure, the king reſolved to accompliſh a project which he had formed for procuring the hand of Margaret of Auſtria, the infant daughter of Mary and Maximilian, for his ſon, the dauphin. The hatred of Maximilian, formed, indeed, a ſerious obſtacle to his wiſhes, but an event ſoon occurred, by which he was enabled to ſurmount it.

The biſhop of Liege had brought up in his family a young orphan of diſtinction, named William de la Mark, who, from the ferocity of his manners, had acquired the appellation of *The Wild Boar of Ardennes**. This youth, after committing various acts of violence, aſſaſſinated the biſhop's chancellor, in his palace, and almoſt in ſight of his maſter. The prelate, juſtly enraged, baniſhed the culprit from the territory of Liege. Although the puniſhment was greatly inadequate to the crime, la Mark breathed nothing but vengeance, and repairing to the court of France, he offered his ſervices to the king, engaged to promote, in his favour, an inſurrection of the Liegeois, and to open an entrance for the French into Brabant. Lewis, who never refuſed protection to villainy, where his intereſt was concerned, received la Mark with diſtinction, conferred on him the title of his lieutenant and governor in the county of Liege, and gave him a company of one hundred lances, with a ſum of thirty thouſand livres, to enable him to levy recruits. After every thing was prepared for his departure, the king proclaimed a revocation of his gifts, and publiſhed an order for him to quit the kingdom. This was done for the purpoſe of more effectually deceiving the biſhop of Liege; the project accordingly ſucceeded; la Mark approached Liege, corrupted the magiſtrates, ſeduced the troops, excited a revolt, and, to crown his infamy, aſſaſſinated his benefactor. He then entered the city of Liege in triumph, and perſuaded the inhabitants to declare for France. The French troops had, during theſe tranſactions, entered Artois, and reduced, through the treachery of the governor, the ſtrong town of Aire.

Alarmed at theſe loſſes, and having no army then ready to oppoſe the progreſs of the French, Maximilian was prevailed on to conſent to the marriage of his daughter with the ſon of his unprincipled foe. By the treaty ſigned on this occaſion, it was ſtipulated, that the young archduke, Philip, ſhould, on aſſuming the reigns of government, do homage to the king for the county of Flanders.—That, ſhould Philip die without poſterity, his ſiſter Margaret, wife to the dauphin, ſhould ſucceed not only to Flanders, but to Hainaut, Brabant, Luxembourg, Holland, and the duchy of Gueldres; and if Margaret ſhould not become wife to the dauphin, or ſhould die without poſterity, then the counties of Burgundy,

* Commines—Le Grand.

Artois, Maçon, Auxerre, and Troyes, ſhould revert to her brother Philip, who ſhould do homage for the ſame; but, in that caſe, the towns of Liſle, Douai, and Orchies, ſhould be reſtored to the king; and finally, that the king, immediately after the treaty ſhould be ſigned, ſhould reſtore his conqueſts in Luxembourg, and Hainaut; ſhould recall all the French who were then in the country of Liege, and ſhould engage to afford no farther aſſiſtance either to William de la Mark, or to the Liegeois. By the concluſion of this treaty, which was fully ratified by either party; and by the death of the king of England, which occurred about the ſame time, Lewis was freed from all his enemies, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his dominions reſtored to a ſtate of perfect tranquillity.

As the king found his health declining apace, he had, during theſe tranſactions, paid a viſit to the dauphin, who was kept almoſt in a ſtate of captivity, at the caſtle of Amboiſe, where—except the officers of the houſhold—none were permited to approach him but ſervants and perſons of the meaneſt condition. Lewis was accompanied by ſeveral of the princes, and others of the nobility, in whoſe preſence he thus addreſſed his ſon—"My ſon, I know not what term the Supreme Being "has preſcribed to the duration of my exiſtence, but age and habitual infirmities "warn me it is time to prepare for my laſt hour. Both my own wiſhes and the "laws of the realm deſignate you for my ſucceſſor; learn, then, the full extent "of the obligations which that title impoſes. You are deſtined to aſcend the "firſt throne in the world, and to bear the appellation of *Moſt Chriſtian King*; "for that rank, and for that auguſt prerogative, you are indebted to your "anceſtors, who, by their valour, and their zeal in the cauſe of religion, "have exalted themſelves above all the princes in Chriſtendom.——If you "are anxious to partake the glory which they have ſo well deſerved, let your bo-"ſom be inſpired with a noble ardour and endeavour to reſemble them. Their "example, my ſon, will ſuffice to teach you what to do, mine will better inſtruct "you what to avoid; for, although with the aid of the Almighty, and with the "aſſiſtance of our brave ſubjects, the ſceptre of France has not ſuffered degrada-"tion in my hands; although I have ſucceſsfully defended the rights of the crown, "and have even extended the limits of this kingdom; yet muſt I not conceal my "faults: this confeſſion may tend to your inſtruction better than any advice I can "give you. Know, then, my ſon, that on my acceſſion to the throne, having de-"prived of their places thoſe officers who had ſerved the ſtate, and the king my "father, with zeal and fidelity, that inconſiderate ſtep has cauſed torrents of tears "and blood to flow, and has embittered my whole life. My ſon, the confeſſion "which I now make ought to render you more wiſe. The flame is not ſo far ex-"tinguiſhed, but that it may be eaſily rekindled, unleſs, by a conduct more pru-"dent than mine was at that period, you ſucceed in gaining the confidence of your "faithful ſubjects; promiſe, then, that when you aſcend the throne, you will, "in all matters of importance, take the advice of the princes of your blood, and "members of your council; that you will not deprive any one of his place, unleſs "he ſhall have previouſly been found guilty of prevarication; and as what I now

"require of you, is of the utmoſt importance, reflect ſeriouſly before you give "me your anſwer."

The dauphin then retired into an adjoining apartment, with the lord of Beaujeu, his governor, and the officers of his houſhold, and in a few minutes he returned, and ſwore to fulfil the promiſe which the king exacted from him. The particulars of this interview were committed to paper, and tranſmitted to all the ſovereign courts in the kingdom. Lewis then ſent to the duke of Orleans, and made him ſwear that he would not oppoſe any of the regulations which he might chuſe to eſtabliſh, with regard to the regency, and that he would not engage his relations, the duke of Brittany and the count of Foix, to aſſiſt him in exciting troubles in the kingdom, and in procuring for himſelf a greater ſhare in the adminiſtration than it ſhould pleaſe the king to aſſign him. Both the duke's oath and the dauphin's were inſerted in the regiſters of the parliament. It is rather extraordinary that Lewis ſhould expect that others would be bound by an engagement which —notwithſtanding its ſolemnity—he himſelf had invariably treated with contempt.

As Lewis approached nearer to the grave, his terror at the thoughts of his diſſolution increaſed; although in the dreadful ſituation to which ſickneſs had reduced him, death ought rather to have been conſidered as a friend than a tyrant, yet were all his hours moſt anxiouſly employed in the hopeleſs endeavour to prolong a miſerable exiſtence. All the precautions which he had hitherto adopted with the view to preſerve himſelf from the ſecret machinations of his enemies, now appeared inſufficient. At the moſt happy periods of his life, he was attended, wherever he went, by a body of troops and a train of artillery; and, ſince the aſſaſſination of the Medici and the duke of Milan, he had always armed himſelf with a pike, which a page carried at his ſide in the day, and which the king placed at the head of his bed during the night. But when he found his ſtrength too far exhauſted, by age and ſickneſs, to ſuffer him to make uſe of this weapon in caſe of attack, he reſolved to ſhut himſelf in ſome inacceſſible place.

His favourite reſidence of Pleſſis-les-Tours was, after much conſideration, choſen for the purpoſe of retirement; he cauſed the caſtle to be ſurrounded by a broad and deep ditch, over which were thrown two bridges, that were never let down but at one particular hour; within the ditch an iron railing was erected, the walls of the fortreſs were covered with iron ſpikes, and the gates defended by baſtions. A guard of four hundred archers paraded round this gloomy priſon night and day, with orders to fire on any one who ſhould dare to approach without firſt making himſelf known. Eighteen thouſand caltrops were diſtributed on the neighbouring plains, to prevent the approach of cavalry; and in the interior court of the caſtle were two rows of large iron chains, with cannon-balls faſtened to the end of them, to which criminals, often for the moſt trivial offences, were faſtened. Theſe chains were called *Les fillettes du roi.* The avenues which led to this abode of miſery were lined, on either ſide, with gibbets inſtead of trees, on which Triſtan the provoſt—who was truly worthy to adminiſter to the rage and caprice of a ſanguinary tyrant—cauſed the wretched victims of his maſter's

ſuſpicions and revenge, to be placed. No one reſided in the caſtle, except four or five officers, who, by their tyrannical conduct, had become the objects of public execration, and who from their expectations of falling, on the death of Lewis, into the hands of juſtice, were moſt intereſted in the prolongation of his life. The princes of the blood, and even the king's own daughters, were forbidden to enter the place, without an expreſs invitation. When Anne of France, her huſband, the lord of Beaujeu, and the count of Dunois brought the young dauphineſs from Flanders, Lewis, having deſcried from the windows of his palace their numerous train, was greatly alarmed, and immediately ſent ſome of his officers to ſearch them, in the apprehenſion that they might have arms concealed beneath their clothes.

But though Lewis had thus ſecluded himſelf from the world, he took care that the world ſhould not forget him; inſtead, however, of deſerving attention by acts of virtue, he only ſought to render himſelf conſpicuous by his vices. Every day, and almoſt every hour, were orders the moſt abſolute and tyrannical diſpatched to different parts of the kingdom. He diſmiſſed, without any reaſon, all his old ſervants; and the new ones who ſucceeded them, were ſoon diſmiſſed in their turn; when aſked the motive of this conduct, his reply was—*Nature takes delight in variety.* Nor were theſe ſudden diſmiſſions confined to his houſhold, for there was ſcarcely a poſt in the kingdom, from the higheſt to the loweſt, but experienced a ſimilar change.

Lewis was equally anxious to engage the attention of foreigners, whom he, alſo, wiſhed to believe that his health was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. He ſent envoys or ambaſſadors to foreign courts on the moſt frivolous pretexts; and theſe repreſentatives of ſovereignty had often no other buſineſs to negociate, than the purchaſe of ſome trifling article for their maſter. From Spain, he exported at a great expence, mules and ſporting dogs; from Italy, horſes and curioſities; from the kingdoms of the north, elks, rein-deer, and furs; and young lions, and other ſcarce animals, from the coaſt of Africa; and, as his only object in purchaſing theſe articles was to make people talk of him, his agents could not oblige him more than by paying a moſt extravagant price for them. They were conveyed to the palace with great pomp and parade, and when they arrived, he did not even deign to look at them.

All the ſtores of medicine were exhauſted in vain to reſtore his drooping health; no remedy which the ſkill of the regular profeſſor could ſuggeſt, or the ingenuity of the daring empiric deviſe, was left unemployed; we are told by a contemporary writer, that among other remedies, he was ordered to drink the blood of a child, in order to correct the acrimony of his own; and, that a great number of children were, accordingly, bled for the purpoſe. As hunting had always conſtituted his principal amuſement when he was in health, he now ordered a number of large rats to be caught and turned looſe in his apartments, where he hunted them with cats. But as he ſoon became tired of this kind of amuſement, his attendants deviſed another more ſuitable to his ſituation. They aſſembled the

peaſants of Poitou, and dividing them into bands, diſtributed them in the meadows round the caſtle, where ſome of them played on their ruſtic pipes, while others danced and ſung; Lewis looked at them from the different windows of the palace, and endeavoured to partake of their innocent pleaſures; but if he perceived that any one took notice of him, he inſtantly retired, and did not dare to appear at the window again that day.

As all human remedies had proved inefficacious, he had recourſe to others of a different deſcription: he ſent to different parts of Europe, for all the relics he could procure which were holden in any tolerable degree of eſtimation. Friar Roſat, a monk of Lombardy, and five or ſix of his brethren, brought him a great number from Italy; and he not only paid all the expences of their journey, but received them moſt magnificently. Some canons of Cologne obtained, in exchange for ſome curious relics, the confirmation of a rich donation which he had already made to their cathedral. A poor tradeſman, from Aix-la-Chapelle, received ſixty livres for a ſmall ſilver image, which he ſaid had touched ſome very famous relics. The king ſent two thouſand crowns to Saint James in Galicia, and he ſent to Marſeilles for the ring of Jobin. The holy oil from Rheims was taken to him with great ceremony, and he obtained permiſſion from the pope to be anointed with it a ſecond time; but the wily pontiff exacted for this indulgence —which had already cauſed an inſurrection at Rome—the ceſſion of the counties of Valence and Die, in Dauphiny, to which the church of Rome had preferred ſome obſolete claims.

It is very extraordinary that, impreſſed as the mind of Lewis certainly was with the fear of death, and, moreover, a ſlave to the moſt abject ſuperſtition, its moſt prominent and moſt diſguſting features ſhould ſtill have retained their former ſtrength. Having recommended himſelf to the prayers of Bourdeille, archbiſhop of Tours, that prelate thought the opportunity favourable for impreſſing him with a due ſenſe of his errors; and he accordingly repreſented to him, with a truly apoſtolic zeal, that the moſt acceptable offering he could make to God would be that of a contrite heart; that gifts to the church could not expiate ſins; that he had violated the privileges of the church by illegal acts of violence againſt its miniſters; that he had either impriſoned or expelled from their ſees, the biſhops of Laon, Séez, Caſtres, Coutances, Saint-Flour, and Pamiers, whoſe only offence was that of being connected, either by the ties of blood or friendſhip, with ſome perſons who had incurred the king's diſpleaſure; that he had deſpoiled ſeveral families of their patrimony; and that he had retained, againſt all law and equity, the inheritance of the houſe of Tremoille.

Lewis, enraged at the freedom of his cenſures, replied, that he had aſked him for prayers and not for advice; that ſuch complaints were an attack on the ſovereign authority, and bore a ſtrong reſemblance to threats; that Bourdeille meddled with too many affairs; and that he defied him, and all the prelates he had mentioned, to find any flaw in his conduct. The king then ordered the chancellor to inſtitute a proceſs againſt the archbiſhop and the other prelates;

and Bourdeille was finally compelled to aſk pardon, for having diſcharged his duty.

But though Lewis—as he told the archbiſhop—aſked for prayers and not for advice, yet did he wiſh for thoſe prayers leſs for the ſalvation of his ſoul, than the re-eſtabliſhment of his health. As he felt an inconvenience from the north-wind, whenever it blew for ſome days together, he ordered general proceſſions to Saint-Denis; but being aſhamed to avow his weakneſs, he commanded the prayers, that were ſaid on thoſe occaſions, to be offered up for the health of the king and the dauphin, and for the preſervation of the fruits of the earth. We are told that his chaplain was, one day, reciting an oriſon to Saint Eutropius, and when he came to pray "*for the health of the ſoul and of the body*," he was interrupted by the king, who told him he ought not to aſk for ſo many things at a time, and requeſted him only to pray for the health of the body. There is a letter of his ſtill extant, addreſſed to Peter Cadouet, a monk; in which he ſays—"Maſter "Peter, my friend, I requeſt you with all poſſible earneſtneſs to pray inceſſantly "to God, and our lady of Salles, in my behalf; that it may pleaſe them to ſend "me a quartan ague, for I am afflicted with a malady which my phyſicians tell "me cannot be removed without it; and as ſoon as I have it, I will let you "know."

But while the king, depending on the efficacy of prayers, proceſſions and relics, neglected the proper means of concilitating the mercy of God whom he had grievouſly offended by the magnitude of his offences, a third ſtroke of an apoplexy (on Monday, the twenty-fifth of Auguſt) fruſtrated all his hopes of life. He lay motionleſs ſo long, that it was believed he was dead; on his revival, he forbade his attendants, however ill he might be, to mention the word death in his preſence, ſince he did not think he ſhould have reſolution to hear it; "It will "ſuffice," ſaid he, "to ſay, *ſpeak little;* I ſhall underſtand what you mean." This prohibition, however, was diſregarded; and his favourite, Oliver le Daim, accompanied by a phyſician, and a hermit, who had come from Calabria to aſſiſt him with his prayers, approached his bed, and appriſing him that he had but a ſhort time to live, adviſed him to think of his conſcience. But Lewis, as if anxious to diſſemble to the laſt, replied, without betraying any emotions of terror;—"I hope that God will aſſiſt me, for I am not ſo ill as you think I am."

From this moment, however, he appears to have been convinced of the certainty of his ſpeedy diſſolution; he ſent for the lord of Beaujeu, whom he had appointed, conjointly with Anne of France, to govern the ſtate during his ſon's minority, and imparted to him his laſt will: he then diſpatched the chancellor to the dauphin of Amboiſe, and told all who went to ſee him, *to go to the king, and ſerve him with fidelity.* He ſent alſo for the mareſchal Deſquerdes, and adviſed him never to loſe ſight of the dauphin, for the firſt ſix months; he ordered him to give up all thoughts of the plan they had concerted together for taking Calais from the Engliſh, and not to moleſt the duke of Brittany, who, in future, he

he ſaid, would only ſeek to live in peace; he added, that what would have been proper, had he lived, would be extremely dangerous during a minority; and, beſides, that the kingdom ſtood in need of a peace for five or ſix years, in order to recover its ſtrength.

At length he complied with all the forms required by the Catholic religion, and received the ſacrament; he ſaid, that on account of the particular devotion which he had always entertained for the holy Virgin, he ſhould not die till Saturday; in fact, he expired on that day, which was the thirtieth of Auguſt, 1483, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, exclaiming, with his laſt breath—'Our "lady of Embrun, my good miſtreſs, aſſiſt me." He was buried eight days after his deceaſe, at the church of Notre-Dame, at Cleri.

To mark the different ſhades of vice; to diſtinguiſh the moſt prominent features of infamy, from thoſe of inferior magnitude, is a taſk unpleaſant in itſelf, and one from which neither amuſement nor inſtruction can be derived: yet what elſe can be done in the delineation of a character, in which not a ſingle good quality appears? That diſpoſition to tyranny which Lewis evinced at an early period of his life, and which he was more ſtudious to encourage than anxious to repreſs, affords ſtrong grounds for believing that, at whatever period he had been called to aſcend the throne, his reign muſt have abounded with ſchemes to oppreſs his people, and to render his own power abſolute.—Subtle, unfeeling, and cruel, a ſtranger to every principle of integrity, and regardleſs of decency, he ſcorned all the reſtraints which a ſenſe of honour, or the deſire of fame, impoſe even upon ambitious men. Sagacious, at the ſame time, to diſcern his true intereſt, and influenced by that alone, he was capable of purſuing it with a perſevering induſtry, and of adhering to it with a ſyſtematic ſpirit, from which no object could divert, and no danger could deter him.*

In proportion as Lewis the Eleventh ſtripped the nobility of their privileges, he added to the power and prerogative of his crown. In order to have ſuch a body of ſoldiers at his command, as might be ſufficient to cruſh any force which his diſaffected ſubjects could draw together, he not only kept on foot the regular troops which his father had raiſed, but took into his pay ſix thouſand Swiſs, at that time the beſt diſciplined and moſt formidable infantry in Europe†. From the jealouſy natural to tyrants, he confided in theſe foreign mercenaries, as the moſt devoted inſtruments of oppreſſion, and the moſt faithful guardians of the power he had acquired. That they might be ready to act on the ſhorteſt warning, he, during the latter years of his reign, kept a conſiderable body of them encamped in one place.

Great funds were requiſite, not only to defray the expence of this additional eſtabliſhment, but to ſupply the ſums employed in the various enterpriſes which the reſtleſs activity of his genuis prompted him to undertake. But the prerogative

* Robertſon.

† Commines.—Daniel, Hiſtoire de la Milice Francoiſe, tom. i. p. 182.

that his father had aſſumed, of levying taxes without the concurrence of the ſtates-general, and which he was careful not only to retain but to extend, enabled him to provide, in ſome meaſure, for the encreaſing charges of government.

What his prerogative, large as it was, could not furniſh, his addreſs procured. He was the firſt monarch, in Europe, who diſcovered the method of managing thoſe great aſſemblies, in which the feudal policy had veſted the power of granting ſubſidies and of impoſing taxes. He firſt taught other princes the fatal art of beginning their attack on public liberty, by corrupting the ſource from which that liberty ſhould flow. By exerting all his power and addreſs in influencing the election of repreſentatives, by bribing or intimidating the members, and by various changes, which he artfully made in the form of their deliberations, Lewis acquired ſuch entire direction of thoſe aſſemblies, that, from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely ſubſervient, in promoting the moſt odious meaſures of his reign. As no power remained to ſet bounds to his exactions, he not only continued all the taxes impoſed by his father, but made immenſe additions to them. Charles the Seventh levied taxes to the amount of one million eight hundred thouſand livres. Lewis the Eleventh raiſed four millions ſeven hundred thouſand livres. The former had in pay nine thouſand cavalry, and ſixteen thouſand infantry; the latter augmented the cavalry to fifteen thouſand, and the infantry to twenty-five thouſand.*

In conſequence of an extenſion of territory, by acquiſitions of various kinds that were made during the reign of Lewis, France was formed into one compact kingdom, and the ſteady unrelenting policy of that prince not only ſubdued the haughty ſpirit of the feudal nobles, but eſtabliſhed a ſpecies of government, ſcarcely leſs abſolute, or leſs terrible than Eaſtern deſpotiſm.

But fatal as his adminiſtration was to the liberties of his ſubjects, the authority which he acquired, the reſources of which he became maſter, and his freedom from reſtraint in concerting his plans as well as in executing them, rendered his reign active and enterpriſing; and from this era, the kings of France, no longer fettered and circumſcribed at home by a jealous nobility, have exerted themſelves more abroad, have formed more extenſive ſchemes of foreign conqueſts, and have carried on war with a ſpirit and vigour long unknown in Europe.

The military order of Saint Michael was inſtituted, by Lewis the Eleventh, in 1469; it conſiſted of thirty-ſix knights, the ſovereign included; beſides a chancellor, a ſecretary, a treaſurer, and a herald. Lewis alſo inſtituted two parliaments, that of Bourdeaux, which his father had promiſed to eſtabliſh, in 1462; and the parliament of Burgundy, in 1476.

* Comines.

An important diſcovery was made in the chirurgical art during this reign;—the mode of curing the ſtone by the operation of cutting. An archer of Meudon, who had been long afflicted with this dreadful diſeaſe, was, in 1474, convicted of various robberies, and condemned to die: but the phyſicians and ſurgeons of Paris repreſented to the king that a great number of perſons, of all ranks, being afflicted with the ſtone, it would be expedient to try, on this man, whoſe life was already forfeited to the laws of his country, an experiment which might prove of advantage to ſociety. Lewis complied with their requeſt; and the operation was performed with ſuch ſucceſs that the man was perfectly cured in a fortnight; when the king not only granted him a pardon, but aſſigned him a reward.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TILL THE DEATH OF

Lewis the Sixteenth.

FROM THE FRENCH

OF VELLY, VILLARET, GARNIER, MEZERAY, DANIEL,

AND OTHER EMINENT HISTORIANS:

WITH NOTES CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY;

By John Gifford, Esq.

AND, CONTINUED

FROM THE ABOVE PERIOD,

UNTIL THE PRESENT DAY.

BY

A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

VOL. III.

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THE

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CHARLES THE EIGHTH.

A. D. 1483.] CHARLES, either from the delicacy of his conſtitution, or from motives of jealouſy, had been deprived of all the advantage of education; the orders of his father, to prevent his application to ſtudy, had been ſo rigorouſly enforced, that, on his acceſſion to the throne, he could neither read nor write.—Aſhamed of his ignorance, the youthful monarch no ſooner became his own maſter, than he purſued his ſtudies with indefatigable zeal; he even acquired a taſte for books, and engaged Robert Gaguin, general of the Mathurins, to tranſlate, for his uſe, the commentaries of Ceſar, and the life of Charlemagne. It was eaſy to perceive, from the admiration which he betrayed on peruſing the account of the martial atchievements of thoſe heroes, that a thirſt for military glory formed one of the leading features of his mind. But his utmoſt efforts proved inadequate to ſupply, in a full degree, the want of an early education; he always retained an invincible repugnance to buſineſs; diſplayed a want of penetration in his choice of miniſters, and abandoned himſelf, without reſerve, to favourites who, too often, abuſed his confidence: but, with theſe failings, Charles was frank, generous, and magnanimous; and "*So good*"—ſays Phillip de Commines—"*that a better creature never exiſted!*"

Although, by the laws of the realm, Charles was of age to aſſume the reins of government ſince he had entered his fourteenth year, yet it was not deemed prudent to entruſt them to ſuch feeble hands. Lewis, therefore, had, by his will, ordained, that the adminiſtration ſhould be veſted in his eldeſt daughter, Anne of France, wife to Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu; the king had been influ-

enced in his choice, by the conſideration that the princes of the blood would not think themſelves degraded in being ſubjected to a princeſs who, by her birth, was placed above them: that Anne, moreover, could nave no intereſt in defrauding the lawful heir of his right, ſince her ſex precluded her from wearing the crown herſelf, and her huſband could have no poſſible claim to it; and, laſtly, that if, notwithſtanding all the precautions he had taken, civil commotions ſhould ariſe, nobody was better calculated for quelling them than herſelf. In fact, all the hiſtorians of that age concur in deſcribing her as poſſeſſed of profound genius, a ſtrong mind, and all the graces peculiar to her own ſex, combined with all the virtues that characteriſe the greateſt of the other.

Theſe conſiderations, however, were inſufficient to deter thoſe who had, as they ſuppoſed, ſtronger claims to the regency, from ſtanding forward to aſſert them; and to proteſt againſt the partial and improper conduct of the late king. The chief of theſe competitors was the queen-dowager, whoſe claims were founded on the rights of nature, and on cuſtoms fundamentally eſtabliſhed and univerſally obſerved ſince the commencement of the monarchy. Lewis, although he had married againſt his father's commands, had never a ſincere attachment for his wife, whom he treated with the utmoſt brutality, generally confining her in ſome diſtant fortreſs, and holding no commerce with her but ſuch as was merely ſufficient for the purpoſe of procuring heirs. But neither the unworthy treatment which that princeſs experienced from her tyrannical huſband, who withheld from her thoſe careſſes which he laviſhly beſtowed on the meaneſt of his ſubjects, nor the order which Lewis is ſaid to have given on his death-bed, to prevent her from approaching her ſon, and to baniſh her into Dauphiné, could deprive her of her rank, or debar her of her rights. And there is every reaſon to believe that the reins of government would have been placed in her hands, had ſhe been earneſt in the aſſertion of her claims; but the retired life to which ſhe had been ſo long accuſtomed, had rendered her averſe from the buſtle of the world; and her death, which occured within three months after the deceaſe of Lewis, delivered Madame—for by that appellation was the eldeſt daughter of the king now diſtinguiſhed—from a dangerous rival, and encouraged the pretenſions of other competitors.

The firſt of theſe was Lewis, duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, who had been compelled, by the late king, to marry his daughter Jane, a princeſs whoſe perſon was extremely diſguſting, and ſo deformed, that ſhe was ſuppoſed to be incapable of bearing children. The illuſtrious birth of his conſort afforded but a poor compenſation for her natural defects, in the opinion of a young prince who is repreſented as a model of beauty, and as being extremely addicted to pleaſure, during the life of Lewis the Eleventh; but the death of that monarch and that of the queen, the youth and inexperience of his ſucceſſor, and the general diſcontent of the nation, all combined to furniſh him with a favourable opportunity for diſcloſing his real ſentiments. It was requiſite that he ſhould firſt endeavour to ſet aſide ſo much of the late king's will as related to the regency

of Madame; after which he would find no difficulty in procuring a divorce from his wife, in contracting a marriage that might ſecure him the poſſeſſion of a ſovereignty, and in enforcing his claims to the duchy of Milan. The execution of theſe various ſchemes, however, ſurpaſſed the ſtrength of his mind; and, it is probable, he would have been induced to abandon them had he been left to himſelf; but he had a friend who was capable of giving him advice, and who perſuaded him to perſevere in the proſecution of his plans. This friend was the count of Dunois, ſon to the celebrated baſtard of Orleans, whoſe talents for political negociations are ſaid to be unequalled. The duke was farther ſupported by the count of Angouleme, his couſin-german; his brother-in-law, the viſcount of Narbonne; his couſin, the duke of Brittany; the duke of Alençon, and many others of the nobility, who were eager to pay their court to the preſumptive heir to the throne. Independent of the oath which Lewis the Eleventh had exacted from the duke, binding him to an obſervance of his will, with regard to the regency, two other motives for excluding him from that dignity were now urged; firſt—That as he was preſumptive heir to the throne, it would not be prudent to intruſt him with the care of the king's perſon; and ſecondly, that as he was ſtill a minor, having but juſt completed his twenty-third year, and not old enough to be entruſted with the diſpoſal of his own property, it could not be expected that the management of the public revenue ſhould be confined to him.

Theſe objections to the duke of Orleans induced the duke of Bourbon, againſt whom no ſuch objections could be urged, to ſtand forward as a claimant. Though of the blood royal, he was ſo far removed from the throne, that there was no danger of his aſpiring to aſcend it; his age, his experience, the ſervices he had rendered the ſtate under Charles the Seventh, the perſecutions he had experienced from Lewis the Eleventh, all ſpoke in his favour. If, ſaid he, the duke of Orleans be excluded on account of his youth, with what propriety can Madame be preferred, who is equally young, and of a ſex unfit for command? If, on the contrary, Madame has only been choſen to favour her huſband, and the lord of Beaujeu is to govern the ſtate under the name of his wife, can I ſuffer—purſued the duke—my younger brother, whoſe claims are ſo inferior to my own, to obtain a preference over me, and to acquire a right to command me?

The two competitors repaired to court, each of them followed by a powerful party. Madame endeavoured, by the beſtowal of honours and rewards, to make them deſiſt from their purſuit; on the duke of Orleans ſhe conferred the government of Paris, the Iſle of France, Champagne and Brie, with a ſeat in the council; the count of Dunois was appointed governor of Dauphiné; and the dignity of conſtable and lieutenant general of the kingdom, which he had been long anxious to obtain, was conferred on the duke of of Bourbon.

But the princes were unwilling to barter their claims for ſuch precarious emoluments; they, therefore, filled the council with their creatures, and thwarted all

the meaſures of the new government. Perceiving, however, that the prudence of Madame roſe ſuperior to all their manœuvres, they united in a requeſt that the ſtates-general might be convened, and the arrangement of the adminiſtration be left totally to them*.

This propoſal threw Madame, and all thoſe who were really attached to the king, into the utmoſt conſternation, as they imagined it was only advanced with the view to ſet the nation in a ferment, in order that the princes might profit by the general confuſion. They had received intelligence, that the duke of Orleans had entered into an aſſociation with the duke of Brittany and the arch-duke Maximilian, the two greateſt enemies to the ſovereign power; and that he had ſent to Italy to ſolicit the young duke of Lorraine to return to France, and claim the ſucceſſion of his grandfather, René of Anjou. Their terror too was encreaſed, on conſidering what had recently paſſed in the neighbouring kingdoms. They had not forgotten, that, on the death of Charles the Bold, the ſtates of Flanders had poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſupreme power, had kept their lawful ſovereign in a ſtate of captivity, and had maſſacred her two principal miniſters in her preſence; that, on a more recent occaſion, the duke of Glouceſter had procured a declaration from the parliament of England, tending to baſtardiſe his nephews, whom he afterwards murdered, and to place the diadem on his own brows. Tho' the duke of Orleans was not capable of ſuch a flagrant act of villainy, yet was it impoſſible to ſay to what lengths his impetuous paſſions, inflamed by the artful ſuggeſtions of his perfidious adviſers, might carry him. It was afterward diſcovered that Peter Landois, prime miniſter to the duke of Brittany, had fabricated papers, and compoſed a memorial, in which he had attacked the legitimacy of Charles the Eighth. He affirmed that Lewis the Eleventh deſpairing to have a ſon, and wiſhing to detach from his brother's party the chief nobility of the kingdom, who did not heſitate to expoſe their lives and fortunes in his defence, becauſe they conſidered him as preſumptive heir to the throne, had compelled the queen to adopt this child. Landois did not deny that Charles might be the king's ſon; but he maintained, that the queen not being his mother, he could have no right to the crown.

Whatever danger might attend a convention of the ſtates under ſuch circumſtances, a formal refuſal to convene them would have been ſtill more dangerous. The people, who muſt ſoon have been made acquainted with it, would have immediately been led to conclude, that government had no intention of redreſſing their grievances, and would, perhaps, have proceeded to extremities. If the princes, in that caſe, had joined the people, Madame muſt have been loſt without reſource, and the young monarch might, poſſibly have been involved in her ruin. Though preſſed on all ſides, ſhe continued, for ſome time, to elude the propoſal; but finding that the princes were determined, of two evils ſhe choſe the leaſt. The ſtates were accordingly ſummoned to meet on the firſt of January, 148$\frac{3}{4}$.

* Commines.

at Orieans; but, the conſideration that that city was the capital of the appanage of the duke Orleans, and that the loyalty of its inhabitants might therefore be juſtly ſuſpected, induced Madame to change the place of meeting to Tours. Tranquillity was now re-eſtaſtabliſhed at court; the princes directed their attention to the election of deputies at the provincial aſſemblies; while Madame, who, during this interval, remained in poſſeſſion of the ſovereign authority, endeavoured to ſecure the ſuffrages of the people by more honourable means than that of corrupting their repreſentatives.

She began by confirming the judges and other magiſtrates in the poſſeſſion of their reſpective poſts*; and then directed her attention to the means of affording relief to the people. But before ſhe diminiſhed the receipts, ſhe wiſely took care to leſſen the expences. The ſix thouſand Swiſs that had been taken into pay, by Lewis the Eleventh, ſhe prudently diſmiſſed, and, after paying all that was due to them, ſent them back, in an honourable manner, to their own country; ſhe likewiſe diſbanded ſeveral companies of the national troops. By the adoption of theſe good and ſalutary meaſures, Madame was enabled to relieve the people, by remitting the laſt quarter of the taxes of the preſent year, at the ſame time that ſhe promiſed them a more conſiderable diminution which was to take place as ſoon as proper regulations could be made with regard to the demeſnes of the crown. To forward this plan, all the numerous grants made by the late king were revoked, and orders were diſpatched to the treaſurers of the different provinces to reunite them to the royal domains.

Madame, apprehenſive that the people might be led to believe that ſhe would inſtil into the mind of her brother the ſame principles of government which ſhe had ſeen practiſed in the preceding reign, was careful to obviate ſuſpicions of that nature, by the adoption of a very different line of conduct. Lewis having, on mere ſuſpicions, ſentenced a great number of perſons to impriſonment or exile, his daughter ordered the priſon doors to be thrown open, recalled thoſe who had been baniſhed, and loaded with favours ſuch as her father had perſecuted with the greateſt inveteracy. The Prince of Orange, who had been hanged in effigy for having promoted a revolution in Burgundy, was now reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his eſtates in Franche-Comté: D'Urſé and Poncet de la Riviere, whom Lewis had always regarded as his perſonal enemies, were promoted to places of truſt and importance: Philip of Savoy, count of Breſſe, was recalled from Germany, where he had been compelled to ſeek an aſylum, and admitted to a ſeat in the council; and, laſtly, having received information of the offers which had been made by the princes to the duke of Lorraine, ſhe diſpatched a courier to that prince, who was then in Italy, where he commanded the Venetian forces, to exhort him to repair to court, promiſing to reſtore him the inheritance of his grandfather, René of Anjou.

* Godefroi.

At the ſame time that Madame endeavoured to conciliate the affections of thoſe whom her father had perſecuted, ſhe deliver d into the hands of juſtice his two greateſt favourites, Oliver le Daim and John Doyac, to whom he had been moſt liberal in his donations, and whom, on his death-bed, he had particularly recommended to his ſon. Among a variety of crimes of which Oliver le Daim was accuſed, the following ſeems moſt to have fixed the attention of the judges. A gentleman having been arreſted by the king's orders, and being threatened with death, his wife applied to the favourite to intercede in his behalf. Her youth, her charms, and her tears, made a ſtrong impreſſion on Oliver; but incapable of harbouring any generous ſentiment, he demanded the enjoyment of her perſon as the reward of the ſervice ſhe required. This infamous propoſal was, at firſt, rejected by the lady, with the diſdain it was calculated to incur; but having obtained permiſſion to viſit her huſband in priſon, ſhe was overcome by his tears and intreaties, and, at length, conſented to purchaſe his life with the ſacrifice of her own honour. Oliver, however, being afraid that as ſoon as ſhe had obtained the favour ſhe aſked, ſhe would abſent herſelf, for ever, from his ſight, procured an order from the king to put the priſoner to death; and he commiſſioned Daniel, one of his ſatellites, to put the unfortunate gentleman in a ſack, and throw him into the river. The crime was diſcovered by ſome fiſhermen, who drew up the body in their nets, and the lady had now the mortification to perceive, that the very means which ſhe had employed for ſaving the life of her huſband had proved the cauſe of his death. So long as Lewis lived ſhe kept her grief to herſelf, conſcious that the publication of her ſhame would be productive of no poſſible advantage; but after the death of that tyrant, ſhe boldly ſtood forward, and demanded juſtice on the aſſaſſin of her huſband; and Le Daim, having confeſſed the crime, was hanged, together with his accomplice Daniel.

Doyac, who had been a common informer, and who had been employed by Lewis to calumniate the duke of Bourbon, eſcaped the gallows, but to undergo a puniſhment equally ignominious, and more painful: he was ſentenced to be whipped in different parts of the metropolis, to have one ear cut off, and his tongue pierced with a hot iron. He was then conveyed to Montferrand in Auvergne, the place of his birth, and the ſeat of his pretended triumph over the duke of Bourbon, where he was again whipped, loſt his other ear, and was afterwards baniſhed the kingdom.

Cottier, the king's phyſician, was involved in the ſame diſgrace with the other favourites of Lewis; but his inſupportable pride and his extreme avarice formed the only grounds of accuſation againſt him: he was deſpoiled of all the eſtates which he had extorted from his maſter, and was ſenteneed to pay a fine of fifty thouſand crowns*.

A. D. 1484.] On the fourteenth of January, the king, accompanied by the whole court, made his ſolemn entry into Tours, and, on the following day, the

* Garnier.

ſtates general being aſſembled, the ſeſſions was opened by the following ſpeech from William de Rochefort, chancellor of France:

"My lords, ever ſince the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty to the throne, he "has been extremely anxious to meet the repreſentatives of the people; and the "motives of this anxiety I will now explain to you.

"He wiſhed for an opportunity of expreſſing his gratitude for the joy which "you evinced on his acceſſion; in that, indeed, you only followed the example "of your generous anceſtors, who were ever diſtinguiſhed for their zealous at- "tachment to their ſovereigns. It is the peculiar characteriſtic of a Frenchman, "to love his king, to be ever ready to ſacrifice his life and fortune in his defence, "and never to deſpair of his country's ſafety, ſo long as he can preſerve his law- "ful ſovereign; while other nations are eternally floating between obedience and "revolt, and deſert their monarchs on the moſt trivial ſubject of diſcontent, or "the moſt diſtant proſpect of danger. Read their hiſtories; you will ſcarcely "find two or three ſucceſſive monarchs who have left their heirs in quiet poſſeſſion "of the throne; and without going farther for proofs of what I advance, exa- "mine what has lately paſſed in England. Edward, at his death, left two fair "ſons, the hopes of the nation; but inſtead of being ſuffered to aſcend the "throne of their anceſtors, they have been baſely maſſacred, and their aſſaſſin "has been rewarded with the crown. You, Frenchmen, have no ſuch act of "atrociouſneſs to bluſh for: open your annals; you will there find that infant "ſovereigns have been more honoured and better ſerved than the moſt abſolute "monarch; and you will admire a people whoſe attachment to their kings has "been moſt conſpicuous at thoſe periods in which their kings have ſtood in "greateſt need of their aſſiſtance. It is to this unſhaken fidelity you are indebted "for the glorious advantage of being the firſt people in the world; for what "other nation can preſume to compare themſelves with you? In the earlieſt ages, "the Gauls, your anceſtors, ſpread the terror of their arms over every part of "the continent; they founded colonies in Italy, on the banks of the Da- "nube, and even in Aſia. Though the diſſentions which prevailed between "them proved the means of ſubjecting them to the Romans, they inflicted a "dreadful vengeance for the defeat they ſuſtained; it was the ſword of the Gauls "that enabled Julius Cæſar to enſlave his country. In the ſequel, the Franks, "incorporated with the Gauls, delivered the church of Rome from the yoke of "the barbarians, laid the firſt foundation of her power and greatneſs, and re- "eſtabliſhed the weſtern empire, which had long been overturned. Fired with "a holy zeal, they flew to the defence of their brethren oppreſſed by the infi- "dels, fixed their ſtandards on the walls of Jeruſalem, and reduced Paleſtine, "Syria, Sicily and Greece. How glorious it is to command a people at once ſo "generous and ſo brave! It is to your affection, to your virtues, that the king "feels himſelf indebted for the ſplendour of his rank; and a deſire to expreſs "his gratitude on this account was one of his chief motives for aſſembling you.

" A ſecond motive not leſs powerful was his deſire of ſeeing you, of offering " himſelf to your ſight, and of encreaſing, thereby, the mutual affection by " which you are united; contemplate, then that auguſt prince, on whom the " country now relies for its ſafety. Let not his youth alarm you: Solomon, the wi- " ſeſt of kings, was young when he mounted the throne; Scipio, who obtained the " conſular dignity before he had reached the age required by the laws, repaired " the loſſes of the Roman republic, and made her triumph over her moſt formi- " dable enemy. Saint Lewis, whoſe reign forms ſo glorious an epoch in our " hiſtory, was not older than your king when he aſcended the throne. In privi- " leged minds prudence is not incompatible with wiſdom: your ſovereign, young " as he appears, knows how to act with propriety, and in whom to place his con- " fidence; of this you may judge by the third motive which induced him to aſ- " ſemble you.

" He was anxious to explain to you the conduct he has obſerved ſince his ac- " ceſſion, to communicate his future deſigns, and to aſſociate you with him, in " a certain degree, in the government. Immediately after his father's death, " he ſent for the princes of the blood, who inſtantly obeyed his ſummons, and, " by their advice, he confirmed all the officers in the kingdom in the poſſeſſion of " their reſpective poſts, that the public ſafety might not be endangered, and that " the adminiſtration of juſtice might ſuffer no interruption; he alſo entruſted the " management of the revenue to perſons of acknowledged probity. Being in- " formed that the domains of the crown had, by inconſiderate alienations, been " greatly diminiſhed, he granted letters-patent for revoking all ſuch gifts; for it " it is not his intention to drain the purſes of his ſubjects, nor to overload them " with impoſts. He means to begin by appropriating the revenues of the domain " to defray the expences of his houſhold, and other ſtate charges; and only to " demand of his faithful ſubjects ſuch contributions as are indiſpenſably requiſite " for the defence of the kingdom. His firſt and moſt ardent wiſh is to ſee his " people contented and happy: and the promotion of their welfare and felicity " was the ſole object he had in view in the reforms which he has already made.— " As the nation incurred a great expence by keeping ſix thouſand mercenaries in " conſtant pay, he has ſent them back to their own country; he has alſo diſmiſſed " ſeveral companies of the national troops, whoſe aſſiſtance cannot be wanted ſo " long as the kingdom ſhall be at peace; and in order to ſecure the continuation " of tranquillity, he has ſent ambaſſadors to all the neighbouring powers, either " to renew the old treaties, or to contract new ones. Theſe occupations have " not prevented him from directing his attention to two other objects of impor- " tance—the legiſlation, and the reform of the clergy. With regard to the firſt, " he has cauſed all the ordonnances of Charles the Seventh to be collected, in " order to put them in force; and as to the ſecond point, he conceived, that with- " out ſubjecting himſelf to cenſure for violating the deciſions of the church, " which he holds in the greateſt reſpect, he might, as head of the ſtate, take cog- " niſance of whatever related to diſcipline and manners.

"This is what the king has already performed; you are now to hear what he "expects from you; and this formed the fourth motive for aſſembling you. He "requires that you ſhould point out to him whatever abuſes may have eſcaped his "his knowledge, and that you ſhould not conceal from him any of the evils with "which the people are afflicted: do not fear that your complaints will be impor- "tunate, the king will pay due attention to all your remonſtrances. And you, "princes, who hear me, I entreat and conjure you, in the name of our country, "our common mother, to lay aſide all ſpirit of party, and to ſuffer the deputies "to enjoy a full and perfect freedom of debate.

"The fifth motive for the convention of this aſſembly, was the neceſſity of "forming a council for the king, who might ſecond his plans for the preſervation "of peace, for the re-eſtabliſhment of the police, for the adminiſtration of juſ- "tice, and for the encouragement of trade: this council ought to be compoſed "of men, whoſe experience of the paſt may enable them to provide for the fu- "ture; whoſe diſpoſitions and characters are calculated to ſecure to the king the "affection of his ſubjects, and the eſteem and confidence of his neighbours; of "men who have a thorough knowledge of the conſtitution of the kingdom, and "who are capable of ſetting in motion all the ſprings of the body-politic, without "embarraſſment or confuſion. If the king's wiſhes are gratified, juſtice will ſit "on the throne, and dictate laws to his people. Whoever ſhall commit any of- "fence againſt juſtice, will offend the king; and whoever may wiſh to prove his "affection for the king, muſt begin by paying a ſtrict attention to juſtice. In "order to remove all doubts as to his his true ſentiments, the king has command- "ed me to warn every perſon not to preſume to aſk him for any thing unjuſt; for "whoever ſhall make ſuch an attempt, will meet with the puniſhment due to his "temerity. Juſtice, prudence, reſolution, and temperance, will ſupport the throne, "and regulate all the actions of the monarch. Then may the people—reſcued "from ſhipwreck, and daily repairing their loſſes—exclaim, with tranſports of "joy, *O thrice happy day! that has reſtored to us peace and plenty, and has given us "a prince whoſe conduct is influenced by wiſdom, and who merits the appellation of— "Father of his Country!*

"In vain ſhould we aſpire to the poſſeſſion of theſe advantages, unleſs concord "and union were previouſly eſtabliſhed among the different members of the ſtate; "and this deſirable object it is chiefly your buſineſs to accompliſh. Recollect "what Cæſar ſaid of our anceſtors:—*All the troops in the world would prove inſuffi- "cient to ſubdue the Gauls, were they united among themſelves.* What cauſed the "deſtruction of the Roman republic?—the rivalſhip of two of her citizens. It "would be needleſs to remind you of the calamities produced in France, under "the reign of Charles the ſixth, by the hatred of two powerful families.

"I conclude, by conſigning to your care the intereſts of the king, the church, "and the people. You will obſerve the following order in your deliberations— "you will firſt diſcuſs all matters which relate to the general welfare of the ſtate; "you will next examine ſuch as concern only a ſingle province or town; and,

" laſtly, you will attend to the affairs of individuals. Take care not to confound " theſe objects. The king will grant you an audience whenever you ſhall apply " for one; and he will refuſe juſtice to no man, not to the meaneſt of his ſub- " jects*."

The aſſembly immediately adjourned till the next day, when they proceeded to the election of a preſident, and two ſecretaries; after which, they agreed to divide themſelves into ſix parts, or *nations*, in order to avoid that confuſion which a contrariety of intereſts might occaſion in the courſe of the debates between the deputies of the different provinces.—The firſt nation compriſed the iſle of France, Picardy, Champagne and Brie; the Nivernois, the Maçonnois, Auxerrois, and the Orleanois.

The ſecond conſiſted of the two Bugundies, and Charolois.

The third, of Normandy, Alençon, and Perche.

The fourth, of Aquitaine, Armagnac, the county of Foix, l'Agenois, the Perigord, Querci, and Rouergue.

The fifth, of Languedoc, Dauphiné, Provence, and Rouſſillon.

And the ſixth, called the *Langue d'Oyl*, included Berri, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, the Limouſin, Auvergne, the Bourbonnois, Forés, Beaujolois, Angoumois, and Saintonge.

Each diviſion had a private apartment for the diſcuſſion of ſuch matters as they meant to lay before the king; after which it was agreed that the ſix diviſions ſhould meet to report the reſult of their reſpective labours, when the moſt important objects ſhould be ſelected, and formed into one *cahier*, or ſtring of reſolutions, which were to contain the demands of the whole nation.

It would be ſuperfluous to detail *all* the proceedings of this aſſembly, to notice the intrigues of the princes to corrupt the deputies, the petitions of individuals for redreſs of injuries ſuſtained during the preceding reign, or the various diſputes which occurred between the members themſelves. We ſhall only, therefore, ſelect ſuch parts as relate to the general hiſtory of the kingdom, or as tend to explain the maxims of government, and to illuſtrate the notions of liberty, which were then entertained by the French.

The debates on the formation of a regency, and the eſtabliſhment of a council, were long and animated. The nation of Normandy propoſed to leave the king's perſon to the care of thoſe who had hitherto diſcharged that important truſt with wiſdom and with zeal; to veſt the goverment of the kingdom in the hands of the council; to admit all the princes of the blood to a ſeat in the council, according to their rank, and to give them the power of chuſing eight or twelve of the old councillors, and to diſmiſs the reſt; that, to that number ſhould be added twelve, fifteen, or even four-and-twenty new councillors, to be ſelected from the ſtates-general, by the ſtates themſelves, which new members ſhould enjoy the ſame rank and prerogatives as the old ones. This propoſal, which tended to throw the whole

* Manuſ. de Maſſelin, tiree de la Bibliotheque du Roi.—Garnier, tom. xix. p. 167.

power of the government into the hands of the people, acquired numerous partiſans. Many members exclaimed—That its propriety could not be queſtioned; that the ſupreme power was, during the king's minority, veſted in the nation, who had an undoudted right to impoſe its commands on individuals; and that, conſequently, the princes of the blood ſhould be compelled to ſubmit to this regulation. On the other hand it was maintained, with equal warmth, That, in an hereditary monarchy, ſuch as France, the nation had no right to the ſovereign authority, ſo long as there remained any lawful heirs: that, after the king's death, that authority paſſed into the hands of his ſon if he were in a condition to exerciſe it; and, in caſe of a minority, into the hands of the princes of the blood, who were his natural guardians; that they alſo had a right to form a council, and to regulate all the different departments of government; and that they were under no neceſſity of aſking the people's advice, except with regad to the *diſtribution and collection of impoſts*; that, if the princes, on the preſent occaſion, had deigned to conſult the nation, and chuſe her as the arbiter of their reſpective claims, it was a pure condeſcenſion on their part, which demanded a grateful return, and ſhould not, on any account be abuſed; that, by exciting their diſcontent on an article in which the happineſs of the people was in no wiſe concerned, they might perhaps be led to diſſolve the aſſembly, and that then every advantage, which the people expected to derive from the convention of the ſtates, would be irretrievably loſt; that prudence required the ſtates ſhould confine themſelves to ſuch objects as came immediately within their province, and leave to the princes the care of ſettling their own diſputes, as they might think proper.

The ſpeech of Philip Pot, lord of Roche, repreſentative of the nobles of Burgundy, is peculiarly worthy of notice. "If I were not well acquainted"—ſaid he —"with the ſentiments of the moſt enlightened part of the aſſembly, on the liberty and authority of the ſtates, I ſhould not now attempt to oppoſe the vain clamours of the multitude; but after the proofs which you have already given of your diſcernment and knowledge, I need not fear to advance what reading and reflection have taught me on this fundamental point of our public law. If I ſucceed in making myſelf underſtood, I dare flatter myſelf that thoſe who now blame us for the care we take in the formation of a council, will change their opinion and their language. Before I enter into an explanation of the reaſons on which I found the authority of the ſtates, let me be allowed to put a queſtion or two to our adverſaries:—Do they imagine that, on the death of a king, who leaves a ſon in his minority, the guardianſhip of the infant-monarch, and the general adminiſtration of the kingdom, belong of right to the firſt prince of the blood? No, doubtleſs—they will anſwer—for then the life of the monarch will be expoſed to evident danger; the law, too, has provided for this caſe, by conferring the adminiſtration on the firſt prince of the blood, and the guardianſhip on the next in ſucceſſion. Take care, I reply, that you do not, by this arrangement, equally expoſe the life of your ſovereign; for the two princes, between whom you ſeem to divide the authority, may unite and have the ſame intereſts. But of

what law are you ſpeaking? Where does it exiſt? By whom was it made? In what book have you read it? I defy you to anſwer any one of theſe queſtions.—If ſuch a law did really exiſt, do you ſuppoſe the duke of Orleans would have conſented to ſubmit to arbitration a queſtion already decided, and to ſuffer the diſcuſſion of claims already ſettled? In vain do you cite the caſe of Charles the Wiſe; that caſe makes againſt you; for Charles did not ſucceed to the regency till two years after the throne had been vacated, and till that dignity had been conferred on him by the ſtates.—

"I now addreſs myſelf to thoſe who pretend, that, during a minority, the guardianſhip and adminiſtration devolve on all the princes of the blood indiſcriminately; and let me aſk them, if they mean to compriſe in the number, ſuch as are deſcended from our ſovereigns, on the mother's ſide, for, in that caſe, they will have a long liſt of guardians and adminiſtrators, among whom it will be difficult to eſtabliſh union and concord. But I will ſuppoſe that they confine themſelves merely to the male line: if thoſe princes have any diſpute among themſelves about the government, who is to decide between them? Is it not plain, that they will immediately have recourſe to arms, and involve the nation in all the horrors of civil war? Is it not evident, alſo, that, in this caſe, the ſupreme authority will often become the reward of a madman, and a diſturber of the public repoſe, who, in a well-regulated government, would incur the ſevereſt puniſhment? What then—will it be aſked—muſt the kingdom during a minority, remain in a ſtate of anarchy? No, certainly, for the authority then devolves on the ſtates-general, who will not, themſelves, take charge of the government, but who will entruſt it to ſuch perſons as they ſhall deem moſt capable of diſcharging its duties with zeal and ability. Now, hear what books, and converſation with men of wiſdom and experience, have taught me on this important matter.

"When men firſt began to form ſocieties, they choſe for their maſters ſuch of their equals as they believed to be poſſeſſed of the greateſt knowledge and integrity; in ſhort, ſuch as by their perſonal qualities were beſt calculated to procure the greateſt advantage to the infant ſociety.——Thoſe who, after their election to this important office, only thought of enriching themſelves at the expence of their ſubjects, were not conſidered as true paſtors, but as ravenous wolves; and thoſe, who, without waiting for an election, ſeiſed upon the ſovereign authority, were not regarded as kings but as tyrants. It is of the utmoſt conſequence to the people, to know the diſpoſition of the man who is deſtined to govern them, for on that alone depends the happineſs or miſery of the whole community. Now to apply theſe general principles:——If any diſpute ariſe with regard to the ſucceſſion to the throne, or to the regency, who is to decide it, unleſs that ſame people who firſt elected their kings, who conferred on them all the authority they enjoy, and in whom the ſovereign power ultimately reſides? For a ſtate or any government whatever is the *res publica*, and the *res publica* is the *res populi*; by the people I would be underſtood to mean the collective body or totality of the citizens, and in this totality the

princes of the blood themſelves are neceſſarily included, as chiefs of the order of nobility: can you, then, who, are the repreſentatives of the people, and obliged by oath to defend their rights, ſtill entertain a doubt that it is your province to ſettle the adminiſtration and the form of the council? Who is to prevent you? Has not the chancellor declared, that the king and the princes expect you will do this? I am told, that immediately after the death of the late king, the government was ſettled, and a council choſen, and that thus our cares on this head became ſuperfluous. To this I reply, that as the ſtate could not remain without governors, it was neceſſary to appoint, without delay, ſome perſons who might watch over the public intereſt; but that ſuch appointments, as well as all other regulations which have been adopted ſince the king's death, are merely proviſional, and cannot ſubſiſt without your confirmation. Theſe aſſemblies of the ſtates, and the power which I aſcribe to them, are no novelties, as all who have read hiſtory muſt know. When, on the death of Philip the Fair, a diſpute aroſe between Philip of Valois and Edward, king of England, with regard to the ſucceſſion, the two competitors ſubmitted their claims, as they were bound to do, to the deciſion of the ſtates, who pronounced in favour of Philip. If, then, on that occaſion, the ſtates could lawfully diſpoſe of the crown itſelf, how can their right to appoint a regency be called in queſtion? During the reign of king John, when that courageous, but imprudent prince, was taken priſoner, and conveyed to London; the ſtates did not intruſt the adminiſtration to his ſon, although he had then completed his twentieth year; it was not till two years after, that the ſame ſtates, aſſembled a ſecond time, inveſted him with the dignity and authority of regent; and finally, when Charles the Sixth acceded to the throne, at the age of twelve only, the ſtates general again appointed a regency, and ſettled the government. This is a fact that cannot be diſputed. After ſuch poſitive authorities, will you ſtill doubt the validity of your rights? And ſince, by the form of your oath, you are bound to do and adviſe what, according to God and your conſciences, you ſhall deem moſt uſeful to the ſtate, can you neglect the fundamental point of all your proceedings? For if the promiſes which you mean to exact from the princes ſhould be broken, to whom are you to apply for redreſs? Omit the article of the council, and all your ſubſequent labours will be ſuperfluous:—In ſhort I have proved to you that you have an undoubted right to ſettle the adminiſtration, and to regulate the form of government; I have quoted a great number of examples to demonſtrate this truth; the king commands you to exerciſe your right, the princes conſent to it, and your country exhorts you by the mouth of her firſt magiſtrate. If reaſons thus ſtrong can make no impreſſion on your minds, any calamities which the ſtate may experience hereafter muſt be aſcribed ſolely to your baſeneſs. And you, who ſtill cheriſh the name and preſerve the reſolution of Frenchmen, do not give the nation cauſe for accuſing you of having betrayed her confidence, nor let poſterity have reaſon to reproach you with no-

having tranſmitted the precious charge of *public liberty* in the ſame ſtate in which you received it from your anceſtors."

This ſpeech was differently received by different parties; by ſome the orator was warmly commended for his patriotic zeal; while by others he was loudly cenſured for his audacity and factious diſpoſition: and many long debates and much altercation occurred before the queſtion of the council could be finally decided. At length, on the twelfth of February, the aſſembly came to the following reſolutions:

"The king having entered into his fourteenth year, and diſplayed a degree of wiſdom, prudence and diſcretion ſuperior to his age, ſhall himſelf publiſh all lettres-patent, regulations and ordonnances, after they have been diſcuſſed by the council.——The ſtates beſeech the king to preſide at the council, in perſon, as often as he can, in order to acquire an early knowledge of buſineſs, and to verſe himſelf in the arts of government.

"In the king's abſence, the duke of Orleans, as firſt prince of the blood, ſhall preſide at the council, where every meaſure ſhall be decided by a plurality of ſuffrages.

"After the duke of Orleans, and in his abſence, the duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, ſhall preſide.

"The lord of Beaujeu, who hed already rendered ſuch important ſervices to the ſtate, ſhall have the third place, and ſhall preſide in the abſence of the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon."

It was farther reſolved, that twelve new counſellors ſhould be choſen by the king and the princes, from among the members of the ſtates, two from each of the ſix nations. The fear of offending the duke of Orleans prevented the ſtates from making any mention of Madame in theſe reſolutions; but ſhe had no reaſon to complain, for the reſolutions were ſo contrived as to leave her in poſſeſſion of all her authority. If ſhe ſhould find her meaſures thwarted in the council, by the preſence of the duke of Orleans, ſhe could eaſily remedy that inconvenience by ſending the king—of whoſe perſon ſhe had the ſole diſpoſal—to preſide. The conſtable, from his age and infirmities, would ſeldom be preſent, ſo that the lord of Beaujeu would moſtly be preſident of the council. The king went to the aſſembly, where the reſolutions were read to him; the deputies then bent one knee to the ground, and in that poſture waited his determination. After conferring for ſome minutes with his chancellor, he confirmed them all without any reſtriction.

The next object of importance which engaged the attention of the aſſembly was the ſtate of the revenue; and the deputies ſeemed unanimous in their opinion that a general abolition of impoſts ought to take place. This, they conceived, the king might be enabled to allow; firſt, by reuniting to the crown all kind of poſſeſſions, which, at any time, had been alienated from it, on whatever pretext: on this ſubject they maintained, that the domain, being the true patrimony of the crown,

ought to be appropriated ſolely to the purpoſe of defraying the expences of the ſtate, and that a king could not, without manifeſt injuſtice, alienate any part of it: ſecondly, by ſuppreſſing all uſeleſs offices, and by reducing the wages of ſuch placemen as it ſhould be found neceſſary to retain: thirdly, by retrenching, or, at leaſt, diminiſhing penſions; and fourthly, by reducing the number of national troops. Having diſcuſſed this matter, they came to the following reſolution:

"That all taxes, and other arbitraty exactions, ought to be aboliſhed; and that, in future, agreeably to the national *franchiſe* of France, no tax or impoſt whatever ſhould be levied, within the kingdom, without the free conſent of the ſtates-general."

But this reſolution, as well as the article which related to the reduction of the national troops, experienced a violent oppoſition from the king and the princes of the blood; nor, indeed, could the aſſembly themſelves agree as to the moſt eſſential points, from the difficulty which they found in reducing their theory to practice. In order to obtain a juſt criterion of judgment, they had applied to the king for a full and regular account of the different branches of the revenue, and of the different articles of expenditure, that, by a compariſon of the receipts with the expences, they might be able to decide how far their projects of economy were feaſible and adviſeable. This ſtatement had accordingly been delivered to them by the officers of the revenue; but, on peruſing it, it appeared to be drawn up for the mere purpoſe of deceiving the deputies. The revenue of Normandy was ſtated to amount to no more than twenty-two thouſand livres, and the whole revenue of the crown was only eſtimated at ſeven hunhundred and fifty-five thouſand, in ſhort, the receipts were every where diminiſhed, and the expences magnified. The account was divided into ſix parts: 1. The expences of the king's wardrobe, of his table, and that of his gueſts. 2. The wages of the officers of his houſhold; of the hundred gentleman of his guard; of the two hundred archers *à la grande paye*, and of the two hundred *à la petite*; private pleaſures and embaſſies. 3. The pay of the troops, to the number of two thouſand five hundred lances, and of ſeven or eight thouſand infantry; the artillery, the fortifications, and the expences of the royal camp, or Camp of Peace, eſtabliſhed by Lewis the Eleventh. 4. The ſalaries of the judges of the parliaments of Paris, Bourdeaux, Toulouſe, Burgundy and Grenoble; the chamber of accounts, the chancery, the grand council, and the officers of the finance. And laſtly, the liſt of penſions, in which only the names of the penſioners were mentioned, who amounted to nine hundred.

This falſe account deranged all the combinations of the aſſembly, who, after much altercation and debate, were, at length, induced to give up their original plan, which they found to be impracticable in its full extent, and to make another propoſal to the king. They choſe John de Maſſelin for their ſpeaker, who, at a general aſſembly, at which the chancellor and all the princes of the blood were preſent, pronounced the following harangue:

" We have examined the accounts which were delivered to us by the officers of the revenue, but, at firſt ſight, we found them ſo full of ſuch groſs untruths, and ſuch palpable falſehoods, that we could ſcarcely believe our eyes: we muſt obſerve, that we did not expect to be treated with ſuch contempt; and ſince it had been reſolved te deceive us, a more ſkilful mode of accompliſhing the reſolution ought, at leaſt, to have been adopted. I ſhall not attempt to point out every falſehood; a whole day would be inſufficient for the purpoſe; I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to one or two articles. The revenue of Normandy, for which province I am member, is, in that account, only eſtimated at two-and-twenty thouſand livres, whereas there are people in this aſſembly who offer forty thouſand for it, and will give good ſecurity for the performance of their engagement. The revenue of the two Burgundies, which are known to amount to eighty thouſand livres, are only eſtimated at eighteen thouſand; and the ſame falſhoods are obſervable with regard to all the other provinces. The deputies for the various provinces are all preſent, and ready to atteſt the truth of my aſſertions. But if they have been actuated by a ſpirt of diminution in their calculation of the receipts, they have, in revenge, wonderfully ſwelled out the expences. The firſt article, which includes the expences of the king's wardrobe and table, amounts to an incredible ſum; God forbid we ſhould ſet ourſelves up for cenſors of our maſter, and pretend to throw any reſtraint on his inclinations!—no;—we ſha'l only preſume to requeſt that he will regulate his houſhold by the example of Charles the Seventh, of glorious memory. That monarch whoſe life had been a life of labour, and whoſe brows were ſhaded with laurels, kept, in his old age, a table much leſs expenſive than that of a modern prince in his infancy; for although, magnificence—as we have been told—be the appanage of royalty, and every man ought to live according to his rank, yet, it muſt be acknowledged, that every thing has its bounds, and that the maſter of the world might ruin himſelf by ſuperfluous pomp and unbridled luxury. The remarks me have made on the king's table and wardrobe, apply equally to his guard, which is three times more numerous than was that of Charles the Seventh. They apply a'ſo to the officers of his houſhold, and of the finances, whoſe number is not only doubled, ſince that period, but their wages likewiſe. Nor can one office, however lucrative, ſatisfy the perſon who obtains it; the ſame perſon frequently enjoys four or five, each of which would be ſufficient to conſtitute the happineſs of a worthier man, who, deſpairing to procure a place, applies for a penſion, and becomes a burden to the ſtate. In ſhort, the multiplication of officers of every kind, and the increaſe of their wages, are now carried to an intolerable exceſs; the deputies for Burgundy have furniſhed us with a ſtriking example of the prevalence of this evil. In the time of duke Philip the Good, the revenue of the duchy and county of Burgundy was collected by one treaſurer, who had a ſalary of ſix hundred livres; this treaſurer had a clerk, whoſe wages were two hundred livres, and no other expence whatever was incurred by the collection of the reve[1]nue. Now there is a treaſurer with a ſalary of two thouſand

nine hundred livres; a receiver-general, with the ſame ſalary; a private receiver at twelve hundred livres; and a comptroller at ſix hundred; ſo that a conſiderable part of the revenue of the province is totally loſt to the ſtate.

"Now for the troops; in the liſt which has been preſented to us, the expences have been made out for the ſupport of two thouſand five hundred lances, and ſix or ſeven thouſand infantry, with the addition of a royal camp. On this ſubject the ſtates have ordered me to make the following repreſentations. If France had no mercenary troops, ſhe never could be conſidered in the light of a kingdom deſtitute of the means of defence, ſince ſhe poſſeſſes a brave and warlike nobility, obliged by their inſtitution, and by the nature of their poſſeſſions, to fly to the defence of their country; ſhe has ſeveral princes of the blood, men of wiſdom and experience, who are the natural chiefs of the nobility; and laſtly, ſhe can boaſt of a numerous and martial people, who make it their pleaſure, and think it their duty, to ſhed their blood for their king. For ſeveral centuries ſhe required no other defenders; and ſo far from finding herſelf expoſed to the inſults of her neighbours, ſhe gave the law to all the nations of Europe. Theſe armies of mercenariēs, whoſe utility is now ſo much dwelt upon, owe their firſt inſtitution to ſuſpicious tyrants, who thought they had no other means to defend themſelves from public vengeance, and who often received their puniſhment from the very men to whom they had entruſted the defence of their perſons. Let us, then, no longer be told—that they are the arms of the body politic, and that on them the ſafety of the ſtate depends!—It depends on the love which the ſubjects bear their ſovereign. A ſtate is happy and tranquil, when all orders of men unite in their wiſhes for the preſervation of their chief. How glorious it is for a king to live among his ſubjects, as a father in the midſt of his children, and only to be indebted for the ſincere homage which they are eager to render him, to his own virtues and their affection! But any attempt wholly to eradicate ſuch an inveterate evil would be vain. Since it appears evident that they are reſolved not to aboliſh the wretched cuſtom of keeping and paying a voracious inſtrument of murder, we require, at leaſt, that the example of Charles the Seventh, may, in this inſtance, be followed;—that is to ſay, that only twelve hundred lances may be kept in pay, and that the greateſt attention be paid in making them obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline.

"As to the royal camp, eſtabliſhed by Lewis the Eleventh, we conſider it as a ſuperfluous expence, which ought to be immediately aboliſhed. Our opinion is the ſame with regard to ſeveral garriſons mentioned in the paper that has been delivered to us: we cannot, for inſtance, conceive the neceſſity of keeping a garriſon of four hundred lances at Arras, ſince that town is defended by the garriſons of the neighbouring places; if, through exceſs of precaution, it were deemed neceſſary to ſtation ſome troops there, we are thoroughly perſuaded that fifty lances, and a company of infantry, would form a ſufficient garriſon. The ſame obſervation applies to Peronne, and ſeveral other places too numerous to mention. But

we were particularly aſtoniſhed at finding a captain and a garriſon ſet down for places ſituated in the center of the kingdom. Who could have expected to find a ſalary of twelve hundred livres, inſcribed on the liſt for the captain of the Baſtile, and as much for the captain of the tower of Bourges; as if thoſe fortreſſes were expoſed to any danger, or as if there were even reaſon to apprehend that the Engliſh could approach ſufficiently near to them to deſcry, from ſome lofty mountain, the ſummit of the towers! I ſhall conclude this article by a fact, which tho' it be of little importance in itſelf, proves to what depradations the public treaſury is at this time expoſed. Twelve hundred livres are ſet down as the expenec of preparing this room, when every perſon preſent muſt know that it could not poſſibly exceed three. If, in an object thus trifling and expoſed to public ſight, they have not ſcrupled to be guilty of ſuch a groſs impoſition, what muſt be the impoſition on objects of greater magnitude, and with regard to which it is often impoſſible to procure any information? I know it has been ſaid, in order to juſtify the perſons who made out the accounts, that their only object was to amuſe and miſlead us; if that be their excuſe, let me aſk them, how they dare to inſult the repreſentatives of the nation? I ſhall take no notice of extraordinary expences, but proceed to the penſions. We have only received the names of the penſioners, without the amount of the reſpective penſions: but even were each penſion moderate, the liſt is ſo long, that they are ſufficient to drain the public treaſury. We are of opinion that none have claims of this kind on the ſtate, except ſuch as have rendered ſignal ſervice to their country; and that more than half of the names ſhould be ſtriken off the liſt; we had even ſome thoughts of entreating the king to ſuppreſs all penſions for a time.

"Such, illuſtrious princes, are the reflections which the ſtates have made on the accounts which have been preſented to them; you will doubtleſs enquire what ſubſidies they have voted, and what is the final reſult of their deliberations? I will ſatisfy you in a few words. Although the total abolition of taxes, and other arbitrary exactions, appeared to us to be the only means of relieving the diſtreſſes of the people; although we are ſtill perſuaded that ſuch an abolition is not only poſſible, but wou'd be even advantageous to the king; yet, diſcouraged by the numerous obſtacles which have been oppoſed to the accompliſhment of ſuch a laudable plan, conſidering how dangerous it would be to draw any concluſions from a falſe account, and deſpairing to triumph over the malice of thoſe who are intereſted in the perpetuation of abuſes, we have had recourſe to an expedient, which, although it be onerous to the people, removes all difficulties, and will prove to the king the ſincerity of that affection which his faithful ſubjects bear him—*We offer then to pay to the crown, by way of gift or grant, the ſame ſum which the kingdom paid to Charles the Seventh, of glorious memory; but on condition, that this contribution ſhall be limited to two years, at the expiration of which, the ſtates ſhall be again aſſembled; and we require that the time and place for the future aſſembly ſhall be immediately fixed by an irrevocable declaration.*—If all ſuperfluous expences be retrenched, we are thoroughly convinced that this ſum of twelve hundred thouſand

livres, joined to the produce of the domain, the aids and Gabelles, will more than ſuffice for the diſcharge of all neceſſary expences, and that a very conſiderable portion of it may be ſet apart for unforeſeen contingencies. The reaſons on which we formed this opinion are theſe: the revenue of Charles the Seventh was greatly inferior to that of the preſent monarch, ſince he was not in poſſeſſion of Anjou, Maine, the two Burgundies, Artois, a great part of Picardy, Dauphiné, the county of Provence, nor Rouſſillon. Charles the Seventh had greater expences to defray than our king has, ſince he had ſons and daughters, and, moreover, paid penſions to Rene of Anjou, and the count of Maine; yet notwithſtanding theſe additional expences, he, with ſuch an inferior revenue, had the moſt brilliant court in Europe. He was a generous and munificent prince; he recovered, by force of arms, the two moſt important provinces in the kingdom, Normandy and Guienne; and, at his death, he left immenſe treaſures. We therefore conjure the king and the princes, not to aſk for any greater ſum than that which we now offer."

This determination of the ſtates occaſioned violent altercations between the princes of the blood and the members of the council; as the acceptance of the offer which had been made by the repreſentatives of the people muſt neceſſarily have occaſioned a conſiderable diminution of penſions, ſalaries, and places. The princes, and people in power, did not chooſe that theſe retrenchments ſhould fall upon them, nor upon the perſons who were attached to their party; and it ſeemed impoſſible to engage the ſtates to change their laſt reſolution. The chancellor, however, who was haraſſed by the murmurs and diſcontents of either party, reſolved once more, to try his influence with the ſtates; he accordingly repaired to the aſſembly, accompanied by the princes, and addreſſed them in the following words:

" You have made ſome uſeful remonſtrances to the king, who will pay them all the attention which faithful ſubjects deſerve, for you cannot doubt but that he deems it more glorious to be king of the Franks than to be king of the ſlaves; but, at the ſame time, it behoves you not to forget what was ſaid to an ancient people, —In aiming at the acquiſition of too much liberty, you run the riſk of falling into the oppoſite extreme: it is no proof of wiſdom, to throw yourſelf on the diſcretion of your enemies, nor can it be ſafe to ſleep in the midſt of ſerpents. I will ſuppoſe for a moment, that the kingdom has nothing to apprehend from foreigners; but then has it nothing to dread from the inordinate paſſions of ſome of its own members? Who will be able to check the turbulence of ambitious minds, if you take the troops from the king? Who will enſure you the execution of the laws? Who will defend the widow and the orphan from violence and oppreſſion? You have paid a juſt tribute of applauſe to Charles the Seventh, who firſt eſtabliſhed regular companies; with what propriety then can you cenſure the king for wiſhing to keep them? If it were ever your intention to do good to your country, this is certainly the time to ſhew it.

"You have entreated the king to be contented with the ſame ſums which Charles the Seventh levied on his ſubjects; but you have not paid attention to the difference of the times and of the circumſtances. Charles the Seventh was a prince who had learned wiſdom in the ſchool of adverſity; he was, moreover, vigilant, intrepid, and active: whereas your ſovereign is almoſt an infant. and finds himſelf expoſed to the ſnares of all who ſhall ſeek to profit by the weakneſs of his youth to ſhake off the yoke of dependence; he is, of courſe, in greater want of troops, from his inability to take upon himſelf all the cares of government, he ſtands in need of intelligent miniſters and a numerous council; he cannot, therefore, avoid granting penſions: beſides, ſince the change that has taken place in the value of money, the ſum you offer is not equivalent to that which Charles the Seventh exacted from his ſubjects. Weigh all theſe reaſons, and attend to my propoſal. You require that the king ſhould relieve the people; he will do more, for to relieve is only to lighten a burden, in a ſmall degree, and you cannot be ſaid to lighten a burden merely when you take off two thirds of it: the king, then, is willing to remit three deniers out of five, and this is a greater favour than you could preſume to hope for. Laſt year the taxes amounted to three millions four hundred thouſand livres. Onerous as that impoſt was, had not the king a right to continue it, ſince he found it eſtabliſhed? Certainly he had, but it is not his intention to exert that right. He means that the fifteen hundred thouſand livres, to which he is pleaſed to confine himſelf, ſhall be levied in equal proportions, on all the provinces which, in the time of Charles the Seventh, compoſed the monarchy; and he reſerves to himſelf the power of making a particular arrangement for ſuch as have been annexed to the crown ſince that period. You may now retire, not to deliberate, for you have heard the king's will, but to prepare yourſelves for expreſſing your gratitude in a becoming manner."

This ſpeech, far from exciting applauſe, was followed by a dead ſilence—in a few minutes ſome confuſed murmurs were heard, and then a general expreſſion of diſcontent burſt forth from every quarter. The members maintaned that the chancellor had attacked the liberty of the nation, and the ſacred rights of property, for, ſaid they, if the king can, of his own will, and without the concent of the ſtates, exact an additional contribution of three hundred thouſand livers, he may, by the ſame rule, double or triple the taxes, and then all our pretentios fall to the ground. The preſident, after confering with ſome of the members, who ſtood near him, aſked permiſſion for the ſtates to delibetate in private; the princes acccordingly withdrew, and the next day was appointed by the chancellor for receiving the final deciſion of the aſſembly.

The ſtates ſeemed ſtrongly diſpoſed to reſent the conduct of the chancellor, and to aſſert their own rights, by the immediate adoption of ſome violent meaſures, but the princes of the blood, by the alternate employment of promiſes and threats, at length induced them to yield, and to paſs the following reſolutions:

"In order to defray the expences of government, and to enſure peace to the kingdom, the members of the three eſtates grant the king, their ſovereign lord, *by way*

of gift and grant, and *not otherwiſe*, the ſame ſum*—*which can, at no future period be called a tax, but a gift and grant*—that during the reign of Charles the Seventh, was leived on the kingdom, and this, *for two years only and no longer*, on condition, two, that the ſaid ſum ſhall be equally divided among all the provinces of which the monarchy is actually compoſed.

"Beſides this firſt annual ſum, the ſtates, who are anxious to promote the welfare, honour, and proſperity of the king and his kingdom, and who with to obey and to pleaſe him, grant him the net ſum of three hundred thouſand livers, as a free gift, on account of his joyous acceſſion to the throne, and in order to defray the expence of his coronation, and his public entry into paris.

" The ſtates beſeech and requeſt the king to convene and aſſemble the ſtates at the expiration of two years, and to immediately point out and declare the time and place at which ſuch aſſembly ſhall be holden: for it is their intention that, hereafter, no ſum of money whatever ſhall be levied on the people, without convening the ſtates, and obtaining their conſent, *agreeably to the privileges and liberties of this kingdom.*

" If the future aſſembly ſhall be of opinion, that the affairs of the kingdom admit of a diminution, or require an augmentation, the ſaid ſtates will ever be ready, like moſt humble and moſt obedient ſubjects, to make proviſion accordingly, chearfully, and courageouſly, without ſparing any thing, ſo that the king, our ſovereign lord, ſhall have reaſon to be contented with his good and loyal people, and to hold them in great and perpetual eſteem".

As ſoon as theſe reſolutions were adopted, intelligence of the ſame was ſent to the lord of Beaujeu, who promiſed that the king ſhould come to the aſſembly the next day; but the bad weather prevented the young monarch from attending, though the chancellor and the princes were punctual to their time. This diſappointment ſomewhat diſconcerted the ſpeaker, Maſſelin, who thus addreſſed them:

" We had encouraged the hope that the king would honour this aſſembly with his preſence; but, ſince he is here repreſented by the princes of the blood, I ſhall ſtill addreſs myſelf to him——Auguſt prince, under what happier auſpices could you, poſſibly, have begun your reign? Your firſt ſteps have been guided by wiſdom and juſtice. You aſſembled the ſtates of your kingdom, and ordered them to point out to you all the abuſes which had crept into the adminiſtration; we have obeyed thoſe orders. Not content with diſcovering the diſeaſe, we have, at the ſame time indicated the means of removing it: it remains with you to complete the cure, and your glory is intereſted in the event. The nation would be diſhonoured in the eyes of foreign powers, if, after having undertaken to reform every branch of the adminiſtration, our labours ſhould be productive

* In the reign of Charles the Seventh, in 1456, the mark of ſilver was worth eight livres, ten ſols; comparing it, therefore, with the modern price of fifty livres, we ſhall find that the livre of thoſe times, bore to the livre of the preſent day the proportion of ſeventeen to a hundred; thus the twelve hundred thouſand livres, granted by the ſtates, were equivalent to ſeven millions, fifty-eight thouſand, eight hundred and twenty-five livres, ten ſols, ſeven deniers.

of no ſolid advantage, no real good to our country. Continue, auguſt prince, to regulate your conduct by wholeſome advice, but beware of the arts of thoſe perfidious councillors by whom the princes of your blood are ſurrounded; they will tell you that a king is omnipotent; that he is never miſtaken; that his will is law;—theſe are monſters, objects of public execration; exterminate them without delay, or they will not only corrupt your heart, but will infect your court, and the whole body of the nation.

"After diſmiſſing ſuch evil councillors, a king who wiſhed to govern with equity, would immediately chooſe others whoſe integrity would juſtify the confidence he repoſed in them. He would honour the church, becauſe a contempt of religion occaſions a depravation of manners, and prepares the downfall of a ſtate; he would liſten with reſpect to the miniſters of the goſpel; he would impreſs on his mind an exact image of virtue, in order that his thoughts, words, and actions, might correſpond to it; he would teach his ſubjects, by his own example, to reſpect the laws; he would cheriſh the nobility, and conſider them as the arm of the ſtate, and the ſupport of the throne; in ſhort, he would live as a father in the midſt of his children, and would frequently aſk, with a tender emotion, *How fares it with my people?*

"If he found that his people were burthened with taxes, or that the ſum they paid, though moderate, was more than requiſite to ſupply the wants of the ſtate, he ought immediately to put a ſtop to the exaction; this is a duy and not a favour; unleſs words are groſsly abuſed, and the action of a ſtrong man who forbears to inſult a weak man whom he meets on his road, is alſo dignified with the appellation of a favour. The people in a monarchy poſſeſs rights, and have a real property, ſince they are free and not ſlaves, and ſince the monarchical government, according to the opinion of the ancient philoſophers, is the mildeſt of all governments, and that which is the moſt compatible with liberty. *An abuſe, however ſanctioned by preſcription, can never be pleaded in bar of a natural right;* and whoever affirms that a king who, on his acceſſion to the throne, finds his people overburdened with taxes, is not bound to relieve them, advances a falſe and injurious principle.

"It has given us the greateſt concern to find, that there are men baſe enough to accuſe us of a wiſh to deprive the king of his lawful prerogatives; ſuch an atrocious imputation can only reflect diſhonour on its author. Convinced that the welfare and advantage of the people, and the welfare and advantage of the king, were one and the ſame, we thought that, by ſeeking to relieve the people, we were ſerving the king, and fulfilling the duty of faithful ſubjects. In blaming the diſorders which prevailed in the old government, we only obeyed the king's commands, as he enjoined us, by the mouth of his chancellor, to expoſe to him, without diſguiſe, all the abuſes which diſfigured the ſtate. If we have expreſſed ourſelves with energy, and with a kind of aſperity, the ſubject required it, and we do not repent it.

"It has been objected to us, that while we have, on all occaſions, commended the officers of Charles the Seventh, we have obſerved an offenſive ſilence with regard to thoſe of Lewis the Eleventh; but we hope our conduct, in this reſpect, has not offended any one, for by praiſing Peter we do not ſatiriſe Paul. If among the officers of Lewis there be—as we doubt not there are—ſome men of integrity and honour, let them be rewarded and exalted; we willingly conſent to it. But as we know there alſo many of a contrary deſcription, we beg and requi e that all ſuch may be immediately diſmiſſed, and kept at a diſtance from the king's perſon.

"I now come to the principal object of this ſeſſion. My lord, the chancellor, having explained to us the wants of the ſtate, demanded that an annual impoſt of fifteen hundred thouſand livres ſhould be levied on the kingdom. We could wiſh, moſt high and potent princes, that the French people were in a ſituation to liſten only to the dictates of their generoſity, and of their love for their ſovereign; but you all know to what a ſtate of wretchedn ſs and humiliation they are reduced, and of what importance it is to afford them the means of extricating themſelves from their difficulties. Anxious, therefore, to pleaſe the king, without completing the miſery of the people, we have adopted the reſolutions which will now be read to you."

After ſettling the diſtribution of the taxes on the different provinces, and arranging ſome other matters of leſs importance, the ſtates were diſſolved on the fourteenth of March. It appears from their proceedings, that the French, at this period, entertained ſome juſt and rational ideas of civil liberty, and that though they had tamely acquieſced in the tyrannical meaſures of Lewis the Eleventh, they did not chuſe that his conduct ſhould be received as a precedent: indeed, they ſeem rather to have wanted an opportunity than a ſpirit for aſſerting and maintaining their rights, in oppoſition to the unconſtitutional encroachments of their ſovereigns; and had the ſtates-general but procured the privilege of aſſembling at fixed and ſtated periods, deſpotiſm could never have reached to that alarmi g heighth, to which it attained under the ſucceeding monarchs of the Capetian Race.

The princes of the blood, who had inſiſted, with ſuch warmth, on the convention of the ſtates, derived from it none of thoſe advantages which they had expected to obtain.—Madame triumphed; but far from inſulting her rivals in their diſgrace, ſhe ſpared no pains to conſole them for their diſappointment. To the duke of Orleans ſhe gave the command of a company of one hundred lances, with a conſiderable penſion; and the counts of Angoulême and Dunois had alſo each of them a company, with a penſion of ſixteen thouſand livres. It is probable that the princes, convinced that the majority of the nation were hoſtile to their pretenſions, would not have attempted to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, had not the troubles which prevailed in Brittany, and the dangeruos intrigues of a man who, from the moſt abject ſituation, had been raiſed to the higheſt rank, revived their ambition, and betrayed them, by degrees, into an open revolt. As

the firſt ſparks of that general conflagration, which ſpread over France, England, Spain, and the Netherlands, were kindled in Brittany, it will be neceſſary to explain the ſituation of that court, at the preſent period, and to point out the motives which induced the deareſt friends and relations to take up arms againſt each other.

Francis the Second, who then reigned over the duchy of Brittany, had been twice married; by his firſt wife, Margaret of Brittany, he had no children; and by his ſecond, Margaret of Foix, only two daughters, Anne and Iſabella. His violent attachment to his imperious miſtreſs, Antoniette de Magnelais, widow to the lord of Villequier, who had acquired an unlimitted authority over him, had long prevented him from contracting a ſecond marriage, ſo that he was far advanced in life, when his two daughters were ſtill in their infancy, and there were little hopes of his living to ſee them married. This proſpect equally encouraged all who had any claims to the duchy to advance them; and ſuch as aſpired to the poſſeſſion of theſe rich heireſſes, to make their propoſals.

The diſpute which had ariſen, during the reign of Philip of Valois, between the rival houſes of Blois and Montfort, had never been completely ſettled. Philip had decided in favour of Charles of Blois; but the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and the fortune of war, had ſecured the poſſeſſion of the duchy of Brittany to the count of Montfort. After the battle of Aurai, in which the former loſt his life, a convention was ſigned by the belligerent powers, by which the duchy of Brittany was ſecured to the houſe of Montfort, and the county of Ponthiévre, with ſeveral other conſiderable poſſeſſions, were ceded to the family of Blois. The latter, in conſequence of a conſpiracy againſt the duke of Brittany, were declared guilty of high treaſon, and deſpoiled of all their territories; but, through the mediation of Arthur of Brittany, conſtable of France, another convention took place between theſe rival houſes, by which duke Francis the Firſt engaged to reſtore to the Penthiévres the county whence they took their title, and all the other eſtates which they had formerly enjoyed; and he farther declared, in letters-patent, duly ſigned and ſealed, that, notwithſtanding the formal renunciation of their claims to the duchy of Brittany, it was his will, that in caſe he, his two brothers, his uncle Arthur, and his couſin Francis, ſhould die without male heirs, John and William de Ponthiévre, their niece Nicole, wife to the lord of Broſſes, or their children, ſhould ſucceed to the duchy, to the excluſion of the females of the branch of Montfort. But the Breton hiſtorians affirm—and the affirmation appears to be well founded—that theſe letters-patent were granted merely for the purpoſe of deception, in order to ſave the honour of the count of Ponthiévre, who was afraid that he ſhould be reproached by the court of France, with having too haſtily ſacrificed his pretenſions; and that when the duke granted them, he had exacted a counter-letter, by which the count declared, that, after he had ſhewn them to the king, and to his friends and relations, he would ſend them back to Francis, and never make any uſe of them. Be that as it may, they had fallen, by ſome means or other, into the hands of Tanneguy du Chatel, who

was induced, by the love he bore his country, to keep them ſecret* ; his widow, however, leſs delicate, delivered them to Lewis the Eleventh, who, ſeeing the male line of the houſe of Montfort on the point of failure, ſince Frances the Second had no ſon, purchaſed of Nicole de Ponthiévre, and her huſband, John of Broſſes, the ſole remaining heirs of the houſe of Blois, all their rights to the duchy of Brittany. Though the validity of thoſe rights was expoſed to ſuch ſtrong doubts, Lewis intended to ſupport them by a formidable army ; but dying before the duke of Brittany, he tranſmitted them to his ſon.

Next to Charles the Eighth another claimant appeared on the liſt, whoſe pretenſions were trivial indeed : this was Francis, Baron d'Avaugour, a natural ſon of the preſent duke of Brittany by Antoniette de Magnelais ; he had been legitimiſed, and his father had conferred on him a profuſion of honours and riches. Promoted to the rank and dignity of firſt baron and lieutenant-general of Brittany, he now aſpired to the ſucceſſion, and imagined, that as the Bretons were attached to the blood of their ancient ſovereigns, and wanted a prince who was able to govern them, they would overlook the defect in his birth, and prefer him to a ſtranger.

The viſcount of Rohan advanced pretenſions that were ſomewhat though not much better founded : he was brother-in-law to the reigning duke, and had two ſons by his wife, Mary of Brittany, ſecond daughter to duke Francis the Firſt.—If Francis the Second had ſucceeded to the duchy in right of his wife, the ſons of the viſcount would have had a preferable claim to the children of the duke by Margaret of Foix ; but as there was a law in Brittany, by which females were excluded from the ſucceſſion, ſo long as there were any male heirs remaining, though farther removed from the direct line than the females, and as Francis had ſucceeded to the duchy, not as huſband to the princeſs, but as the neareſt male heir, the viſcount could advance no good reaſon for the excluſion of Anne and Iſabella : he, therefore, contented himſelf with claiming for his ſons all the treaſures and moveable effects of duke Francis the Firſt ; the dower and moveables of their aunt Margaret ; and laſtly, all the territorial acquiſitions made by the firſt Francis, and one half of thoſe which Francis the Second had, himſelf made during the period of his firſt marriage. Convinced that the duke, even had he the inclination, had not the ability to comply with theſe demands, he propoſed, in order to avoid all diſcuſſion, to unite the claims of the two families by a marriage between his two ſons and the two daughters of Francis. The propoſal was ſupported by the mareſchal de Rieux and the principal nobility of Brittany, but the duke rejected it with diſdain.

Francis, in order to connect his intereſts with thoſe of the Engliſh monarch, had propoſed an alliance between his eldeſt daughter, Anne, and the prince of Wales, but on condition that Brittany ſhould never be annexed to the crown of England. This alliance, however, had been prevented by the aſſaſſination of the prince and his brother.

* Garnier, tom. xix. p. 352.

Diſappointed in his hopes from that quarter, the duke now caſt his eyes on Maximilian, archduke of Auſtria, to whom he propoſed to marry his eldeſt daughter, and, at the ſame time, to give his youngeſt to Philip, the youthful ſovereign of the Netherlands, ſon to Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. But the duchy being ſoon reduced to extremity, Maximilian, ſufficiently occupied in providing means for his own defence, and having but little proſpect of affording the duke ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance, Francis was induced to liſten to the propoſals of another lover. This was the lord of Albret, ſurnamed the Great, the moſt opulent ſubject in the kingdom, after the princes of the blood: he had claims on ſome places in Brittany, but more generous or more artful than his competitors, he appeared to forget his own intereſts in order to maintain thoſe of his ally. He demanded that the hand of the princeſs ſhould be the reward of that warrior who ſhould beſt ſignaliſe his courage and zeal in her defence, and who ſhould render the moſt important ſervices to the duchy. D'Albret, however, had but little to recommend him; he was advanced in years, and had ſeveral children either married or marriageable; his perſon was diſguſting, and his temper inſupportable.

Laſtly, the duke of Orleans appeared in the liſt of competitors, and for ſome time eclipſed all his rivals. His recommendations were ſtrong and powerful; he was firſt prince of the blood; preſumptive heir to the throne; and couſin-german to the duke of Brittany; he was ſupported by the houſe of Foix, whence the ducheſs of Brittany was herſelf deſcended; and as he, moreover, poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the art of pleaſing, he ſoon engaged the affections of his youthful miſtreſs.

Such were the principal claimants, whoſe efforts either to diſpoſſeſs or to marry the heireſs of Brittany, ſoon filled that court with factions and intrigues. Even an active, enlightened and reſolute prince would have found the repreſſion of ſo many tumultuous and diſcordant paſſions a taſk of extreme difficulty; and, unfortunately for Brittany, Francis was a weak and irreſolute prince, who had long ſuffered himſelf to be guided wholly by his miniſters. After Leſcun had engaged in the ſervice of France, he placed his confidence in Peter Landois, a man not leſs artful and intriguing than Leſcun, but more proud and corrupt; who, from the abject ſtate of a taylor, had been promoted to the dignity of treaſurer and prime miniſter. Convinced that the nobles would never forgive him for engroſſing the favour of their ſovereign, he did not attempt to conciliate their eſteem, but only ſought to render himſelf formidable by the indiſcriminate deſtruction of all who refuſed to acknowledge his authority. The laſt victim of the favourite's ambition, was Chauvin, chancellor of Brittany, a man of the ſtricteſt integrity, who had rendered the greateſt ſervices to the ſtate: Landois perſuaded the duke that he was a penſioner of the court of France, and was hired to betray the intereſts of his maſter: in conſequence of this falſhood, he ſurpriſed an order from Francis to impriſon the chancellor; and, after a long ſeries of perſecutions, that worthy magiſtrate periſhed by a moſt miſerable death.

The nobility enraged and alarmed at theſe iniquitous tranſactions, repaired in a body to the palace, in order to ſeize the object of their indignation, but he was ſo fortunate as to elude their ſearch, and to eſcape, for the preſent, the effects of their vengeance. Landois now conceived the deſign of forming a party which might enable him to triumph over his enemies. For this purpoſe he caſt his eyes on the duke of Orleans, and invited that prince to repair, without delay, to the court of his couſin the duke of Brittany, who, he ſaid, intended to beſtow on him the hand of his eldeſt daughter.* The duke of Orleans was already married to the ſecond daughter of Lewis the Eleventh, but his averſion to that deformed and ſterile princeſs was a matter of public notoriety. He haſtened to Brittany, contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with Landois, and obtained permiſſion to viſit the young princeſs, who, even at that early period of life, gave ſigns of thoſe great qualities which rendered her the admiration of the age.

Madame, to whom the conduct of the duke of Orleans gave juſt ſubject of complaint, profited by the circumſtance of the king's coronation, which was fixed for the thirtieth of May, to recall him to France; and the duke, though extremely mortified at being compelled to leave Brittany ſo ſoon, obeyed the citation, and was preſent at the ceremony. But his return to France occaſioned Madame almoſt as much uneaſineſs as his ſtay in Brittany would have done. The king became ſo enamoured of his company that he was never eaſy without him; and he was eaſily taught to conſider the ſalutary reſtraints impoſed on him by his ſiſter as deſtructive of his freedom, and derogatory to his rank. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, Charles conſented to elope; ſome councillors of ſtate, in the intereſt of the duke of Orleans, laid the plan of his evaſion, and three of his chamberlains undertook to put it in execution. But Madame, informed of the plot, entered the king's chamber in a rage, broke the chamberlains in his preſence, and immediately appointed others who were devoted to her intereſt. After this event ſhe conceived that ſhe was no longer in ſafety at the caſtle of Vincennes, on account of its vicinity to Paris, of which place the duke of Orleans was governor; ſhe therefore took the king to Montargis, where ſhe paſſed the remainder of the year, attentive to the motions of her enemies, and careful, by adopting the inſidious policy of her father, to foment the troubles in Brittany.

The duke of Brittany had, during theſe tranſactions, been prevailed on by his favourites to declare the nobility, who had ſhut themſelves up in the ſtrong town of Ancenis†, traitors to their ſovereign. This raſh and inconſiderate proceeding, had, as Landois expected, engaged the nobles in an open revolt; and having no other reſource, they did not ſcruple to purchaſe the protection of the king of France by the violation of their oaths, and the ſacrifice of their duty. They ſent the prince of Orange, Peter de Villeblanche, and John le Bouteiller, lord of Maupertuis, to Montargis, where they promiſed and ſwore, that, after the death of Francis the Second, they would acknowledge Charles for their lawful ſovereign, and

* Godefroi Preuves de l'Hiſtoire de Charles VIII.—Brantome, Vies des grandes Capitaines.
† Lobineau, Preuves de l'Hiſtoire de Bretagne.

would devote their lives and fortunes to the advancement of his authority, on the following conditions. 1. That after the annexation of Brittany to the crown of France, juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in that province in the ſame manner as before, and by the magiſtrates of the country. 2. That the nobles, eccleſiaſtics and others, ſhould have their privileges and franchiſes confirmed. 3. That no tax ſhould be levied in the province, without the previous conſent of the ſtates. 4. That the gentry ſhould only be obliged to ſerve in ſuch caſes and in ſuch manner as ſhould be ſettled by the king. 5. That all employments, both civil and military, ſhould be conferred on the natives of Brittany. 6. That in caſe the ducheſs ſhould ſurvive her huſband, a proper ſettlement ſhould be aſſigned her, to be fixed by the ſtates. 7. That the duke's two daughters ſhould be married, with the advice of the ſtates, according to their rank. 8. That in caſe Charles or any of his ſucceſſors ſhould have ſeveral ſons, one of them ſhould be created duke of Brittany. On theſe conditions, which were granted without any reſtrictions, the king took the Breton nobles under his protection, and he immediately ſent an order to the duke, his vaſſal, to abſtain from all farther violence againſt them, and to repair the damages which they had already ſuſtained.

On exciting his maſter to drive the malecontents to extremities, Landois had explained to him the means by which he meant to reduce them to obedience. Beſides the ſuccours which he expected from the duke of Orleans, he aſſured him that he ſhould ſoon have all the forces of England at his command. The circumſtance on which he founded this aſſurance, were theſe:

After the fatal battle of Tewkeſbury, which fixed the crown of England on the brows of that ſanguinary tyrant, the fourth Edward, the earl of Pembroke, with his nephew, Henry Tudor, the young earl of Richmond, had embarked at Tynley for France; but contrary winds forced them to land in Brittany where they experienced a hoſpitable reception from Francis the Second. Edward, alarmed at Richmond's eſcape, who was conſidered, by many, as next heir to the throne, and on whom he knew, all the ſecret friends of the houſe of Lancaſter had caſt their eyes, ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Brittany, to require that he would give him up: but that prince refuſed to commit ſo flagrant a breach of hoſpitality as to comply with this demand; though he aſſured Edward, that he would watch Richmond ſo cloſely that he ſhould never have an opportunity of diſturbing his government; in conſideration of which promiſe, the king of England paid a yearly penſion to the duke.

But three years after this attempt, Edward's fears of young Richmond being renewed with redoubled violence, he determined to make another effort for obtaining poſſeſſion of his perſon. With this view he again ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Brittany, on pretence of renewing the truce, which was confirmed without difficulty; after which they proceeded to unfold the real object of their embaſſy. They told the duke, that the king their maſter was extremely deſirous of totally extinguiſhing the embers of thoſe factions which had raged with ſuch violence in England; that the earl of Richmond being the only ſurviving prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, it was his intention to marry him to one of his own

daughters, that all future diſputes might be avoided by an union of the rival families; he, therefore, hoped the duke of Brittany would entruſt the earl to his care, that he might diſtinguiſh him by marks of his bounty, and convince the world of his earneſt anxiety to ſecure, on a ſolid baſis, the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom. The duke, truſting to the ſincerity of Edward's profeſſions, ordered the young earl, with his uncle Pembroke, to be delivered to them, and they immediately departed with their victims to the port of Saint Malo, whence they prepared to embark for England. But John de Quelenec, admiral of Brittany being appriſed of this circumſtance, entered the duke's apartment with ſorrow expreſſed on his countenance; which the duke obſerving, he enquired the cauſe of it. "The paleneſs you obſerve in my face," replied the admiral, "is the forerunner of death, which, I could have wiſhed, had put a period to my days, before I had witneſſed an action that muſt diſhonour my maſter. My lord, you have acquired the reputation of a man of honour, how then could you be ſo inattentive to the preſervation of that character, and how, after you had pledged your faith, could you conſent to deliver up a prince, who had aſked your protection, to puniſhment and death?"—"Mr. Admiral," interrupted the duke, "you are miſtaken, there is nothing to fear for the earl of Richmond, whom Edward only beſought me to ſend to him, that he might make him his ſon-in-law."—"Be aſſured," replied Quelenec, "that if he quit your dominions, he is a dead man." The eyes of Francis were now opened, and he immediately diſpatched his favourite, Peter Landois, to Saint Malo, to bring back the refugees. He arrived as they were on the point of embarking; and, having made known the purport of his miſſion to Richmond and Pembroke, he amuſed the ambaſſadors while they affected their eſcape to a ſanctuary, from whence he would not ſuffer them to be taken. The ambaſſadors complained loudly of this artifice, and Landois made ſome frivolous apoligies, which they would by no means admit. He then frankly told them, that the duke his maſter, having duly reflected on the ſubject, had become ſenſible that he could not deliver up his gueſts without a flagrant violation of the laws of hoſpitality; but he renewed, in the duke's name, thoſe aſſurances which had been before made to Edward, that the two earls ſhould be ſo ſtrictly guarded they would be effectually prevented from interrupting the tranquillity of England.

It was by means of this prince, who was already indebted to him for the preſervation of his life, that Landois hoped to effect a revolution in England; he juſtly imagined, that ſhould he ſucceed in his attempts to place him on the throne, he ſhould receive from him ſuch aſſiſtance as would be requiſite to make him triumph over his enemies; and that by the ſubſequent promotion of a marriage between Richmond and the heireſs of Brittany, he ſhould be enabled, after the duke's death, to preſerve his rank and ſtation. In order to ſecure the ſucceſs of this plan, Landois, after the acceſſion of the third Richard, ſent ambaſſadors to England, under pretence of renewing the truce which ſubſiſted between the two crowns. Theſe ambaſſadors could not have arrived at a more fortunate period,

as the duke of Buckingham diſcontented with Richard, had juſt formed the deſign of depoſing that uſurper, and had entered into a correſpondence, with the view to haſten the execution of his plan, with all the malcontents in different parts of England.

The Breton ambaſſadors returned with this favourable report; and they were ſoon followed by two confidential friends of Richmond, who brought him a ſum of money from his mother, and preſſed him to haſten to England, where his friends were waiting to receive him. Landois, to whom the earl communicated his diſpatches, furniſhed him with a fleet, and a body of five thouſand men, with which he ſailed from Saint Malo, in October, 1483; but before he could reach the Engliſh coaſt, the duke of Buckingham had been defeated and executed; not thinking it prudent, therefore, to land, he returned to Brittany. He was there joined by numbers of the Engliſh nobility, who exacted from him an oath, that, ſo ſoon as he ſhould have effected the depoſition of Richard, he would unite the oppoſite pretenſions of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, by marrying the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of king Edward. They then ſwore fealty and allegiance to him, as their lawful ſovereign, and Richmond immediately formed a little court of his own at Rennes; Landois ſeemed to encourage theſe proceedings, and renewed his promiſes of aſſiſtance, though, at the ſame time, he had entered into a correſpondence with their enemies.

Richard the Third, convinced that he ſhould never be at eaſe, ſo long as Richmond ſhould be at liberty, ſent an ambaſſador to Brittany, who addreſſed himſelf to Landois, and made him ſuch offers as were well calculated to ſeduce a venal and perfidious mind. He engaged to reſtore to Francis the earldom of Richmond, which had formerly been poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; to give Landois all the eſtates and other property of the Engliſh refugees in Brittany, and to ſupply him with a body of troops for the purpoſe of reducing his enemies. Landois, conſidering that the plan for dethroning Richard would be attended with conſiderable difficulty and expence, and was ſubject, moreover, to a thouſand interruptions; and that, even ſhould it ſucceed, he could not expect to derive from it greater advantages than thoſe which were now offered to him, at a time, too, when he was in the greateſt want of them, accepted, without heſitation the propoſals of Richard, and promiſed to deliver up to him, without delay, the earl of Richmond, and all his partiſans. The negociations, however, had not been conducted with ſuch ſecrecy, but that the biſhop of Ely, who was then on the continent, was adviſed of it. That prelate immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Richmond, warning him of his danger, and urging him to eſcape to France. But this appeared to be a matter of difficulty, as a very early day was fixed for the execution of Landois's plan, and there could be little doubt but that he had taken every precaution to prevent his evaſion. After much reflection, however, Richmond ſettled the plan of his eſcape:—he made the earl of Pembroke and ſome other noblemen take the road to Nantes, where the duke of Brittany reſided

under pretext of imparting to Francis ſome affairs of importance; but he adviſed them by no means to enter that town, and to make the beſt of their way to the frontiers of France. He then announced his intention of viſiting, in two days time, a country houſe which he had at a ſhort diſtance from Rennes; and on this pretence he entered a foreſt, which lay on the road, with only one attendant, and travelled day and night, by private ways, towards the frontiers of Anjou. Landois ordered him to be purſued, and the meſſengers he ſent after him, only miſſed him by one hour. Three hundred Engliſhmen, who remained at Rennes, gave themſelves up for loſt; but the duke, who was a ſtranger to the intrigues of his miniſter, gave them permiſſion to follow their maſter, and defrayed their expences on the road. The fugitives experienced a favourable reception from Madame, and were even encouraged to hope for aſſiſtance.

Though diſappointed in his hopes of procuring aſſiſtance from England, Landois did not renounce his ſchemes of vengeance. The troops which he had at his diſpoſal were more than ſufficient to deſtroy his enemies, had thoſe enemies been left to themſelves; but as they had been taken under the protection of the king of France, he could not attack them without expoſing his country to an immediate invaſion. He, therefore, reſolved to wait till the duke of Orleans and Maximilian ſhould act in concert, and draw all the forces of France to another quarter.

Madame, in the mean time, aware of his deſigns, was ſtudious to throw ſuch obſtacles in the way of Maximilian, as ſhould deter him from engaging in a war with France; ſhe followed the plans of her father in rewarding ſuch of the Flemiſh nobility as reſiſted the authority of that prince, and in encouraging the turbulent inhabitants of Ghent to revolt. She farther ſought to raiſe up a perſonal enemy to Maximilian, in René, duke of Lorraine, celebrated for the victories he had obtained over Charles the Bold. This prince had appeared before the ſtates at Tours, where he claimed the reſtitution of the Barrois, Provence, and the inheritance of the houſe of Anjou, from which he was deſcended by his mother's ſide. Madame, afraid that he might be tempted to eſpouſe the intereſts of the princes, had not rejected any of his demands. She had already reſtored to him the duchy of Bar; and had made a formal ceſſion of all the claims which Lewis the Eleventh had prefered to the duchy of Lorraine: with regard to Provence, commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides, to diſcuſs the reſpective rights of either party; and till their deciſion, which was to be delivered at the expiration of four years, ſhould be known, the king had conſented to pay the duke, by way of indemity, a penſion of thirty-ſix thouſand livres. This generous proceeding had attached the duke of Lorraine to Madame, and ſhe now wiſhed to oppoſe him to Maximilian by making him marry Philippa of Gueldres, niece to her huſband, the lord of Beaujeu, and daughter to Adolphus, who had been deprived of his dominions by the duke of Burgundy. This young princeſs had but one brother, who had juſt entered the ſervice of Maximilian; and, in caſe of his death, ſhe had an indiſputable right to the duchy of Gueldres, and the county

of Zutphen; if, on the contrary, that prince ſhould with the aſſiſtance of the duke of Lorraine, recover the inheritence of his anceſtors, he would become a powerful ally, and might give his ſiſter a conſiderable dower. To enable the duke of Lorraine to aſſert the rights of the family with which he was about to connect himſelf, Madame procured him the alliance of William de la Mark, chief of the Liegeois, and the implacable enemy of Maximilian.

Maximilian, notwithſtanding his eagerneſs to revenge the inſults he had ſuſtained from the French, was ſo ſurrounded by enemies on all ſides, that he would certainly have remained tranquil, had not the duke of Brittany, or rather his favourite, Landois, urged him to a renewal of hoſtilities, by a promiſe to give him the heireſs of Brittany in marriage. Reſolved to hazard every thing in order to merit ſuch a flattering diſtinction, Maximilian ſummoned the Flemings to acknowlege him for the guardian of his ſon—whom they had taken from his father—and for the govenor of his dominions; and he warned them that he ſhould conſider their refuſal as a declaration of war. The Flemings anſwered this citation by an appeal to the parliament of Paris, or to the court of French peers. Madame, meanwhile, who had only wiſhed to intimidate Maximilian, and was extremely anxious to avoid an open rupture, ſent Anthony and Baldwin, baſtards of Burgundy, into Flanders, in order to promote an accommodation between Maximilian and his ſubjects. With this view, they aſſembled thirteen knights of the Golden Fleece at Terremonde, where deputies from all the towns in Flanders were invited to attend. William Rym, chief of the deputation from the inhabitants of Ghent, a man of a turbulent and ſeditious ſpirit, after declaiming with great virulence again Maximilian, drew his ſword, and threatened with inſtant deſtruction any man who ſhould dare to ſpeak in favour of the prince. The aſſembly was accordingly diſſolved without coming to any deciſion, and Maximilian prepared for war. He firſt took Terremonde by ſurpriſe, and then reduced Oudenard, Granmont, and Ninove; while the militia of Ghent, under the command of the count of Romons, carried deſſolation into the environs of Bruxelles and Hal. Maximilian marched into that country with a view to bring them to action, but they retired on his approach; and the winter being far advanced, the operations on both ſides were ſuſpended.

A. D. 1485.] The duke of Orleans, in the mean time, had adopted every plan he could deviſe for ſtrengthening his party: ſince the court had retired with ſuch precipitation from the caſtle of Vincennes, he had remained at Paris, where he exerted his utmoſt endeavours to render himſelf popular. As ſoon as he thought his credit ſufficiently eſtabliſhed with the multitude, he repaired to the parliament, accompanied by the count of Dunois, and by his chancellor, Denis Mertier, who obſerved to the court*—"That the duke of Orleans, as firſt prince of the blood, and the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, ought to be entruſted with the ſovereign power during the king's minority: that, anxious to procure relief for the people, and to correct the abuſes which prevailed in the adminiſtration, he had, in conjunction

* Reg. du Parlement—Godefroi, Receuil de Pieces—Hiſt. Univ. Paris.

with the dukes of Bourbon and Brittany, inſiſted on the convocation of the ſtates-general: that after many contradictions and refuſals, he had at length ſucceeded in convening them; that having received information of attempts to intimidate the members by threats, he had declared himſelf their protector, and had procured for them all the liberty which was neceſſary for the purpoſe of their meeting: that they had made a great number of ſalutary regulations with regard to the general police of the kingdom, and had alſo determined that the king, having entered his fourteenth year, ſhould govern in his own name, but according to the advice of his council, of which the duke of Orleans had been declared preſident: that all theſe uſeful regulations had been treated with contempt: that Madame de Beaujeu had taken poſſeſſion of the revenue, and exhauſted the royal treaſury by a boundleſs prodigality: that the ſtates having granted, beſides the produce of the taxes, which they had reſtricted to twelve hundred thouſand livres, a ſupply of three hundred thouſand for one year only, that ſum had been already extended to another year, in violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements; that even this additional burthen had not prevented the government from contracting a debt of two or three hundred thouſand livres, by which means it would become neceſſary to double the taxes the following year, and thus reduce the people to a ſtate of deſpair the moſt wretched: that all this money was employed for no other purpoſe than to confirm the authority of Madame de Beaujeu, and to render her more deſpotic than ever: that ſhe had already preſumed to exact from the guards that oath which ought only to be taken to the king: that ſhe had, of her own authority, deprived three chamberlains of their places, and conferred them on others; that ſhe kept the king in ſuch a ſtate captivity, that no prince or nobleman was permitted to ſee him; that ſhe had even threatened the duke of Orleans, and had attempted to get him aſſaſſinated by du Lait; that though that prince deſpiſed all threats and attempts which only affected himſelf, yet he could not but feel the greateſt concern, at ſeeing his ſovereign kept in the ſtate of confinement and ſervitude, in which he was meant to be retained till he ſhould have accompliſhed his twentieth year; that he had already written to his majeſty, to entreat him to take refuge in Paris, where he would be at liberty, and where he might chuſe a council compoſed of men of virtue and knowledge; that in order to prove that his advice, in that reſpect, was not influenced by intereſted motives, the duke offered not to appear in the king's preſence, unleſs he ſhould be ſent for; and, in caſe Madame de Beaujeu would conſent to live at the diſtance of ten leagues from court, he himſelf would retire to the diſtance of forty leagues; that being reſolved to devote his life and fortune to the purpoſe of reſcuing the king from captivity, he had come to conſult the parliament, who conſtituted the ſovereign juſtice of the kingdom, whether it would not be adviſeable to convene the ſtates-general a ſecond time, or what other meaſures it would be prudent to adopt for the good of the kingdom."

The firſt preſident of the parliament, very properly, replied—"That the good of the kingdom chiefly conſiſted in the enjoyment of public tranquillity; that

ſuch tranquillity could never be maintained ſo long as the principal members of the ſtate refuſed to ſet an example of concord——Prince"—purſued the worthy magiſtrate, addreſſing himſelf to the duke of Orleans—" you are more intereſted than any one, in preventing the prevalence of diſſentions in the royal family of France, and you ought not, therefore, on reports, often falſe, and always equivocal, to venture on meaſures which may be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences.*" The duke's chancellor attempted to reply, but the magiſtrates perſiſted in their reſolution of not becoming inſtruments of ſedition; and all that the duke could prevail on them to do, was to ſend his remonſtrances to the king, without obſervation or comment.

The duke of Orleans next attempted to ſecure the univerſity in his favour, which at that time contained five-and-twenty thouſand ſtudents, moſt of them able to bear arms, who formed, as it were, a private republic in the heart of the capital. But that learned body followed the example of the parliament, and would only conſent to forward the duke's propoſals to the king.

Madame, informed of the manœuvres of this prince, ſent a party of ſoldiers, in diſguiſe, to ſecure his perſon†, but the duke, appriſed of the danger, fled with precipitation to Verneuil, a place belonging to the duke of Alençon, who was one of his partiſans. Madame then haſtened to Paris with the king, who entered that capital on the fifth of February, 1485. Her firſt care, after her arrival, was to expreſs her gratitude to the parliament for their firmneſs and loyalty: ſhe then deprived the duke of Orleans of all his poſts, and conferred the government of Paris, and the Iſle of France, on the old count of Dammartin. The government of Dauphiné, which, at the requeſt of the duke of Orleans, ſhe had given to the count of Dunois, was now aſſigned to Philip of Savoy, count of Breſſe, brother-in-law to the lord of Beaujeu. She broke the three regular companies commanded by thoſe princes, and by the count of Angoulême, their couſin, and ſuppreſſed their penſions; and, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, ſhe conducted the king to Evreux, and made the army advance to Verneuil. Such was the celerity of her motions, that the duke of Orleans was deprived of every reſource, and compelled to make his ſubmiſſion to the king: after which he was reſtored to his ſeat in the council, but neither to his place nor penſion. Whatever reſentment he might experience on this occaſion, he concealed it for the preſent, and accompanied the king on his tour to Normandy.

But while the court remained in that province, the duke of Orleans contrived to form a freſh confederacy againſt Madame‡; in which he engaged the conſtable, Lewis, George, and Buſſi de Amboiſe, Philip de Commines, and ſome other councillors of ſtate, who were diſpleaſed at not being ſuffered to enjoy, in the preſent reign, the ſame credit and influence which they had poſſeſſed in the pre-

* Garnier, tom. xix. p. 411.

† Hiſt. Ludovic. Aurelian, Lancelot.—Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres.—Godefroi, rec. des pieces.—Preuves de l'Hiſt. de Bretagne.

‡ Hiſt. Ludov. Aurel.—Lancelot, Memoire de l'Academie des Belles Lettres.—Hiſt. de Bretagne par Lobineau.—Annales de Belleforeſt.

ceding one. The authority which the conſtable poſſeſſed in the kingdom gave great ſtrength to the confederacy; and the duke of Orleans, confident of ſucceſs, retired to Blois, whence he wrote to the counts of Angoulême and Dunois, and the viſcount of Narbonne—who was then diſputing the county of Foix and the principality of Bearn, with his niece, Catherine, queen of Navarre—to levy troops, and to form a junction either with him, or with the forces under the command of the conſtable. The duke of Brittany, alſo, promiſed to aſſiſt him with all his forces, as ſoon as he ſhould have reduced his rebellious ſubjects: but the prudence of Madame, and the death of his unprincipled favourite, Landois, who was ſeized and hanged by the Breton nobles, prevented him from fulfilling his engagements.

The confederated princes wiſhed to obtain poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong town which might ſerve as a place of rendezvous for their troops, which were levying in different parts of the kingdom*. They accordingly pitched upon the city of Orleans, which commanded a bridge upon the Loire; but they were too ſlow in their motions, and that fault decided the fate of the campaign. Madame, appriſed of their intentions, ſent the lord of Bouchage, to exhort the citizens of Orleans to remain faithful to the king, and not to tarniſh the glory they had acquired under Charles the Seventh, by an act of rebellion; and that nobleman ſucceeded ſo well in his embaſſy, that when the duke of Orleans preſented himſelf, two days after, before the town, the gates were ſhut againſt him, and the citizens were unanimous in refuſing him admiſſion. The duke's army conſiſted of two thouſand ſix hundred cavalry, and about eight thouſand infantry, with which he ravaged the country round Orleans, and then proceeded to take poſſeſſion of Beaujenci. Madame, meanwhile, in order to encreaſe the mortification of her rival at the failure of his attempt upon Orleans, repaired to that city, where ſhe attended the celebration of the nuptials of the duke of Lorraine, with Philippa of Gueldres, niece to her huſband, the lord of Beaujeu. She then placed Lewis de la Tremouille—who afterward acquired, by his conduct, the honourable appellation of *Chevalier ſans reproache*—at the head of her troops; and that nobleman ſent two heralds to Beaujenci to order the forces under the duke of Orleans to lay down their arms; but the heralds were diſmiſſed with contempt, and preparations for reſiſtance were made. But no ſooner had la Tremouille inveſted the place, than the count of Dunois, ſenſible that it was unprovided with proviſions and ammunition ſufficient for ſuſtaining a ſiege, perſuaded the duke of Orleans to make propoſals for an accommodation. The council was divided in opinion as to the propriety of accepting theſe propoſals; Madame, and all thoſe who had eſpouſed her quarrel, inſiſted on the wiſdom of profiting by this opportunity to enſure tranquillity to the ſtate: they maintained, that as ſoon as the duke of Orleans ſhould have extricated himſelf from the danger which now threatened him, he would promote a renewal of hoſtilities, and would take care ſo frame his ſchemes in future as to enſure his ſucceſs; it would, therefore, they aſſerted, be more prudent to ſecure

* Hiſt. Ludov. Aurel.—Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par Saint-Gelais.—Godefroi, Receuil de pieces.—Reg. du Parlement.

his perſon, as well as that of the count of Dunois, who was the moſt dangerous man in the kingdom, and ſend them to be tried by the parliament. This advice, however, was over-ruled by thoſe who were fearful of incurring the hatred of the preſumptive heir to the throne; and it was at length agreed to accept the duke's propoſals for a peace, on condition that he would admit a royal garriſon into all the fortreſſes in his appanage, and that the count of Dunois ſhould be baniſhed to the town of Aſt, beyond the Alps. The duke, at firſt, rejected theſe conditions with diſdain, but by the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the count of Dunois to the ſentence impoſed on him, and by the ſtrenuous perſuaſions of that nobleman, he was at length prevailed on to accept them. As the conſtable had only taken up arms in favour of the duke of Orleans, he was ſoon perſuaded to diſband his forces, and to become a party in the treaty of accommodation.

At the ſame time, the miniſters of France and Brittany, who had aſſembled at Bourges, concluded a treaty, by which the duke of Brittany engaged to pay the ſame kind of allegiance to the king, as his predeceſſors had been accuſtomed to pay to the French monarchs; to renounce all alliances, as well within the kingdom as out of it, that could tend to interrupt the tranquillity of the ſtate; to break off all commerce with the king's enemies, and neither to furniſh them with men, arms, or ammunition. There was the greateſt reaſon to believe that the duke would fulfil theſe engagements, as, ſince the death of Landois, he had regulated his conduct by the advice of his barons, all of whom were under obligations to Madame; and, in order farther to ſecure the attachment of the Breton nobles, ſhe diſtributed honours and rewards among them with a liberal hand. She was, at this time, extremely anxious to live at peace with the duke of Brittany, as, although ſhe had ſucceeded in diſſolving the confederacy of the princes, her arms had been leſs ſucceſsful in the Netherlands.

After the reduction of Tenremonde, Oudenarde, Ninove, and Granmont, by Maximilian, the Flemings, alarmed at the rapidity of his progreſs, had ſent to demand ſuccours of France, and to require that the king would openly declare in their favour*. In conſequence of this application, Charles addreſſed a manifeſto to his father-in-law, Maximilian, accuſing him of having violated his duty as a vaſſal to the crown, in attacking the towns belonging to young Philip, who was a peer of France; and enjoining him to make reparation for ſuch damages, as well as for the loſſes which the Flemings—whom the king, as lord paramount of the county of Flanders was bound to protect and defend—had ſuſtained from his arms. As it was not ſuppoſed this manifeſto would have much effect, the mareſchal Deſquerdes received orders to march to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of Ghent, with an army of ſix hundred lances. The mareſchal firſt attempted to get poſſeſſion of Tournai, but failing in the attempt he repaired to Ghent, where the citizens, whom he had been ſent to protect, ſoon became jealous of his power, and forced him to leave the town. After the expulſion of the French, who retired into Artois, the inhabitants of Ghent concluded an accomodation with Maximilian,

* Heuter. Rer. Belgic.—Godefroi rec. de pieces.—Hareus. Annal. Brabant.

on the following conditions:—1. The citizens agreed to acknowledge Maximilian for the guardian of his ſon, and the adminiſtrator of the county of Flanders, and to take an oath of allegiance to him in that capacity. 2. They conſented to receive that prince into the city with the ſame number of troops as generally accompanied him in his viſits to the other towns in Flanders. 3. They engaged to recal all ſuch as had been baniſhed from the town on account of their attachment to Maximilian, and to reſtore them to their eſtates. And, laſtly, they agreed to pay ſeven hundred thouſand florins, for the expences of the war. But a riot which occurred in Ghent, through the imprudence of a German ſoldier, after Maximilian had entered that city, afforded him a ſpecious pretext for completing the humiliation of this turbulent and ſeditious people. He ordered their fortifications to be demoliſhed, deſtroyed a part of the walls, took from them all their artillery, deprived them of their privileges, and eſtabliſhed a magiſtracy of his own election.

After he had reſtored tranquillity to Flanders, the attention of Maximilian was called to another quarter. The marriage of the duke of Lorraine with the princeſs of Guilders, had already excited his ſuſpicions; and he ſoon learnt that the duke had had an interview, at Meziere, with his great enemy, William de la Mark; that, at the inſtigation of, and in concert with, Madame de Beaujeu, they had formed a plan for making an incurſion into Brabant; and, in order to facilitate that enterpriſe, la Mark had ceded to the duke ſeveral fortreſſes in the territory of Liege. Maximilian, however, found means to avert the danger which threatened him, by ſending one of his officers to ſecure the perſon of la Mark, who was conducted to Maeſtricht, where he paid, by his death, the forfeit of his numerous crimes.

A. D. 1486.] Madame de Beaujeu, though poſſeſſed of many good qualities, appears, in ſome reſpects, to have followed that inſidious and diſhoneſt ſyſtem of policy, which had been adopted by her father. Notwithſtanding her late treaty with the duke of Brittany, ſhe ſpared no pains to diſturb the government of that prince. The lord of Broſſes, being dead, ſhe had the precaution to exact from his widow, Nicole de Penthiévre, a freſh confirmation of the ceſſion which ſhe and her huſband had made to Lewis the Eleventh, and his ſucceſſors, of all their claims to the duchy of Brittany. The duke, informed of theſe proceedings, ſent ambaſſadors to the king to expreſs his aſtoniſhment at the conduct of the French council, in thinking of making uſe of a title ſo falſe and illuſive as the famous letter granted to John de Penthiévre, and to offer in his name either to give an authentic copy of the counter letter written by that nobleman, or to ſhew the original to any commiſſioners whom his majeſty might chuſe to appoint for the purpoſe of inſpecting it. Madame, however, affected to treat this counter-letter as a forgery, and deſired it might be ſent for examination to the council of France; a requeſt with which the duke was not ſo weak as to comply. Finding it impoſſible to obtain any ſatisfaction from the French council, and learning that Madame was uſing her utmoſt exertions to acquire partiſans in Brittany, the duke aſſem-

bled the ſtates of the duchy, and made them ſwear, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that, after his death, they would acknowledge his two daughters, reſpectively, and according to the order of their birth, for his ſole and lawful heirs; that they would pay them obedience as ſuch; and that they would oppoſe, to the utmoſt of their power, any attempts that might be made to deſpoil them of their ſovereignty, and of their juſt rights.

After he had taken this precaution, the duke ſent an ambaſſador to Maximilian, who had lately been raiſed to the rank of king of the Romans, urging him to invade France, and promiſing to ſupply him with a body of troops, with proviſions, and with arms. A treaty was concluded between theſe princes at Bruges, by which they engaged not to lay down their arms, till they had obliged the king to diſmiſs all thoſe members of his council who gave him evil advice, and to obſerve all the regulations propoſed by the ſtates at Tours. The better to ſecure the obedience of the Flemings, he made his ſon, though an infant, ſwear to obſerve this treaty, under the title of the duke of Auſtria and Burgundy; and with the money he had exacted from the inhabitants of Ghent, he was enabled to raiſe a powerful army of Germans and Swiſs.

Madame, appriſed of theſe preparations, thought it neceſſary to encreaſe the number of her troops. Since the ſuppreſſion, by Lewis the Eleventh, of the free archers, which had been embodied by his father, and the diſmiſſion of ſix thouſand Swiſs at the commencement of the preſent reign, France had no other infantry than the militia of the different towns, who were ill-diſciplined, and who were barely ſufficient to defend the places to which they belonged*. The regular troops of calvary diſperſed on the frontiers, and in thoſe fortreſſes which lay neareſt to the enemy, could with difficulty aſſemble, and form a compact body of forces. Madame, therefore, after conſulting the ſeneſchals and bailiffs of the different provinces in the kingdom, on the beſt means of re-eſtabliſhing a body of infantry, which had become requiſite for the defence of the ſtate, decreed, by the advice of the council, that every fifty-five hearths ſhould ſupply one man completely armed, and pay him ſixty ſous a month. This was, to all intents, a new tax, but the neceſſity of the eaſtabliſhment was ſo evident as to prevent all murmurs. Beſides this national malitia, Madame deemed it prudent to recall the ſix thouſand Swiſs whom ſhe had before diſmiſſed.

Maximilian, before he proceeded to an open declaration of war, gave orders to the governors of his towns to make ſome attempts on the French territories; Montigni, governor of Hainaut, accordingly took the town of Mortagne by ſurpriſe; while Salazar *eſcaladed* the walls of Terouenne, during the night, and thus, without the ſmalleſt effuſion of blood, made himſelf maſter of one of the ſtrongeſt places in Artois; a place, too, rendered more important by the circumſtance of of the mareſchal Deſquerdes having eſtabliſhed his magazines there. After this

* Godefroi, recueil de pieces—Hiſtoire Manuſcrite de Charles VIII. par Fontanieu.

ſucceſs, Maximilian no longer delayed the publication of a manifeſto, in which, excuſing the king on account of his youth, he inveighed againſt the conduct of Madame de Beaujeu and her huſband, whoſe ambition and avarice had, he ſaid diſguſted the princes and chief nobility in the kingdom, and induced the neighbouring powers to take up arms againſt France. He complained of their intrigues with the Flemings; of the ſupplies, both of men and money, which they had ſent to la Mark; and of the hoſtilities which they had cauſed to be committed in Flanders, by the mareſchal Deſquerdes; he obſerved, that the only mode of averting the calamities with which the monarchy was threatened, was to diſmiſs from the king's preſence all thoſe who took advantage of his weakneſs, and to convene a ſecond aſſembly of the ſtates-general, to which he and the emperor, his father, would ſend ambaſſadors, to reſtore concord among the princes of the blood, and to enſure, by new treaties, the tranquility of France; and he concluded, by exhorting the parliament and city of Paris to concur with him in ſo laudable an undertaking. This manifeſto was treated with contempt by the council, and the herald who delivered it was adviſed to diſſuade his maſter from engaging in an unjuſt war. Maximilian did not, indeed, follow their advice, but finding himſelf too weak to undertake any expedition of importance, he was ſoon obliged to diſband his troops, while the attention of the French court was once more directed to the affairs of Brittany.

The death of Landois had failed to reſtore tranquillity to that duchy; the ſame pretenſions, the ſame intrigues, either for deſpoiling or for marrying the heireſs of Brittany, ſtill ſubſiſted, and the danger to which the duchy had been lately expoſed by the duke's illneſs, awakened the public attention*. In a ſhort time a freſh league was formed againſt Madame, into which not only the duke of Orleans and the count of Angoulême entered, but the whole houſe of Foix; the lord of Albret; his ſon; the king of Navarre; the prince of Orange; Leſcun, who had all the forces of Guienne at his diſpoſal; the old count of Nevers, of the houſe of Burgundy; the lords of Pons and d'Orval; and the duke of Lorraine himſelf. This laſt prince had been diſguſted with the king, who, before the commiſſioners, appointed for ſetttling their reſpective claims to Provence could come to a deciſion, had, by his letters-patent irrevocably united that country to the crown; he had, alſo, taken from the duke his company of a hundred lances, and the penſion of thirty-ſix thouſand livres, which had been granted him till ſuch time as the difference with regard to Provence could be ſettled.

Dunois, though in exile, was the ſoul of this intrigue, and he ſecretly congratulated himſelf on the ſucceſs of his efforts. When he found that Maximilian had been able, without any aſſiſtance, to withſtand during two years, the whole force of the kingdom; that the duke of Savoy claimed the marquiſate of Saluces; that the duke of Brittany was inſeparably united to the duke of Orleans, and

* Hiſtoire de Charles VIII. par Jaligni.

was influenced by the advice of the enemies of Madame; that the houſe of Foix, the lord of Albret, the king and queen of Navarre, had engaged to promote an inſurrection in Gaſcony; while Leſcun was to arm the inhabitants of Guienne; that ſeveral noblemen of diſtinction in the provinces, and even ſome of the ſtate counſellors, had ſecretly acceded to this league, he had no doubt, but that, in the enſuing ſpring, Madame muſt infallibly fall beneath the united exertions of her numerous enemies. Inſpirited by this hope, he left the place of his exile without the king's permiſſion, and, returning to France, eſtabliſhed his reſidence in the the town of Partenai, the fortifications of which he haſtened to repair.

This was the firſt ſymptom that appeared of the conſpiracy. Madame had no doubt, but that a prince ſo renowned for his prudence had duly concerted his projects before he threw off the maſk; in order, therefore, to diſcover his reſources, and to learn what ſhe had to fear, ſhe ſent deputies to deſire he would account for his conduct, and to reproach him with his preſumption in daring to diſobey the king's poſitive orders: theſe deputies told him, that his rendezvous on the frontiers of Brittany had rendered him an object of ſuſpicion to the court; and they propoſed to him, as the laſt proof of his majeſty's condecenſion, to retire to his county of Longueville in Normandy. Dunois refuſed to enter into any explanation, and the only anſwer he would give the deputies was—"*I am at home*".

An attempt, equally unſucceſsful, was made to allure the duke of Orleans to court; and ambaſſadors were ſent to remonſtrate with the duke of Brittany; but that prince retorted, by reproaching Madame with her intrigues to diſturb his government, and to deſpoil his daughters of their lawful inheritance.

A. D. 1487.] Madame, meanwhile, intercepted a courier, charged with diſpatches, from ſuch of the king's officers and counſellors of ſtate as had joined the princes, in which ſhe found a complete plan of the conſpiracy. In conſequence of this diſcovery ſhe immediately iſſued orders for apprehending Geoffrey de Pompadour, biſhop of Perigueux, and almoner to the king; George d'Amboiſe, biſhop of Montauban; his brother, Buſſi d'Amboiſe, and Philip de Commines, the celebrated hiſtorian. She had alſo taken meaſures for ſecuring Lewis d'Amboiſe, biſhop of Albi; but that prelate effected his eſcape to Avignon, whence he afterward obtained permiſſion to return to France.

Madame now perceived the extent of her danger, and concluded that her ruin might be the conſequence of giving her enemies time to collect their forces and ſettle their plans. She, therefore, wrote to the citizens of Bourdeaux, and the inhabitants of all the other towns in Guienne, exhorting them to preſiſt in their allegiance to their lawful ſovereign, and warning them to be on their guard againſt the intrigues of the governors and garriſons of the different fortreſſes; and, ſo early as the eleventh of February, ſhe paſſed the Loire, and took the king into Poitou. Dunois expected that it was the intention of the royaliſts to beſiege him in Partenai, but he ſoon learnt that the king had paſſed through Poitiers, and was directing his march towards Guienne. Charles, accordingly,

entered that province, which was defended by Odet d'Aidie, ſeneſchal of Carcaſſonne, brother and lieutenant to the lord of Leſcun, who advanced with a ſmall body of troops to the town of Saintes, in order to oppoſe the paſſage of the royaliſts over the river Charente, and to give time to the lord of Albret and the count of Angoulême to join him with the forces under their command. But being foiled in the attempt—from his neglect to ſ cure a tower which commanded the bridge—he evacuated Saintes and repaired to Pons. He was ſoon, however obliged to quit that place, and, being cloſely purſued by the king's army, he, at length, ſhut himſelf up in the ſmall town of Blaye, where his troops revolted, and, in conjunction with the inhabitants, compelled him to capitulate. Reduced to the neceſſity of imploring the king's clemency, he only demanded to be continued in his office, and to have his ſalaries and penſions ſecured to him; on which condition he promiſed to ſurrender to the royaliſts all the fortreſſes and caſtles in his brother's poſſeſſion. The offer was accepted, and in a few days, the king became maſter of the caſtle of Trompette, of Fronſac, Reole, Saint-Bever, Dax, and the citadel of Bayonne. He gave the government of Guienne to the lord of Beaujeu, who being unable to reſide, appointed the lord of Candale his lieutenant. The admiralty of Guienne was united to that of France, and the county of Comminges annexed to the crown.

The rapid progreſs of the royal arms ſtruck a panic into the confederates, many of whom haſtened to procure, by timely ſubmiſſion, a pardon for their offences; the lord of Albret, and the king and queen of Navarre, made terms with the king; the count of Angoulême, too, forſook the confederates, and Madame, being anxious to ſecure his future attachment, promoted his marriage with Louiſa of Savoy, daughter to the count of Breſſe, and niece—by her mothers ſide—to the lord of Beaujeu, and the conſtable de Bourbon; from this marriage ſprang Francis the Firſt. The count of Dunois, on the approach of the royal army, evacuated Partenai, and fled, with precipitation, into Brittany, whither the king prepared to follow him.

The aſcendancy which the duke of Orleans had acquired at the court of Brittany, gave great offence to the Breton nobles*; and the mareſchal de Rieux, the count of Laval, the viſcount of Rohan, and upwards of fifty other gentlemen, retired in diſcontent to Chateaubrient, where they formed an aſſociation, which was ſoon after joined by the baron d'Avaugour, the duke of Brittany's natural ſon. The conduct of this ſeditious band, being properly reſented by their ſovereign, they ſacrificed the intereſt of their country to the gratification of their private reſentment, and entered into a treaty with the king of France; by which it was agreed—1. That the king ſhould ſend an army into Brittany, not exceeding four hundred lances, and four thouſand infantry; and that he ſhould prefer no claim to the duchy during the duke's life—2. That theſe troops ſhould be placed under the command of the mareſchal de Rieux, or of ſome one of the

* Hiſtoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau.

confederated barons, and that they ſhould not lay ſiege to any town, where the duke ſhould have eſtabliſhed his reſidence.—3. That as ſoon as the duke of Orleans, the count of Dunois, the prince of Orange, and the lord of Leſcun, againſt whom the war ſhould be directed, ſhould have evacuated Brittany the king ſhould withdraw his troops, without requiring any recompence. Charles accepted theſe terms without heſitation, and without the ſmalleſt intention of adhering to them; this was a part of his father's infamous policy, which his ſiſter had been careful to inſtil into his youthful mind. Madame had reſolved to execute her favourite project of reducing Brittany to ſubjection; and the ſtate of Europe was ſuch as appeared to favour her ſchemes.

Maximilian, indeed was engaged in cloſe alliance with the duke of Brittany, and was in hopes of marrying his daughter; but his indigence, and the ſeditious diſpoſition of the Flemings, prevented him from affording that aſſiſtance which was expected from him. The attention of Ferdinand and Iſabella was wholly engroſſed by the conqueſt of Grenada; and had they even been unoccupied, it was well known that the reſignation of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, to which they had claims, would have effectually ſecured their neutrality. England, alone, was both enabled by her power, and invited by her intereſt, to ſupport the independence of the Bretons. Of this Madame was aware, and to avert the ſtorm which ſhe expected from that quarter, ſhe ſent ambaſſadors to England, to congratulate Henry on his ſucceſs in reducing his rebellious ſubjects, and, at the ſame time, to make the greateſt profeſſions of amity, eſteem and confidence.

The ambaſſadors ſought to perſuade the Engliſh monarch that in the conteſt between the court of France and the duke of Brittany, the latter was the aggreſſor, in having offered protection to the duke of Orleans, who had been guilty of treaſonable practices: and that the war, which, on the part of France, they affirmed was merely defenſive, would ceaſe the moment that protection ſhould be withdrawn. They farther obſerved, that their maſter was ſenſible of the obligations which Henry owed to the duke of Brittany for protecting him in the hour of diſtreſs; but reminded him, at the ſame time, that at a more critical period Francis and his miniſters had forſaken him, and reduced him to ſeek for refuge in the court of France, where he had not only experienced the moſt hoſpitable reception, but received the aſſiſtance which had laid the foundation of his ſubſequent ſucceſſes. For theſe reaſons they hoped, that if the ſituation of Henry's affairs precluded the poſſibility of returning the obligation to France on the preſent occaſion, he would, at leaſt, obſerve a perfect neutrality. In order to ſtrengthen this plauſive diſcourſe, they imparted to Henry, as in confidence, the intention of their ſovereign, ſo ſoon as he ſhould have ſettled the diſputes in Brittany, to enforce by arms his pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples: a project which, they knew, could give no umbrage to the court of England. Henry, however, was not to be deceived by theſe artful evaſions; but as he immagined that France could not ſucceed in her attempts, he was induced to liſten to the

dictates of his avarice, which rendered him averſe from all foreign enterpriſes and diſtant expeditions, however politic, and however neceſſary to the future ſafety of his dominions. He, therefore determined to try the expedient of negociation, and gave a general anſwer to the ambaſſadors, expreſſive of his concern at a rupture between two princes, to each of whom he was under ſuch eſſential obligations, and of his reſolution to act as a mediator between them.

The French, me nwhile, had entered Brittany; and, beſides the ſtipulated number of troops which had been promiſed to the barons, the king ſent two other detachments into the d chy, under the command of Gilbert de Bourbon, count of Montpenſier, la Tremouille, and Saint-Andre*. Hoſtilities were firſt began by the army commanded by the Breton nobles, who took Rhedon, and laid ſiege to Ploermel, which ſoon capitulated. The duke of Brittany, notwithſtanding his age and infirmities, had placed himſelf at the head of ſix hundred lances, and ſixteen thouſand infantry, with which he advanced to raiſe the ſiege; but finding the place had ſurrendered, he purſued his rebellious barons, in order to bring them to action. But his principal officers, infected by the general contagion of revolt, found means to inſtil a ſpirit of diſſention into the ſoldiers, ſuch numbers of whom diſbanded, that the duke was compelled to fly before the rebels, and ſhut himſelf up in Vannes, which was immediately inveſted. The town being incapable of defence, the dukes of Brittany and Orleans, with the count of Dunois and Leſcun, muſt inevitably have fallen into the king's hands, but for the activity of the prince of Orange, who no ſooner heard of their ſituation, than he left Nantes, and, ſailing down the Loire, ſtopped at Croiſic and Guerrande, where he collected all the veſſels he could find, and entered the port of Vannes in ſafety. The duke of Brittany and the French princes immediately embarked, and made the beſt of their way to Nantes, while the garriſon of Vannes ſurrendered that town to the French.

Nantes, the moſt conſiderable town in the duchy, and the beſt fortified, was now beſieged by the French army; and Dunois, who was with the duke of Brittany, entertained ſuch apprehenſions for its ſafety, that he reſolved to go to England in perſon, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the Engliſh monarch; he accordingly left the town in diſguiſe, and repaired to Saint Malo, but the prevalence of contrary winds prevented his embarkation. This circumſtance, however, which Dunois was induced to conſider as a misfortune, proved the means of ſaving the duchy, for it haſtened the arrival of a fleet, containing a reinforcemnt of fifteen hundred veteran troops, which Maximilian had ſent to the aſſiſtance of his ally. Dunois having, at the ſame time, received information that the peaſants of Lower Brittany, appriſed of the danger to which their ſovereign was expoſed had aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and only wanted a leader to head them, he immediately offered himſelf to this formidable band, and having ſelected ten

* Lobineau.—Jaligny.—Hiſt. Ludov. Aurel.—Belleforet, Annales de France.

thouſand of the moſt able and beſt-armed, he joined the Germans, and returned in triumph to Nantes.

While the king was engaged in the ſiege of this city, Urſwic, almoner to Henry the Seventh, arrived as ambaſſador from that prince. Having made known to Madame the purport of his journey, that able princeſs accepted with alacrity Henry's offer of mediation, under the idea that the duke of Orleans, from a conſciouſneſs that his ruin muſt form the baſis of an accomodation, would exert his utmoſt influence with the duke of Brittany to make him reject the propoſal of the Engliſh monarch. The event juſtified her prudence. When the ambaſſador made the ſame offer to the duke of Brittany, who was then confined to his bed by ſickneſs, he was anſwered by the duke of Orleans, in the name of Francis, that, in ſuch a perilous conjuncture, he expected from Henry the moſt effectual aſſiſtance, rather than a fruitleſs offer of mediation, which could not tend, in the ſmalleſt degree, to impede the progreſs of the French arms: that if Henry's gratitude were not ſufficient to impel him to the adoption of ſuch a meaſure, his prudence, at leaſt, ſhould ſuggeſt to him how very important it was to England to prevent the annexation of the duchy of Brittany to the crown of France. This, however, did not induce Henry to depart from that line of conduct which he had previouſly determined to purſue; and, indeed, when he found that the peaſants of Lower Brittany had riſen in favour of their prince, and that the reinforcement introduced into Nantes by the count of Dunois, compelled the French to raiſe the ſiege of that city, he was fortified in his opinion that the court of France would experience ſuch inſurmountable obſtacles to the accompliſhment of their object, as would finally oblige them to abandon their deſign.

From Nantes the French army haſtened to Cliſſon, a town belonging to the baron d'Avaugour, who, enraged at the introduction of a French garriſon into a place where he commanded in perſon, abandoned the confederates, and returned to his father's court. Vitry ſurrendered to the French; and the ſmall town of Dol, in conſequence of a refuſal to open her gates, was taken by aſſault, and reſigned to pillage. Saint-Aubin du Cormier made a vigorous reſiſtance, under the command of its brave governor, William de Roſnyvinen, who had ſerved with diſtinction in the French army, under Charles the Seventh, his ſon Lewis; and the deſertion of the garriſon had left this gallant veteran with only forty or fifty men, with which trifling force, he ſucceſsfully oppoſed, for ſeveral days, the utmoſt exertions of an army of fourteen thouſand combitants. He had expreſſed his determination rather to bury himſelf beneath the ruins of the town, than to ſurrender it to the enemy; but the earneſt entreaties of his friends, and his generous concern for the few brave men who had remained attached to his fortunes, at length induced him to break the raſh reſolution, and to propoſe terms of capitulation, which were immediately accepted. The honours paid him by the French, who admired his courage, rendered him an object of ſuſpicion to the court of Brittany, who ſeized his eſtates, plundered his houſe, and deprived him of his

places. A ſubject leſs faithful might have been led to revolt, by ſuch an act of injuſtice; but in the mind of Roſnyvinen, honour always roſe ſuperior to reſentment. He immediately repaired to Nantes, where he procured an audience of his ſovereign, to whom he repreſented, with manly firmneſs, that four of his nephews, the only ſupport of his houſe, had loſt their lives in the ſervice of their prince; that his brother, who had married the rich heireſs of Vaucouleurs, had alſo periſhed in the field of battle; that, for his own part, ever ſince he had been able to mount his horſe, he had never failed in his duty to his country; that he had been preſent at every battle which had been fought in Brittany, and although, when his country was at peace, he had entered into the ſervice of France, and had acquired ſome reputation in the wars of Charles the Seventh, and Lewis the Eleventh, he had, whenever war was declared between the kings of France and the dukes of Brittany, without heſitation reſigned his places, and rejected the moſt tempting offers, in order to fly to the aſſiſtance of his country; that he had not only ſerved her with his ſword, but had been ſo fortunate as to aſſiſt his maſters with his purſe in times of neceſſity; that the duke muſt recollect that when Guerche was taken by the French, he had lent him two thouſand crowns; and that he had alſo lent two thouſand more to the count of Dunois, to enable him to ſubſiſt the troops which he was conducting to the relief of Nantes; and he, laſtly, explained his conduct at Saint-Aubin du Cormier, and juſtified himſelf ſo completely, that the duke, deteſting the perfidy of his enemies, and condemning his own weakneſs, in having liſtened to their ſuggeſtions, immediately ordered his property to be reſtored, and, being unable, at that time, to indemnify him fully for the loſſes he had ſuſtained, appointed him to be one of his maîtres d'hôtel.

Various towns and fortreſſes were now taken and retaken by the two armies; while Maximilian ſent a freſh reinforcement to his ally. The duke was ſo well pleaſed at this new proof of his friendſhip, that he immediately wrote to the king of the Romans, telling him that if he could, within a certain time, repair in perſon to Brittany, with an army ſufficiently ſtrong to expel the French from the duchy, his daughter ſhould marry him without delay, and he would make the ſtates take an oath of allegiance to him. But Maximilian was unfortunately in a ſituation which rendered it impoſſible for him to profit by this propoſal.

The mareſchal Deſquerdes, who commanded the French forces in the Netherlands, had taken the towns of Saint-Omer and Terouennè, the former by ſurpriſe, the latter by the perfidy of one of the inhabitrnts*. He had alſo, by an act of treachery, dignified, by the cruel policy of war, with the appellation of ſtratagem, ſeduced a body of Germans into an ambuſcade, in which moſt of them periſhed by the ſword. Weakened, by theſe repeated loſſes, it was with the utmoſt difficulty that Maximilian had been able to ſend a ſmall reinforcement to the duke of Brittany; and ſo far from being able to join him with a powerful army, he ſtood in need of aſſiſtance himſelf.

* Heuter. rer. Belgic.—Haraeus, Annal. Brabant.—Jaligny.

Charles, by this time, found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the towns of Ancenis, Cliſſon, Châteaubient, Guerche, Vitré, Dol, Saint-Aubin, Ploermel, Vannes, and Aurai*, and, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, he diſtributed his troops in the different places he had reduced, and returned to France.

The duke of Orleans, and the other confederates, now plainly perceived, that, unleſs they could ſucceed in promoting unanimity among the Breton nobles, and in procuring more powerful aſſiſtance than they had hitherto been able to obtain, their ruin was inevitable. In order, therefore, to remove thoſe prejudices, which the people of Brittany, who imputed to them all the misfortunes of their country, had been led to encourage, they gave it out, that as they had only come to Britany on the invitation of the duke, their ally, and in the view to defend him, they were ready to leave the duchy, if the king would engage to let him live in peace, and to reſtore all the places which he had unjuſtly taken from him: and to prove their ſincerity, they demanded a ſafe conduct of Charles for the lord of Leſcun, whom they appointed to ſettle the conditions of their return. This nobleman accordingly repaired to Pont à l'Arche, in Normandy (where the court then reſided) accompanied by Dubois, an officer in the houſhold of the mareſchal de Rieux, who had been prevailed on by Leſcun to forſake the aſſociated barons of Brittany, in caſe the king ſhould refuſe to comply with the demands of the princes.

As Leſcun was aware of the improbabily of concluding, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, the accommodation he was ſent to negociate, he only dwelt, in his ſpeech to the French council, on thoſe circumſtances which he knew would moſt offend Madame: he expatiated on the abuſes which prevailed in the government, on the infraction of the articles accorded by the ſtates of Tours, and on the unjuſt perſecution of the duke of Orleans. No anſwer was made to his propoſals; he had been heard with indignation, and was diſmiſſed with contempt. Dubois next ſpoke, in the name of the mareſchal de Rieux; he accuſed the king of having broken the two firſt articles of the treaty of Chateaubrient, as well by ſending into Brittany a greater number of troops than had been agreed on, as by forming the ſiege of Nantes, where the duke reſided: he expreſſed his hop s, however, that his majeſty would fulfil the third article, by immediately evacuating the duchy, and by reſtoring the places he had taken from the duke, ſince the princes of the blood, againſt whom alone the war had been directed, offered to leave Brittany, on condition only that they ſhould be ſuffered to live at peace. Madame, at firſt, attempted to ſeparate the cauſe of the mareſchal from that of the princes, and ſhe continued, for ſome time, to elude the demand of his envoy; but Dubois, aware of the artifice, inſiſted, with bacoming firmneſs, on a direct and poſitive anſwer; When Madame, reſolved to ſacrifice juſtice to policy, told him that the king would ſuffer no man to interfere in his affairs, and that he had advanced too far to retreat.

* Belleforet, Annales de France.

As ſoon as the mareſchal de Rieux was appriſed of this anſwer, he diſmiſſed all the French who were then at Ancenis, where he reſided, and exacted a freſh oath of allegiance to the duke of Brittany, from the remainder of the garriſon, and the inhabitants of the town; and repaired to Chateaubrient, which belonged to his ſon-in-law, the lord of Montafilant. Having gained acceſs to that town, with a ſmall body of troops, he entered the caſtle, where ſeveral of the confederated barons were at ſupper, and thus addreſſed the company:—"Gentlemen, you all know what were the conditions of the treaty we ſigned in this very place, with the French: they have all been violated. I have complained of this infidelity; my remonſtrances have given offence, and the French no longer make a ſecret of their intention to ſubdue Brittany, and to treat it as a conquered country. It is now time to ſhew who we are. This place is already in the power of the duke, our maſter; but as I gained admiſſion as a friend, I do not mean to offer violence to any man's inclinations; ſuch as chuſe to return to their duty, may remain here and rely on my friendſhip; while thoſe who had rather perſiſt in their alliance with France, are at liberty to leave the town with their arms and baggage."—The lord of Montafilant, and many of his friends, immediately choſe the former, and renewed their oaths of allegiance to the duke of Brittany, while ſome few of the barons profited by the permiſſion to depart.

A. D. 1488.] During theſe tranſactions, Maximilian was reduced to the moſt wretched ſituation; Deſquerdes, having ſucceſsfully exerted the deteſtable policy of exciting an inſurrection in an enemy's country, the inhapitants of Ghent, ever ripe for ſedition, had ſhaken off the authority of their lawful ſovereign, re-eſtabiſhed the democratical form of government, and placed themſelves under the protection of France. The king of the Romans, on the firſt news of his event, haſtened to Bruges, where the citizens, tainted with the ſame ſpirit of revolt, flew to arms, and compelled the prince, who was but ſlightly attended, to ſhut himſelf up in his palace. The brave Salazar, who had accompanied him, propoſed to force a paſſage through the ſeditious rabble, but Maximilian declined an attempt which he regarded as deſperate; Salazar, however, reſolved to try it himſelf: accordingly, having clad himfelf in cemplete armour, and fixed on twelve determined men to accompany him, he ſeized an opportunity while the citizens were opening one of the gates of the town, to attack them ſword in hand, and killing all who dared to reſiſt, he cut his way throw the mob, and effected his eſcape. After his departure, Maximilian was treated with the greateſt indignity; he was confined a cloſe priſoner in his palace, many of his officers were maſſacred, and his own life was almoſt hourly in danger. The inhabitants of Ghent were no ſooner informed of his ſituation, than they ſent to deſire he might be delivered into their hands; this, however, the citizens of Bruges thought proper to refuſe, though they conſented ſo deliver up ten of his attendants, who were conveyed to Ghent were they were put to the torture. Ten of the the citizens of Ghent, who had alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their loyalty, were invited to dine with the principal magiſtrates, who, after regaling them in the moſt ſplendid manner, and loading them with ca-

reſſes. introducted an executioner and ſeveral prieſts. The unhappy gueſts were immediately put to death, and their bodies having been conveyed to a church of a neighbouring convent, the inhuman magiſtrates ſent for their wives, telling them they were at liberty to viſit their huſbands, and to diſpoſe of them as they pleaſed. To ſuch refinement of cruelty did theſe popular demagogues proceed; and, indeed, we have generally found, that were the people have uſurped an authorrity, which, though in particular caſes they may be entitled to confer, it was certainly never intended they ſhould exerciſe, they have employed it for the moſt abominable purpoſes.

While theſe events were paſſing in the Netherlands, the king returned to Paris, where he held a bed of juſtice, at which the confederated princes were formerly tried, though it was not deemed adviſeable to paſs ſentence on them. Theſe violent proceedings, at length, opened the eyes of the Engliſh monarch, to avert the effects of whoſe reſentment, lord Bernard d'Aubigny, a Scotch nobleman, was ſent to London; and this ambaſſador had orders to perſuade Henry to perſiſt in his offers of meditation to the duke of Brittany. Henry, on his part, diſpatched another embaſſy to Paris, conſiſting of Urſwic, the abbot of Abingdon, and ſir Richard Tonſtal, who were charged with new propoſals for an accommodation, all of which were rejected by Madame. No ſuccours, meanwhile, were provided for the diſtreſſed Bretons. Lord Woodville, uncle to the queen of England, having aſked permiſſion to raiſe privately a body of volunteers, and tranſport them into Brittany, met with a refuſal, which, however, proved inſufficient to deter him from his purpoſe. Being governor of the Iſle of Wight, he went thither, and raiſed four hundred men, whom he immeidately conducted to the aſſiſtance of the Bretons; but this enterprize proved fatal to its projector, and afforded ſmall relief to the unhappy duke.

The French, meanwhile, had opened the campaign by the ſiege of Châteaubrient, the garriſon whereof, after an obſtinate defence, was obliged to capitulate. The town of Ancenis, belonging to the mareſchal de Rieux, was next reduced and pillaged; the ditches were filled up, and all the fortifications demoliſhed*. At length, however, the duke of Brittany aſſembled an army (commanded by the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, the mareſchal de Rieux and the lord of Albret) ſufficiently formidable to reſiſt the progreſs of the French, had not the generals been more anxious to lay ſnares for each other, than to fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy. The object of this army was to relieve the town of Fougeres, which was then beſieged by the French; but finding it had ſurrendered, they directed their march towards Saint Aubin du Cormier, with the view to carry that place by aſſault before the garriſon could be reinforced. La Tremouille, who commanded the French, having gueſſed their deſign, directed his march to the ſame quarter, and the two armies met, unexpectdly, at the village of Orange. It is generally allowed that had the Bretons attacked the French without delay, they

* Hiſtoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau—Hiſt. Ludovic. Aurelian—Belleforet, Annales des France.



LOUIS, XIII.

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might have obtained an eaſy victory; but the diſſentions which prevailed amongſt their leaders made them loſe the opportunity; and both ſides proceeded, with great deliberation, to form their plan of attack. The duke of Orleans was entitled, from his rank, to have the chief command, but a report having been propogated that he maintained a correſpondence with the enemy, he alighted from his horſe, and placed himſelf in the ranks, and his example was followed by the prince of Orange, and ſome other French officers. The command of the van devolved on the mareſchal de Rieux; the lord of Albret led the center, and the rear was entruſted to the lord of Montaſilant. One of the wings was covered by a thick wood, and the other by the baggage. The French army was drawn up in two diviſions, the firſt of which was commanded by Adrian de l'Hopital, and the ſecond by La Tremouille; a body of cavalry was placed in ambuſh, under the conduct of Galiot, who had orders to profit by any confuſion which might occur during the action. The firſt attack of the Bretons was firm and impetuous; the French, unable to withſtand it, gave way and retreated to ſome diſtance; but the Bretons, in purſuing them, incautiouſly opened their ranks, and thus afforded an opportunity to the cavalry, in which the French were greatly ſuperior, to attack them to advantage. This opportunity was eagerly ſeized and ſucceſsfully improved: the horſe ruſhed forward, overthrew the firſt ranks, and cut their way to the center of the army; at that critical moment, while the Bretons were in confuſion, Galiot attacked them in flank; the rout then became general; twelve or thirteen hundred of the Bretons periſhed in the field; near ſix thouſand were taken priſoners, and the reſt fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Among the ſlain was the young lord of Leon, ſon to the viſcount of Rohan; and among the priſoners were the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and Moſen Gralla, captain of the Spaniſh guards. Lord Woodville, and all the Engliſh, were maſſacred in cool blood, together with a body of Brerons, who had been accoutred in the garb of Engliſhmen, in order to ſtrike a greater terror into the French, to whom the martial proweſs of that nation was always formidable.

After the battle, the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were conducted to Saint Aubin, where Tremouille invited them, and all the officers who had been taken with them, to ſup with him. After ſupper, he whiſpered ſomething to one of his attendants, who, in a ſhort time, introduced two friars into the room. The princes, alarmed at the ſight, immediately roſe from table, and remained motionleſs; but Tremouille deſired them not to be alarmed, for that their lives were ſafe till the king ſhould have decreed otherwiſe. "But," —ſaid he—"as for you, captains, who have been taken in the act of fighting "againſt your king and country, prepare yourſelves for death, for you muſt die "inſtantly." The princes in vain interfered in behalf of their partiſans; the inhuman general remained inexorable, and his ſanguinary orders were immediately executed. The duke of Orleans himſelf, after being transferred from one priſon to another for ſome time, was, at length, confined in the tower of Bour-

ges, where he was treated with the utmoſt ſeverity, being ſhut up, every night in an iron cage. The prince of Orange was confined in a priſon at Angers.

By the defeat of Saint Aubin the military force of Brittany was totally broken, and the greateſt conſternation ſpread throughout the duchy. La Tremouille haſtened to Rennes, and ſummoned the citizens to ſurrender, threatening them with the effects of his vengeance, ſhould they preſume to reſiſt; but they treated his threats with contempt, and expreſſed their reſolution to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. He was induced, therefore, to alter his plan, and to direct his courſe to Dinant, which he ſpeedily reduced; he then proceeded to Saint Malo, a place of great ſtrength, but the cowardice of the garriſon rendered it an eaſy conqueſt.

The duke of Brittany, finding himſelf unable to cope with the ſuperior power of France, was, at length, reduced to the neceſſity of ſuing for peace*. The propriety of noticing his application was ſubmitted to the diſcuſſion of the French ceuncil; when Madame, and her partiſans, maintained that, after ſo much labour and expence, it would be madneſs to ſtop, when in ſight of the goal; that the ſmalleſt delay might change the face of affairs, and render that conqueſt a matter of doubt, which now appeared to be certain: that care ſhould be taken not to give the Bretons time to recover from their conſternation, and to claim the protection of foreign powers: and that, in all expeditions, the beſt mode of enſuring ſucceſs was to make the moſt of a favourable opportunity, which once loſt might never be recovered. Theſe reaſons, more ſpecious than ſolid, were admitted as deciſive by the majority of the conncil, from a ſervile deference to thoſe who urged them; when William de Rochefort, chancellor of France, thus addreſſed the council:—"All thoſe who have ſpoken before me, have endeavoured to prove that the conqueſt of Brittany would be eaſily accompliſhed; but yet no one has taken the trouble to examine whether it would be juſt to attempt it, yet that ſurely is the firſt object of conſideration! Nations of old, who had not received the light of the goſpel, thought the plea of convenience ſufficent to authoriſe the ſeizure of any neighbouring country: but a Chriſtian prince has other rules of conduct. He owes an example of juſtice to the reſt of the world, and he conſiders a war, that is not founded in equity, as oppreſſion. The king, I know, advances certain claims upon the duchy of Brittany, but theſe claims are ſtill involved in the obſcurity of the cabinet; they have not been ſubmitted to the cenſure of the laws. Let, then, commiſſioners—men of knowledge and integrity—be ſpeedily appointed; let the reſpective titles be ſubmitted to their inſpection, and let a perfect freedom of diſcuſſion be accorded them: if, after a ſtrict examination, thoſe of the king ſhall be deemed unjuſt, or even doubtful, there will be no room for heſitation: the conqueſt of Brittany—were it even more eaſy of accompliſhment than it is repreſented—muſt be renounced. This example of moderation will do the king more honour than the moſt ſplendid

* Jaligni—Lobineau.

conqueſt. If, on the contrary, they ſhould be declared valid, it will then be proper to enforce them; the Bretons will open their eyes, and will no longer dare to reſiſt a prince, who has juſtice on his ſide." This honeſt advice was, after much diſcuſſion, adopted by the council; and, on the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, 1488, the king concluded a treaty of peace, at Sablé, with the miniſters of the duke of Brittany, on the following conditions:

"1. The duke ſhall diſmiſs from his dominions all the foreigners whom he has drawn thither, and he ſhall ſwear upon the goſpel, and upon the true croſs, that neither he, nor his ſucceſſors will ever invite any foreigners into Brittany, to aſſiſt him with their advice or with their ſword, in making war upon the king, his ſovereign. 2. He ſhall not marry the princeſſes, his daughters, without the knowledge and conſent of the king, who, on his part, declares that he will treat them favourably, and as his near relations. 3. The two preceding articles ſhall be ſworn to by all the nobles, eccleſiaſtics, barons and inhabitants of the principal towns in the duchy; who ſhall engage to pay the king, in caſe of any breach of this treaty, the ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns of gold; for which ſum the principal towns in the duchy ſhall be mortgaged, and particularly the town of Nantes. 4. The king ſhall keep, until the full accompliſhment of theſe conditions, the towns of Saint Malo, Dinaut, Fougeres, Vitre and Saint Aubin, and ſhall put what garriſons he may think proper in thoſe towns; but he engages immediately to withdraw the garriſons from all the other towns now in his poſſeſſion, and to renounce all farther conqueſts. 5. The king ſhall reſtore to the duke's daughters, or their heirs, the towns of Saint Malo and Fougeres, in caſe the commiſſioners appointed to examine the claims of either party, ſhall determine that his pretenſions are invalid, without requiring any indemnity for the expences of the war; but if the princeſſes ſhould marry againſt his will, or even without his conſent, he ſhall then keep, as his own property, all the towns he poſſeſſes in Brittany."

Such were the principal articles of the treaty of Sablé, which Francis ſwore to obſerve, and, a few days after, having received a fall from his horſe, he expired at Coiron, on the ninth of September*. By his laſt will, he appointed the mareſchal de Rieux his executor, and guardian of the two princeſſes, the care of whoſe perſons he entruſted to Frances de Dinan, counteſs of Laval; he ordered the county of Penthiévre to be reſtored to the children of the lord of Albret, and an indemnity to be made to that nobleman himſelf for the expences he had incurred during the war. He empowered the mareſchal de Rieux, to whom he entruſted the ſupreme power during the minority of his daughters, to conſult, in all matters of difficulty, with the lord of Albret, the count of Dunois, and Leſcun count of Comminges. He was ſilent as to the marriage of the two princeſſes, that he might not violate the treaty he had juſt concluded with the king; but from the manner in which he had ſettled the adminiſtration, it appear-

* Hiſtoire de Bretagne, per Lobineau—Jaligni.

ed impoſſible for the princeſs Anne to eſcape the lord of Albret, whoſe intereſt was eſpouſed by all who had authority over her. Her averſion for this nobleman was, indeed, well known, but this was conſidered as a matter of ſuch little conſequence by the parti s concerned, that the lord of Albret had already taken the neceſſary ſteps for procuring a diſpenſation from the pope.

Anne's firſt care was to appriſe the king of her father's death, and to requeſt that an event ſo unfortunate for Brittany might operate no change in the condition of the treaty of Sablé. But the French court had reſolved to adopt a ſyſtem of perſecution hoſtile to every principle of honour, generoſity, or good faith; a ſyſtem conceived and enforced in the true ſpirit of Lewis the Eleventh. Agreeably to this ſyſtem the young monarch replied, that he was willing to fulfil his engagements, on the following conditions.—1. That, being the lord paramount, and the neareſt relation of the two princeſſes, he ſhould be declared their guardian, and ſhould have the management of their property during their minority. 2. That, for the final ſettlement of the difference between them and him, relative to the duchy of Brittany, they ſhould communicate their titles to the commiſſioners, who ſhould aſſemble before the month of January, in order to examine their validity; and that, until their deciſions ſhould be known, neither Anne nor her ſiſter ſhould aſſume the title of ducheſs. 3. That conformably to the firſt article of the treaty of Sablé all foreigners ſhould be immediately expelled from Brittany.

Anne, without entering into any diſcuſſion on theſe demands, replied, that ſhe ſhould religiouſly adhere to the laſt treaty; and that as one of the articles ſtipulated that the three eſtates of the duchy ſhould ſwear to obſerve it, ſhe had juſt convened them for that purpoſe. She then complained of the conduct of the French generals, who, in violation of the treaty, had continued to ravage the country, and had recently made themſelves maſters of Moncontour. The king promiſed to repair all damages, withdrew the garriſon of Moncontour, and delivered up the town to the Breton officers. But while he thus affected to pay a rigid obſervance to his word, on matters of little importance, in order to inſpire the princeſs with a dangerous confidence, he connived at proceedings which were more calculated to alarm her.

The viſcount of Rohan, at the head of a conſiderable detachment of the French army, addreſſed a long manifeſto to the principal towns of Lower Brittany, in which, after deploring the calamities of his country, he conjured all his fellow citizens to unite in her defence. He aſſerted, that the king of France having taken up arms for the purpoſe of preventing the duchy, which was a fief of the crown, from falling into the hands of a foreigner, was ready to lay them down as ſoon as the Bretons ſhould have choſen, as a huſband for their ſovereign, a prince on whoſe fidelity they could rely: that he had already obtained the king's conſent for his ſon to become her huſband, and that the juſtice of his pretenſions had been acknowledged at the court of Brittany, by the mareſchal de Rieux, and the counteſs of Laval, whom the duke had entruſted with the ſovereign authority: he ſummoned the municipal officers to contribute to the reſtoration of public tran-

quillity, by joining him in the purſuit of his plan, and by opening to him the gates of their towns.

Theſe inſidious profeſſions of patriotiſm, calculated to conceal the moſt intereſted deſigns, were treated with the contempt they deſerved; but the viſcount finding his rhetoric fruitleſs, had recourſe to arms, and reduced many of the towns in Lower Brittany. Anne, meanwhile, perceiving that the king, regardleſs of his oaths and promiſes, was only ſtudying how to deſpoil her of her inheritance, prudently determined to retain the foreign axiliaries which had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of her father, and even employed the moſt earneſt ſolicitations with her allies to induce them to furniſh her with freſh ſuccours.

Maximilian had, by the aſſiſtance of his father, releaſed himſelf from the hands of his rebellious ſubjects, who, neverthelefs, ſtill continued to make war on him: he was in Holland when he received the ambaſſadors from the young ducheſs of Brittany, who informed him of the deplorable ſituation of their miſtreſs, and demanded a freſh ſupply of troops. Maximilian ſent her all the forces he could ſpare, and informed the ambaſſadors, that having received a promiſe of effectual aſſiſtance from the princes of the empire, he fully intended to penetrate ſo far into France, that Charles would be compelled to evacuate Brittany, in order to protect his capital.

A. D. 1489.] Unfortunately the ſituation of the ducheſs was ſuch as not to permit her to wait the effects of theſe promiſes. The viſcount of Rohan, after reducing Breſt and Concarneau, had extended his invaſions to the gates of Rhedon, whither Anne had retired; but as that place was, in a manner, defenceleſs, ſhe formed a deſign of repairing to Nantes, which was one of the ſtrongeſt towns in the duchy, and where ſhe expected to find the jewels of the crown, which, in the preſent ſcarcity of money, would have been highly acceptable to her*. She accordingly ſent for the mareſchal de Rieux and the lord of Albret to eſcort her, but inſtead of obeying her orders, they haſtened to Nantes themſelves, placed a ſtrong garriſon in the city, and perſuaded the citizens, that Dunois and Montauban, who accompanied the ducheſs, and who enjoyed a great ſhare of her confidence, only wiſhed to gain admiſſion into the town, in order to watch for an opportunity of delivering it to the French. After they had taken theſe precautions, they ſent word to their ſovereign that ſhe might come to Nantes, but with a retinue only of twelve perſons. Being informed that ſhe diſregarded their threats, and was advancing towards the town, where they feared her preſence would excite an inſurrection of the citizens, they went to meet her at the head of a ſtrong detachment, with the view to ſeize her perſon. As ſoon as Anne ſaw them approaching, ſhe ordered her attendants to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, then placing herſelf behind the count of Dunois (on the ſame horſe) ſhe offered them battle. This unexpected diſplay of reſolution diſconcerted the rebels; and Rieux, aſhamed of attacking a young princeſs, at once his ward and his ſove-

*. Lobineau.

reign, immediately returned to Nantes. The next day, however, he reproached himſelf for having ſuffered ſo fair an opportunity to eſcape, and placing himſelf at the head of a ſtronger detachment, he again went forth to ſeize the princeſs.—Anne received him as before, but the count of Dunois, judging the party unequal, advanced before the ranks, and deſired to ſpeak with the mareſchal. He promiſed to conduct the ducheſs to Nantes, and delivered John de Louan, a captain in the guards of the duke of Orleans, as a hoſtage for the performance of his promiſe. The life of this brave man depended on the punctuality with which Dunois ſhould fulfil his engagement, but his fidelity roſe ſuperior to the fear of death. Having gained information of the meaſures which had been concerted for ſecuring the ducheſs, and compelling her to beſtow her hand on the lord of Albret, he wrote to Dunois, whom he generouſly releaſed from his promiſe, requeſting he would leave him to his fate, and only think of conſulting the ſafety of the ducheſs. Dunois availed himſelf, though with reluctance, of this permiſſion, and conducted the princeſs to Vannes, whence ſhe afterwards returned to Rhedon.

The king of England, urged by the clamours of his ſubjects, at length found himſelf obliged, much againſt his inclination, to adopt ſome more vigorous meaſures than he had hitherto purſued, for the relief of the Bretons. Rieux and Leſcun, who were well aware of the importance of aſſociating Henry in their deſigns, had cauſed it to be repreſented to him, by ſecret emiſſaries, that Dunois and Montauban, who had, they ſaid, obtained an entire aſcendency over the mind of the young ducheſs, were paid by the French miniſtry; that, in order to effect her ruin with the greater certainty, they had led her to ſuſpect the fidelity of her moſt faithful ſubjects, and had inſpired her with diſguſt for the lord of Albret, who had ſacrificed every thing to her intereſt: who had, moreover, well-founded claims to one third of Brittany; who had been accepted by the duke for his ſon-in-law: they repreſented that the marriage they propoſed would be equally advantageous to England as to Brittany, ſince the lord of Albret, the moſt powerful nobleman in Gaſcony, father to to the king of Navarre, allied to the king of Spain, might, when duke of Brittany, afford effectual aſſiſtance to the Engliſh in the recovery of Guienne: that he was, in all reſpects, the moſt ſuitable ally for them, being ſufficiently powerful to render them important ſervices, and yet too weak to ſeparate his intereſt from theirs; whereas Maximilian, ſole heir to the vaſt dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, veſted with the imperial power, father-in-law to the king of France, and maſter of all the ports of Holland and Flanders, might, on the moſt trivial pretext, break with them, and attempt to deprive them of Calais. Theſe reaſons, it may be preſumed, had but little effect with Henry. In the treaty which he concluded with the ducheſs, he had three objects in view: the firſt was to ſell his troops as dearly as he could; the ſecond, to exact large ſecurities for the ſums he might expend; and third, ſo to bind down his new ally, that he might become the arbiter of her fate, and obtain ſuch power over her as to make her give her hand to the lord of Albret.

The following were the principal articles of the treaty. 1. "The king of England undertakes to ſend ſix thouſand regular troops to the aſſiſtance of the ducheſs of Brittany, or even more, ſo that the number ſhall not exceed ten thouſand, which troops ſhall be obliged to ſerve in Brittany from the ſixth of January to the firſt of November. 2. The ducheſs engages to reimburſe the king of England, according to eſtimation of commiſſioners choſen by the two powers, all the expences he ſhall incur for the embarkation, tranſport, and ſupport of theſe troops, and to remit to England the ſum ſtipulated for ſuch reimburſement. 3. In order to enſure the validity of her engagement, the ducheſs will ſurrender to the Engliſh troops, two of the five followings towns, at the option of the king of England, viz. Concarneau, Hennebonne, Aurai, Vonnes, and Guerrande; which two towns, with all their dependencies, ſhall remain in the power of the king of England, till ſuch time as all his expences have been defrayed. Should the ducheſs ſucced in retaking any of the places which are now in poſſeſſion of the French, the king of England ſhall be at liberty to take them in exchange for thoſe which he had before choſen, on condition, however, that the Engliſh ſhall not hold at the ſame time Breſt and Concarneau. 4. The ducheſs, and four of the principal nobility, one of whom ſhall be the mareſchal de Rieux, ſhall ſwear, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſhe will not enter into any treaty, nor form any engagement, with regard to her marrige with any ſovereign prince, or nobleman without the knowledge and conſent of the king of England; and that ſhe will even inform him of the object of all other negociations which ſhe may open with foreign powers".

Hard as theſe conditions indiſputably were, the ducheſs ſubſcribed them without any reſtriction; but ſhe found that moſt of them had been dictated by her guardian, and that her new protector was likely to become her principal perſecutor. She, therefore, was in no haſte to deliver up the two places ſhe had agreed to ſurrender to the Engliſh, who landed, to the number of ſix thouſand men, under the conduct of lord Willoughby of Broke. When they diſembarked, they were received by ſome officers who had been ſent by Anne to compliment them on their arrival, and to concert with them the plan of operations for the enſuing campaign; but neither quarters nor proviſions had been provided for them, and they were reduced to the neceſſity of encamping on the ſhore. Diſguſted with this reception, they diſmiſſed the officers with contempt, and refuſed to hold any commerce with them. Anne haſtened to ſend a new embaſſy to Henry to excuſe the bad treatment which his troops had experienced; ſhe repreſented to him, that ſhe had no longer any authority over her ſubjects: that Rieux, under the name of her guardian, had become her tyrant, and ſet an example to the Bretons of diſobedience and revolt, that he already boaſted of having ſecured in his intereſt the principal leaders of the Engliſh forces, and that it would be impoſſible for his victim to eſcape him: and that ſhe well knew, from the beſt authority, that that dangerous man ſuborned the Engliſh, by making them believe that if the lord of Albret were duke of Brittany, he might afford them effectual aſſiſtance in the recovery of Guienne: but, ſhe obſerved, Henry

was too prudent to adopt ſuch viſionary plans, and to found any hopes on an adventurer, baniſhed and diſinherited, who did not then poſſeſs a ſingle inch of land in the kingdom: and, laſtly, ſhe remarked that the lord of Albret had rendered himſelf ſo odious by his unjuſt perſecution, that, rather than marry him, ſhe would bury herſelf for ever in a cloiſter. Henry, in his reply, endeavoured to calm her mind, by exhorting her not to give credit to every report ſhe ſhould hear, and by treating her ſuſpicions of the fidelity of her principal officers as the effects of a groundleſs terror; but he was totally ſilent with regard to the lord of Albret; he even ſent ſecret orders to his generals not to treat with Anne's officers, but to induce her, if poſſible, to repair to their camp, herſelf, or, ſhould they fail in that attempt, to lead their troops to Rennes, under pretence of ſhewing them to her, and to endeavour, at all events, to ſecure her perſon.* Anne would have been unable to reſiſt the efforts of ſo many enemies who had conſpired againſt her liberty, but for the arrival, at this critical conjuncture, of a conſiderable reinforcement of Spaniſh troops, under the conduct of don Diego Perez de Sarmiento, and don Pedro Carilla d'Albernos. Theſe ſhe ordered immediately to march to Rennes, and joining them to the Germans ſhe had received from Maximilian, the French attached to the duke of Orleans and the count of Dunois, and ſuch of the Bretons as the mareſchal de Rieux had not been able to ſeduce from their duty, ſhe found herſelf in a ſituation to oppoſe an inſurmountable barrier to the violent projects of her perſecutors. Ferdinand, not content with having ſent this body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the ducheſs, promiſed that he would, in the courſe of the ſummer, make a diverſion on the ſide of the Pyreenes, which ſhould compel the French to divide their forces.

The king, meanwhile, remained at Paris, pretending to be no wiſe concerned in the hoſtile attempts of the viſcount de Rohan, and waiting, for the regulation of his future conduct, the iſſue of thoſe intrigues by which Brittany was, at this time, convulſed†. When the French council found that the faction of the lord of Albret had acquired a ſuperiority over the oppoſite party, that Henry the Seventh had joined it, and that Rieux and Albret, beſides the national troops under their command, had at their diſpoſal the ſix thouſand Engliſh, they thought that by attacking the princes they would drive her into the ſnares which had been laid for her by the enemies of France; that the beſt way would be to remain on the defenſive, to give time to the two factions to weaken each other, and then to make uſe of the weakeſt, to facilitate their triumph over the ſtrongeſt.

For this purpoſe, Madame was careful to concilitate the favour of the Roman pontiff, to whom d'Albret had applied for a diſpenſation, by releaſing two prelates—the biſhops of Pui and Montauban—who had been thrown into priſon, for maintaining a correſpondence with the duke of Orleans. Some other per-

* Garnier, tom. xx. p. 129. † Jaligni.—Lobineau.

ſons, who had ſuffered on the ſame account, were alſo releaſed; but Philip de Commines was treated with greater ſeverity. After having been confined eight months in an iron cage, he was delivered over to the parliament, who pronounced a ſentence of baniſhment upon him—the place of his exile to be fixed on by the king—and confiſcated one-fourth of his property; but Charles remitted his fine, and afterward took him into favour.

As the capture of the duke of Orleans was openly aſcribed to the jealouſy and manœuvres of the lord of Albret, the duke's partiſans had become the moſt implacable enemies of that nobleman. The count of Dunois, in whom the ducheſs repoſed an entire confidence, exerted the ſtrong talents which he had received from nature, to counteract all the intrigues of Leſcun and Rieux, and ſecretly rendered France all the ſervice he could, without betraying the intreſts of Anne. Madame, to whom this conduct had fully reconciled him, determined to give him an aſſociate, actuated by the ſame views, and ſhe, accordingly, fixed her eyes on the prince of Orange, who was releaſed from priſon, and ſent, on ſome frivolous pretext, into Brittany.

The king had now three armies on foot; one in Brittany, a ſecond in Flanders, and a third—under the command of the count of Angouléme and the mareſchal de Gie—deſtined to cover Gaſcony and Languedoc, which were threatened with an invaſion from Ferdinand*; and as the ordinary revenue of the ſtate was inſufficient to defray the additional expences incurred thereby, the king determined to exact a tenth of the revenues of the clergy. This reſolution was accordingly communicated to the parliament of Paris, who were ordered to ſupport the commiſſioners appointed to collect the impoſt. That court, however, obſerved, that as they had been inſtituted for the adminiſtration of *juſtice*, it behoved them to inform his majeſty that no ſuch impoſt could be legally levied till the clergy had been aſſembled, and conſulted thereon.

The king, diſpleaſed at their interference, ſent them a ſecond meſſage, forbidding them to admit any appeals with regard to the impoſt, and to grant any delay to ſuch as ſhould refuſe to pay. With this prohibition, however, the parliament poſitively refuſed to comply, and they ſanctioned their refuſal by the laws of the realm and the principles of the conſtitution. Charles, deſpairing to make the magiſtrates deviate from their duty, had recourſe to the pope, who accordingly, in his own name, exacted a tenth from the clergy of France, on pretence of an expedition againſt the Infidels; two thirds of this impoſt were to be paid to the king, and the remaining third the ſovereign pontiff reſerved for himſelf. But the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the parliament, ſeconded by the univerſity of Paris, rendered the tax extremely unproductive.

Nothing of importance occured in Brittany during the preſent campaign; the mareſchal de Rieux made an attempt to ſeize the chancellor de Montauban, but he was defeated by the count of Dunois, and the prince of Orange; while the Engliſh,

* MS. de Fontanieu.—Du Boulai, Hiſt. Univ. Paris.—Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe Gallicane.

ſeeing the duchy thus rent by contending factions, became diſguſted with the expedition, and haſtened to return. They had already, of their own authority, concluded a truce with the commander of the French gariſon at Dinant, and had even opened conferences for a peace. Anne ſent them what money ſhe could collect, and did not fail to complain to Henry, whome ſhe ſtiled *her good father*, of the conduct of his officers, who, ſhe ſaid, publicly conſpired the ruin of Brittany, and had ſold themſelves to the mareſchal de Rieux. Henry anſwered the complaints of *his good daughter* by other complaints of her neglect to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and to provide neceſſaries for his troops, and of her unjuſt ſuſpicions of his offices, who, he ſaid, were men of the firſt families in England. He inſinuated that ſome kind of reparation was due to them for this inſult, and he required that ſhe ſhould either pay them a viſit in their camp, or ſuffer them to go to Rennes, and review their troops in her preſence*. Anne immediately replied, that the Engliſh officers, whoſe fidelity he boaſted of, did not even take the trouble of concealing their commerce, as well with the rebels as with the French; that on the contrary they had repelled with contempt, and had almoſt inſulted the officers whom ſhe had ſent to them: that the ſtate of affairs did not permit her either to repair to the Engliſh camp, or to ſuffer the troops to abſent themſelves, even for a day, from Lower Brittany, which was expoſed to the depradations of the French:—"*Should they dare*"—added the young heroine—"*to come to me, without having "previouſly obtained my permiſſion, I will receive them in ſuch a manner that they will "have little inclination to repeat their viſit.*"

In the Netherlands, the arms of Maximilian proved every where ſucceſsful, and the mareſchal Deſquerdes was foiled in ever attempt. The diet of the empire, too, had been ſummoned to meet at Frankfort, and, from the preſent diſpoſition of the German princes, there could be little doubt but that their united efforts would be exerted to humble the pride, and to thwart the treacherous projects, of France. To avert this ſtorm, Madame ſent ambaſſadors into Germany, and though they were treated with the utmoſt contempt by Maximilian himſelf, the terms they propoſed appeared ſo moderate, that the princes of the empire compelled him to accept them. A treaty was accordingly ſigned at Frankfort, by which it was agreed that Maximilian and Charles ſhould have an interveiw at Tournay, for the re-eſtabliſhment of that harmony and confidence, which ought ever to ſubſiſt between a father and ſon-in-law; that Maximilian ſhould have the guardianſhip of his ſon Philip, that his authority ſhould be acknowledged by the Flemings, and, in caſe they ſhould make any difficulty on that head, the king of France engaged to compel them to obey him; that, as neither the king of the Romans, nor his ſon Philip, had received the revenues of the county of Flanders, the inhabitants of Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges, ſhould pay them an adequate ſum, by way of indemnity. Charles engaged to reſtore without delay, to the ducheſs of Brittany, all the places he had reduced ſince the death of

* Garnier.

his father, provided ſhe would diſmiſs the Engliſh troops, and promiſe never to recal them. The towns of Saint-Malo, Dinaut, Fougeres, and Saint-Aubin, were to be ſequeſtered in the hands of the lord of Beaujeu (now duke of Bourbon) and the prince of Orange, who ſhould ſwear to deliver them up to whichever of the two parties they ſhould be adjudged, by commiſſioners appointed for the purpoſe. But while France by this treaty, which ſhe never intended to obſerve, endeavoured to deceive Maximilian, ſhe was herſelf deceived by that prince, on an object of greater importance.

Anne, ſurrounded by traitors, was apprehenſive that, in ſpite of all her precautions, ſhe ſhould at length fall into the power of the lord of Albret; and, therefore, in order to liberate herſelf from perſecution to which ſhe was daily expoſed, ſhe informed the king of the Romans, that ſhe had choſen him for her huſband, and placed her fate entirely in his hands. Maximilian accordingly ſent the count of Naſſau, Wolfang Polhaim, and his ſecretary, Gondebald, to celebrate the marriage by proxy. The oſtenſible object of their embaſſy was to enforce an obſervance of the treaty of Frankfort; and as the French miniſtry were unacquainted with their ſecret commiſſion, Charles not only received them with diſtinction, but ſent two of his heralds to conduct them to Rennes. In that city the ceremony was performed with ſuch ſecrecy, that none of the ducheſs's attendants were appriſed of it, and the preciſe date of the tranſaction has not yet been diſcovered.

A. D. 1490.] As ſoon as the news of the peace between France and Maximilian was received in Brittany, it occaſioned the moſt violent commotions. The partiſans of the lord of Albret, though ignorant of the terms of the treaty, did not doubt but as it had been dictated by Maximilian, and approved by the court of France, that it tended to ruin their hopes, and perhaps to promote their deſtruction. They remonſtrated with Henry on the inſult which he had ſuſtained from the contracting powers, as well as from the ducheſs herſelf, in ſtipulating, without deigning to conſult him, the expulſion of the Engliſh from Brittany; and they exerted themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully in exciting the reſentment of the Engliſh officers, that they intercepted and cut to pieces a body of Germans, whom the ducheſs had ſent to Guerrande.

Anne, meanwhile, had convened the ſtates-general of the duchy at the town of Rhedon, to make them accept the treaty of Frankfort; and ſhe even ſent ſafe-conducts to the principal leaders of the rebels, that they might repair thither in ſafety. They accordingly came, but completely armed, and with the intention of murdering the chancellor, and diſſolving the aſſembly. Unable to perpetrate the crime, or to impede the acceptance of the treaty, they reſolved, at leaſt, to oppoſe its execution. The Engliſh, at the inſtigation of the mareſchal de Rieux, committed the moſt deſtructive ravages in Brittany, while the mareſchal himſelf made excurſions into Poitou and Touraine. The king——whoſe conduct to Anne was founded on a baſe dereliction of every principle of honour——was ſecretly pleaſed at being ſupplied with a pretext for refuſing to

evacuate Brittany; and he ſent a formal embaſſy to the ducheſs, to demand reparation for the hoſtilities which had—in contempt of the late treaty—been committed in the French territories; and to ſummon her to fulfil, without farther delay, the fundamental article of that treaty, by expelling the Engliſh from Brittany. The ducheſs was now in a moſt diſtreſſed ſituation, oppreſſed by her rebellious ſubjects, and harraſſed by an unprincipled neighbour; while her huſband, Maximilian, was at the fartheſt extremity of Europe, engaged in a fruitleſs attempt to recover the kingdom of Hungary. In this dilemma, ſhe reſolved, if poſſible, to regain the friendſhip of the Engliſh monarch; and, to intereſt him the more in her behalf, ſhe renewed her promiſe never to marry without his conſent. In this, Indeed ſhe deceived him; but the deceit was innocent and juſtifiable. The kind reception, however, which her ambaſſadors experienced from Henry, inſpired her with a greater degree of confidence; and induced her to entruſt him with the ſecret of her marriage; at leaſt, on this ſuppoſition alone can the change which took place in the conduct of that monarch be accounted for. Henry diſplayed the utmoſt zeal in ſerving the king of the Romans, and evinced the moſt earneſt deſire to ſecure his friendſhip. After promoting a reconciliation betwen the ducheſs and the marſhal de Rieux, he ſent an embaſſy to Maximilian, who was then in Auſtria, to inform him that France was guilty of continual violations of the treaty of Frankfort, and to exhort him to retnrn with expedition to the Netherlands, in order to concert with him the means of ſaving Brittany. Maximilian, who was detained in another quarter by a mad ſcheme of conqueſt, which he was unable to execute, contented himſelf with ſending ambaſſadors to England, who ſigned a treaty offenſive and defenſive againſt France. Henry, at the ſame time, concluded a ſimilar treaty with the king of Caſtile and Arragon, by which the contracting parties agreed to declare war againſt France, and not to lay down their arms till Charles had reſtored to Ferdinand the counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, and to Henry the provinces of Guienne and Normandy. Henry, did not fail to publiſh theſe treaties, as well to intimidate, the French council, as to obtain ſubſidies from the Engliſh parliament.

It was about this time that the French miniſtry received intelligence of the marriage of the ducheſs of Brittany with Maximilian, from their emiſſaries, the count of Dunois and the prince of Orange. Madame apprehenſive that ſhe was on the point of loſing a province, to ſecure which her utmoſt efforts had been exerted, aſſembled the council, who formally pronounced the marriage to be null and void; and had the vanity and arrogance to ſuppoſe that their deciſion would be final. After this prepoſterous ceremony, they proceeded to deviſe means for preventing the ducheſs from conſummating a marriage ſhe had contracted from inclination; they were acquainted with the firmneſs of her mind, and they knew that, from her earlieſt infancy, ſhe could ill brook controul. By having recourſe to violence they would only alienate the affection of the Bretons, and diſguſt the princeſs, who would, in that caſe, fly to England, and arm all the princes of Europe in her be-

half. It was, therefore, determined to ſecure the ſuffrages of the principal nobles of Brittany, and to bring the young ducheſs, partly by perſuaſion and partly by force, to renounce her firſt engagement, and to accept another huſband of equal rank, who, his pretenſions being favoured by the Bretons themſelves, might reſtore peace and tranquillity to her diſtracted country. The only perſon poſſeſſed of all theſe advantages was Charles the Eighth, who had been contracted to Margaret, daughter to Maximilian; and that princeſs, though too young for the conſummation of her marriage, had been ſent to Paris to be educated, and now enjoyed the title of Queen of France. In a conteſt between intereſt and honour, princes are ſeldom at a loſs how to decide: Charles determined to ſacrifice his integrity to the gratification of his ambitious ſchemes: but, as ſuch a ſtep could not fail to give umbrage to every court in Europe, it was neceſſary to obſerve the moſt profound ſecrecy, that no diſcovery might be made till too late for prevention. The French miniſtry accordingly diſplayed their uſual policy in the management of this delicate enterpriſe, marked by the moſt diſguſting features of treachery, and calculated to violate every principle of good faith, decency and decorum.

The ducheſs, during the formation of this abominable plan, had ſent frequent embaſſies to Charles, to requeſt he would conform to the treaty of Frankfort; and that monarch having arranged his plan of proceedings, promiſed to give her ample ſatisfaction. After leaving ſtrong garriſons in the few towns which he had reſerved by the treaty, he cauſed all the others to be evacuated and ordered his troops to retire into Normandy, while he himſelf went to viſit Dauphine. Before his departure, he fixed the time for opening the coferences between his miniſters and thoſe of Maximilian, at the city of Tournay, which were to precede his interview with that prince. He reproached the ducheſs with her neglect in not having appointed commiſſioners to attend theſe conferences; and he ſent her ſafe-conducts for two hundred and forty perſons, a much greater number than ſhe intended to ſend, but the king wiſhed thoſe in whom ſhe placed the greateſt confidence to be abſent from Brittany, at the time which he had fixed for the accompliſhment of his project.

A. D. 1491.] The ſtrong town of Nantes was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the lord of Albret, who, finding his ſituation deſperate, reſolved to employ it as the means of ingratiating himſelf with the king of France, and of procuring the reſtitution of his territories which that monarch had confiſcated. Accordingly, having made his terms with the French miniſtry, he ſurrendered Nantes to the duke of Bourbon; and Charles, ſoon after, repaired thither in perſon, and exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants.

The loſs of this important place ſpread a general conſternation throughout the province, and the count of Dunois and the prince of Orange, who had received their ſecret inſtructions from the court of France, profited by this event to ſound the diſpoſition of the mareſchal de Rieux and the counteſs of Laval, with regard to Anne's marriage with the king, and they were eaſily induced to favour the ſcheme.

Dunois demanded, as the reward of his ſervices, the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, but Madame, who knew that prince to be her enemy, rejected the propoſal with diſdain. The count engaged Jane of France, the duke's unhappy wife, to exert her influence with her brother and ſiſter, to procure her huſbands liberty. Jane forgot every ſubject of complant which ſhe had received from that inconſtant prince, who had always treated her with contempt. Her prayer being rejected by her ſiſter, ſhe dreſſed herſelf in deep mourning, and, with diſhevelled hair, threw herſelf at the feet of her brother, and pleaded with ſo much eloquence, the cauſe of her huſband, that Charles preſſed her in his arms, and exclaimed—" *Be comforted, my ſiſter, you ſhall obtain what you ſo ardently wiſh for, and heaven ſend you may never have occaſion to repent it !*"

Notwithſtanding this promiſe, the duke's releaſe ſtill ſuffered great difficulties. The king could not prevail on himſelf to mortify his governeſs and his ſiſter. But two young noblemen of his houſhold, Miolans and Coſſé, encouraged him to ſhake off this humiliating reſtraint, and to convince the French that they had a king. He accordingly pretended to go out on a hunting-party, and having ſlept at Montrichard, he advanced as far as the bridge of Barangon, whence he diſpatched d'Abigni to the priſon where the duke of Orleans was confined, with orders to conduct that prince to him. The interview was truly affecting; the king, in his earlieſt years, had evinced a ſtrong predilection for the duke of Orleans, who, notwithſtanding the improper conduct into which his ambition and bad advice had betrayed him, had never ceaſed to eſteem the king. Pleaſed at being indebted for his liberty ſolely to the friendſhip of his ſovereign, he no ſooner approached him than he alighted from his horſe, and threw himſelf at his feet, while his feelings were too powerful for utterance. Charles repeatedly preſſed him to his boſom, intreated him to forget what was paſt, and being unwilling to leave his company, ordered a bed to be prepared for him in his own apartment.

When Madame was informed of this event, ſhe conceived her authority was at an end; ſhe even ſuſpected that her brother had been prejudiced againſt her, and that the loſs of her influence would not be the only effect of his reſentment. She haſtened to write him a ſubmiſſive letter, in which ſhe reminded him of the care ſhe had taken of his infancy, entreated him not to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of her enemies, and aſking permiſſion to give a full account of her adminiſtration. Charles endeavoured to quiet his ſiſter's apprehenſions, by aſſuring her of the continuance of his friendſhip, and of his unwillingneſs to attend to any reports to her prejudice, which, however, he did not believe any one would be bold enough to hazard. As the king had inſiſted that the duke or Orleans ſhould be reconciled to the duke of Bourbon, an interview took place between them, at which they not only promiſed to forget the paſt, but ſwore mutually to protect and defend each other in future, and to unite their forces for the ſupport of the royal authority, and for the welfare of the people: they aſſociated in this league the count of Dunois, the mareſchal de Baudricourt, the biſhops of Albi and Montauban, and the lords of Miolans, Liſle, Bouchage and Gonnaut. The duke of Orleans

reaped the fruits of this reconciliation; the government of Normandy was conferred on him, and he received orders to repair to that province, to adopt ſuch meaſures as prudence ſhould ſuggeſt to him for defending it from a threatened invaſion of the Engliſh.

The king of the Romans, on his return from Hungary, received an embaſſy from the ducheſs of Brittany, who appriſed him of the loſs of Nantes, and of the danger to which ſhe was expoſed at Rennes. Maximilian, haſtened to his father, who, convening a diet of the empire at Nuremberg, obtained from the princes a ſupply of twelve thouſand men; but the avaricious emperor poſitively refuſed to advance him ſufficient money for the ſupport of theſe troops; and as the inſidious machinations of the French king had excited a freſh inſurrection in Flanders, he was deprived of all hopes of obtaining a ſupply from his Flemiſh ſubjects.

While the court of France were ſtudious to provide employment for Maximilian in his own dominions, they laid freſh ſnares for the ducheſs of Brittany, who was now ſurrounded by traitors. Her council was entirely compoſed of men * in the intereſt of France; even her chancellor, Montauban, had withdrawn his oppoſition to the ſchemes of Charles. On the firſt mention of her marriage with the king, ſhe broke out into ſuch violent reproaches, ſhe exhibited ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms of deſpair, that it was not deemed prudent to preſs it. She had imbibed a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion againſt the French nation, particularly againſt Charles, the author of all the calamities which had befallen her family: ſhe was convinced, too, that her inheritance, rather than her perſon, was the object of his purſuits, and this idea encreaſed her hatred and diſguſt. Beſides ſhe had fixed her affections on Maximilian and ſhe could not, ſhe thought, give her hand to another, without incurring the greateſt guilt, and violating the moſt ſacred engagements. The prince of Orange, who, as her couſin-german, had been entruſted with the negociation, informed the king, that it would be neceſſary to ſupport his remonſtrances by the opperation of terror, and particularly to take effectual meaſures for preventing the ducheſs from repairing to England, whither ſhe was reſolved to fly ſooner than give her hand to his majeſty. Charles, whom a juſt ſenſe of honour and delicacy ſhould have induced to give up all thoughts of a woman to whom he was odious, haſtened to profit by this advice; the army under the viſcount of Rohan ſeized upon Lower Brittany; while La Tremouille, with another, inveſted Rennes, then the reſidence of the ducheſs; and the king, with a third, entered Brittany on the ſide of Anjou. The conſternation was now general: there was not a garriſon in the duchy capable of withſtanding ſuch ſuperior forces; no orders had been iſſued for levying troops, and there was no general to lead them, if any had been levied. The prince of Orange, Dunois, Rieux, and the other members of the council, were ſhut up with the ducheſs, and availing themſelves of the diſtreſſed ſituation to which their treacherous

* Lobineau, Hiſt. de Bretagne—Belcarious rerum Gallicarum—Godefroi, receuil ſur Charles VIII.

machinations had reduced her, they told her that there was no time to be loſt, and that the only alternative left her, was to become queen of France, or a diſinherited princeſs, and they deſired ſhe would immediately take her choice.

The unfortunate ducheſs, aſſailed on all ſides, and finding no one ſufficiently honeſt to ſupport her in the virtuous reſolution ſhe had adopted, was at length compelled to open the gates of the city, and conſent to eſpouſe the man ſhe hated. She was accordingly taken to the caſtle of Langeais in Touraine, where the marriage was celebrated on the fixteenth of December, 1491; from thence ſhe was conducted to Saint Denis, where the ceremony of her coronation was performed. She then made her entry into Paris, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

By the marriage contract, Anne, daughter and ſole heireſs to the duke of Brittany, ſince the death of her ſiſter, which occured the preceding year, ceded and transferred to the king, in caſe ſhe died before him, and left no children, all her rights to the duchy of Brittany, the county of Nantes, and all her other eſtates and lordſhips whatſoever; and Charles, king of France, on the other part, in caſe he died firſt and left no children, ceded and transferred to the princeſs all his rights and pretenſions to the ſaid duchy, county and lordſhip, on condition that ſhe ſhould marry no other than the king of France, his ſucceſſor, if that monarch ſhould conſent to eſpouſe her; and in caſe he were already married, that ſhe ſhould give her hand to the next heir to the crown, who ſhould be bound to do homage for the duchy, and not alienate nor transfer any part of her territories, except to the king.

A. D. 1492.] Maximilian had loſt a conſiderable territory which he thought he had acquired; and an accompliſhed princeſs whom he had eſpouſed. He was inſulted in the perſon of his daughter Margaret, who was ſent back to him, after ſhe had been treated, during ſome years, as queen of France. Theſe conſiderations threw him into a moſt violent rage, and he endeavoured, by the moſt bitter invectives, to promote a general confederacy of the European powers, for an invaſion of France. He repreſented the king as a raviſher, a monſter of perfidy, who had wantonly violated the rights of nations, and the moſt ſacred oaths. He maintained that the marriage which that monarch had contracted with a princeſs already married, was contrary to all laws, and that the offspring of ſuch a connection muſt be conſidered as baſtards, and incapable of ſucceding to the throne. How far he was authoriſed to make the laſt aſſertion, the Roman canoniſts, who, in ſuch caſes, generally allowed themſelves a latitude of interpretation forbidden to the hiſtorian, were alone competent to decide; but all the other accuſations were certainly well-founded.

Charles, who had been unfortunately trained in a ſchool for perfidy and falſehood, now ſent ambaſſadors to the archduke Philip, ſovereign of the Low Countries, who declared that the king their maſter, juſtly offended with the king of the Romans and the emperor Frederic, for having accuſed him of taking away the princeſs Margaret in a violent manner, thought his *honour* was intereſted in

removing the ſubject of this reproach: for which reaſon he had choſen another wife, and was ready to ſend back Margaret in an honourable manner to the Netherlands, after having given her an education ſuitable to her rank: that his majeſty being aware that this new arrangement would render a modification of ſome of the articles of the treaty of Arras neceſſary, would conſent to ſubmit that matter to commiſſioners appointed by either party, provided that the king of the Romans and the archduke would previouſly renounce their alliance with England and Spain, on which condition he made them an offer of his friendſhip.

To this curious declaration, the chancellor Corondelet replied, in the name of Maximilian and his ſon, that the king of France, in this tranſaction, had neither conſulted what he owed to himſelf, nor what he owed to the princeſs Margaret, to the archduke, to the king of the Romans, and to the emperor. That the houſe of Auſtria would reſent his conduct at a proper time: that, with regard to the treaty of Arras, it would have become thoſe who had dictated the terms of that treaty, to have been more punctual in fulfilling them: that the king of the Romans and the archduke beſt knew what alliances they ought to preſerve, and what to renounce, and that they had not been accuſtomed to take the advice of the king of France on that head: that, after what had paſſed, they cared as little for his friendſhip as his hatred.

This proper and ſpirited reply—which has been ſtigmatiſed by the French hiſtorians as *offenſive* and *miſplaced*—was followed by the immediate diſmiſſion of the ambaſſadors; and the count of Naſſau was, ſoon after, ſent to Paris, in the name of the archdnke, to demand his ſiſter, and the two provinces which had been given as her dower. Charles replied that *he would think of it at his leiſure*, though common juſtice ſhould have dictated an inſtant compliance with ſuch a demand. The Flemings, and particularly the citizens of Ghent, feeling the greateſt indignation at the affront offered to their princeſs, and enraged with France for breaking a match which they regarded as their own work, maſſacred Coppenole, one of the demagogues in the intereſt of the French, and ſeveral of his partiſans, and then ſubmitted to a reconciliation with Maximilian, on terms much more ſevere than thoſe which they had rejected the year before.

The attention of Charles was now called to the conduct of Henry the Seventh, who, as well as Maximilian, had juſt grounds for ſelf-reproach, in the late important tranſaction: for, though it was not poſſible he ſhould have foreſeen that the affair would have terminated as it did, his negligence in leaving his moſt uſeful ally ſo long expoſed to the attacks of a ſuperior power, muſt appear the reſult of timid caution and narrow politics. But he was farther actuated by avarice—and he ſought the gratification of this ruling paſſion. On the pretence of a French war, he iſſued a commiſſion, for levying on his people that odious ſpecies of taxation, called *a Benevolence*; and the produce of this tax not proving ſufficient for his purpoſe, he ſummoned a parliament, in the hope of enriching himſelf ſtill farther by the prejudices and paſſions of the members, and, having expatiated

on theſe perſuaſive topics, he concluded by demanding a ſupply adequate to the magnitude of the enterpriſe.

The parliament fell into the ſnare prepared for them by the king, and granted him two fifteenths; and an act was paſſed, empowering them to ſell their eſtates, without paying the uſual fines for alienations. The Engliſh nobility were now ſeized with a violent thirſt for military glory: they hoped to behold their triumphant banners diſplayed on the walls of Paris; and to place the crown of France on the head of their ſovereign. Many of them mortgaged their eſtates for large ſums, or ſold off manors, that they might appear in the field with greater ſplendour.

The news of theſe preparations was ſoon received in France; and as the regular companies were inſufficient to protect the coaſts from inſult, the king convoked the *ban* and *arriere ban*. In the midſt of theſe alarms, the queen gave birth to a dauphin, who was baptized by the name of *Charles Orlando*; this event was celebrated with great rejoicings by the Bretons, and afforded the king an opportunity for aſſembling the ſtates of that province, from whom he exacted a conſiderable contribution; in return for which, he confirmed and extended the privileges of the principal towns in Brittany; and, three years after, in 1495, he exempted the Bretons from the juriſdiction of the parliament of Paris, and eſtabliſhed a ſovereign court within the duchy, conſiſting of two preſidents, and eighteen inferior judges, ten of whom were laymen, and the reſt eccleſiaſtics.

Notwithſtanding the threats of Henry, the council deemed it expedient to ſend a freſh embaſſy to the court of England. The ambaſſadors were received by the Engliſh miniſtry, with the utmoſt complacency, and if the treaty was not abſolutely concluded, it was, at leaſt, far advanced, ſince, on their return, and before Henry had completed his preparations, the king gave full powers to the mareſchal Deſquerdes and the preſident La Vacquerie, to treat, in his name, with the Engliſh plenipotentiaries*. All the towns, in the vicinity of Calais, were ſtrongly fortified, and the young adventurer, Perkin Warbec, ſo celebrated in the Engliſh hiſtory, was allured to the court of France. Charles ſent ambaſſadors to Ferdinand, king of Arragon, promiſing to reſtore to that monarch the counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, on condition that he ſhould forego his alliance with Henry and Maximilian. Ferdinand accepted the propoſal, and appointed commiſſioners to regulate the terms of the treaty.

The Engliſh monarch embarked with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe, and landed at Calais, on the ſixth of October, 1492. Some imagining, from the late period at which the campaign commenced, that peace would ſoon be concluded, Henry ſaid—"He had come over to make an "entire conqueſt of France, which was not the work of one ſummer. It was, "therefore, of no conſequence at what ſeaſon he began the invaſion, eſpecially "as he had Calais ready for winter quarters." He inſtantly marched into the

* Godefroi, recueil de pieces—Garnier.

enemy's country, and laid ſiege to Boulogne. But, notwithſtanding this appearance of hoſtility, it ſoon appeared that he was ſerious in the ſecret advances which he had made towards a peace above three months before. In order to reconcile the minds of his ſubjects to this unexpected event, it was contrived that ambaſſadors ſhould arrive in the Engliſh camp from the Low Countries, with intelligence that Maximilian was wholly unable to fulfil his engagements, and that no aſſiſtance muſt be expected from him. Theſe were ſoon followed by meſſengers from Spain, who brought advice that a peace was concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had ceded the counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand: but Henry privately prevailed on the marquis of Dorſet, and twenty-three other perſons of diſtinction, to preſent him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late ſeaſon of the year, the difficulty of ſupplying the army at Calais during the winter, the obſtacles which daily occured to the ſiege of Boulogne, and the deſertion of thoſe allies, whoſe aſſiſtance had been relied on.

Theſe preparatory ſteps being previouſly taken, the Engliſh monarch appointed the biſhop of Exeter, and lord Daubeney, governor of Calais, to confer at Eſtaple's with the French plenipotentiaries. Charles agreed to pay Henry ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand crowns—nearly four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling of our preſent money—partly as a reimburſement of the expences he had incurred in behalf of the ducheſs of Brittany, and partly as arrears of the penſion due to Edward the fourth; and he farther ſtipulated a yearly penſion to Henry, and his heirs, of twenty-five thouſand crowns.

A. D. 1493.] Maximilian had the option of being comprehended in the treaty, but, diſdaining to be in any reſpect beholden to an ally of whom he had juſt grounds for complaint, he rejected the propoſal with ſovereign contempt. About this time, the citizens of Arras, diſguſted with the conduct of the French, took an opportunity of delivering that town to the Auſtrians. The mareſchal Deſquerdes, who was a moſt deteſtable politician, adviſed the king to puniſh his rebellious vaſſal by annexing the counties of Artois and Flanders to the crown; thus he wiſhed to deprive the archduke of his lawful inheritance, for having defended his father againſt his rebellious ſubjects, and for having reſiſted an inſult offered to his ſiſter. Charles rejected the treacherous advice of Deſquerdes, and even concluded a treaty with Maximilian and his ſon, by which he agreed to reſtore Artois and Franche-Comté; reſerving only the three towns of Heſdin, Aire and Bethune, which were to be ſequeſtered in the hands of Deſquerdes, till the archduke ſhould come of age, and Tournay, Mortagne, and Saint Amand, which had formerly belonged to France.

This peace was concluded very opportunely for Maximilian; whoſe father, the emperor Frederick, having died at Lintz, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, the Turks profited by the occaſion to make incurſions into Croatia and Auſtria.

In the treaty Charles concluded with Ferdinand, he had exacted a promiſe, in return for the ceſſion of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, that the king of Arragon ſhould

oppoſe no obſtacle to his projected attempts upon Italy; that he ſhould not marry his children, either to thoſe of the king of the Romans, or to the children of Henry; and that he ſhould form no kind of connexion, by marriage, with either of thoſe princes. But Ferdinand was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of Rouſſillon, than he married one of his daughters, the Infanta Catharine, to Arthur, prince of Wales; and, on the death of that prince, contracted her to his brother Henry; another of his daughters he married to the archduke Philip, only ſon to Maximilian; and his ſon eſpouſed the princeſs Margaret, whom Charles had ſent back to her father*.

It will be neceſſary to take a ſhort review of the motives and origin of a war which forms an epoch in the hiſtory of France, and occupies the greater part of three ſucceſſive reigns.

Charles was born with a delicate conſtitution and a feeble frame; his father had ſtrictly forbidden his application to any ſerious ſtudy; and had contented himſelf with reciting to him the atchievements of thoſe monarchs who had acquired the greateſt glory in the government of France, and with attempting to make the ſeeds of emulation ſhoot forth in his infant mind. As he advanced in years, he became eager for inſtruction, and having peruſed with avidity the Commentaries of Cæſar, and the life of Charlemagne, he became enamoured of thoſe warriors, and choſe them for his heroes. Led away by a martial ardour, and ſeduced by a blind preſumption, he thought, that in order to equal his models, he had only to form an enterpriſe, in boldneſs and extent ſurpaſſing their own. With this view, he reſolved on forming the ſiege of Conſtantinople, and on completing the conqueſt of the eaſtern empire. Having adopted this reſolution, the next object of conſideration was to find the means of tranſporting an army to the gates of that capital: France, at this period, had but a ſmall number of trading veſſels, which, in time of war, were equipped for hoſtile purpoſes: to have recourſe, as in the times of the former cruſades, to the Venetians or other Italian ſtates, was deemed dangerous, as the king's perſon, and the ſafety of the ſtate, muſt, in that caſe, have been truſted to the diſcretion of foreigners; beſides, it was neceſſary to ſecure a place of retreat in caſe of misfortune. The poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples would, from its ſituation and flouriſhing towns, have procured him all the advantages he could deſire; he therefore reſolved, previous to his grand expedition, to enforce his claims to that part of Italy.

The kingdom of Naples, as well as Sicily, which was annexed to it, had been enjoyed, for the beſt part of two centuries, by the princes of the two royal houſes of Anjou. Alphonſo, king of Arragon, whoſe anceſtors had taken Sicily from

* It is ſaid that this princeſs, on her voyage to Spain, whither ſhe was going to celebrate her marriage, had nearly periſhed in a ſtorm; and expecting the veſſel to ſink every moment, ſhe took out a pencil, and wrote the following epitaph on herſelf—

" Ci git Margot, la gente demoiſelle,
" Qu' ent deux maris, & ſi mourut pucelle."

Which may be thus tranſlated—

Beneath this tomb, the gentle Margaret's laid,
Who had two huſbands, and yet dy'd a maid.

the Anjevin princes, availing himſelf of the troubles which prevailed in France, deſpoiled them alſo of the kingdom of Naples, where he eſtabliſhed his reſidence. This prince, at his death, left the kingdom of Arragon, and the iſland of Sicily, which he had inherited from his anceſtors, to his brother don Juan, father to Ferdinand of Arragon; but, with the conſent of the pope, who was conſidered as lord paramount of Naples, he bequeathed his conqueſt to a natural ſon, named Ferdinand, who reſiſted all the efforts made to diſpoſſeſs him of that kingdom by René of Anjou, titular king of Naples and Sicily, and his ſon John, commonly called the duke of Calabria. The failure of theſe princes to recover the dominions of their anceſtors, had proceeded from the diſinclination of Lewis the Eleventh to promote the elevation of any part of his family, which had led him to fruſtrate all their plans. King René, having ſurvived his ſon and grandſon, left all his claims to the kingdom of Naples, and the county of Provence, to his nephew, the count of Maine, in preference to René, duke of Lorraine, ſon to Yoland, his eldeſt daughter. The count, dying ſoon after without heirs, bequeathed all his rights and pretenſions to Lewis the Eleventh; and after him, to the dauphin Charles, and all his ſucceſſors on the throne of France. To this ſecond will no oppoſition could be formed, but the validity of the firſt was ſtrongly conteſted by the duke of Lorraine, who maintained that Provence and the kingdom of Naples, not being ſubject to the Salic law, and having been frequently governed by females, belonged of right to his mother; and that his grandfather had no power to annihilate the rights of nature, by a deed which had been extorted from him at an age when his faculties were impaired. The king of France produced *a family compact*, and the wills of the two princes of the houſe of Anjou, who had appointed their male heirs to ſucceed them, to the prejudice of females, who were more nearly related to them.

The duke of Lorraine was unable to cope with the king, who reſolved to enforce his pretenſions on the firſt favourable opportunity, which ſpeedily occurred. The Neapolitans, diſguſted with the oppreſſive and tyrannical conduct of Ferdinand the Firſt, and his ſon Alphonſo, had reſolved to depoſe the former, and diſinherit the latter; the nobility had taken up arms to effect this purpoſe, but, through the mediation of the king of Spain, and pope Innocent the Eighth, a treaty was concluded, and tranquillity reſtored. But, in violation of this treaty, which they had ratified by the moſt ſolemn oaths, Ferdinand and his ſon invited the nobility (under pretence of attending the celebration of a marriage) to the palace, where they were ſeized and maſſacred. Three only eſcaped, viz. the prince of Salerno, and two of his nephews, ſons to the prince of Biſignano. Theſe left the kingdom in diſguiſe, and haſtening to Venice, conſulted the ſenate, as to what monarch they ſhould apply for aſſiſtance. Three princes had claims to the kingdom of Naples; Ferdinand, the Catholic; the duke of Lorraine, and Charles the Eighth. The ſenate excluded the firſt, becauſe, being already maſter of Sicily, he would, by the conqueſt of Naples, become a too formidable neighbour to the other Italian ſtates. The duke of Lorraine, they obſerved, had outlived

his reputation, and it would be abſurd to loſe time in attempting to raiſe the dead. To the king of France neither of theſe objections could be oppoſed, and the Neapolitan refugees accordingly reſolved to apply to Charles.

The ſolicitations of the prince of Salerno and his nephews were ſtrongly ſeconded by ambaſſadors from Ludovico Sforza, ſurnamed the Moor, who governed Milan in the name of his nephew, John Galleazzo, the lawful ſovereign of that duchy; and from pope Alexander the Sixth, a man of infamous character, who was raiſed to the papacy, notwithſtanding he had five natural children, whom he publicly acknowledged, by Vanoſſa, a lady of Rome. The object of theſe princes was to check the overgrown power of the Neopolitan monarch, and of Pietro de Medicis, duke of Florence, who had evinced a diſpoſition to oppoſe the deſigns of the uſurper (who meant to dethrone his unſuſpecting kinſman, and ſeat himſelf on the ducal throne) and of the ſovereign pontiff.

The ambaſſadors were admitted to an audience, where, by an artful harangue, they influenced the military ardour of Charles, though the arguments made a very different impreſſion on the members of his council. Admiral de Graville repreſented, that a war, in ſuch a diſtant country, where no communication could be preſerved with France, would be attended with immenſe expence, without much probability of a happy iſſue: that the enemies whom they propoſed to attack, were by no means ſo contemptible as the ambaſſadors had repreſented them; that every body did juſtice to the penetration, knowledge, and prudence of Ferdinand, who was ſuppoſed to have amaſſed immenſe treaſures during a reign of thirty-five years; that his ſon Alphonſo enjoyed the reputation of the braveſt warrior and the beſt general in Italy; that theſe princes were allied to the king of Spain, who would never tamely acquieſce in the depoſition of his neareſt relations, nor ſuffer the French to eſtabliſh themſelves in the vicinity of Sicily; that profeſſions of the Italians were not to be truſted; nor was it to be ſuppoſed that they would behold the crown of Naples on the head of a French king; that Lewis the Eleventh, whoſe political knowledge no one would diſpute, had conſtantly rejected the invitations of the popes to carry his arms into Italy; and that, before any engagement were contracted, it would be neceſſary to ſend ſome prudent perſons into Italy, to ſound the diſpoſitions of the different courts.

Graville's opinion was adopted by the whole council; even the king himſelf apeared to concur in it, and he accordingly appointed Peron de Baſchi, and ſome other perſons diſtinguiſhed for their merit, his ambaſſadors to the Italian courts; but he was ſecretly determined not to wait their return before he ſettled his plan of operations. Led away by the warmth of his imagination, Charles privately ſigned a treaty, by which he engaged to conduct an army into Italy, ſufficiently powerful to enſure the conqueſt of Naples. Ludovico, on his ſide, promiſed to give his troops a free paſſage through the duchy of Milan; to reinforce them with a body of five hundred men at arms; to lend the king two hundred thouſand ducats to defray the expence of the war; and to give him permiſſion to equip, in the port of Genoa, as many veſſels as he ſhould want for the expedition.

A. D. 1494.] On the firſt report of the hoſtile deſigns of Charles, the king of Naples ſent an embaſſy to France, offering to pay homage, and an annual tribute of fifty thouſand crowns. Theſe conditions, ſo anvantageous to France, were rejected by the king, ambitious of the fame of a conqueror; Ferdinand, doubtful of the fidelity of his ſubjects, oppreſſed by years, and ſenſible of the calamities which impended over his country, was ſeized with an apoplexy, which terminated his exiſtence, and his crown devolved on his ſon, Alphonſo the Second.—That prince immediately prepared to detach the ſovereign pontiff from the intereſt of the French; and, by procuring ſplendid eſtabliſhments for his ſons, he not only ſucceeded in that attempt, but engaged Alexander to join him in an application to the ſultan Bajazet, requeſting his aſſiſtance in oppoſing the projected invaſion of Charles.

Charles had ſent the lord d'Urfé to Genoa, to make the neceſſary preparations for the equipment of a fleet. The troops were already in motion, though Charles had not yet made known his deſigns to the nation. The reſiſtance he had experienced from the council had made him dread a ſtill greater oppoſition from the parliaments, and principal towns. He was perſuaded by thoſe who favoured his paſſions, to take the nation, as it were, by ſurpriſe, that the advice of the more prudent part of his council might not have time to operate. He accordingly appointed a day for holding a grand tournament at Lyons, to which all the nobility of the kingdom repaired, and, in the midſt of their feſtivity, he propoſed to them an immediate expedition to Italy, the glory and dangers whereof he expreſſed his reſolution to ſhare. Moſt of the nobles eagerly embraced a plan, which, in their cooler moments, they would have rected; and, that their ardour might not be ſuffered to cool, he gave orders for the troops to advance without delay.

But Charles's inattention to buſineſs and want of foreſight were never more ſtrongly diſplayed than on this occaſion, for when the army began their march, it appeared that no money had been provided for their ſubſiſtance*. The king was obliged to borrow, of a banker at Genoa, one hundred thouſand ducats, at the enormous intereſt of fourteen thouſand ducats for four months; and a banker at Milan advanced fifty thouſand more. Theſe ſums proving inſufficient, even for the equipment of the fleet, recourſe was had to extraordinary meaſures; and by anticipations of the revenue, and other expedients, he raiſed ſufficient to begin his enterpriſe.

The duke of Orleans was appointed to command the fleet; and the duke of Bourbon was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom, during the abſence of Charles. The count of Angouleme was made governor of Guienne; Normandy and Picardy were entruſted to the care of admiral Graville: Burgundy to the

* Commines.—Godefroi—Belcarius.

mareſchal de Baudricourt; Champagne to the lord d'Orval, and Brittany to the baron d'Avagour, and the viſcount de Rohan.*

After taking every neceſſary precaution for the ſafety of the kingdom, the king left Lyons, and repaired to Grenoble, where he appointed commiſſioners for providing the troops with proviſions; and appointed the officers who were to command under him. The death of the mareſchal Deſquerdes, which occured at this period, proved a great loſs to Charles; for though he had many other experienced commanders, ſuch as the count de Montpenſier; la Trémouille; d'Aubigni; and mareſchals de Gié and de Rieux, yet had he none to whoſe advice he paid ſuch implicit reſpect.

Charles continued his march through Dauphiné to Savoy, where he experienced a magnificent reception from the ducheſs-dowager, who, being informed that he was in want of money, and having none to advance him, lent him her jewels, which ſhe requeſted he would pledge for twelve thouſand ducats. When he came to Caſal, the marchioneſs of Montferrat was equally generous, and lent him her jewels alſo, towards defraying the neceſſary expences of the enterpriſe.

The king arrived at Aſt, in Piedmont, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of his army, on the ninth of September: he was here ſeized with the ſmall pox, from which he recovered, after the moſt imminent danger of his life. The joy occaſioned by the return of his health, was farther encreaſed by the news that the duke of Orleans had obtained a victory over the fleet of Naples, commanded by don Frederic, brother to Alphonſo: the duke himſelf was the bearer of this intelligence.

Charles left Aſt on the ſixth of October, and purſued his victorious career towards Naples. Previous to his departure from Piedmont, he had an interview with Ludovico Sforza, who left him, in a few days, to take poſſeſſion of Milan, which he ſeized, on the death of John Galleazzo, his nephew, though that prince had left an infant ſon. The pope, appriſed of the approach of the French, ſent a nuncio to the king, to forbid him under pain of excommunication, to ſet foot on the territories of the church; but Charles replied, that he had made a vow to viſit the tomb of Saint-Peter, and was reſolved to fulfil it.

The army prepared to paſs the Appenines. It conſiſted of the king's houſhold troops, compoſed of one hundred gentlemen, and four hundred archers; ſixteen hundred lances, each lance having ſix horſes; twelve thouſand infantry, half Swiſs, half Gaſcons, and a numerous body of volunteers:—the train of artillery conſiſted of one hundred and forty pieces†.

Charles's cavalry was entirely compoſed of thoſe companies of Gendarmes, embodied by Charles the Seventh, and continued by Lewis the Eleventh; and his infantry, as we have before obſerved, conſiſted partly of Swiſs, hired of the Cantons, and partly of Gaſcons, who were armed and diſciplined after the Swiſs model.

* Chronique d'Aquitaine.—Fontanieu, ree. des pieces. † Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. i. p. 84.

The arms and diſcipline of the Swiſs were different from thoſe of other European nations. During their long and violent ſtruggles in defence of their liberties againſt the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe armies, like thoſe of other conſiderable princes, conſiſted chiefly of heavy-armed cavalry, the Swiſs found that their poverty, and the ſmall number of gentlemen reſiding in their country, at that time barren and ill-cultivated, put it out of their power to bring into the field any body of horſe capable of facing the enemy. Neceſſity compelled them to place all their confidence in infantry; and, in order to render it capable of withſtanding the ſhock of cavalry, they gave the ſoldiers breaſt-plates and helmets as defenſive armour; together with long ſpears, halberts, and heavy ſwords, as weapons of offence. They formed them into large battalions, ranged in deep and cloſe array, ſo that they could preſent, on every ſide, a formidable front to the enemy*.

After the army had paſſed the Appenines, Montpenſier, who commanded the vanguard, inveſted Fivizano, the firſt fortreſs in the Florentine dominions; the place being carried by aſſault, the whole garriſon and moſt of the inhabitants, were put to the ſword; the Italians, who had been wholly unuſed to ſuch treatment, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by this cruel mode of waging war. The French next approached the ſmall town of Serezana, and the ſtrong fortreſs of Serezancllo, which, from their ſituation, on the ſummit of lofty rocks, and in the centre of a dry and barren country, might long have reſiſted their utmoſt efforts; but the arrival of Pietro de Medicis in their camp, ſoon removed this difficulty.

Alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the French arms, Pietro was induced to ſign a treaty with Charles, by which he engaged immediately to deliver up to the French the fortreſs of Serezanello, with the towns of Serezana, Pietra-Santa, Piſa, and Leghorn; and to make the Florentines advance him, by way of loan, the ſum of two hundred thouſand ducats. The king, on his part, promiſed to reſtore the towns, as ſoon as he ſhould have completed the reduction of Naples. The Florentines were ſo incenſed with Pietro, for having ſigned ſuch a diſhonourable treaty, that they declared him a traitor to the ſtate, and compelled him to take refuge in Venice. Charles paſſed through Piſa, whoſe inhabitants deſired to be taken under his immediate protection, and to be conſidered, thenceforth, as ſubjects of France, and continued his route to Florence; into which city, after ſome heſitation on the part of the inhabitants, he obtained admiſſion, and renewed, with the Florentines themſelves, the very treaty which had induced them to expel Pietro de Medicis. From Florence Charles marched to Sienna, where he was received with joy by the inhabitants, who had levelled their walls, and pulled down their gates, to facilitate the entrance of his troops. The pope received the intelligence of his ſucceſs with terror; he haſtily retired into the caſtle of Saint Angelo, and commanded the gates to be thrown open to the victor, who

* Machiavel's Art of war, b. ii. c. ii. p. 451.

took poſſeſſion of the city without ſtriking a blow, and diſpoſed of his troops in the different quarters of it. But Charles reſiſted the importunities of thoſe cardinals, who adviſed him to depoſe the profligate and turbulent Alexander, and fill the apoſtolic chair with a more holy ſucceſſor. The king rejected their counſels, and concluded a treaty with the Roman pontiff, who ſolemnly granted him the inveſture of Naples, and delivered to him the towns of Viterbo, Terracina, Spoleto and Civita-Vecchia, with his ſon, Ceſar Borgia, cardinal of Valenza, as a pledge of the ſincerity of his intentions.

A. D. 1495.] Alphonſo the Second, king of Naples, at this critical conjuncture, abdicated the throne, and reſigned his ſceptre to his ſon Ferdinand the Second, and retired to the town of Mazara, at the fartheſt extremity of Sicily, where he paſſed the remainder of his days in a convent: Alphonſo had received intelligence that a powerful confederacy was forming at Venice, for the expulſion of the French from Italy, and that Ludovico Sforza was the principal promoter of it; and he was afraid, that the perſonal hatred which ſubſiſted between him and Ludovico might prevent that nobleman from bringing matters to a concluſion, till ſuch time as he could be certain he had nothing to apprehend from him.

Charles was at Rome when he received the news of this ſtrange revolution; aware how eſſential it was to the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe, not to allow young Ferdinand time to ingratiate himſelf with the Neapolitan nobility, he began his march on the twenty-eighth of January, after he had remained near a month at Rome, he arrived the next day at Veletri.

From Veletri, the army proceeded to inveſt the ſmall town of Monte Fortino, which was taken by aſſault, and abandoned to the rage of the ſoldiers. Monte di San Giovani was next reduced, and experienced a ſimilar fate; and this ſeverity, to which the Italians were wholly unaccuſtomed, ſpread ſuch a general conſternation, that not another town durſt refuſe to open its gates.

Ferdinand, having aſſembled an army of fifty ſquadrons, and ſix thouſand infantry, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong poſt of San-Germano, reſolved to diſpute with the French the entrance into his dominions. He could not have choſen a more proper place for making a ſtand; he was protected on one ſide by a ſteep and rugged mountain, on the other by impaſſible marſhes; and his front was defended by the river Garigliano. Ferdinand had alſo rendered the approach to it more difficult by cutting down a great quantity of trees, and by erecting batteries which commanded the road. The attempt to force this paſs would have been extremely dangerous, but the terror which preceded the French had unmanned the enemy. They no ſooner perceived Lewis d'Armagnac, count of Guiſe, ſon to the unfortunate duke of Nemours, advance towards them with three hundred lances, and two thouſand infantry, than, forgetting the ſtrength of their poſt, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Ferdinand, in vain, attempted to rally his troops, he was compelled to yield to the torrent, and to ſhut himſelf up, with his cowardly followers, in the town of Capua. Here

he hoped to reſiſt the attacks of the enemy, till the arrival of foreign ſuccours; but fortune continued her perſecution, and ſoon deprived him of this laſt reſource: the news of an inſurection at Naples, compelled him to fly to that capital, promiſing, however, to return to Capua the next day; but after his departure, Gianiacopo da Triulzi, to whom he had entruſted the command of the town during his abſence, ſurrendered it to the king. The town of Averſa, ſituated mid-way between Capua and Naples, alſo ſent a deputation to Charles. The capital itſelf was in commotion.

Having diſcovered, by certain ſymptoms, the intention of the garriſon, which conſiſted of five hundred Germans, to ſeize his perſon, and deliver him to the French, he gave up to them all the furniture and effects which the caſtle contained; and while they were employed in dividing the ſpoil, he eſcaped by a private door, and embarked for the Iſle of Iſchia, about thirty miles from Naples. On his arrival at that place, the governor refuſed to admit him into the citadel, unleſs he came unattended; a propoſal which the unhappy monarch thought it adviſeable to accept; but as ſoon as he entered the citadel, he ſeized the governor, and threw him to the ground, to the great aſtoniſhment of the garriſon, who, awed by this act of reſolution, ſubmitted to their lawful ſovereign.

Charles, meanwhile, advanced to Averſa, where he received a deputation from the citizens of Naples, who ſent him the keys of the town: and, on the twenty-firſt of February, he made his triumphant entry into that capital, amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. Thus, in the depth of winter, without money, and without magazines, did Charles march through Italy, and complete the reduction of that fertile country. From Lyons to Naples, not a town reſiſted his arms for more than one day, and the troops did not ſleep in tents a ſingle night. The whole expedition rather reſembled the peaceable progreſs of a monarch through his own dominions, than the hoſtile march of a conqueror.

But Charles wanted prudence to ſecure this conqueſt; his miniſters and favourites were ſuffered to act as they pleaſed: and their rapaciouſneſs and oppreſſions ſoon diſguſted the Neapolitans; even ſuch of the native nobility as had been forward in aſſiſting the progreſs of the French arms, were treated with neglect, and many others were deſpoiled of their eſtates and reduced to poverty. Theſe injuries, ſharpened by repeated inſults, the ſubject of which was the impotent effeminacy of the Italian troops, produced a prompt revolution in the ſentiments of the Neapolitans, who now conceived a violent hatred to the French, while their averſion for the houſe of Arragon was converted into pity and remorſe.—Charles, however, who, wholly abſorbed in pleaſure, was ignorant of this change, and, by a conſiderable diminution of the uſual impoſts, had even been led to believe he had ſecured the affections of his new ſubjects, appointed the twelfth of May for his coronation: and that ceremony was accordingly performed, with the utmoſt magnificence.

Dazzled with ſo extraordinary a blaze of glory, Charles already meditated the attack of Conſtantinople, and the ſubverſion of the Ottoman Empire; but while he inconſiderately waſted his time at Naples, in feſtivals and triumphs, on account

of his paſt ſucceſſes, or was fondly dreaming of future conqueſts in the Eaſt, a powerful combination was formed againſt him. The firſt news he received of this confederacy, came from Philip de Commines, whom he had ſent as ambaſſador to the republic of Venice, to require their aſſiſtance in his projected expedition againſt the Turks. Commines ſoon had occaſion to perceive that the rapid progreſs of the French arms was highly diſpleaſing to the Venetians, and that they began to repent the encouragement they had given to Charles; for which reaſon he had adviſed his maſter to accept an offer made him by Ferdinand, to hold the kingdom of Naples as a fief of the crown of France, and to pay tribute for the ſame. But the king, intoxicated with ſucceſs, rejected the advice of his ambaſſador. The more fortune ſeemed to favour an enterpriſe which prudence diſavowed, the more did Commines tremble for the conſequences. Appriſed of the deſigns of the confederates—the Venetians, the kings of Arragon and Naples, the emperor Maximilian, and the duke of Milan—and finding all his remonſtrances loſt upon Charles, he wrote to the duke of Orleans to fortify the town of Aſt, where he had been detained by a violent fever; to the duke of Bourbon, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, to ſend, with all poſſible expedition, a ſtrong reinforcement of troops to Aſt, which was on the point of being beſieged; and to the marchioneſs of Montferrat, deſiring her to ſupply the duke of Orleans with all her Gendarmes, to enable him to defend himſelf until the arrival of the expected ſuccours from France.

Ferdinand of Arragon engaged to ſend an army into the kingdom of Naples, commanded by one of his moſt experienced generals, and to make ſuch a powerful diverſion on the ſide of the Pyrenees, that the duke of Bourbon ſhould not be able to ſend a reinforcement of troops into Italy. The emperor agreed to ſupply the confederates with a body of the beſt troops in Germany, and to enter Champagne with another army, provided they would furniſh him with money for the expedition. The duke of Milan undertook to reduce the town of Aſt, and to ſecure the paſſage of the Alps; and, laſtly, the Venetians engaged to equip a fleet, and to pay, in conjunction with the pope and the duke of Milan, an army of forty thouſand men, which ſhould wait for the French at the foot of the Appenines. "The league," ſays Commines, "was concluded late at night, and the next morning the ſenate ſent for me at an earlier hour than uſual."

Although Commines was prepared for this news, yet ſtill he was ſo thunderſtricken when he heard it, that, for a moment, he loſt the power of utterance; but when he had recovered his ſurpriſe, he replied, with apparent tranquillity, That he knew before what they had juſt told him, and many more particulars which they had not thought proper to notice; that he had not only appriſed the king of theſe circumſtances, but the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon alſo, in order that they might have time to provide for the ſafety of the town of Aſt, which they had already done. The Venetians, who pique themſelves on the ſecrecy of their delberations, were extremely mortified at hearing this; and in order to excite miſtruſt among the confederates, Commines added, That he had not even had

the merit of being the firſt to inform the king of this league, ſince Charles had already received certain advice of it both from Rome and Milan. The doge was now diſconcerted in his turn, and wiſhing to engage the ambaſſador in a converſation, he began by repreſenting to him that a league, the only object whereof was to ſecure the dominions of the powers who had joined it, could not poſſibly injure the king, unleſs he had a deſign to attempt the conqueſt of Italy; he then aſked him, whether he had no new propoſal to make; but Commines replied, that it was too late to negociate, when war was already declared.

Commines was ſo ſtricken with what he had heard, and was ſo buried in reflection, that, turning to the ſecretary, whom the ſenate had appointed to conduct him to his reſidence, he ſaid to him—"*Pray, friend, repeat what the prince ſaid to me, for I have forgotten every word of it: I don't know what has become of my memory and my reaſon!*"

Charles, though leſs alarmed than his ambaſſador, at length became ſenſible of his danger. In this critical ſituation there was not a moment to loſe. If he gave time to the confederates to bring a ſtrong body of diſciplined veterans into Switzerland and Germany, and intrench them in the defiles of the Appenines, all was loſt, and the laurels he had already reaped would only tend to augment the humiliation of his defeat. The only mode of eſcaping was to cut his way through the Italian ſtates, while they had none but their own national troops to defend them. This, indeed, appeared no eaſy matter, for as he could not prevail on himſelf to evacuate Naples, and loſe all the fruits of his labours, he was obliged to leave a part of his army behind him, under the command of Gilbert de Bourbon, count of Montpenſier, whom he appointed his lieutenant-general in the kingdom of Naples. The character of this nobleman is given by Philip de Commines in a very few words:—*He was brave, but poſſeſſed of little prudence; he never roſe till noon!*"

The king left Naples on the twentieth of May, 1495, with an army conſiſting of nine hundred lances, two thouſand five hundred Swiſs, and fifteen hundred houſhold troops, amounting, in the whole, to nine thouſand four hundred men*. The firſt enemy, through whoſe dominions he had to paſs, was the pope, who, conſcious that he deſerved no mercy from the French, withdrew from Rome, and wrote to Charles, informing him, that having taken care that the army ſhould want for nothing in its paſſage through the eccleſiaſtical territories, he had retired to Orvietto, whence he would not fail to viſit the king, as ſoon as he ſhould be appriſed of his arrival at Viterbo. Charles paſſed through Rome, but refuſed to alight at the Vatican, where apartments had been prepared for his reception. When he came to Viterbo, the pope fled to Perucia; but the king, notwithſtanding the juſt grounds for complaint which he had againſt the treacherous pontiff, reſtored to him the towns of Civita-Vecchia, Terracina, Spoleto, and Viterbo, reſerving only Oſtia, which he afterwards reſigned to the cardinal di San Pietro, in Vincola.

* Commines.—Guicciardini.—Giovio.

All the places in the pope's dominions opened their gates to the French, except the ſmall town of Toſcanella, which refuſed them admiſſion. It was, in conſequence, taken by aſſault, and abandoned to pillage: among the priſoners, who had eſcaped the ſword, was a young girl of extraordinary beauty, who was reſerved for the king. Notwithſtanding the horror and deſpair which were ſtrongly depicted on her countenance, and notwithſtanding the tears which ſtreamed from her eyes, Charles ſeized her in his arms, and was proceeding to commit violence on her perſon, when, as ſhe ſtruggled to get looſe from him, ſhe perceived the picture of the Virgin hanging in the room:—"*In the name of her*," exclaimed the virtuous maid, "*who, by her purity deſerved the honour of becoming mother to the Son of God, O king, ſpare my honour!*"—Charles, caſting his eyes on the picture, reſtrained his deſires; and being informed that the maid was betrothed to a young man of a decent family, who, with her father and mother, had alſo eſcaped the fury of the troops, and were then priſoners in the town, he releaſed them all, and gave the fair captive a marriage-portion of five hundred crowns of gold.

On the arrival of Charles at Sienna, he was met by Commines, of whom he enquired, with a ſmile, whether the proud republicans whom he had juſt left, meant to ſend any body to meet him? "Sire," replied Commines, "they aſſured me, when I took leave of them, that it was their intention to ſend forty thouſand men to meet your majeſty." The young courtiers, who held the Italians in contempt, and were perſuaded that France was the only country for ſoldiers, were highly diverted with the ambaſſador's ſerious looks, and the king himſelf partook of their amuſement. In vain did Commines expatiate on the number and quality of the enemy's troops, and the ſkill of their leaders; in vain did he conjure Charles not to wait the arrival of the Germans, whom the emperor had promiſed to ſend into Italy; nothing he could ſay had any effect on the king, or could induce him to haſten his march.

Already were the combined forces of the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, on their march to the foot of the Appenines, where they intended to wait for the French. Beſides this army, which conſiſted of between thirty and forty thouſand men, Ludovico had raiſed a ſecond, compoſed of ſeven hundred lances, and three thouſand foot, which he deſtined for the ſiege of Aſt, which he now ſummoned to ſurrender. But before he was in a condition to act, the duke of Orleans had received a reinforcement from France; and thus finding himſelf at the head of a little army of three hundred lances, and two thouſand Swiſs, beſides a body of provincial troops from Dauphiné, he forgot the purpoſe for which theſe forces had been entruſted to his conduct: two Milaneſe gentlemen, having offered to procure him admiſſion into the town of Novara, where they had formed a conſpiracy, he accepted their propoſal, and made himſelf maſter of the place without the loſs of a man.

Charles was at Sienna, when he received intelligence of the firſt exploits of the duke of Orleans; he immediately left that city and proceeded to Poggibonzi, a place belonging to the Florentines, where he received ambaſſadors from that

republic, who urged him to fulfil his engagements, by reſtoring the towns which had been delivered to him on his march to Naples. The king promiſed to comply with their requeſt on his arrival at Piſa, whither he was followed by the ambaſſadors; but the Piſans, ſhocked at the idea, of again ſubmitting to a power, from whom they had experienced nothing but tyranny and oppreſſion, found means to intereſt the Swiſs in their behalf; and the whole army riſing, inſiſted that the inhabitants ſhould be ſuffered to remain under the protection of the French.

Charles, deeming it prudent to ſuffer the zeal of his ſoldiers, in defence of the Piſans, to evaporate, feigned a compliance with their requeſt, and ſecretly promiſed the Florentines to give them full ſatisfaction on his arrival at the town of Aſt. Though highly diſpleaſed at this freſh delay, they, nevertheleſs, permitted two of their generals, Franciſco Seceo, and Camillo Vitelli, with three hundred lances, and two thouſand infantry, to accompany the king, and to ſerve with the French army, as long as they ſhould remain in Italy.

But this reinforcement was trifling, when compared with the magnitude of the danger, though ſo far were the king, and the young warriors of France, from conſidering that danger, in a proper light, that the cardinal San Pietro di Vincola, having promiſed, if they would give him a detachment of the French army, to excite an inſurrection in Genoa, obtained, againſt the advice of the more prudent part of the council, all the troops he required—viz. one hundred and twenty French lances, ſome companies of Italians, and five hundred croſs-bowmen, under the command of Philip of Savoy, count of Breſſe: John de Polignac, count of Beaumont; and Hugh d'Amboiſe. This little army advanced to the ſuburbs of Genoa, where they waited the arrival of the French fleet, commanded by Miolens, which, ſince the defection of Ludovico Sforza, was reduced to ſeven galleys, and four veſſels of inferior ſize. Theſe were overtaken by the Genoeſe fleet, reinforced by the pope's gallies, near Repallo, and, after a ſhort conteſt, were all captured. The troops, after this misfortune, found it neceſſary to retire, by private roads, to the town of Aſt, where they waited the iſſue of the king's expedition.

Charles, after ſtaying ſix days at Piſa, paſſed through Lucca, Pietra-Santa, and Serezana, and proceeded to Pontremoli, the firſt place in the duchy of Milan. The inhabitants, having diſmiſſed the garriſon, opened their gates to the French, on condition that their lives and property ſhould be ſafe. In violation of this agreement, the Swiſs, forty of whoſe comrades had been killed the year before, in a fray with the inhabitants, drew their ſwords, and, without communicating their intentions to the French, maſſacred the defenceleſs citizens, pillaged their houſes, and ſet fire to the town.

A mode was pointed out to them of expiating their fault. The army being now arrived at the foot of the Appenines, the council were employed in deliberating on the beſt means of tranſporting the heavy artillery over thoſe ſteep and rugged mountains, and by roads that appeared impaſſable. As no means

could be deviſed which appeared feaſible, it was propoſed to leave the guns behind, after rendering them unfit for uſe; though, at the ſame time, they were aware, that by ſo doing they would deprive the army of its principal ſtrength, and perhaps of its only reſource. In this emergency the Swiſs offered, on condition that the king ſhould grant them a pardon for their late offences, to drag the artillery themſelves over ſuch places as were inacceſſible to horſes. Charles not only conſented to pardon them, but promiſed never to forget ſo ſignal a ſervice. Accordingly, the martial band prepared for the laborious taſk, which La Trémouille was appointed to ſuperintend. He was careful to place, at certain diſtances, refreſhments for the men, and to ſtation relays of horſes and mules wherever thoſe animals could be employed: companies of pioneers preceded the Swiſs to break off the rugged points of the rocks, and to fill up the ravines; other companies of carpenters, ſmiths, aud wheelrights, accompanied the carriages, to repair, without loſs of time, any damage they might ſuſtain on the road. La Trémouille was preſent every where, animating the workmen by his words and geſtures. Convinced, too, that example is more perſuaſive than exhortation, he carried two cannon-balls himfelf. After ſuſtaining incredible fatigue, the army at length reached the ſummit of the mountain. But the greateſt difficulty yet remained to be ſurmounted; it now became neceſſary to ſupport, with cables from behind, thoſe enormous maſſes which they had ſo much trouble to drag up, in order to prevent them from cruſhing the men who were before them. The fatigue of this laborious operation was greatly encreaſed by the extreme heat of the ſun, which darting its rays from a cloudleſs ſky, proved almoſt inſupportable. When La Trémouille went to ſalute the king after the buſineſs was completed, ſome time paſſed before Charles could recollect him, his face was ſo much burned.

Meanwhile, the confederate army, under the conduct of Franceſco de Gonzago, marquis of Mantua, had aſſembled in the plain beneath, to the number of five-and-thirty thouſand men. Had their only object been to cut off the king's retreat to his own dominions, they would certainly have entrenched themſelves in the narrow paſſes of the Appenines, whence it would have been impoſſible to diſlodge them: but their ſuperiority over the French army, which conſiſted of between ſeven and eight thouſand men, haraſſed by a long and toilſome march, and deſtitute of proviſions and of money, led the confederates to conceive more lofty deſigns:—they propoſed to take the king priſoner, ſo completely to ſurround the French, that not a man might eſcape, and to ſtrike ſuch a terror into the nation, that they ſhould loſe all deſire of re-viſiting Italy. Their firſt deſign had been to fix their camp at Fornuovo, a village ſituate at the foot of the Appenines; but conſidering that the place would be too confined for an army ſo numerous, compoſed almoſt wholly of cavalry, to act in; afraid too, that if the king ſhould perceive them from the ſummit of the mountain, he might be tempted to return to Piſa, and ſome other towns in Tuſcany, where he had left garriſons; they abandoned this poſt, and pitched their camp near the abbey

of Ghiaruola, three miles from Fornuovo, in a ſpecious plain, interſected by the river Taro, which, ruſhing down the mountains, empties itſelf into the Po. The poſition of their camp was ſuch, that the French could not purſue their march without being expoſed to the fire of their atillery, nor attack it without croſſing the Taro, the banks of which being ſteep, and full of willows, would have thrown their ſquadrons into diſorder. The plain was ſo ſpacious, that the whole army could, with eaſe, be drawn up in order of battle; they had laid in a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions to ſupply them for ſeveral months; and, in ſhort, all their meaſures appeared to be ſo well planned, that had the courage of the Italian troops proved equal to the ſkill and prudence of the generals, death or captivity muſt have been the inevitable fate of the French.

The mareſchal de Gie, who commanded the van of the French, had croſſed the Appenines ſeveral days before the reſt of the army, in order to ſecure the defiles. On his arrival at the village of Fornuovo, he perceived the enemy's camp, which covered a vaſt extent of ground; and after he had diſpatched a party to reconnoitre it, he ſent a herald to the general to demand a free paſſage for his troops, who only wiſhed to return in a peacable manner to France, and who would pay for all the proviſions they wanted. The arival of this herald threw the whole camp of the confederates into confuſion; they had hitherto perſuaded themſelves, that the report of their preparations, and the ſuperiority of their forces, would deter the king from attempting to croſs the Appenines. While he remained at Piſa, they believed that he would diſtribute the greater part of his troops in the different towns in Tuſcany, and would embark with the reſt at Leghorn, in order to return to France by ſea, in which caſe there was a fleet ſtationed to intercept him; when they received intelligence that he was marching towards the Appenines, they imagined that as ſoon as he reached the foot of the mountain, he would abandon his artillery and baggage, and endeavour to reach Montferrat by private roads, rather as a fugitive than a king; but when they found that a part of the army had already eſtabliſhed their quarters at Fornuovo, the conſternation became general: the reſiſtleſs impetuoſity of the French troops, the ſteady firmneſs of the Swiſs battalions, the dreadful fire of the artillery, all tended to ſtrike a panic into the Italians; but nothing tended to diſcourage them more than the reſolution of a ſmall body of determined men, who came to meet them from the fartheſt extremity of Italy, and who ſeemed to take a pleaſure in braving dangers and death. Even the leaders themſelves were not exempt from the terror which pervaded the troops: when they came to deliberate on the anſwer to be given to the hearld, the two *Provvéditori*, whom the ſenate of Venice had appointed to aſſiſt the marquis of Mantua with their advice, were of opinion, that ſince the French only aſked permiſſion to retire, in a peaceable manner, to their own country, they ought to be allowed a free paſſage.

After much diſcuſſion, it was at length agreed to inform the Venetian ſenate of the demand of the French, and to wait for their orders; but as it could not be expected they would arrive in time, the herald was diſmiſſed without an an-

ſwer, and ſome companies of ſtradiotti were ſent to ſcour the country, and to drive in the enemy's out-poſts. Theſe ſtradiotti were a kind of light-horſe, compoſed entirely of Greeks, levied by the Venetians in the Peloponneſus, in Italy, and Epirus, and by them ſucceſsfully employed in their wars with the Turks; Commines tells us, they were very hardy, and that both men and horſes were accuſtomed to ſleep in the open air throughout the year. They had a barbarous mode of waging war, by cutting off the heads of their enemies; which they faſtened to the pommel of their ſaddle, and carried to the Venetian Provvéditori, who gave them a ducat for every head.

The mareſchal de Gié was fully aware of the danger of his ſituation; and after having, in vain, urged the king to haſten his march, he evacuated the village, and retired nearer to the mountains. It was determined, that the army ſhould march the next morning; that, on their arrival at the plain where the enemy were encamped, they ſhould fire a few pieces of cannon, and if the confederates did not leave their lines to attack them, they ſhould purſue their road.

Accordingly, on the ſixth of July, (1495) the king, clad in complete armour, drew up his troops in order of battle*. The van was compoſed of the flower of the army, and conſiſted of three hundred French lances, one hundred Italian lances, three thouſand Swiſs or Gaſcons, and three hundred archers of the king's guard. The centre was entruſted to the conduct of the lord of Trèmouille; and there the king fought in perſon, accompanied by his nine *preux*—viz. Mathew, baſtard of Bourbon; Lewis of Luxembourg, count of Ligni; Lewis d'Armagnac, count of Guiſe; Hallewin, lord of Piennes; Bonneval; d'Archiac; Galliot de Genouillac; Fraxinelles; and Baraſe: the rear was commanded by the viſcount of Narbonne, of the houſe of Foix. The centre and the rear being too weak to ſupport ſeparately, any formidable attack, marched ſo near each other as to be ready to afford reciprocal aſſiſtance. As no regular troops could be ſpared to guard the baggage, this care was entruſted to the workmen and followers of the army, who armed thmeſelves with axes and long ſwords, and compoſed a body of about two thouſand men. When the troops began to march, the king ſent for Commines, and ordered him to renew the negociation: "Sire," ſaid Commines; "I will do it moſt willingly, but I never ſaw too ſuch large companies ſo near to "each other, who parted without coming to blows." A herald was accordingly ſent to the Provvéditori, and Commines repaired, not without great danger, to the place appointed for the conference. The confederates were already drawn up within their lines, in order of battle, and had diſpatched ſome companies of ſtradiotti, to haraſs the French army. While the Provvéditori were conſidering what anſwer they ſhould give Commines, the French fired upon the ſtradiotti, who had advanced too near their ranks; upon which the French herald was immediately dimiſſed, accompanied by another from the Marquis of Mantua, who informed the king that a conference would be opened, provided he would ceaſe to fire.—This was a ſtratagem adopted by the confederates merely for the purpoſe of reconnoitring the French, that they might know where to direct their principal

attack; and might likewiſe diſcover where the king himſelf was ſtationed, and what diſtinctive marks he bore, by which he might be known in the heat of the action. The French, not ſuſpecting this treachery, admitted the herald into the ranks, and did not diſcover their error till they obſerved that he examined the king's perſon with peculiar attention. To avert the ill effects of this imprudence, the nine *preux* put on armour exactly ſimilar to that which the king wore. As ſoon as the enemy had obtained all the information they deſired, they left their camp, and advanced with confidence towards the French; their troops were ſo diſpoſed, that if they ſucceeded in breaking the firſt ranks, it would be impoſſible for a man to eſcape them. The marquis of Mantua, commander in chief, who was aſſiſted by his uncle, Rodolfo Gonzaga, detached a company of ſtradiotti, ſupported by a body of croſs-bowmen, and a company of men at arms, to attack the baggage, and take poſſeſſion of the village of Fornuovo. The marquis himſelf, with ſix hundred men at arms, and their archers, five thouſand infantry, and fifteen hundred ſtradiotti, croſſed the Taro behind the army, with the view to attack the rear, and then fall upon the centre. He left a conſiderable body of troops on the oppoſite banks of the river, under the command of Antonio da Montefeltro, natural ſon to the duke d'Urbino, who had orders to croſs the ſtream, and take the enemy in flank, as ſoon he ſhould receive a courier from Rodolfo Gonzaga. At the ſame time, the count of Gaiazzo, general of the Milaneſe forces, croſſed the Taro in front of the French army, with four thouſand men at arms, and two thouſand infantry, leaving, on the oppoſite ſide, Annibale di Bentivoglis, with two hundred men at arms, who were to join him as ſoon as they ſhould ſee him engaged with the van of the French, commanded by the mareſchal de Gié. Two companies of men at arms, and one thouſand foot, were left to guard the camp, under the conduct of the Venetian Provveditori.

The marquis of Mantua diſplayed great courage in his attack on the rear of the French; which was no ſooner engaged than the baſtard of Bourbon galloped to the centre, and called to the king to advance. Charles accordingly haſtened to his aſſiſtance with the centre-diviſion: the firſt ſhock was dreadful: in an inſtant the ground was covered with broken lances, and knights unhorſed. Charles fought in the foremoſt ranks with ſuch little precaution, that the enemy ſeized his horſe's bridle, and the baſtard of Bourbon was made priſoner at his ſide. In the heat of the action, the French perceived that body of ſtradiotti which had been ſent to pillage the baggage, and ſeize the village of Fornuovo, returning to camp with their booty; and fifteen hundred of their comrades, whom the Marquis of Mantua had taken with him to attack the enemy with their ſabres, as ſoon as their ranks ſhould be broken by the men at arms, allured by the proſpect of plunder, haſtened to join them. Another accident, equally fortunate for the French, alſo occured; Rodolfo Gonzaga, who was to have ſent orders to Montefeltro to advance with his corps-de-reſerve, was thrown from his horſe,

and cruſhed to death. The Italian men at arms who accompanied the marquis, after they had broken their lances, and defended themſelves for a ſhort time with their ſabres, finding themſelves unſupported, fled with precipitation, and were purſued by the French, who put all they could overtake to the ſword. The king ought either to have reſtrained the ardour of his troops, or elſe to have followed them; but neglecting to adopt either of theſe precautions, he was left on the field of battle, accompanied only by his valet-de-chambre, where he remained about a quarter of an hour at a conſiderable diſtance from the van of his army. While his troops were intent on purſuing the fugitives, he had nearly been taken by a company of Italian men at arms, who, having been routed at the beginning of the action, had retreated to the banks of the river, whence, ſeeing the field clear, they now ventured to return. Charles defended himſelf, for a long time, with extreme valour, but he muſt inevitably have fallen into the power of the enemy, but for the timely return of a part of his troops.

While the rear was engaged, the count di Gaiazzo attacked the van, but leſs from the hope of defeating it than with the view to prevent it from affording any aſſiſtance to the centre, againſt which the principal attack was to be directed. His men at arms, uuable to withſtand the impetuous courage of the French, and alarmed at the loſs of Giovanni Piccinino and Galeazzo da Coreggio, two of their moſt celebrated captains, took to flight; and if the mareſchal de Gié had purſued them, the victory would have been complete; but perceiving a corps-de-reſerve on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and ignorant as yet of what had paſſed in the centre and rear, he prudently checked the zeal of his troops, and remained where he was.

The action did not laſt more than an hour. The confederates loſt three thouſand five hundred men, among whom were many perſons of diſtinction, while the loſs of the French did not amount to two hundred, and the baſtard of Bourbon, and Julian de Bourgneuf, captain of the king's guards, were the only officers miſſing.

Charles, afraid that the enemy might be tempted to avail themſelves of the ſcarcity of proviſions which prevailed in his camp, to prevent his departure, thought it prudent to decamp in the night. The confederates were not appriſed of his departure till the next day at noon; and when they attempted to purſue him, they found the river Taro ſo ſwelled with the rain which had fallen the two preceding days, that it was not poſſible to ford it in any part. Fortune, however, furniſhed them with a fine opportunity of revenge, if they had had but courage to ſeize it: the king, after croſſing the river Trebia, left, on the oppoſite ſide, two hundred lances, a part of the Swiſs, and all his artillery; as the river was ſhallow, it was not ſuppoſed there could be any danger in thus dividing the army for the greater convenience of lodging. But the ſame accident which had ſwollen the waters of the Taro, occaſioned a flood at the Trebia; and, had the enemy appeared, one part of the army muſt have ſeen the other part maſſacred without the ability to aſſiſt them. They fortunately eſcaped for the fright, and after a toilſome

march of five days, entered the Tortoneſe, when the enemy left them, and went to join the army which was employed in the ſiege of Novara.

The army croſſed Montferrat, and, after ſuſtaining incredible fatigue, reached in ſafety the town of Aſt, where they found the body of troops which had been ſent againſt Genoa, and ſome freſh reinforcements from France, under the command of the prince of Orange.

Of ſeven thouſand men, whom he had taken with him to Novara, two thouſand had periſhed with hunger, and the reſt were reduced to the laſt extremity.—It was neceſſary, therefore, to wait for a reinforcement, before any attempt could be made with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs. Charles accordingly ſent the bailiff of Dijon to the Swiſs, while he advanced with his troops to Trino, as well for the greater convenience of ſending convoys to Novara, as for the purpoſe of viſiting a beautiful young woman, named Anna Solara, at whoſe father's houſe he had lodged on his road to Naples; and whoſe affections he had then found means to engage.

During his ſtay at Trino, an officer arrived from the pope, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to leave Italy in ten days; and to withdraw, within a given term, which he ſpecified, all the troops which he had left in the kingdom of Naples, or elſe to repair to Rome in perſon, in order to give an account of his conduct. "I am much ſurpriſed," replied the king, "that the holy father, not having condeſcended to wait for me at Rome, when I went thither for the purpoſe of devoutly kiſſing his feet, ſhould now expreſs ſuch impatience to ſee me there! You will tell him, that I think of opening myſelf a paſſage to him once more, and that I moſt urgently intreat him to have the complaiſance to wait for me this time, that I may not perform the journey for nothing." The officer, who had been extremely averſe from taking charge of ſuch a commiſſion, was very happy to find that the king made it a ſubject for laughter. The pope's deſire, however, to witneſs the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples by the French troops, was ſoon accompliſhed. Ferdinand the Second, emerging from his retreat, aſſiſted by the Spaniſh troops, under Gonſalvo Ernandez, ſurnamed *The Great Captain*, returned again in triumph to his capital. The French, indeed, under the conduct of the conſtable d'Aubigny, gained an uſeleſs victory, and maintained their reputation for national valour; the count of Montpenſier, ſurrendered Naples after an obſtinate defence; and Capua, Averſa, and Otranto, returned to their allegiance.

Charles received this intelligence at Trino, and though to relieve the duke of Orleans, was the firſt object to be accompliſhed, ſtill he did not neglect to take ſome ſteps for the recovery of Naples: unable at this period, to ſpare any troops for that purpoſe, he concluded a treaty with the republic of Florence, which, had it been duly obſerved, might have been productive of the greateſt advantage. The Florentine miniſters had perſiſted in following the king, notwithſtanding the mortifications to which they were continually expoſed; Charles, however, now determined to give them full ſatisfaction, and a treaty was concluded.

The king, on his part, diſpatched the moſt poſitive orders to the governors, whom he had left in the different towns in Tuſcany, to reſtore thoſe towns, without delay, to the commiſſioners appointed by the republic to take poſſeſſion of them. Theſe firſt orders never reached the place of their deſtination: the fiorentine ambaſſador to whom they were entruſted, thought he might croſs the duchy of Milan in ſafety, as the republic were not at war with Ludovico; but that uſurper, in violation of the law of nations, ſtopped him, ſeized his papers, and informed the inhabitants of Piſa of the danger to which they were about to be expoſed, unleſs they would conſent to receive aſſiſtance from him. The Florentines were reduced to the neceſſity of applying for freſh orders, which were ſent, but badly executed. The count of Ligni ſecretly adviſed the governors to find ſome pretext for evading them, promiſing to juſtify their conduct to the king. Saillant was the only officer who refuſed to be concerned in this infamous manœuvre; he reſtored the port and citadel of Leghorn, where he commanded, to the Florentine commiſſioners. Charles, appriſed of theſe infamous proceedings, ordered, as a mark of his diſpleaſure, the count of Ligni's bed to be removed from his chamber, and he paſſed a ſentence of baniſhment upon Entragues. His reſentment, however, ſoon ſubſided; unable to ſupport the abſence of his favourite, he recalled him in a ſhort time, and the firſt uſe which Ligni made of the influence he had recovered over his maſter, was to procure a pardon for Etragues, and all his accomplices. The unhappy Florentines, who were deſpoiled of their towns, and the thouſands of brave men who had been left in the kingdom of Naples, were the only people who ſuffered for the king's weakneſs.

From Trino the army advanced to Vercelli, a town which had long been annexed to the duchy of Milan; Philip Maria Viſconte had ceded it to the duke of Savoy, in order to detach him from a powerful league which had been formed againſt him; but he had expreſsly ſtipulated that it ſhould obſerve a ſtrict neutrality in all the wars which ſhould be undertaken againſt the duchy of Milan. As ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of the town, he eſtabliſhed poſts within a mile of Novara. He had not been long there, before a few companies of Swiſs arrived with intelligence, that a large army of their countrymen might be expected in a ſhort time. The king, hitherto victorious, and commanding his army in perſon, deemed it derogatory to his dignity to ſue for an accommodation; while the confederates, who acted in the name of the pope and of the emperor, and who, moreover, were afraid, by betraying their inquietude, of rendering the French more difficult in their terms, wiſhed not to treat till famine and deſpair had delivered the firſt prince of the blood into their hands. Chance, however, reſolved the difficulty. After the death of the marchioneſs of Montferrat, ſome diſputes aroſe relative to the guardianſhip of her ſon, who was then a minor; and the ſtates of the country, dreading the conſequences of this diviſion, obliged the competitors to chuſe the king for their umpire. Charles being unable to take the commiſſion upon himſelf, ſent Commines to provide for the ſafety of the young prince, and to promote the eſtabliſhment of concord.

This able miniſter, finding at the court of Montferrat a gentleman in the ſervice of the Marquis of Mantua, entered into converſation with him, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the infatuation of his maſter, in not perceiving that by contributing to the elevation of the Venetians, he was promoting his own ruin. As he found from the gentleman's anſwer, that the marquis himſelf was aware of this circumſtance, and that notwithſtanding his title of generaliſſimo, he would willingly accede to any propoſal for an accommodation; Commines took upon himſelf to write to the Venetian Provvéditori, offering to renew the conferences which had been opened on the banks of the Taro. His propoſal was accepted, and a place appointed for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries; but the perſon employed, by theſe artful politicians, who were ſincerely deſirous of peace, to make the firſt overtures, was the moſt improper man for the purpoſe they could poſſibly have choſen: this was the count Albertino Boſchetto, a ſubject and intimate friend of the duke of Ferrara, who, having been deſpoiled of a part of his dominions, by the Venetians, was anxious to promote their humiliation, as the only means of repairing the loſſes he had ſuſtained.

Albertino, after he had delivered his commiſſion at a public audience, had a private interview with the king, in which he exhorted him not to grant any of the articles he had been ſent to demand; declaring, that the confederates trembled in their camp, and that, on the firſt motion of the French army to attack them, they would fly with precipitation. Commines, la Trémouille, and the prince of Orange, oppoſed it with ſuch warmth, that the king determined to ſend ſafe-conducts for the plenipotentiaries, who, on the part of the confederates, were the marquis of Mantua, Bernardo Contarini, and Franceſco Bernardino Viſconte: and, on the part of the French, the prince of Orange, mareſchal de Gié, the lord of Piennes, and Philip de Commines. The fear that the Swiſs might arrive, and induce the king to change his mind, engaged the plenipotentiaries to accelerate their proceedings. In the very firſt conference, a truce for ten days was agreed on, and permiſſion given to the duke of Orleans to leave Novara, but wholly unaccompanied, and on condition that if no treaty ſhould be concluded, he ſhould return in the ſame manner*. As the duke was to paſs through the camp of the confederates, the marquis of Mantua offered himſelf as a hoſtage for his ſafety, and accordingly repaired to the French camp. The principal nobility conſiſted in perſuading the garriſon of Novara to conſent to this arrangement; reduced to the moſt wretched ſituation, and expoſed to all the horrors of famine, they were afraid, that after the departure of the firſt prince of the blood, they ſhould be totally neglected and forgotten. In vain did the duke promiſe, either to effect their relief in the courſe of three days, or return to ſhare in their fate; they would not conſent to his departure, until mareſchal de Gié ſent his nephew, the marquis of Rochefort, as a hoſtage for his return. Three days after, it was agreed that the French ſhould march out of the place with their arms and baggage; that the defence of the

* Commines.—Giovio.—Benedetti.—Coroi.—Guicciaradini.

town ſhould be left to the citizens; and that only thirty French troops ſhould remain in the citadel, which they were to hold in the name of the duke of Orleans. The wretched remains of the garriſon of Novara, exhauſted with ſickneſs, famine, and fatigue, accordingly retired from the ſcene of their miſery, and joined their countrymen.

During theſe tranſactions the Swiſs arrived, under the conduct of the bailiff of Dijon, but, inſtead of eight or ten thouſand men which the king expected, he was much ſurpriſed at finding, that he had now under his command, including the Swiſs whom he had brought with him from Naples, and thoſe which he had juſt received from Novara, no leſs than two-and-twenty thouſand troops of that nation. Their attachment to the French, and more than that, the hopes of enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of Lombardy, had made them flock to the army in crouds. The king, and the chief nobility of France, were now left at the diſcretion of theſe mercenary troops; the only precaution that could be adopted was to ſtation them at different poſts, at a diſtance from each other, and the exertion of great prudence was requiſite to prevent them from perceiving the motive of ſuch precaution.

The duke of Orleans was the only perſon who exulted in the cauſe of this alarm; and his exultation proceeded from the conviction that the ducal crown of Milan could not eſcape him, if his attempts for defeating the negociations for peace ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs. Charles, in conſideration of the danger to which the duke of Orleans was expoſed, had had the generoſity to forget the juſt grounds for complaint which the duke had afforded him; but he had no inclination to expoſe his life, and the ſafety of his army, in purſuit of a conqueſt of which that prince would reap all the advantages, and which might, perhaps, only ſerve to render him more untractable. The duke, perceiving that he could not ſucceed by this means, had recourſe to the Swiſs, whom he exhorted to inſiſt on coming to action, aſſuring them that the king would not dare to reject their demand. This ſeditious meaſure came to the knowledge of the prince of Orange, who, foreſeeing the fatal conſequences to which it might lead, thought it his duty to inform the king of it. A council was accordingly aſſembled, where diſputes ran ſo high, that the leaders of the different parties had nearly proceeded to blows. The duke of Orleans, enraged at the prince of Orange, forgot himſelf ſo far as publicly to give him the lie. Charles, however, interpoſed his authority, and put a ſtop to the quarrel. The negociations were carried on with great eagerneſs on both ſides. So long as the evacuation of Novara had been the only object of diſcuſſion, the duke of Milan had entruſted every thing to his miniſters; but as ſoon as the concluſion of a treaty of peace became the ſubject for debate, he attended the conferences in perſon, accompanied by his ducheſs, in whom he placed great confidence, and whoſe advice he followed on moſt occaſions.

With regard to the town of Novara, no difficulty occurred; the French agreed to give it up, but they demanded, in return, the abſolute ſovereignty of the city of Genoa, which had formerly belonged to France, and the government whereof

Lewis the Eleventh had ceded to the dukes of Milan, on condition of paying homage to the crown of France. It was maintained that Ludovico, by waging war againſt his lord paramount, had forfeited his fief; but that prince, who was endeavouring to extend his domains, and who had juſt ſent a body of auxiliaries to Piſa, in order to obtain poſſeſſion of that town under pretence of defending it, peremptorily refuſed to give up his claims to Genoa. He endeavoured to excuſe his late conduct, by the neceſſity to which he was reduced of ſecuring himſelf againſt the threats and intrigues of the duke of Orleans. Finding the French extremely impatient to return to their own country, this treacherous prince at length conſented to make all the *promiſes* required of him; and ſo far impoſed on the credulity of the plenipotentiaries, as to induce them to accept ſuch ſlender ſecurity.

The treaty was ſigned by the king and the duke of Milan, on the tenth of October, the very day on which the conditions were ſettled by the plenipotentiaries. The reaſon of this haſte ſoon appeared; for the Swiſs, enraged at being diſappointed in their hopes of plunder, and ſecretly inſtigated by the partiſans of the duke of Orleans, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner; when ſome of the moſt violent among them propoſed to ſeize the king, and all the principal nobility, carry them to Switzerland, and keep them there till they ſhould conſent to procure their liberty by the payment of ſuch ranſoms as the Swiſs might think proper to exact. Others, rejecting this perfidious advice, propoſed only to inſiſt on receiving three months' pay, in conformity to a treaty by which Lewis the Eleventh had engaged to allow them ſo much whenever he ſhould require them to march out of the limits of their own country. They began by ſeizing the bailiff of Dijon and Lornai, and by entering, in great numbers, the town of Vercelli. The king, appriſed of their conduct, fled with precipitation to Trino; but as he could not with the ſame facility take off his artillery and baggage, he was reduced to the neceſſity of compounding with the Swiſs, and of giving them ſecurity for the payment of the ſum they demanded. Harmony was then re-eſtabliſhed, and all the treaties that ſubſiſted between the two powers were renewed; after which the king took the road to France.

A. D. 1496.] Ferdinand of Arragon, profiting by the abſence of the French troops, had aſſembled all his forces in the province of Rouſſillon. He firſt attempted to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Son, which commands an entrance into the kingdom of Navarre; and had he ſucceeded in this attempt, it is highly probable he would have immediately taken that kingdom from Catharine of Foix, and her huſband, John d'Albret. Being compelled to deſiſt from his enterpriſe, he made an incurſion into Languedoc, and laid waſte the environs of Carcaſſonne and Narbonne. The duke of Bourbon ſent to its defence all the regular troops which he had at his diſpoſal, under the command of Guichard d'Albon, lord of Sainte-André, and la Roche-Aimon, his lieutenants, with orders to remain on the defenſive, and to ſtrengthen the fortifications of Narbonne, which he was fearful the Spaniards would attempt to ſecure. Alain d'Albret, father to the king of Navarre, was ordered to convoke the ban and arriere-ban of Gaſcony, and to cover

that frontier: things were in this ſituation when the king returned from Italy.—Saint-André having then received a conſiderable reinforcement which made his army amount to eighteen thauſand men, advanced into Rouſſillon, took by aſſult, and reduced to aſhes, the town of Salces (which Ferdinand had converted into an arſenal) almoſt in ſight of the Spaniſh army, which, though more numerous than the French, did not dare to venture on action. Ferdinand, aſtoniſhed at the rapid progreſs of the French arms, and afraid of loſing the province of Rouſſillon, feigned an extreme anxiety for the concluſion of a peace, and ſent to demand a truce, that the plenipotentiaries might aſſemble for the purpoſe of bringing the treaty to a ſpeedy termination. Charles, who daily received bad accounts of his troops in Italy, willingly acceeded to the propoſition.

Since his return to France, the only forces he had been able to ſend to the relief of Naples were eight hundred lanſquenets, which had been leived in the dominions of the duke of Gueldres. The veſſels appointed to convey them to the place of deſtination had formed a junction with a French fleet that lay in the harbour of Leghorn; but before the arrived at Nables, they received inteligence that the caſtles had ſurrendered to Ferdinand. The fleet then proceeded to Gaietta, were three thouſand men diſembarked, with plenty of ammunition, and joined the count of Montpenſier, who now wanted nothing but money. This, however, he was unable to procure, and Fereinand having received conſiderable reinforcements from the Venetians, followed him from place to place, and at length compelled him to capitulate at Aella, on condition that he ſupplied him with veſſels to tranſport his troops to France. A neglect, however, on the part of the govenors of the different towns, to comply with the orders of Montpenſier, who had conſented to a total evacuation of the kingdom of Naples, furniſhed Ferdinand with a pretext for refuſing to fulfil, on his part, the conditions of the cipitulation; the troops were, therefore, ſent to the ſmall iſland of Procioa, were moſt of them died of a contagious diſorder.

While theſe things were paſſing in the kingdom of Naples, Stephen de Veſc, who had, ſome time before, been diſpatched to France by Montpenſier, exhorted the king to ſend, without delay, a ſtrong renforcement of troops to the aſſiſtance of that nobleman. Charles was anxious to comply with his requeſt; the council evinced a ſimilar diſpoſition; and even thoſe who had been moſt ſtrenuous in their oppoſition to the former expedition, were of opinion that a new armament ſhould be immediately equiped. But though France did not want ſoldiers, ſhe had neither ſhips nor money. To obviate this laſt inconvenience, the king ſuſpended the payment of all penſions, and even the ſalaries of his officers, till after his return from Italy: he had then recourſe to the uſal expedients for raiſing money, by encreaſing the taxes, by opening loans, and by anticipations on the revenue; and laſtly he demanded from the principal towns the neceſſary contributions for the equipment of a fleet.

The city of Paris had been rated at a hundred thauſand crowns. The municipal officers deſired, that if the tax took place, it ſhould be equally levied on every claſs of citizens; and they entreated the parliament to ſend a certain number of

deputies to the municipal aſſembly at the town-houſe. The court replied, that they ſhould not ſend any body, and only promiſed to aſſiſt the municipal officers with their advice, in caſe they came to conſult them; and the magiſtrates availed themſelves of this refuſal of the parliament to offer the king only fifty thouſand livres. Charles, who, in his preſent ſituation, could not conſent to ſo material a diminution, ſent Philip of Luxembourg, cardinal of Mons; the lord of Albret; admiral de Graville; and William of Poictiers, lord of Clérieux, to the parliament. Theſe miniſters declared to the court it was the king's pleaſure, that the members of the parliament ſhould, for this time only, contribute with the reſt of the citizens; but the parliament perſiſted in their oppoſition, and many other towns in the kingdom followed their example.

The duke of Orleans, who was to have commanded the main body of the army, being diſcontented with the laſt treaty with the duke of Milan, and knowing that France was ſtill negociating with the uſurper, exerted all his influence and credit to put a ſtop to the expedition. Thus, though he expreſſed his readineſs to obey the king's orders, he gave riſe to numerous difficulties, and betrayed a ſtrong repugnance to undertake the commiſſion with which he was charged.

The king himſelf, at the very moment when every body expected him to begin his march to Italy, ſuddenly took the road to Tours, in order to viſit, before his departure, the tombs of Saint-Martin and Saint-Denis. It was ſuſpected, however, that love rather than devotion was the object of this pilgrimage; and a report was propagated, that during his reſidence at Lyons, where he had paſſed a year on his return from Italy, having become deſperately enamoured of a maid of quality, attached to the queen, he would not quit the kingdom without bidding her adieu. Be that as it may, Charles, after paſſing ſome days at the caſtle of Pleſſis-les-Tours, repaired to Saint-Denis, and the Pariſians, expecting a viſit from him, prepared to receive him with the greateſt magnificence; but diſpleaſed with their late refuſal to ſupply him with money, he refuſed to honour the town with his preſence. He even intended to carry his vengeance ſtill farther: as he imputed to the parliament the reſiſtance he had experienced from the municipal officers, he formed a plan for inſtituting a new parliament at Poictiers, and to extend its juriſdiction over the provinces of Poitou, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, La Marche, Aunis, and Angoumois. The Poictevins, appriſed of his intentions, were extremely earneſt in their ſolicitations to the king to put them in execution; but Robert Briſſonet, the chancellor, who, through the credit of his brother, had ſucceeded the celebrated William de Rochfort, eluded their demand, and at length induced the king to give up the deſign.

The report of the preparations making by the French excited a general fermentation in Italy. The Venetians and the duke of Milan, who had joined in deceiving the king, began to harbour ſuſpicions of each other; but the expected arrival of the French induced them to ſuſpend their mutual jealouſy, and an union, cemented by fear, rather tended to confirm than diminiſh their mutual hatred. Ludovico, whoſe territories was deſtined to become the theatre of war,

repreſented to the Venetians that the preſence of the emperor would be abſolutely neceſſary, to ſave them from the fury of the French; and he offered to defray one half of his expences. The Venetians conſidered Maximilian as a dangerous protector, on account of the pretenſions of the empire, and of the houſe of Auſtria, to part of their dominions.——They appointed ambaſſadors to accompany Ludovico's to the Imperial court, and promiſed the emperor ſixty thouſand ducats, for levying an army, and for ſupporting it during three months. Maximilian, after receiving a part of this money, evinced no diſpoſition to fulfil his engagements, and, in a ſhort time, demanded an addition of thirty thouſand ducats to the ſtipulated ſum. The Venetians, who had been led againſt their will, to contract the firſt engagement, openly rejected this new demand. Ludovico, however, undertook to pay the additional ſum himſelf, in the hope of facilitating, by that means, the acquiſition of the ſovereignty of Piſa.

The emperor, at length, made his appearance, but with an army that neither correſponded to his engagements, nor to his dignity. Perſuaded that he had only to iſſue his orders to enſure inſtant obedience from all the Italian ſtates, he ſummoned the duke of Savoy and the marquis of Montferrat to attend him, but though thoſe princes held fiefs of the empire, they, nevertheleſs, refuſed to obey the citation: the duke of Ferrara, himſelf, though father-in-law to Ludovico, refuſed to hold any commerce with the emperor, under pretext that being appointed a kind of umpire between the French and the Milaneſe, he ought not to take any ſtep that might render him an object of ſuſpicion to either party. Laſtly, the Venetians, far from affording that aſſiſtance which he had expected to receive from them, endeavoured to fruſtrate all his undertakings: compelled to renounce the flattering hopes which he had built on a ſandy foundation, Maximilian began to perceive that he was expoſing himſelf to the ridicule and deriſion of the neighouring powers. Ludovico propoſed to him, as the laſt reſource, to offer himſelf as an umpire between the Piſans and Florentines; he repreſented to him that the Venetians, having no claim to the city of Piſa, could not poſſibly refuſe to ſurrender that place into his hands; and, that the Florentines, too weak to reſiſt, of themſelves, the forces of the empire, and thoſe of the confederates, would be compelled to ſubmit to his arbitration. Ludovico flattered himſelf, that if Piſa were once delivered to the emperor, he ſhould find it an eaſy matter, either by money or intrigues, to obtain poſſeſſion of it himſelf. The Venetians, aware of his deſigns, accepted the proffered mediation of Maximilian, but, at the ſame time, took care to preſerve a ſuperiority, in point of forces, in Piſa; and they hoped that, if the emperor ſhould ſucceed in procuring, as he had promiſed, for the Piſans, the reſtitution of Leghorn, both that place, and Piſa itſelf, would, after his departure, fall into their hands, and render their power as much reſpected on thoſe coaſts, as it already was on their own gulph.——They ſtrengthened the fortifications of Leghorn, and applied to the French for aſſiſtance. The event proved the wiſdom of their precautions: the emperor, repairing to Genoa, there embarked a part of his army, on board a fleet that was

deſtined to attack Leghorn by ſea, while he himſelf, with the remainder of his troops, made an aſſault on the town by land. But the arrival of a little ſquadron of the French ſhips, under the command of Hugh d'Amboiſe, baron d'Aubijoux, enabled the Florentines to repel his attacks. The emperor was compelled to raiſe the ſiege, and, filled with indignation againſt the Venetians, to whom he aſcribed the failure of his enterpriſe, he retired, with precipitation, into Germany, leaving a part of his troops with the duke of Milan.

Since the capitulation of Atella, and the death of Montpenſier, the French had been unable to reſiſt the ſucceſsful exertions of Ferdinand. The governors of the few places in the kingdom of Naples, which ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of the French, being deprived of all communication with each other, and ſurrounded on every ſide by a ſuperior force, only ſought, by reſiſtance, to retard their defeat for a few days, and to deſerve the ſterile honour of being the laſt to ſurrender*. But before Ferdinand could behold the complete reduction of his dominions, he himſelf, expired, crowned with glory. The deſire of cementing his alliance with the court of Spain, had led him to contract a marriage with his aunt, Jane of Arragon, daughter to his grandfather, Ferdinand, by a ſiſter of Ferdinand the Catholic. He was ſucceeded in his dominions by his uncle, Frederic, who, in a tide of uninterrupted ſucceſs, ſwept away the few remaining garriſons of France which had eſcaped the arms of Ferdinand.

A. D. 1497.] So long as any of his ſubjects remained in the kingdom of Naples, Charles, by nature magnanimous, had thought his honour intereſted in their defence; even after that conqueſt had eſcaped him, he formed a project for recovering it, by making himſelf maſter of ſuch places as might enable him to eſtabliſh a communication between Naples and France. Having diſmiſſed a great part of the army he had aſſembled the preceeding year, he ſent the remainder into Lombardy, under the command of Triulzi. His choice of a general, who was highly reſpected in the Milaneſe, and the excellence of his troops, made Ludovico tremble for his ſafety; and it is probable that this little army would have ſufficed to puniſh him for his paſt treachery, had Triulzi been at liberty to direct its operations as he pleaſed; but Charles, knowing that all the conqueſts he might make in the Milaneſe would prove advantageous to the duke of Orleans, whom he had juſt diſgraced, had rendered him, in a manner, ſubſervient to the cardinal San Pietro di Vincola, and Batiſtino Fregoſo, who promiſed to introduce the French into the city of Genoa; the poſſeſſion of which, the king conſidered as an object of greater importance. Triulzi, therefore, was compelled to divide his army into three bodies: the firſt, reduced the town of Novi, by which means the communication was ſtopped between Genoa and Milan: the ſecond diviſion, took poſſeſſion of Ventimiglia; while Triulzi reduced the important fortreſs of Boſco, and kept all the forces of the duchy of Milan in awe: each of the three

* Belcarius.—Guicciardini.

diviſions, acting ſeparately, was too weak to attempt any enterpriſe of importance.

During theſe tranſactions in Italy, Charles continued to negociate with the Spaniſh monarch, in order to detach him from the confederacy of the Italian ſtates. Ferdinand the Catholic now employed againſt France the ſame inſidious policy which Lewis the Eleventh had exerted againſt Don Juan of Arragon. Without making any direct oppoſition to the king's projects, he kept him in ſuſpence, and ſought to amuſe him till ſuch times as all his Italian conqueſts ſhould be taken from him. In a conference which Ferdinand had with William of Poitiers, lord of Clérieux, he propoſed a means of effecting a pacification between the two crowns; by joining their arms to reduce the kingdom of Naples, and then to divide the conqueſt betwen them; Ferdinand ſaid, that he would be contented with Calabria for his ſhare. This propoſal appeared too advantageous to be ſincere; and as the French court were of opinion, that the king of Spain had impoſed on the credulity of De Clérieux, they ſent Du Bouchage to diſcover his real intentions. Ferdinand, when preſſed for an explanation, by this new ambaſſador, did not deny that he had mentioned the ſubject, but, on reflection, he had found that the plan he propoſed would be attended with ſo many obſtacles, that it would not be prudent to attempt its execution.

Now that Charles had ſecured himſelf from the dread of interruption from the neighbouring powers, he again turned his thoughts to Italy. The ambition of the Venetians, and the rapid encreaſe of their power, had inſpired all the ſtates in their vicinity with alarm. The Florentines, deſpairing to regain poſſeſſion of Piſa, without the aſſiſtance of the French, were urgent in their ſolicitations to Charles to repaſs the Alps; and promiſed to equip an army of eight hundred men at arms, and five thouſand infantry, which they deſired the conſtable, d'Aubigny, might be ſent to command*. The marquis of Mantua, who had commanded the Venetian forces, and rendered them ſuch eſſential ſervice in the conqueſt of Naples, diſguſted with their ingratitude, and trembling for the ſafety of his own territories, offered to ſupply the king with three hundred men at arms: the duke of Ferrara promiſed him five hundred men at arms, and two thouſand infantry; and ſeveral other petty princes engaged to join the confederacy. The pope himſelf—though little reliance could be placed on his word—affirmed that he only waited for the king's arrival to declare in his favour. Thus, in Italy alone, a force might have been levied, at a trifling expence, to counterbalance that of the league; and if the French had appeared in Italy at this period, nothing could have impeded their progreſs. The king, flattered by theſe appearances, felt his firſt ardour revive; he openly confeſſed the faults he had committed in his laſt expedition; and he employed himſelf in the formation of new plans, but the depoſition of Ludovico ſhould have formed the baſis of all his projects, and he was unwilling to render ſuch an eſſential ſervice to the

* Commines.—Guicciardini.—Belcarius.

duke of Orleans: beſides, it was impoſſible to ſucceed without money, and the debts he had already contracted rendered it difficult to procure any. Cardinal Briſſonet, general of the finances, purpoſely enhanced theſe difficulties, in order to deter him from the enterpriſe. Charles, in this emergency, applied to the Florentines for a loan of one hundred and fifty thouſand ducats, and experienced a refuſal. This imprudent ſtep deſtroyed his credit in Italy; the duke of Ferrara, notwithſtanding his attachment to the French, was fearful of truſting to them for protection, and therefore delivered the citadel of Genoa to the duke of Milan; while the king, paſſing at once from the extreme of enthuſiaſm to perfect indifference, laid aſide all thoughts of Italy for the preſent, and applied himſelf entirely to the regulation of the internal government of the kingdom.

Charles the Seventh had, by an ordonnance, appointed cuſtomary laws in every province in France to be collected and arranged: Lewis the Eleventh renewed the injunction; bur this ſalutary undertaking not having been executed by either of theſe monarchs, Charles the Eighth now determined to complete it; for which purpoſe, he iſſued orders to the different bailiwicks, to chuſe a certain number of perſons, moſt diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge and abilities in the three orders of the ſtate, who were to extract, from memorials ſupplied by the mayors and aldermen of the different towns, the cuſtoms and privileges which prevailed in each diſtrict; he appointed commiſſioners to ſuperintend this work, and when it was far advanced, he addreſſed letters-patent to Thibaut Baillet, preſident of the parliament of Paris, and ſome other magiſtrates, enjoining them to enforce the publication in every bailliwick and ſénéchauſſée, of the laws appointed to prevail there; in caſe of diſpute, appeal was to be made to ſuch commiſſion, unleſs the object of diſpute was of ſuch importance as to render it difficult to be decided, in which caſe the parties were to be referred to the parliament. Charles the Eighth, however, had not time to finiſh this work, which, though continued by his ſucceſſors, was not entirely completed till the reign of Charles the Ninth.

The ſtates of Tours had entreated the king to enſure a fixed and permanent form to the great council, at which the chancellor had hitherto been accuſtomed to preſide, aſſiſted only by a few maſters of requeſts, bailiffs, ſeneſchals, and other officers of the crown, who happened to be at court. It often happened that there were not counſellors ſufficient to proceed to buſineſs; at other times the ſame cauſe was tried before different judges, and thoſe who heard only the latter part of it were called upon to decide, without being competent to the taſk.—Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and ſolicitations of the ſtates, this abuſe was ſuffered to ſubſiſt till the preſent period, when Charles attempted a remedy by the creation of ſeventeen counſellors, who, together with the chancellor and maſters of requeſts, compoſed the great council, and decided in all cauſes that were brought before that tribunal. Theſe counſellors had ſtated ſalaries aſſigned them, and were only obliged to reſide at court ſix months in the year.

A. D. 1498.] A total revolution appears to have taken place in the manners and diſpoſition of Charles; who, quitting thoſe ſcenes of diſſipation which he had

long been accuſtomed to frequent, and foregoing his taſte for illicit enjoyments, now applied himſelf, excluſively, to the cares of government. He reſolved, in imitation of ſome of his anceſtors, to adminiſter juſtice to his ſubjects in perſon; and having received, from the chamber of accompts, the neceſſary informations with regard to the forms obſerved, on theſe occaſions, by his ſubjects, he granted audiences to every perſon requiring it, liſtened to all complaints, and gave immediate anſwers to all petitions that were preſented to him. By this means he diſcovered a variety of abuſes, and acts of oppreſſion, committed by his officers in the provinces; and the puniſhments he inflicted on the culprits tended greatly to the relief of the people.

The next object which attracted the attention of the king, was the extreme ignorance of the clergy, and the inattention of the biſhops to the duties of their office; more intent on obtaining a plurality of benefices than improving the morals of their flocks, or enforcing a propriety of conduct in the inferior eccleſiaſtics entruſted to their care, they ſeldom reſided in their dioceſes: hence the lower clergy had become indolent, and were infected with thoſe vices which indolence too often engenders, thereby rendering their profeſſion contemptible, and expoſing religion itſelf to the deriſion of the vulgar.—Anxious to reform this abuſe, the king conſulted the Pariſian doctors on the extent of his power, with regard to the alterations in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; but he did not live to execute either this ſalutary project, or the ſcheme he had formed for reducing the taxes—after the payment of his debts—to the ſum of twelve hundred thouſand livres, ſtipulated by the ſtates of Tours; which he meant to appreciate ſolely to the defence of the kingdom, reſerving only for his own uſe the revenues of the domain, and the produce of the Gabelles. The taxes, at this time, amounted to two millions, five hundred thouſand livres*.

In the midſt of theſe occupations, the moſt glorious that can engage the attention of a monarch, an accident occurred which terminated the exiſtence of this youthful prince. During his ſtay in Italy, Charles had contracted a taſte for architecture; and, on his return, he gave orders for the conſtruction at Amboiſe, the place of his birth, of a more magnificent edifice than any which had yet been ſeen in France. He meant to adorn this palace with a variety of coſtly furniture, ſtatues and pictures, which he had brought from Italy; and that the building might correſpond with the richneſs of the embelliſhments, he had had the precaution to attach to his ſervice the moſt ſkilful architects, and the moſt celebrated painters he could meet with on his expedition. From a gallery in this caſtle, he was engaged in obſerving a game of tennis that was played in the ditch below; deſirous that the queen might partake of the amuſement, he went to her chamber, and conducted her to the gallery; but, in paſſing through a door, he ſtruck his head with violence againſt the top, which was very low. He felt, however, no immediate bad conſeqnence from the accident; but, after remaining ſome time in the gallery, as he was returning with the queen, he ſuddenly fell, ſenſeleſs, to

* Commives.—Belcarius.

the ground: the attendants, alarmed at his danger, laid him on a wretched couch which ſtood in a corner of the gallery; thrice he recovered his voice, and as quickly loſt it again; his expreſſions were ſolely thoſe of devotion; and, notwithſtanding every effort of medicine, he expired at eleven o'clock the ſame night, on the ſeventeenth of April, 1498, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and the twenty-eighth of his age.

The amiable qualities of Charles had acquired him the ſurname of *The Affable* and *The Courteous*; and his loſs was deeply regretted by all ranks of people. His talents were not above mediocrity, and all his endowments were rather calculated to conciliate affection than to excite admiration. Of a raſh and enterpriſing ſpirit, his ability in the execution greatly exceeded his wiſdom in the formation of plans. His facility of diſpoſition frequently rendered him a dupe to his miniſters and favourites, whoſe dangerous influence was farther extended by his averſion from buſineſs: but towards the concluſion of his reign he remedied theſe defects, and deſerved and obtained the grateful eſteem of his ſubjects.

His funeral obſequies were performed with uncommon magnificence: two of his domeſtics are ſaid to have died of grief for the loſs of their beloved maſter; and Anne of Brittany, his widow, abandoned herſelf to all the diſtraction of ſorrow. During three days ſhe never undreſſed, but ſecluded herſelf in her chamber, overwhelmed with deſpair, deaf to the friendly importunities of her attendants, and pertinaciouſly refuſing to accept the nouriſhment that was repeatedly proffered to her.

At the commencement of this reign, the roads and bridges were ſo bad in many parts of France, though contributions were levied on the paſſengers for keeping them in repair, that the ſtates of Tours complained that many men and beaſts of burden, had loſt their lives in attempting to paſs them; and that ſeveral villages were totally deſerted from the difficulty of approaching them.

Each deputy of the ſtates of Tours received a ſtated ſalary for his ſervices, equal to four livers one ſol of the preſent money, per diem.

The venereal diſeaſe was introduced into France, during the reign of Charles, by the troops who had accompanied that monarch on his expedition to Naples. It is ſaid that the French ſoldiers had contracted that dreadful diſorder from the Neapolitans, and that on their return to France, they diffuſed it throughout Italy: certain it is, that it was called by the French, *The Neapolitan diſeaſe*, and by the Italians, *The French diſeaſe*.* The Neapolitans are ſuppoſed to have received it from Spain, where it had been imported by ſome of the ſailors who had attended Chriſtopher Columbus, in his expedition to the *New World*.

* Guicciradini, tom. i. p. 210, 211.—Giovio.—Bembo.—Fracaſtoro.

LEWIS THE TWELFTH.

A. D. 1498.] IN Charles the Eighth, ended the direct line of Valois; and the ſceptre paſſed to Lewis, duke of Orleans, his couſin, in the third or fourth degree, and grandſon to that duke of Orleans who was aſſaſſinated at the inſtigation of John, duke of Burgundy. The new monarch was in his thirty-ſixth year, and had, conſequently, attained to a maturity of vigour both in body and mind; he had, moreover, received ſome ſalutary leſſons in the ſevere ſchool of adverſity; and his misfortunes, with the reflections they occaſioned, had produced a wholeſome change in his diſpoſition, by tempering the fire of youth, by teaching him to reſtrain the ſallies of paſſion, and to ſubmit the ſuggeſtions of enthuſiaſm to the dictates of reaſon.

Lewis the Twelfth was anointed at Rheims, on the twenty-ſeventh of May; on the firſt of July the ceremony of his coronation was performed at Saint-Denis; and on the following day he made his public entry into Paris. Immediately after his acceſſion to the throne, he rewarded the zeal and fidelity of George d'Amboiſe, archbiſhop of Rouen, who had alike ſhared with him the ſmiles and the frowns of fortune, by raiſing him to the dignity of prime miniſter; and never did a favourite better deſerve the confidence of his ſovereign.

This prince had been compelled at an early age, and much againſt his will, to marry Jane, the youngeſt daughter of Lewis the Eleventh, a princeſs of an amiable diſpoſition, but deformed in her perſon: on the oath of the king of France that he had never conſummated the marriage, pope Alexander the Sixth was prevailed on to pronounce it null and invalid; Jane ſubmitted with decent reſignation to a ſentence which deprived her of a crown, and only expreſſed her wiſh to be enabled to reward her domeſtics, and to relieve the poor. The king accordingly aſſigned her the revenues of the province of Berry for her ſupport, and retiring to a nunnery which ſhe founded at Bourges, the capital of that province, ſhe there took the veil, and cloſed a life of humble virtue.

A. D. 1499.] On the deceaſe of Charles the Eighth, Anne of Brittany, retired into her own hereditary dominions, and maintained the rights of an independent ſovereign. The articles of her marriage with the late king precluded her from diſpoſing of her hand, in caſe of his death without male iſſue, to the prejudice of the ſtate; but a ſtipulation, in which ſtate policy was oppoſed to

natural rights, was deemed equivocal, and prudence warned Lewis to ſecure the important acquiſition of Brittany, by meaſures the moſt effectual.

She refuſed, however, to accede to the propoſals of Lewis, till that monarch had conſented, that in caſe ſhe ſhould die without children, her duchy ſhould revert to the heirs of her houſe; and that her marriage ſhould be celebrated at the city of Nantz. The ceremony was accordingly performed in that city, on the eighteenth of January, 1499, whence the king conducted her to Paris.

The king now determined to enforce the claims of his houſe on the duchy of Milan; but, that his kingdom might not be expoſed to inſult in the abſence of his troops, he confirmed the treaties with all the neighbouring powers. Thoſe which had been concluded with the republics of Venice and Florence were renewed; the pope was ſecured in the intereſt of France; the peace with England was confirmed; Ferdinand and Iſabella withdrew their troops from Italy, the archduke Philip did homage to the king at Arras: but, his father, Maximilian, was more difficult to treat with. The king had no ſooner aſcended the throne, than the emperor, at the inſtigation of Ludovico Sforza, made an incurſion into Burgundy; but being repulſed by the count of Foix, he conſented to a truce for a few months.

The king, meanwhile, repaired to Lyons, in the month of July, whence he ſent his army into Italy, under the command of Lewis of Luxembourg, count of Ligni, who had under him Triulzi and d'Aubigny: the Venetians, at the ſame time, made their troops advance to the banks of the Adda, and took poſſeſſion of all the territory which the king had ceded to them between the rivers Adda and Serio.

The French entered the Milaneſe, and reduced and ſacked, after a vigorous reſiſtance, the towns of Aleſſandria and Novara; Mortara and Pavia capitulated; Valenza was betrayed into the hands of the French, by the treachery of the governor, Donata Raffamino*. The inhabitants of Milan exhibited ſymptoms of revolt, and Ludovico, uncertain in whom he ſhould confide, and incapable of reſiſting the ſtorm, retired with his treaſures to Inſpruck, after providing the caſtle of Milan with every requiſite for a long and obſtinate defence, and entruſting the care of it to Bernardino da Corte, a man on whoſe fidelity he placed the firmeſt reliance. But he was deceived in his choice, and the governor, after a ſiege of twelve days, was induced, by a bribe, to ſurrender the fortreſs to the French; who, in leſs than a month, became maſters of the duchy.

Lewis, who had remained at Lyons, was no ſooner informed of the ſucceſs of his troops, than he haſtened acroſs the Alps, entered the capital of his new dominions, clad in the ducal robes; and, during the three months that he remained there, by the advice of cardinal d'Amboiſe, he employed himſelf in recalling thoſe that had been baniſhed by Sforzo, in remitting a fourth of the

* Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. iv. p. 367.

impoſts, in eſtabliſhing a court of juſtice, and in aſſidious endeavours to ingratiate himſelf with the inhabitants of Milan.

The government of Genoa, which had voluntarily ſubmitted to his power, was conferred by Lewis, on the lord of Raveſtain; the Milaneſe were ſubjected to the authority of Triulzi, to whom, as well as to Ligni and d'Aubigny, conſiderable eſtates were aſſigned. But this alienation of the ducal domain diſpleaſed the people, while Triulzi, by his ſeverity and pride, diſguſted the nobles; a miſunderſtanding, alſo, prevailed between the generals and Ligni, and d'Aubigny refuſed obedience to the governor of the duchy.

A. D. 1500.] Ludovico, informed of the diſpoſition of the people, who now began to pity the prince they had ſo lately deteſted, ventured to quit his retreat in Germany, and to re-enter the Milaneſe. The gates of the different cities were opened on the approach of Sforza, with the ſame facility as they had been unbarred to his enemies. The town of Commo expelled the French, and obliged Ligni to leave the place. Milan revolted, and Triulzi, after placing a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle, was compelled to retire. Tortona, Vigevene, and ſeveral other places, ſubmitted to the conqueror. The king, who had returned to France, to be preſent at the delivery of the queen, who had juſt given birth to a princeſs, received with grief the account of this revolution.

Ludovico, meanwhile, having obtained poſſeſſion of Milan, left his brother, the cardinal Aſcanio, to conduct the ſiege of the citadel, and proceeded himſelf to inveſt Novara. That town ſoon ſurrendered, but the famous Bayard, who was then a very young man, threw himſelf into the citadel, and refuſed to be included in the capitulation: Ludovico, by perſiſting in his determination to reduce Bayard, gave time to the French army to form a junction with the troops in Italy. Cardinal d'Amboiſe prudently forbore to cenſure the conduct of Triulzi, and promoted a reconciliation between that nobleman and the French generals; after which, la Trémouille marched to Novara, where he ſucceeded in his attempt to ſeduce the Swiſs from the ſervice of Ludovico. The want of pay furniſhed theſe mercenary troops with a pretext for refuſing to fight; and the Germans, alarmed at their defection, fled with precipitation, ſo that the duke, betrayed on all ſides, was reduced to the neceſſity of applying to the Swiſs for permiſſion to diſguiſe himſelf as a private ſoldier, that he might eſcape in their ranks. The permiſſion was granted, but either through treachery or accident, Ludovico was diſcovered, and conducted to the king, who then reſided at Lyons. The temper of Lewis, naturally mild and humane, was ſteeled againſt Sforza by his repeated treachery and enormous crimes. He ſentenced him to a rigorous confinement in the caſtle of Loches, where he remained till releaſed by death from a captivity of ten years, during which, according to Mezerai, he experienced the moſt ſevere and cruel treatment.

Cardinal Aſcanio, informed of his brother's misfortune, left Milan, with an eſcort of ſix hundred horſe, in order to ſeek a refuge in Germany; but he was

betrayed, by the treachery of Currado Lando*, into the hands of the Venetians, who were induced, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by threats, to deliver him to the king. He was conveyed to France, and confined in the tower of Bourges, whence, at the ſolicitation of Maximilian, he was very ſoon releaſed.

The inhabitants of Milan being deprived, by the retreat of the cardinal Aſcanio, of all means of defence, and dreading the reſentment of the king, haſtened to carry the keys of their city to the cardinal d'Amboiſe, who entered the capital of the duchy on the ſeventeenth of April, 1500. He reproached the citizens with their late ſeditious conduct, put ſome of the leaders of the inſurrection to death, exacted from the city a contribution of two hundred thouſand crowns, and then pronounced a general amneſty in the king's name.

The cardinal d'Amboiſe, after he had ſettled the affairs of the duchy, and ſupplied the Florentines with a body of troops for the recovery of Piſa returned to France, in order to concert with the king the plan of operations for the projected conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples.

A. D. 1501.] Frederic, king of Naples, informed of the preparations of the French, applied for aſſiſtance to the Venetians, who renewed the propoſal which had been made to Charles the Eighth, for rendering the kingdom of Naples a fief of the crown of France, and for the ceſſion of the principality of Tarento to the French; but this propoſal, though acceded to by Frederic, was rejected with diſdain by Lewis. Frederic then applied to Maximilian, who promiſed all he deſired, and a treaty was accordingly ſigned between them; but the cardinal d'Amboiſe ſoon broke the alliance, and made the emperor conſent to a prolongation of the truce with France.

Frederic next addreſſed himſelf to Ferdinand of Arragon, who engaged to afford him protection, but, by a ſignal inſtance of perfidy, that monarh treated at the ſame time with Lewis, and agreed to divide the kingdom he had promiſed to protect. The French army, in the mean time, under the command of Nemours and d'Aubigny, had already entered the Florentine territories; and Frederick, having ſtrengthened the fortifications of his frontier towns, haſtened to their defence.—At this period the Spaniards threw off the maſk; the ambaſſadors of France and Spain procured from the pope the inveſtiture of their reſpective portions of the kingdom of Naples; the capital, and the northern parts of the kingdom, were aſſigned to Lewis, while the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were allotted to Ferdinand. It excited univerſal aſtoniſhment to ſee Lewis aſſociate the king of Spain with him in this conqueſt; it was impoſſible that the diviſion they had agreed upon could long ſubſiſt, and it was generally foreſeen that theſe princes muſt finally be compelled to yield to the other. The union between them was the work of the cardinal, who was greatly blamed for it; the treaty, ill-planned and worſe executed, proved highly prejudicial to the French.

Frederic, diſcouraged by this unexpected event, and ſurrounded by enemies on all ſides, quitted the frontiers, and returned to Naples, in the determination to confine his efforts to the defence of that capital, of Capua and Averſa. Gonſal-

* Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. iii. p. 426.

vy ſent to demand the two queens-dowager of Naples to convey them to Spain; Proſpero Colonna adviſed Frederick to reject the demand, to ſeize the gallies which had been ſent to receive them, to collect his forces, and immediately march againſt the enemy. "If we conquer one of them," ſaid he, the other will ſoon be deſtroyed; if we be conquered, a monarch cannot die more glorioufly than in defending his kingdom;" but his advice was not followed, and the two princeſſes were delivered to the Spaniards. The French meanwhile, continued their progreſs. Capua was taken by aſſult, and the inhabitants were expoſed to the fury of an enraged and licentious ſoldiery; many females of quality, it is ſaid, preferring death to diſhonour, threw themelves into the river; while others, who fell into the hands of the conquerors, were carried to Rome, and there expoſed to ſale. Cæſar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, (ſon to the ſovereign pontiff) who accompanied the French army, entered a tower whither a conſiderable number of theſe unhappy victims had retired for ſecurity and after examing them all with the eye of a ſenſauliſt, ſelected forty of the moſt beautiful for his own uſe*. Though Frederick was at Naples himſelf, the citizens ſent a deputation to the French, and ſurrendered the capital. The king retired into the caſtle, but, deſtitute of all means of defence, and dreading to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, he demanded a ſafe conduct into France, and threw himſelf on the well-known lenity of Lewis, from whoſe liberality he obtained an aſylum in the duchy of Anjou, with an annual penſion of thirty thouſand crowns.

A. D. 1502.] Lewis and Ferdinand had acted with perfect cordiality in the reduction of Naples; but ſcarce had they completed that conqueſt before they turned their victorious arms againſt each other. The treaty of diviſion was couched in ſuch ambiguous terms, that both nations laid claim to a tract of country called Il Capatinato, which was ſeparated from Apulia by the river Lofanto: the French affirmed that it belonged to the province of Abruzzi; while the Spaniards maintained that it formed a part of Apulia. In conſequence of this difference, hoſtilities commenced between the two armies; the French ſeized on Tripalda; and Gonſalvo and d'Aubigny meeting, a conference enſued, in which a truce was agreed on that was ſoon broken.

The progreſs of the French was ſo rapid that the Spaniards were ſoon expelled from almoſt every place in Apulia, Calabria and Il Capatinato, and Gonſalvo was reduced to retire to the city of Barletta; but as d'Aubigny neglected to puſh the ſiege with ſufficient vigour, the Venetians had time to ſupply him with ammunition and proviſion. The duke of Valentinois, who had conceived a diſguſt againſt Lewis, for having oppoſed his attempts to reduce the republic of Florence, ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards; and the duke of Nemours having been imprudently led to a diviſion of his forces, the affairs of Lewis in the kingdom of Naples ſoon took a different turn.

The ſuccours ſupplied by the duke of Valentinois enabled the Spaniards to ſurpriſe the ſmall town of Callimera, but the booty they made there was taken from

* Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. v. p. 434, 435.

them by d'Aubigny. Meanwhile the blockade of Barletta was continued. At the ſame time he entered into a negociation with Maximilian, whom he urged to break the truce which he had recently concluded with France, and preſſed Ferdinand to ſupply him with adequate ſuccours. The archduke of Auſtria, and his wife, were at the court of Spain, where Iſabella lay dangerouſly ill; her daughter, Joanna, wife to Philip, who was heireſs of the kingdom of Caſtile, having thought it neceſſary to exact an oath of allegiance from her future ſubjects, during the life, and with the approbation of her mother. Ferdinand, in whom the proſpect of ſoon loſing the crown of Caſtile created a diſlike to the preſumptive heir, hurried the archduke out of his dominions, and ſent him to France, to negociate a peace with Lewis.

A. D. 1503.] Philip, flattered by this mark of confidence, demanded a ſafe-conduct to repair to Lyons, where he was received with great cordiality by Lewis. Neither the king nor the archduke were aware that Ferdinand was deceiving them; and that his only object in propoſing a treaty was to gain time. They therefore proceeded to buſineſs, and the cardinal d'Amboiſe, and the biſhop of Albi, were appointed to confer with the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries, whom Ferdinand had ſent to accompany and aſſiſt his ſon-in-law. After much delay, the treaty was ſigned, and the contract of marriage of the princeſs Claude, the king's daughter, with Charles, ſon to the archduke, was received; and the two monarchs agreed to cede to Charles their reſpective claims on the kingdom of Naples, inſtead of the duchy of Milan, which had been promiſed before. The queen of France, who was extremely anxious to promote the union of her daughter with the duke of Luxembourg, expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction at the treaty; but before the rejoicings, on account of the peace, were finiſhed, the king received intelligence that a Spaniſh fleet had ſailed for Naples, and that the Germans had embarked for Barletta. Lewis reproached the archduke with his perfidy, but that prince took ſuch pains to juſtify his conduct that the king was fully convinced of his innocence, and renewed his ſafe-conduct, by which Philip profited to return to his own dominions.

The chevalier Préjan, who had ſailed from the port of Genoa, with four veſſels, fell in with the Spaniſh fleet, which compelled him to take refuge in the harbour of Otranto, where he burned his ſhips, and then haſtened to join the duke of Nemours. That prince finding his forces not ſufficient to enable him to keep the field, had ſent orders to d'Aubigny to join him; but d'Aubigny himſelf was in ſtill greater embarraſſment, being ſurrounded on all ſides by a ſuperior force; and he was at length compelled to engage the Spaniards on unequal terms near Seminara in Calabria, where the French were completely routed, and d'Aubigny with difficulty eſcaped the general maſſacre: he retired to Antigola, where he was inveſted by the enemy, and being deſtitute of proviſions, was in a few days obliged to ſurrender. The duke of Nemours took every precaution to prevent Gonſalvo, who was ſtill ſhut up in Barletta, from receiving information of the victory of Seminara; and the Spaniſh general, compelled at length to evacuate a town

where he had ſuffered the extremes of peſtilence and famine, marched towards Cirignuola, and having choſen an advantageous poſt, fortified his camp, and fought, by ſurrounding it with deep ditches, to ſecure it from inſult. He was purſued by the duke of Nemours, who was perſuaded by his officers, much againſt his inclination, to attack the Spaniſh camp late in the evening of the twenty-eighth of April, 1503. The French, though at firſt ſucceſsful, ſuſtained a total defeat, and the duke of Nemours fell in the action. D'Alegre, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in perſuading the duke to engage, and the prince of Salerno, diſplayed their valour in a moſt ſignal manner, and made aſtoniſhing efforts to rally their troops; but neither their example nor exhortations could prevail; all the artillery, proviſion and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy: d'Alegre, with the ſcattered remains of the army, retired to Gaeta.

In leſs than a fortnight after the battle of Cirignuola, Gonſalvo reduced the cities of Naples, Capua and Averſa, ſo that, in the whole kingdom, the French only retained a few places of little importance.

During theſe tranſactions pope Alexander the Sixth died by that poiſon which he had deſtined for another: his ſon, the duke of Valentinois, had partaken of the fatal doſe, but the ſtrength of his conſtitution ſubdued its malignant influence, and that prince, anxious to ſecure the protection of France, promiſed to promote the election of the cardinal d'Amboiſe to the papacy.

The archduke Philip, enraged at the perfidy of his father-in-law, and jealous of his own reputation, had returned to France, and again put himſelf in the power of Lewis. At the ſame time he diſpatched meſſengers to Ferdinand, to remonſtrate on the indelible infamy which muſt forever ſtain his character, if he countenanced the treachery of Gonſalvo. But the king of Arragon, with his uſual duplicity, at one moment diſowned his ambaſſadors, at another his general; while he ſecretly ſent orders to puſh the war in Naples to the abſolute expulſion of the French.

Lewis, whoſe magnanimous mind was ſuperior to the dark artifices of his profligate rival, commanded the miniſters of the king of Arragon to quit his dominions. Though he had ſeverely ſuffered from the treachery of Ferdinand, he ſcorned to avail himſelf of any other arms than what became him as a monarch. While he diſmiſſed the archduke with every mark of reſpect to purſue his route to Flanders, he addreſſed him at parting in theſe memorable words: "If your father-in-law has been guilty of perfidy, I will not reſemble him; and I am infinitely happier in the loſs of a kingdom, which I know how to re-conquer, than to have ſtained my honour, which I could never retrieve."

War was now declared againſt Spain, and the preperations of Lewis were proportioned to the injuries he had ſuſtained from the conduct of his unprincipled enemy; three armies were aſſembled to invade on every ſide, the dominions of the king of Arragon. The firſt, commanded by la Trĕmouille, was deſtined to the recovery of the kingdom of Naples; the ſecond, under the lord of Albret, and the mareſchal de Gié, was directed to penetrate into the province of Fontara-

bia. The third was entruſted to the mareſchal de Rieux, and was to invade the county of Rouſſillon; at the ſame time a conſiderable fleet was fitted out to inſult the coaſts of Catalonia and Valentia, and to intercept any communication at ſea between Spain and Naples.

When the French troops arrived in the kingdom of Naples, the ſeaſon was far advanced, and the roads were ſo bad, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the artillety could be tranſported from one place to another. Gonſalvo had expelled the French garriſon from the town of San Germano, which commanded the entrance into the kingdom, and ſtrengthening the fortifications, had advanced, with his army, to the banks of the Garigliano. In order to paſs the river, the marquis of Mantua cauſed a bridge of boats to be prepared, and a fort to be conſtructed for its defence; as the workmen, employed in theſe operations, were only attended by a ſlight eſcort, the Spaniards reſolved to profit by the neglect, and a detachment of a hundred men at arms was ordered to ford the river, while another party was ſent to ſecure the bridge. The chevalier Bayard, ever eager to fly where glory was to be acquired, haſtened to the aſſiſtance of Cocles, who commanded the eſcort appointed to guard the workmen; by uncommon exertions of intrepid valour, he checked the progreſs of two hundred Spaniſh horſe that were preparing to paſs the bridge, and maintained the unequal conteſt till the arrival of ſuccours enabled him to put the enemy to flight, and to purſue them with conſiderable ſlaughter: the fugitives, however, being reinforced by a ſtrong detachment from the Spaniſh camp, Bayard was compelled to retreat, and his horſe, overcome with fatigue, fell with him into a ditch, where he was ſecured by the Spaniards. The French, meanwhile, by whom this circumſtance was unperceived, had paſſed the bridge: Guiffray, a man at arms in Bayard's own company, was the firſt who miſſed his captain; alarmed at the loſs, this brave and generous ſoldier harangued his comrades, and exhorted them to return to the charge; the acclamation of "*France! France! turn Spaniards, you ſhall not thus take off the flower of chivalry!*" reſounded through the ranks; the attack was inſtantly renewed with redoubled vigour; Bayard, mounting the firſt horſe he could find, ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy, and, with his brave companions, regained the bridge. But theſe heroic atchievements, though productive of glory to thoſe who performed them, were attended with little advantage to the army.

Through the infamous conduct of the treaſurers and commiſſaries of the army, the troops were neither ſupplied with money nor proviſions; the marquis of Saluzzo reported this circumſtance to the king, who having been careful to provide againſt every inconvenience of the kind, determined to puniſh the criminal neglect of his officers with exemplary rigour, and he accordingly ſentenced John Heroef, the intendant of his finances, to loſe his head. Meanwhile the marquis had been obliged to divide his troops into different bodies to facilitate the means of ſubſiſtence, and this diviſion occaſioned, in the ſequel, the deſtruction of his whole army.

The prodigious efforts of France, during this campaign, proved every where unſucceſsful. The army deſtined for the attack of Fontarabia was divided by the

diſſentions of its generals; the lord of Albret, either from a principle of revenge on account of the rivality which had formerly ſubſiſted between him and Lewis, or from his total ignorance of the art of war, led his troops, in oppoſition to the advice of the mareſchal de Gié, who commanded under him, into a ſterile part of the province of Biſcaye, where a want of proviſions ſoon led them to diſband: thoſe who were under the immediate command of Albret retired in ſafety, while the reſt periſhed, almoſt to a man, on their return to Guienne. The mareſchal de Rieux formed the ſiege of Salſes, but after the French had battered the town during forty days, they were compelled to raiſe the ſiege, on the approach of Ferdinand himſelf, with an army of thirty thouſand men. The fleet alſo, after alarming the coaſts of Valentia and Catalonia, was overtaken by a ſtorm, and reduced to the neceſſity of returning to the port of Marſeilles.

In Italy, Gonſalvo had made a fruitleſs attempt to burn the bridge over the river Garigliano; being repulſed with loſs he retired to his camp, and the inclemency of the weather kept both armies in a ſtate of inactivity for near two months.

A. D. 1504.] On the firſt day of the year 1504, Gaeta was inveſted by the Spaniards; and though the garriſon were provided with every neceſſary for a long defence, ſuch was the terror with which the recent ſucceſſes of the enemy had impreſſed the minds of the French, that in a council of war, it was determined to capitulate, and d'Alegre was appointed to make the propoſal to Gonſalvo. That general chearfully accepted the terms, and a treaty was immediately ſigned, of which the ſurrender of Gaeta, and the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples, conſtituted the principal articles: the French only obtained the liberty of retiring to France, either by land or ſea, and the releaſe of the priſoners; but Gonſalvo violated the conditions of the treaty, and ſhamefully detained in captivity all thoſe who were natives of Naples.

The chevalier Bayard, and Lewis d'Ars, received with indignation the meſſenger ſent by Gonſalvo to inform them of the treaty of Gaeta; they refuſed to ſign it, proteſting that they would rather loſe their lives in Italy, than ſuffer the Italians to believe that all Frenchmen were cowards.

The anxiety which Lewis had experienced from the ill-ſucceſs of his arms, and from the diſtreſs under which his ſubjects laboured from the united attacks of peſtilence and famine, brought on a fever, which raged with ſuch violence as to baffle the ſkill of his phyſicians, and to threaten his diſſolution. Anne, daily apprehenſive of the death of her royal conſort, determined to provide for her own ſecurity, embarked her moſt precious effects, and meditated a retreat into her native dominions of Brittany. The veſſels which ſhe had laden were ſtopped by the forward and imprudent zeal of the mareſchal de Gié; an offence, which Anne could never forgive in a man who had been born her ſubject. She refuſed to liſten to the mareſchal's excuſes, and, on her huſband's recovery ſhe obtained an order for his trial by the parliament of Toulouſe. Every circumſtance of his life was inveſtigated, in order to find matter for an accuſation; and it having been

proved that he had once received pay for fifteen dead men, ſuppoſed to be on duty in his caſtle of Fronſac, he was deprived of his places and penſions, prohibited from exerciſing the functions of a mareſchal for five years, and forbidden to approach within ten leagues of the court.

On the king's recovery, the negociations for peace were renewed; a treaty was concluded, by cardinal d'Amboiſe, with the emperor, who, in conſideration of being allowed to aſſert his claims to certain towns belonging to the republic of Venice, and on condition of receiving twelve hundred thouſand florins, to be paid by inſtalments, a pair of golden-ſpurs, every Chriſtmas-day, and a body of five hundred lances, whenever he ſhould chuſe to go to Rome, conſented to beſtow the inveſture of the duchy of Milan on Lewis and his male *deſcendants*, or, in default of males, on his daughters. This treaty had been preceded by another with the archduke Philip, which occaſioned great uneaſineſs to Ferdinand, who was afraid of his ſon-in-law, and therefore endeavoured to create freſh diſturbances. He ſent ambaſſadors to France with propoſals that he never wiſhed to be accepted; offering to place the crown of Naples on the head of the prince of Tarento, ſon to Frederic, the depoſed monarch, on condition that he ſhould marry his niece. Frederic accepted the propoſal, but Lewis being informed of the circumſtance, ordered the Spaniſh ambaſſador to quit his dominions.

Frederic died ſoon after, as did alſo Iſabella of Caſtile, wife to Ferdinand of Arragon. The archduke Philip, in right of his wife Joanna, on the death of Iſabella, claimed the inheritance of her dominions, and changed the ſyſtem of European politics.

A. D. 1505.] Hitherto Lewis had conſidered the archduke as a vaſſal, and as a vaſſal whom he loved and eſteemed; but his late acquiſition rendered him a formidable neighbour. The county of Flanders, the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, the empire of the kingdom of Caſtile, were now likely to center in one prince, whoſe ſon, too, was to augment theſe extenſive poſſeſſions, by his marriage with the princeſs Claude, with the duchies of Brittany and Milan. This vaſt combination of power might, in the ſequel, prove deſtructive to France, and meaſures, therefore, were immediately though ſecretly, taken to counteract its effects. The ambaſſadors ſent by the king of Arragon to notify the death of his wife to the French court, experienced a gracious reception; and as Ferdinand was ſtill young, Lewis engaged him to marry his niece Germana, daughter to the count of Foix; the king gave up his part of the kingdom of Naples, as a marriage-portion for the young princeſs, on condition that, if Ferdinand ſhould die before her, and without children, the whole of that kingdom ſhould revert to France; if, on the contrary, Ferdinand ſhould ſurvive his wife, and have no child, he was to keep poſſeſſion of Naples.

A. D. 1506.] The queen was extremely anxious that the projected aliance between her daughter Claude, and Charles of Luxemburgh, ſhould take place, but the nation entertained very different ſentiments, they beſought his majeſty to

beſtow the hand of his daughter on Francis, duke of Valois, a prince of the blood, and preſumptive heir to the crown.

Lewis, aſtoniſhed at this propoſal, or, at leaſt, feigning to be ſo—for it is uncertain whether or not the plan originated with himſelf—promiſed to give his anſwer in a few days. After conferring with the princes of the blood, and finding that the ſentiments of the council coincided with thoſe of the ſtates, he chearfully aſſented to the propoſed alliance. The queen however oppoſed it to the utmoſt of her power. But however great the aſcendency which ſhe had acquired over the mind of Lewis, ſhe could not, in this inſtance, prevail on him to change the reſolution he had taken to ſatisfy the ſtates. The king exacted from the ſtates a promiſe, confirmed by an oath, that, in caſe he ſhould die without male heirs, they would enforce the conſummation of the marriage, and acknowledge the duke of Valois for their lawful ſovereign.

Lewis ſent an ambaſſador to Valadolid to inform the king of Caſtile of this event, and of the reaſons which had induced him to violate the marriage-treaties which had been concluded between their children. Philip received the intelligence without betraying any ſymptoms of reſentment, and expreſſed an earneſt wiſh that this circumſtance might not be ſuffered to interrupt the harmony which ſubſiſted between the two crowns. Maximilian, however, ſhewed his diſcontent, by immediately calling on the king to fulfil, the terms of the laſt treaty, by ſupplying him with five hundred lances to eſcort him to Rome. His demand was complied with, but Lewis took care to prevent his journey, by exciting the apprehenſions of the pope and the Venetians, who refuſed him a paſſage through their dominions, unleſs he choſe to come with no other attendants than his uſual retinue. Meanwhile, a diſpute having occurred between the king of Caſtile and the duke of Gueldres, the latter applied for aſſiſtance to Lewis, his kinſman and ally, who immediately ſent him four hundred lances, under the command of Robert de la Marche. Philip, complained, and not without reaſon, of this proceeding, as an infraction of the treaty; he proteſted it was his wiſh to live at peace with the king, but threatened, at the ſame time, to defend himſelf with vigour if he preceived any intention of attacking him. Henry, king of England, as an ally both of Philip and of Lewis, employed his mediation on this occaſion, and ſent an ambaſſador to France, who repreſented to the king, that as the duke of Gueldres had been the aggreſſor, to afford him aſſiſtance was to violate the treaties which ſubſiſted between him and the king of Caſtile; that if he continued to ſend troops into the duchy of Gueldres, and ſhould be led to invade the county of Flanders, the king of England would be obliged to aſſiſt his ally the king of Caſtile; but if, on the contrary, Lewis would recall his forces, Henry would perſuade Philip to accommodate matters with the duke of Guelders. Lewis conſented to the propropoſal; but the death of the king of Caſtile, which occurred on the twenty-fifth of September, 1506, changed the face of affairs. This prince, who loſt his life by drinking cold water when he was hot, left two ſons, Charles and Ferdi-

nand; and, by his will, he appointed Lewis to be guardian to Charles, who was the eldeſt.

A. D. 1507.] The attention of Lewis was now called to the affairs of Italy, where he was ſo impolitic as to enforce the pretentions of the pope to the ſovereignty of Bologna. He had ſoon, however, occaſion to repent this condeſcenſion, for Julius the Sixth, who ſince his acceſſion to the papal throne had diſplayed a diſpoſition better ſuited to the camp than the conclave, forgetful of the protection he had received, exerted his genius in exciting the enemies of France, and nouriſhing the diſcontents of the Genoeſe. Theſe at laſt broke out into open revolt, expelled the French, and declared Paul Nuova, a ſilk-dyer, their doge. They were privately encouraged by Julius and the emperor Maximilian, and were openly reinforced by the troops of Piſa.

Lewis, ſenſible how much his reputation depended on immediately cruſhing the inſurgents, aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men, and marched towards Genoa, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the queen, who exerted all her influence to prevent him from engaging in an expedition, the conſequences whereof ſhe dreaded. Lewis, however, forced the paſſes which the rebels had occupied, and, in perſon, ſtormed their entrenchments. The Genoeſe, diſconcerted by his rapid approach, endeavoured to diſarm his reſentment by ſubmiſſion.

A. D. 1508.] The formidable preparations made by the king for the conqueſt of Genoa, had ſpread an alarm over a great part of Europe; his intention, it was generally believed, was to ſubdue Italy, to recover the kingdom of Naples, to aſſemble a council, depoſe the pope, and procure the election of the cardinal d'Amboiſe to the chair of Saint Peter; in conſequence of this ſuppoſed deſign, Julius endeavoured to form a confederacy againſt Lewis. Maximilian was the firſt to promote this plan; he aſſembled a diet at Conſtance, where he expatiated, with great energy, on the boundleſs ambition of the king of France, which urged him to the violation of all treaties; he repreſented to the princes of the empire, that it was their intereſt to oppoſe the conqueſt of Italy by Lewis, which would deprive the empire of its rights to that country; and his eloquence prevailed ſo far as to extort from the princes a promiſe to ſupply their quota of troops, for oppoſing this imaginary expedition. By the time Maximilian had aſſembled his army and entered Italy, the king of France had completed the reduction of Genoa, and diſmiſſed his troops.

The Germans, finding no enemy to encounter, refuſed to proceed; and the apprehenſions of Julius with regard to the French being diſpelled, he now began to read the deſigns of the emperor, and accordingly engaged the Venetians and the Swiſs to refuſe his troops a paſſage through their territories. The emperor advanced as far as Trent, with five or ſix thouſand men, who were defeated by the Venetian general, Alviano. The Venetians, however, notwithſtanding this victory, applied for aſſiſtance to the king, who ſent them a body of troops, under the command of Triulzi; that general again defeated the Germans, who perſuaded the Venetians to ſign a truce for a year, without conſulting the king, and with-

out including the duke of Gueldres, as they had promiſed. It was by ſuch miſtaken policy that the Venetians afforded ſubjects for complaint to all the different powers, and engaged them to enter into that famous league, which was formed the following year, and which had their deſtruction for its object.

The king was the more irritated at the excluſion of the duke of Gueldres from the treaty, as the territories of that prince were in a ſtate of revolt, and the rebels were aſſiſted by the Imperialiſts; while the forces which Lewis had ſent to the relief of the duchy, under the orders of the count of Rethel, were too inconſiderable to reduce the rebels to obedience, and were, moreover, deſtitute of money.

Maximilian was glad to bring his affairs in Italy to a concluſion, in order to attend to the ſtate of his grandſon's dominions in Flanders; he made every effort to procure from the Flemings the appointment of guardian to Charles, but, averſe from his power, they refuſed to admit his pretenſions, and, in compliance with the will of their late ſovereign, placed themſelves under the protection of Lewis, whom they deſired to chuſe a governor for their youthful prince*. Lewis accordingly appointed Philip de Croy, lord of Chievres, to that important office. Maximilian, determined to have ſome influence on the affairs of Flanders, perſuaded his daughter Margaret—now a widow—to repair thither, in the hope that the Flemings would entruſt her with the adminiſtration: nor was he diſappointed in his hopes; that event took place, and de Chievres only retained the title of governor to Charles. It does not appear that Lewis made any oppoſition to this change, with which indeed, he had every reaſon to be ſatisfied; for Magaret, a princeſs of uncommon merit, was ſtudious to enſure the continuance of peace in the dominions of her nephew, and to promote a reconciliation between the emperor and the king of France; ſhe at length concluded, with the cardinal d'Amboiſe, in the names of Maximilian and Lewis, the famous league of Cambray, formed againſt the Venetians.

To humble the republic of Venice, and to divide its territories, was the avowed object of all the princes who united in this confederacy. The civil conſtitution of Venice, eſtabliſhed on a firm baſis, had ſuffered no conſiderable alteration for ſeveral centuries; during which the ſenate conducted its affairs by maxims of policy, no leſs prudent than vigorous, and adhered to theſe with an uniform ſpirit of conſiſtency, which gave that commonwealth great advantage over other ſtates, whoſe views and meaſures changed as often as the form of their government, or the perſon who adminiſtered it. By theſe uninterrupted exertions of wiſdom and valour, the Venetians enlarged the dominions of their commonwealth, until it became the moſt conſiderable power in Italy; while their extenſive commerce, the uſeful and curious manufactures which they carried on, together with their monopoly of the precious commodities of the Eaſt, rendered Venice the moſt opulent ſtate in Europe.

* This opinion has been adopted by all the French hiſtorians, from Varillas to Garnier; but the Spaniſh, German, and Flemiſh writers, concur in contradicting their aſſertions; and maintain that Lewis had loſt the confidence of Philip, by conſenting to the marriage of Germaine de Foix with Ferdinand.

The emperor, the king of France, the king of Arragon, and the pope, were principals in the league of Cambray, to which almoſt all the princes of Italy acceded; the leaſt conſiderable of them hoping for ſome ſhare in the ſpoils of a ſtate, which they already deemed to be devoted to deſtruction. The Venetians might have diverted this ſtorm, or have broken its force; but with a preſumptuous raſhneſs, to which there is nothing ſimilar in the courſe of their hiſtory, they waited its approach*.

A. D. 1509.] They raiſed an army of ſix thouſand lances, four thouſand light horſe, and three-and-thirty-thouſand foot; theſe troops, who were chiefly mercenaries, were put under the command of the count of Petigliano and Alviano.—Andrew Gritti and George Cornaro, noble Venetians, and men of eſtabliſhed reputation, were appointed *Provvéditori*† to the army. When they had thus provided for their defence, they exerted all the arts of policy to promote a diſſolution of the confederacy, but in vain; their offers were rejected by the different powers, and their deſtruction ſeemed inevitable—even the elements appeared to conſpire againſt them—A veſſel, ſent with money for the troops in garriſon, at Ravenna, was loſt in a ſtorm; the caſtle of Breno, in which the archives of the republic, and other papers of the higheſt import, were depoſited, was deſtroyed by lightning; the arſenal of Venice took fire, and, with all it contained, was reduced to aſhes. But the greateſt misfortune which the republic experienced at this period, was the diviſion that took place between their generals. Pitigliano inſiſted on the propriety of abandoning the towns on the Adda, and of encamping in the country that lies between the rivers Olio and Serio. Alviano, on the contrary, propoſed to paſs the Adda, and, by invading the Milaneſe, make that duchy the ſeat of war. Both theſe projects, however, were rejected by the ſenate, who ordered their generals to prevent the French from paſſing the Adda, and to avoid a general action, unleſs they could engage with an apparent certainty of ſucceſs. Theſe orders, however, it was found impoſſible to execute.

The French army was divided into different bodies, which invaded the territories of the republic in five different parts. The garriſon of Leco extended their depredations to the gates of Bergamo; thoſe of Lodi and Piazenza invaded the Cremoneſe on either ſide; the marquis of Mantua reduced the town of Caſale Maggioné, while Chaumont paſſed the Adda, and inveſted Trévi. The garriſon of Trévi made a vigorous ſally, but they were ſucceſsfully repulſed by the French, who purſued them ſo cloſely, that they entered the town with them. Moroſin, the governor, was taken priſoner, together with the garriſon, conſiſting of four hundred light horſe, and twelve hundred infantry. Chaumont, after he had exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and appointed Fontrailles to command in the place, repaſſed the Adda, and haſtened to join the king, who

* Robertſon.

† The Provveditori of the Venetians, like the Field deputies of the Dutch republic in latter times, obſerved all the motions of the general, and checked and controuled him in all his operations.

had, by this time, reached Milan. The Venetians ordered their generals to profit by the abſence of Chaumont, to recover the town of Trévi. Petigliano and Alviano did not approve of this plan, and propoſed another, which, in the opinion of moſt men, was much more advantageous; but the ſenate, unuſed to contradiction, enforced their orders, and Trévi was accordingly beſieged at the beginning of May, 1509.

Fontrailles, who had only fifty men at arms, and one thouſand Gaſcons, under his command, plainly perceived that it would be impoſſible for him long to reſiſt the attacks of the Venetian army. He immediately appriſed the king of his ſituation, obſerving that the walls of the town were in ſuch a bad ſtate, that the enemy's artillery muſt ſpeedily deſtroy them; aſſuring him, however, that he would not fail to hold out to the laſt extremity. The council, who had been aſſembled on the reception of this news, were divided in their ſentiments: Triulzi maintained that it was too late to think of marching to the relief of Fontrailles; that all the Venetian forces being united on the banks of the Adda, would prevent the troops from paſſing that river, and that the attempt would only occaſion a great loſs of time, that might be uſefully devoted to other purpoſes: but Chabarone de la Paliſſe was of a different opinion, and inſiſted on the neceſſity of ſetting out immediately for Trévi; this advice coinciding with the ſentiments of Lewis, the army was put in motion without farther delay: it conſiſted of ſix thouſand Swiſs, twelve thouſand French and Italian infantry, and two thouſand Gendarmes. Lewis reached the banks of the Adda on the ninth of May*, at the very moment that Fontrailles, after defending the town of Trévi as long as poſſible, ſurrendered it to the enemy. Lewis, though appriſed of this diſaſter, purſued his deſign, and marched along the banks of the river till he came oppoſite to Caſciano, where he paſſed the Adda, with his whole army, without receiving the ſmalleſt moleſtation from the Venetians, who were employed in plundering the town of Trévi, and refuſed to obey the commands of their officers, and, according to others, from the diviſion which prevailed between the generals†.

Lewis finding it impoſſible to force the Venetian camp, moved towards Rivolta, which lay to the left of the enemy, to try whether the deſire of ſaving that place would not induce them to come forth, and riſk an action. Rivolta, however, was taken by aſſault in ſight of the Venetian army; and the king having paſſed a night in the town, marched the next morning, with his whole army, with the view to ſecure either Valia or Pandino, by which means he would be enabled to cut off the communication with Cremona or Creama, whence the Venetians drew their proviſions. There were two roads to theſe places; that which the king took was the longeſt, and lay along the ſide of the Adda; the other was much ſhorter, and ran in a ſtraight line, and this induced the Venetians to quit their poſt, in the hope of arriving at Vaila before the French. They formed their army in two diviſions, the ſtrongeſt of which was entruſted to Al-

* Guicciardini, tom. ii. lib. 8. p. 199. † Mocenigo.

viano, and the other to Pitigliano. The latter marched firſt, and had nearly reached Vaila, when the former was overtaken, and attacked by the van of the French army, under Chaumont and Triulzi. Alviano immediately ſent a meſſenger to Pitigliano, to appriſe him of the circumſtance, and poſted his infantry in ſome neighbouring vineyards, where he converted the vine-props into paliſades; he erected ſome batteries with great expedition, and drew up his cavalry in a plain behind the ground occupied by the infantry. Chaumont was repulſed with loſs in his firſt attack; the Swiſs, whoſe heavy-armed infantry could not make their way through the rows of long pikes that were ſtuck in the ground, met with no better ſucceſs; and the van was in danger of ſuſtaining a defeat, when the king came to their aſſiſtance with the reſt of the army. Some of his officers, it is ſaid, endeavoured to deter him from purſuing his march, by obſerving that the Venetians were already in poſſeſſion of Vaila; but Lewis replied, "We ſhall "then have the additional trouble of diſlodging them," and preſſed onward. He rallied the Swiſs, made the Gaſcons advance, and ſupported them with the troops from Trévi, who were anxious to revenge the affront they had recently ſuſtained. Animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, and the exhortations and example of the gallant veteran La Trèmouille, the troops deſpiſed all danger, and ruſhing forward with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, bore down all before them. Lewis expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight, and vied with his men in exertions of perſonal valour. The Venetians, after an obſtinate conteſt, yielded up the palm of victory, and left eight thouſand of their beſt troops on the field of battle.

From the height of preſumption the Venetians now ſunk to the depth of deſpair; they no longer ſought to reſiſt the confederates, but endeavoured to ſoothe by ſubmiſſion where they could not repel by arms; all the places claimed by the Spaniards and the emperor were ſurrendered without heſitation or delay.

The king having ſecured his conqueſts, and concluded a new treaty, offenſive and defenſive, with the pope, returned to France, leaving the chief command of his forces to Chaumont. The cardinal d'Amboiſe had adviſed Lewis to remain longer in Italy, from the dread that the number of nobility who muſt neceſſarily accompany him would greatly diminiſh the army, and encourage the Venetians to profit by his abſence. This proved to be the caſe; their courage revived, and they made ſome ſpirited attempts to recover their loſt territories. Padua again fell into their hands; and although the emperor, with an immenſe army, entered Italy, for the purpoſe of retaking it, they baffled all his efforts, and compelled him to retire with diſgrace. They alſo made an attempt on Verona, but the timely arrival of Chabannes and Bayard, who had been detached by Chaumont, with a body of French troops, ſaved the town, and obliged the Venetians to retreat to Vicenza, which they evacuated on the approach of the French.

A. D. 1510.] During the winter the king made the moſt formidable preparations for opening the enſuing campaign with vigour and effect; but he could not perſuade his allies to make equal exertions. As he was preparing to paſs into

Italy he had the misfortune to loſe his friend and favourite the cardinal d'Amboiſe, who expired on the twenty-fifth of February, 1510, univerſally regretted by the nation. The virtue and diſintereſted ſpirit of this ſtateſman, have been juſtly celebrated by contemporary hiſtorians. His memory is ſtill holden in veneration at Rouen, to the cathedral of which city he gave the famons bell which bears his name*.

Julius, notwithſtanding his late treaty with the king, had lent a favourable ear to the overtures made him by the Venetians, and had promiſed to take off the cenſures which he had pronounced againſt them.

This was the firſt ſtep towards the execution of that plan which the enterpriſing ſpirit of Julius formed for the expulſion of every foreign potentate from Italy. He now exerted his ſkill and addreſs in perſuading the Swiſs to renounce their alliance with France, and even to declare war againſt that power. On the expiration of the treaty between France and the Swiſs, the latter aſſembled at Baden, and made a demand of twenty thouſand livres, in addition to their former penſion, from the perſuaſion that the French could not do without them. The matter, however, was ſubmitted to the council, who being of the ſame opinion with the king, the demand of the Swiſs was rejected with contempt, their alliance renounced, and ſome obſervations were made on their conduct, which offended them highly, and led them to ſeek for revenge. Lewis accepted the offer of the Griſons, who agreed to ſerve him at a more moderate price; and the Swiſs immediately formed an alliance with the pope.

Julius, encouraged by this acceſſion of ſtrength, now ventured to declare war againſt the duke of Ferrara, whom the king had taken under his immediate protection: Chaumont was ſent to his aſſiſtance, and both he and the duke were excommunicated by the vindictive pontiff. The papal army was commanded by the duke di Urbino, nephew to the pope, and cardinal of Pavia. The duke reduced ſeveral places of little importance, made a fruitleſs attempt on Lunigiana, and retired in diſorder on the news that the French had joined the duke of Ferrara; Julius, however, ſoon repaired this diſgrace by the reduction of Modena. The duke, intimidated by the loſs of that city, retired to his capital, which he reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity. His ally, the king of France, to whom he applied for aſſiſtance, was now engaged in repelling an attack of the Swiſs, who, in the month of September, had made an irruption into the duchy of Milan. They had already taken Como, and Lewis was fearful that they would ſoon penetrate farther into the Milaneſe; but he was releaſed from his apprehenſions at a time when he had leaſt reaſon to expect it. The Swiſs ſoldiers having applied to their officers to advance them ſome pay, experienced a refuſal, which enraged them ſo much that they immediately mutinied, and returned to Bellinzone.

* This bell, known by the name of George d'Amboiſe, was founded in 1501. It meaſures thirty feet in circumference, and ten in diameter: the clapper weighs ſeven hundred and ten pounds; and the bell itſelf, forty thouſand.

The king, who had with difficulty prevailed on himſelf to bear arms againſt the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and who inceſſantly tormented by the complaints and ſcruples of the queen, convoked, at Tours, in the month of September, 1510, an aſſembly of the Gallican church, to which he explained the motives of his conduct; and deſired to know whether he could in conſcience wage war againſt the pope. The aſſembly replied, that his motives were juſt, and thoſe of his adverſary unjuſt, and that it was his duty not only to act on the defenſive, but to carry the war into the enemy's country. After this deciſion, the king forbade his ſubjects to hold any commerce with the court of Rome.

A. D. 1511.] Ferdinand of Arragon had, at laſt, thrown off the maſk, in conſequence of having received from the pope the inveſtiture of the kingdom of Naples, on condition that he ſhould every year preſent a white palfrey to the ſovereign pontiff, and ſupply him with a body of three hundred lances whenever he ſhould be engaged in a war. Ferdinand, not content with entering into a league with Julius againſt France, endeavoured to make the emperor follow his example; but failing in this point, he offered himſelf a meditator between the pope and the confederates. Some fruitleſs negociations were the conſequence of this offer, which only ſerved to ſhew the averſion of the pontiff from all pacific meaſures. After attempting, in vain, to corrupt the ambaſſadors of Lewis and Maximilian, and to promote diſſentions in Genoa and Florence, he intrigued with the court of England which was now ruled by Henry the Eighth, to whom Margaret of Auſtria—apriſed of the pope's machinations—wrote on the occaſion to deter him from engaging in ſchemes that were hoſtile to the intereſts of his kingdom. Julius created eight new cardinals, in order to appoſe a part of the Holy College who had declared for France, and retiring to Milan, had juſt ſummoned, with the approbation of the emperor and the king, a general council to meet at Piſa, on the firſt of September.

Chaumont dying after the reduction of Mirandola, the command of the French forces devolved on the mareſchal Triulzi, who opened the campaign by the ſiege of Concordia, which he took, and then marched againſt Bologna. On the approach of the French the pope retired to Ravenna, and the inhabitants of Bologna, attached to their old maſters, the Bentivoglios, compelled the garriſon to lay down their arms, and received the French into the city; Lewis, actuated by the ſame ridiculous ſcruples as his wife, had given the moſt poſitive orders not to puſh matters to extremities. This ill-timed moderation revived the arrogance and vindictive ſpirit of the Roman pontiff, who now repaired to Rome, where he had the mortification to find himſelf cited to attend the council of Piſa, under the ſimple denomination of cardinal San Pietro di Vincola. Julius was tried and depoſed by his council, but no one was appointed to ſucceed him in the papal throne; in revenge, that pontiff laid the whole kingdom of France, and the city of Lyons in particular, under an interdict.

Gaſton de Foix, nephew to the king, who had lately been created duke of Nemours, was now appointed governor of the Milaneſe; and Chabannes, lord of la

Paliſſe, was, at the ſame time, ſent into Italy, with a conſiderable reinforcement of troops, and with orders to be guided in his operations by the commands of Maximilian. The emperor, whoſe army was not yet prepared to take the field, ordered la Paliſſe to diſlodge the Venetians from a ſtrong poſt which they occupied not far from Vicenza; having performed this taſk, and taken the Venetian general priſoner, he reduced Suana, at the beginning of Auguſt; then purſuing his march to Padua, he undertook to turn the ſtream which ſupplied that city with water, but as he was preparing to put this plan in execution, he received orders from the emperor to enter the province of Friuli, where, in a ſhort time, he diſpoſſed the Venetians of almoſt every town and fortreſs in that country, and theſe republicans once more retired to their capital, having loſt all their places on the continent, except Padua and Trevigi.

On the twentieth of October, 1511, according to Mezerai, Julius concluded a league with the Venetians, and the king of Arragon, againſt France. Some efforts were made to induce Henry the Eighth and Maximilian to join the confederacy; but thoſe monarchs rejected, for the preſent, the ſolicitations of the pope, though they already evinced a diſpoſition hoſtile to Lewis.

A. D. 1512.] The army of the Holy League entered Romagna in the month of November, and after reducing all the places belonging to the duke of Ferrara, beyond the Po, laid ſiege to Baſtia. The governor ſignaliſed his courage in defence of the town, but he was unfortunately killed in the breach with a great part of his garriſon; and the Spaniards, in revenge for the loſs they had ſuſtained in the attack, put the reſt to the ſword, together with numbers of the inhabitants. The duke of Ferrara did not give them time to repair the fortification, but attacking the Spaniards on every ſide, he obtained a complete victory, and recovered Baſtia the ſame day on which it was taken. This check, however, did not prevent the Spaniards from laying ſiege to Bologna, to the aſſiſtance of which Gaſton had already detached two thouſand Germans and two hundred Gendarmes, under the command of Odet de Foix, lord of Lautrec, a young warrior of twenty; Yves d'Alegre, and ſome other experienced captains; but this ſuccour was inſufficient for the defence of the city, which muſt inevitably have fallen into the hands of the enemy, if a difference of opinion among the Spaniſh generals had not occaſioned a conſiderable loſs of time. Peter Navarre, the ſecond in command, promiſed to take the town by ſpringing a mine; and while he was making the neceſſary preparations, the beſieged received a freſh reinforcement, and adopted a reſolution to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; the failure of the mine only tended to encreaſe the courage of the garriſon. Gaſton profited by theſe delays, and collecting his troops, marched to Bologna, and entered the city, under cover of a prodigious fall of ſnow, unperceived by the aſſailants, who inſtantly retired from before the place.

The Venetians, meanwhile, had obtained poſſeſſion of Breſcia, through the treachery of count Lewis Avogaro, who reſided in that city. Gaſton no ſooner received the news of this event than he determined to recover the place; he ac-

cordingly left a garriſon in Bologna, ſent ſuccours to Ferrara, and, after marching forty leagues in the depth of winter, arrived in the night of the fourteenth of February, before the town of Breſcia. Bayard and Teligni, who had preceded the army, attacked and defeated a body of Venetians, and made a great number of priſoners; an abbey, near one of the gates of the city, was inveſted by d'Alegre, who forced an entrance, and put the troops ſtationed to defend it to the ſword.

The day after his arrival, Gaſton, and his army, entered the citadel, which ſtill held out for the French. A council of war being called, a general aſſault was determined on; Gonet, governor of the citadel, marched at the head of the Gaſcons; and Bayard followed on foot, with his men at arms. The conteſt was long and bloody; but the ſuperior courage and diſcipline of the French at length prevailed, and the Venetians were every where routed; d'Alegre being ſtationed at the gate of Saint John, the only gate that was open, to intercept them in their flight, a dreadful carnage enſued; Mezerai* ſays they loſt eight thouſand men; other writers have encreaſed this number to twelve thouſand, but Guicciardini†, who lived at the time, reduces their loſs to eight hundred; according to his account, indeed, all the Venetian forces then in Breſcia did not amount to twelve thouſand men.

At this period, Gaſton received orders from the king to hazard a deciſive action, ſince the ſituation of his affairs rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion. The emperor's conduct gave reaſon to apprehend that he would ſoon be induced to yield to the ſolicitations of the ſovereign pontiff; the king of England evinced a ſimilar diſpoſition.

In conſequence of theſe orders, Gaſton entered Romagna with an army compoſed of eighteen thouſand foot, beſides a numerous cavalry, but as Ferdinand had expreſsly ordered his generals to avoid an action. He took, in ſight of the Spaniſh army, the towns of Caſtel di Solarolo, Cotignolo and Grannarolo; and, at length, laid ſiege to Ravenna. The Spaniards had pledged themſelves to Mark Anthony Colonna, who commanded the town, to march to his relief in caſe the French ſhould attack him; they accordingly advanced to within two miles of Ravenna, where they fixed their camp; Gaſton, having in vain endeavoured to allure them into the plain, at length came to a reſolution of attacking their camp, he ſtationed himſelf in no particular place, that he might be at liberty to repair wherever his preſence might be required. The enemy, meanwhile, had ſtrongly fortified their camp, and appeared determined not to leave it, though the French artillery made conſiderable havock among their troops. But Fabrico Colonna, enraged at ſeeing his cavalry deſtroyed without fighting, diſobeyed the orders of the viceroy, and advanced towards the French; the Spaniards being obliged to follow them, the action became general. Colonna, who had pierced the ranks of the French, was attacked in his turn, and with ſuch

* Tom. vii. p. 201. † Tom. ii. lib. x. p. 445.

reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, that he was compelled to leave the field, and the viceroy, Cordonna, ſoon became the companion of his flight. Navarre, who commanded the infantry, ſtill kept his ground: twelve hundred of his men defeated a detachment of Gaſcons, and endeavoured to throw themſelves into Ravenna; but being attacked by a body of cavalry, under the baſtard du Fay, they were compelled to give up this attempt, and join their leader, who defended himſelf, with extraordinary courage and preſence of mind, againſt the attacks of the whole French army: at length the Germans, animated by the ſpirit of revenge for the loſs of their leader, ruſhed on the enemy with incredible fury; one of them a man of uncommon ſtrength, cut his way through their ranks, and opened, at the expence of his life, a road for his comrades: the opportunity was eagerly ſeized, and ſucceſsfully improved: Navarre being wounded in ſeveral places, was taken priſoner, and his troops, preſſed on all ſides, were ſoon diſperſed with great ſlaughter.

In this celebrated battle, Gaſton diſplayed the qualities of a conſummate and experienced leader: hitherto he had eſcaped unhurt, but perceiving a body of Spaniards, who were retiring in good order, he imprudently ruſhed forward to attack them, accompanied only by about twenty gentlemen. The conſequence was ſuch as might have been expected; his couſin, Lautrec, was wounded at his ſide; Gaſton's horſe was killed under him, and he himſelf, after having fought with the moſt heroic courage, fell, pierced with fourteen wounds. In vain did Lautrec exclaim—"'Tis Gaſton, 'tis the brother of your queen, do not kill him."—The Spaniards, deaf to his cries, and bent on revenge, vented their cowardly rage on the unarmed and defenceleſs hero.

Never was any commander more deeply regretted; and never was any one more deſerving of regret. His body was carried to his tent by his gentlemen, amidſt the lamentations of the army, whoſe grief for the loſs of their leader greatly exceeded their joy for the victory they had gained. The French called on la Paliſſe to put himſelf at their head, and conjured him to lead them, without delay to the attack of Ravenna. That city was taken by aſſault, Calonna ſurrendered the citadel, and Vitelli, having withdrawn the garriſon from Citta de Caſtello, that town opened its gates to the French.

Meanwhile, the cardinals, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the French, and ſhocked, we muſt hope, at the vaſt effuſion of blood occaſioned by theſe deſtructive wars, on their knees conjured the pope to give peace to Europe: but the profligate pontiff delighted in blood, and cared not how many of his fellow-creatures were ſacrificed to the gratification of his own boundleſs ambition. He feigned, however, a compliance with their wiſhes, and once more impoſed on the candour and conſideration of Lewis, by talking of a peace which he had reſolved not to conclude. The cardinal de Medicis, though a priſoner, confirmed him in this reſolution: having found means to ingratiate himſelf with the cardinals of the council of Piſa, he obtained permiſſion to ſend a meſſenger to Rome, under pretext of arranging ſome domeſtic concerns, but in fact, to inform the pontiff of the ſitua-

tion to which the French were reduced. It was ſuch, that their army appeared rather to have ſuffered a defeat, than to have obtained a victory; it was conſiderably diminiſhed by ſickneſs and deſertion; and Maximilian, in conſequence of a truce which he had concluded with the Venetians, ſent orders to the Germans to quit the French camp without delay.

Thus la Paliſſe was left alone to oppoſe the Swiſs, who had ruſhed, like a torrent, into the Milaneſe. In vain did he write to the General of Normandy (that was the title which the king's commiſſary bore) to levy freſh recruits; his letter, in which he expatiated on the dreadful ſituation to which he was reduced, fell into the hands of the Swiſs, whoſe courage it ſerved to inflame. They immediately joined the Venetians, the Griſons having granted them a free paſſage through their territories, under a pretence of being compelled thereto by ancient treaties.

The revolution ſoon became general: Milan, Lodi, and ſeveral other towns, preſerved themſelves from pillage by the payment of conſiderable ſums, which were given to the Swiſs. Bologna implored the clemency of Julius, who was, with difficulty, prevailed on to pardon the inhabitants; it is even pretended, that but for his death, which fortunately occurred ſoon after, that beautiful city would have been conſigned to deſtruction. Florence again ſubmitted to the authority of the Medici. The French had evacuated the duchy of Milan, excepting ſome few places, which ſoon ſurrendered. Genoa once more revolted, revived the ancient form of government, and raiſed James Fregoſo to the dignity of doge. Maximilian Sforza was acknowledged as duke of Milan, and the Swiſs ſtill continued to ravage that beautiful country. The cardinal de Medicis eſcaped from the French, and repaired to Rome; while the cardinals of the council of Piſa, who had retired to Lyons, were condemned by the council of Lateran, opened by the pope on the ſixteenth of November, when the interdict which had been impoſed on the kingdom of France was renewed: Julius even wiſhed to transfer the title of Moſt Chriſtian King from Lewis to Henry the Eighth, that is, from one of the moſt virtuous to one of the moſt vicious monarchs that ever exiſted.

Lewis, meanwhile, after ſeeing all his Italian conqueſts wreſted from him, found his kingdom threatened by an invaſion of the Engliſh. Henry the Eighth had ſent a herald to Paris, to exhort the king not to wage impious war againſt the ſovereign pontiff; and when he returned without ſucceſs, another was ſent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces of the Engliſh crown, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy: this meſſage was underſtood to be a declaration of war, and Lewis accordingly prepared for the conſequences. Henry was adviſed, by Ferdinand the Catholic, not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himſelf ſhould not have it in his power to aſſiſt him, but exhorted him rather to ſend forces to Fontarabia, whence he could eaſily make a conqueſt of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined, the Engliſh had ſtill ſome adherents. Ferdinand promiſed to aſſiſt this conqueſt by the junction of a Spaniſh army.

But the ſecret purpoſe of Ferdinand, in this affectation of concern for the intereſts of the Engliſh monarch, was to ſecure for himſelf the kingdom of Na-

varre, the conqueſt whereof he had long meditated; and as John d'Albret, the ſovereign, was connected by friendſhip and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity ſeemed favourable to the king of Arragon, while the Engliſh forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Piſa lay under the ſentence of excommunication, to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of theſe dominions.—No ſooner, therefore, was Dorſet landed in Guipuſcoa, than the Spaniſh monarch declared his readineſs to join him with his forces, to make, with united arms, an invaſion of France, and to form the ſiege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne*: but he remarked to the Engliſh general how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in cloſe alliance with France, could eaſily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies.

Dorſet began to ſuſpect the inſidious deſigns of Ferdinand, and having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre, he refuſed to take any part in the enterpriſe, and therefore remained in his quarters at Fontarabia. But ſo ſubtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that, even while the Engliſh army lay in that ſituation, it was almoſt equally ſerviceable to his purpoſe, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to ſuccour the kingdom of Navarre; ſo that Alva, having full leiſure to conduct the ſiege, made himſelf maſter of Pampeluna, and obliged John to ſeek for ſhelter in France, whither his conſort, queen Catherine, had retired before him. That ſpirited princeſs, mortified at the loſs of her crown, could not refrain from exclaiming to her huſband—"*Had I been John, and you Catherine, we ſhould never have loſt our kingdom.*"

Dorſet, by this time, convinced of Ferdinand's perfidy, inſiſted on being ſupplied with veſſels to return to England.

The Engliſh acquired little honour from this ill-conducted enterpriſe, and an action at ſea, which occurred ſoon after, produced nothing more deciſive. An Engliſh fleet of forty-five ſail, under the command of Sir Thomas Knevet, was ſent to inſult the coaſts of Brittany; after they had committed ſome depredations, they were met and attacked by a French fleet of thirty-nine ſail, under the conduct of Primauget. Primauget's ſhip took fire, and that officer, finding his deſtruction inevitable, bore down upon the veſſel of the Engliſh admiral, and, grappling with her, reſolved to make her ſhare his fate. Both fleets ſtood ſome time in ſuſpence, as ſpectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men ſaw with horror the flames which conſumed both veſſels, and heard the cries of fury and deſpair, which came from the miſerable combitants. At laſt the French ſhip blew up, and, at the ſame time, deſtroyed the Engliſh†. The reſt of the French fleet made their eſcape into different harbours.

Lewis, meanwhile, enxious to enforce the reſtoration of John d'Albret, ſent an army into Navarre, under the command of the duke of Valois. John accom-

* Herbert.—Hollinſhed, p. 813.—Hume.

† Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii.—Stowe, p. 490.—Languet's Epitome of Chronicles, fol. 273.

panied the duke, and, at his approach, many of the towns valuntarily roſe in his favour, while ſome others were reduced by arms. But when the French formed the ſiege of Pampeluna, they were oppoſed by the whole force of Spain; and being deſtitute of proviſion, and moreover unable to cope with ſuch a powerful army, they raiſed the ſiege and returned to France: their retreat was followed by a total ſubjection of Navarre to the power of Spain.

Ferdinand, anxious to ſecure his new conqueſt, and intereſted in preventing a farther extention of the Papal or Venetian power in Italy, conſented to a truce with France for one year.

A. D. 1513.] Lewis was, by this time, fully convinced of the conſequence of detaching the Swiſs from their alliance with the pope; la Trémouille, therefore, for whom they had always evinced a marked predilection, was ſent to Switzerland, in the capacity of ambaſſador extraordinary; but they refuſed to hold a commerce with him. Triulzi, who held a conſiderable rank among this mercenary people, alſo exerted his influence in favour of France; but he met with no better ſucceſs, and la Trémouille was obliged to return without fulfilling the object of his embaſſy. The emperor propoſed to ſign a treaty with Lewis, on condition that the princeſs Remée, the king's youngeſt daughter, ſhould marry one of his grandſons, and immediately be ſent to the Imperial court; but the tender years and delicate conſtitution of that princeſs exciting apprehenſions for her life, in caſe ſhe married too ſoon, the queen oppoſed her departure, and Maximilian immediately put a ſtop to all farther negociation.

The Venetians ſtill continued to ſolicit the friendſhip of a prince, who having proved his ability to deſtroy, might, they conceived, be able to reſtore them to their priſtine ſplendour, or, at leaſt, to preſerve them from the dangerous encroachments of their powerful neighbours. The matter was debated in council, and more inconveniences than advantages were deemed likely to ſpring from the projected alliance; but the influence of Triulzi, who was extremely anxious to promote it, prevailed; and Andrew Gritti, then a priſoner to Lewis, being releaſed, received ample powers from the republic of Venice, and appeared as their ambaſſador at the court of France. Julius did not live to be informed of this treaty, which was concluded but a few days before his death: he died as he had lived, a ſtranger to the principles of chriſtianity; inſtead of expreſſing his remorſe for the numerous ſins of his life, his laſt moments were only embittered by regret at not having lived to fulfil his projects of ambition, and to complete his ſchemes of vengeance. What Guicciardini has ſaid of the cardinal San Severino, may, with greater juſtice, be applied to Julius—"He was more diſpoſed to martial atchievements, and to feats of arms, than to acts of devotion and pious meditations." As a man, he was treacherous, faithleſs, and vindictive; as a miniſter of religion his conduct was ſtill more deteſtable; and his memory muſt ever be holden in abhorrence by all who are not inclined to think that ſplendid talents afford an adequate compenſation for the abſence of every virtue.

The cardinal de Medicis, who had been taken priſoner at the battle of Raven-

na, was appointed to ſucceed him in the papal throne. The new pontiff, who aſſumed the appellation of Leo the Tenth, proſecuted with diligence and ability the plans of his predeceſſor.

The king of England had obtained a ſupply from the parliament for the proſecution of the war with France, and the moſt formidable preparations were now making for that purpoſe. The dread of an invaſion deterred Lewis from paſſing into Italy as he had intended, and la Trémouille was appointed commander of the troops deſtined for that expedition, who were to be joined by the Venetians. On the appointed day, the army of the republic took the field under the conduct of Alviano, who had been releaſed by the French. La Trémouille, on his arrival in Italy, recovered, in one-and-twenty days, the whole duchy of Milan, except the towns of Como and Novara. Sforza had retired to Novara, where he was inveſted by the French; but on the news that ten thouſand Swiſs, followed by a ſecond army of five thouſand, were advancing to the relief of the place; which it was found impoſſible to take by aſſault; the breach being not yet practicable, la Trémouille determined to ſuſpend the operations of the ſiege, and march to attack the Swiſs before their two armies ſhould have effected a junction. Triulzi received orders to proceed, without ſtopping, as far as Trecario; but under pretence that his troops were fatigued, he pitched his camp on the road in a marſhy place, where the different corps of the army were ſo divided that it was impoſſible for them, in caſe of attack, to afford timely aſſiſtance to each other. La Trémouille, on his arrival with the rear of the army, immediately reproached Triulzi with the fault he had committed, which he would fain have repaired by continuing his march, but it was too late, and he was compelled to paſs the night on the ſpot. The next morning (June the ſixth) before day-break he was attacked by the Swiſs, whoſe forces were ſuperior to his own, as a part of his troops were ſtill in Savoy: la Trémouille drew up his army in order of battle, while his artillery made conſiderable havock among the enemy; but, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the French and Lanſquenets were routed, and ſeven thouſand of them left dead on the field. La Trémouille, who was wounded in the action, effected his retreat with the remainder of his troops to Vercelli, whence he proceeded to Suſa. The French loſt on this occaſion ſeven-and-twenty pieces of cannon.

Lewis was wholly unable to afford his allies that effectual relief which their diſtreſſed ſituation required; his dominions were threatened with attacks on every ſide, and his troops barely ſufficient to defend his kingdom againſt the numerous enemies with which it was ſurrounded. Picardy and Burgundy were expoſed to imminent danger, but the miſconduct of the Engliſh ſaved the one, and the prudence of la Trémouille preſerved the other.

Five-and-twenty thouſand Swiſs made an irruption into Franche-Comté, where they were joined by a body of Imperialiſts, and after laying waſte the country, they laid ſiege to Dijon. That place was not in a ſtate of defence; yet la Trémouille, who was governor of Burgundy, threw himſelf into it, with the reſolution to hold out to the laſt extremity; and when the town ſhould be no longer tena-

ble, to repair to ſome other, ſo as to prevent the enemy from penetrating to the capital. The magiſtrates and people of Dijon were in the greateſt conſternation; the Gendarmes had entered the city, and were diſtributed in different parts, with orders to encourage the citizens; the infantry were poſted on the ramparts, the cannon pointed, and the gates blocked up except two—that which led to Paris, left open for the convenience of receiving ſuccours, and facilitating a retreat, in caſe of neceſſity; and that which faced the enemy's camp. The governor ſent an officer to the king to demand ſuccours, while Mouſſii had orders—which he could not execute—to open a negociation with the Swiſs. The people, in alarm, followed the magiſtrates to the palace, whither la Trémouille had ſummoned them to attend: he there reproached them with their want of ſpirit: "If we cannot "conquer"—ſaid he—"we can at leaſt hold out till the arrival of ſuccours, "which are not far off. Obſerve our preparations; look on that formidable "train of artillery; the very ſight of it has already ſtricken the Swiſs with terror; "what, then, will be the caſe, when it ſhall begin to play upon them?" But the eloquence of la Trémouille was inſufficient to revive the drooping ſpirits of the inhabitants. La Trémouille, immediately took his reſolution, and repaired to the enemy's camp, where, without betraying any ſymptoms of fear, or aſſuming a miſplaced confidence, he offered them peace. "*On two conditions*"—replied the Swiſs—"*we will accept it;—Money for ourſelves, and Burgundy for the* "*emperor.*" This propoſal was rejected with diſdain by la Trémouille, who harangued the Swiſs with ſo much energy, that thoſe who had at firſt been moſt violent againſt him, now liſtened to him with patience; meanwhile his ſecret partiſans exerted their influence; and the Swiſs, by degrees, began to relax: he ſeized, with judicious eagerneſs, the favourable moment, and inſtantaneouſly concluded a treaty, by which he engaged to pay them ſix hundred thouſaud crowns, part of which was immediately advanced; and for the payment of the remainder he gave them his nephew and ſome other perſons as hoſtages: he aſſured the Swiſs that the king ſhould be reconciled to them, ſhould renouce the council of Piſa, and cede to them ſeveral places in the Milaneſe. The inhabitants of Dijon were tranſported with joy at the news of this treaty: they chearfully contributed to ſupply a part of the promiſed ſum.

While the Swiſs were in Burgundy, Henry, king of England, had landed at Calais, with an army of fifty thouſand men: he was ſoon after joined by Maximilian, with ſome German and Flemiſh ſoldiers, who were uſeful in giving an example of diſcipline to Henry's new-levied forces.

Before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the Engliſh camp, the earl of Shrewſbury and lord Herbert, who had landed firſt with the vanguard of the army, had formed the ſiege of Terouane, a town ſituated on the frontiers of Picardy. Teligny and Crequi, who commanded in the town, made a ſtout reſiſtance, but at the expiration of a month, finding themſelves without proviſions, they appriſed the king of their ſituation, who ſent orders to de Pinnes, governor

of the province, to throw relief into the place. Fontrailles appeared at the head of eight hundred horſemen, each of whom carried a ſack of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon behind him. With this ſmall force he made an unexpected irruption into the Engliſh camp, and, ſurmounting all reſiſtance, advanced to the foſſée of the town, where each horſeman threw down his burden. They immediately returned on a gallop, and were ſo fortunate as again to break through the Engliſh, and to ſuffer little or no loſs in this dangerous attempt.

The governors were obliged, ſoon after, to ſurrender, and Henry found his acquiſition of ſo little moment, though gained at the expence of ſome blood, and much valuable time, that he immediately demoliſhed the fortifications, in direct violation of the terms of capitulation.*

Maximilian, deſirous of freeing his grandſon from a troubleſome neighbour, adviſed the king of England to lay ſiege to Tournay; and Henry, not conſidering that ſuch an acquſition would nowiſe advance his conqueſts in France, was ſo imprudent as to follow this intereſted council. The city of Tournay, by its ancient charters, being exempted from the burden of a garriſon, the burgliers, againſt the remonſtrance of their ſovereign, ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on maintaining this dangerous privilege; and they engaged, by themſelves, to make a vigorous defence againſt the enemy. They found themſelves, however, inadequate to the taſk, and, after a few days ſiege, the place was ſurrendered to the Engliſh†. The biſhop of Tournay was lately dead, and as a new biſhop was already elected by the chapter, but not inſtalled in his office, the king of England beſtowed the adminiſtration of the ſee on his favourite, the celebrated cardinal Wolſey. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiſs from Burgundy, and obſerving the ſeaſon to be far advanced, Henry thought proper to return to England; and he carried the greater part of his army with him.

Lewis was thus unexpectedly delivered from a danger as formidable as any that had ever threatened the French monarchy; he was however, tired of the war; and the queen inceſſantly repeating to him that he could never expect to ſee it brought to a concluſion ſo long as he continued at variance with the ſovereign pontiff, Lewis, at length, yielded to her importunate ſolicitations, and ſuffered her to make overtures to Leo, which were favourably received by that pontiff, who did not wiſh to promote the ruin of France, but only to prevent her from obtaining the duchy of Milan. An accommodation was accordingly effected between Lewis and the pope, the former having previouſly renounced the council of Piſa, and acknowledged that of Lateran, in conſequence whereof the king and kingdom were abſolved from all the cenſures which had been pronounced againſt them.

A. D. 1514.] The queen did not live to reap the fruits of this accomodation, which ſhe regarded as her own work; ſhe expired at Blois, on the ninth of

* Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 214. † Mezerai, ubi ſupra.

February, 1514, regretted by the nation, and deeply lamented by the king, by whom ſhe was tenderly beloved. The averſion of Anne for the counteſs of Angouléme, had made her conceive a diſlike to the young duke of Valois, the conſummation of whoſe marriage with her daughter Claude had, on that account, been hitherto prevented; but ſoon after her death, on the fourteenth of May, 1514, the nuptials were celebrated at Saint Germain-en-Laye.

The Swiſs, enraged with the king for his refuſal to ratify the treaty they had concluded with la Trémouille, now meditated a freſh invaſion of Burgundy, and were buſily employed in raiſing troops for that purpoſe; but the pope, fearful that Lewis might be unable to ſuſtain a ſecond campaign againſt ſuch a powerful confederacy, undertook to appeaſe the Swiſs, and an accommodation might have been effected, had Lewis poſſeſſed leſs candour and ſincerity; but it was a peculiar misfortune attending this prince, that his virtues generally proved prejudicial to his intereſts. The pope required, as a previous condition, the abſolute renunciation of the duchy of Milan; but Lewis aſſured him it was impoſſible to comply with his demand, ſince that duchy had been united to the domain of the crown.

Lewis, who ſtill grieved for the loſs of Anne, his late queen, had no inclination to marry again; but the account he received of the charms of Mary, joined to his deſire of promoting the happineſs of his people, by the reſtoration of peace, were motives too ſtrong to be reſiſted, and he accordingly gave Longueville full powers for negociating the treaty. The articles were eaſily adjuſted between the monarchs. Lewis agreed that Tournay ſhould remain in the hands of the Engliſh; that Henry ſhould receive payment of ſix hundred thouſand crowns,* as well for arrears of the penſion promiſed by the treaties of Péquigny and Eſtampes, as to reimburſe him for the expences of the war; and that the princeſs Mary ſhould bring four hundred thouſand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the laſt, who was heireſs of Brittany. The two princes alſo agreed on ſuccours with which they ſhould mutually ſupply each other, in caſe either of them were attacked by an enemy.† In conſequence of this treaty, Mary was ſent over to France with a ſplendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the nuptials were celebrated on the tenth of October, 1514.

A. D. 1515.] This marriage diffuſed an univerſal joy throughout the kingdom, and the court became a ſcene of feſtivity and pleaſure. Lewis was enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accompliſhments of his youthful conſort, for whoſe gratification he totally changed his manner of living; but, unfortunately, his exceſs of affection proved prejudicial to his health; by ſtimulating a diſpoſition naturally amorous, it led him to indulge too freely in thoſe enjoyments which are ill-ſuited to the autumn of life. He had been frequently heard to repeat, that

* Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 218. † Du Tillet.

—"*Love is the king of young, but the tyrant of old men;*" and he was condemed to experience the truth of that maxim. His conſtitution, already ſhaken, received an additional ſhock, from a fit of the gout and a ſlow fever; yet ſtill he continued his preparations for an invaſion of Italy; the troops had already advanced to the frontiers, and only waited the return of ſpring to paſs the mountains. The Venetians, having rejected the ſolicitations of the pope, to conclude a treaty with the emperor, had conſiderably augmented their forces, and were reſolved to ſecond the operations of Lewis. On the other hand, the Swiſs had undertaken to guard the Alps, and threatened to exterminate the French. But the execution of theſe projects were, for a time, ſuſpended, by the death of the beſt of kings, who, in addition to his other diſorders, was ſeized with a dyſentery, at the palace of the Tournelles, in Paris, which brought him to the grave, on the firſt of January, 1515, in the ſeventeenth year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age.

The ſuperior integrity of Lewis, in an age when moſt of the European princes were actuated by a ſpirit of perfidy, and made intereſt the grand object of their purſuits, and the ſole rule of their conduct, merits the higheſt commendations which the pen of the hiſtorian can beſtow. A profeſſed enemy to falſhood and equivocation, he puniſhed with ſeverity every deviation from truth. Frank, open, candid, affable, and gay, he conciliated the affections of all who knew him, while his attention to the welfare and felicitity of his ſubjects, procured him the honourable appellation of *The Father of his People*. As a politician, indeed, his abilities may be called in queſtion; though the failure of his ſchemes may, in general, be aſcribed to the excellence of his principles; and the monarch who becomes a dupe to his virtues cannot fail to ſecure the eſteem of poſterity, while the prince who is indebted for his ſucceſs to his vices, muſt be holden in perpetual abhorrence.

Lewis the Twelfth had, by his conſort, Anne of Brittany, widow to Charles the Eighth, two ſons, who died in their infancy, and two daughters, Claude married to Francis the Firſt, and Renée, who eſpouſed the duke of Ferrara.

Francis had been greatly ſtricken with the charms of the Engliſh princeſs Mary, wife to Lewis; and, even during his predeceſſor's life-time, had paid her ſuch aſſiduous court, as made ſome of his friends apprehend that he had a deſign upon her perſon. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was, at that time, at the court of France, the moſt comely perſonage of his time, and the moſt expert in all the faſhionable exerciſes of the age. He was the Engliſh monarch's principal favourite, and Henry had even once intended to give him his ſiſter in marriage, and had encouraged a paſſion between the youthful pair. The queen now aſked Suffolk whether he had the courage, without farther reflection, to eſpouſe her? and ſhe told him that her brother would more eaſily be induced to forgive him for not aſking his conſent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk had too much ſpirit to decline ſuch an inviting offer; and their nuptials were ſecretly celebrated at Paris. Francis interpoſed his good offices in appeaſing him; and his interpoſition being ſeconded by the Engliſh miniſter Wolſey, Suffolk and his conſort obtained permiſſion to return to England.

FRANCIS THE FIRST.

A. D. 1515.] WITH Lewis the Twelfth expired the elder branch of the houſe of Orleans, and the ſceptre of France was transferred to that of Angouleme. Francis the firſt ſucceeded his great-uncle Lewis, without oppoſition or difficulty: the order of ſucceſſion was firmly eſtabliſhed; and this was the third time, ſince the acceſſion of the monarchs of the Capetian race, that the crown, in default of heirs male, had paſſed to a collateral branch. The coronation of Francis was performed at Rheims, on the twenty-fifth of January, amidſt the acclamations of a people, whoſe affections his external endowments and popular manners were well calculated to acquire. But the adulation he received had a fatal effect on his conduct, by inflating his pride, and flattering his ambition. The firſt act of authority he performed, proved the ſtrength of his filial affection—the county of Angouleme was, in favour of his mother, converted into a duchy; the patent of the creation is dated the fourth of February, 1515.

After regulating the internal adminiſtration of his kingdom, Francis turned his attention to foreign affairs. His firſt care was to renew the treaty of peace which his predeceſſor had concluded with Henry the Eighth. He received homage from the count of Naſſau, in the name of his maſter, the archduke Charles, from the counties of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois; and he concluded a treaty with that prince, the terms of which it is needleſs to ſpecify, as the treaty itſelf was annulled by another which was ſigned between Charles and Francis, the following year.

During theſe tranſactions an attempt was made to procure a renewal and prolongation of the truce with Spain, but this Ferdinand refuſed, unleſs Italy and the Milaneſe were included in the treaty; and Francis having rejected with diſdain a propoſal which tended to thwart his favourite project, the king of Arragon entered into a league with the emperor Sforza and the Swiſs, for the defence of the Milaneſe: The Swiſs engaged to make an irruption into Burgundy, and to ſpread terror and devaſtation throughout that fertile province. The pope, at firſt, heſitated to join this formidable confederacy, but was at length, in the month of July, induced to accede to it. The Venetians, whoſe ſafety in a great meaſure depended on the protection of France, renewed with Francis the treaty they had ſigned with

his predeceſſor. The king, meanwhile, continued to make the moſt formidable preparations, amuſed the pope by negociations, which Leo thought neceſſary for the concealment of his deſigns, ſecured the Genoeſe in his intereſt, and engaged Octavian Fregoſa to quit the title of doge for that of governor for the king.—Every thing being ready for his expedition, the king left Lyons on the fifteenth of Auguſt, after he had appointed his mother, Louiſa of Savoy, regent of the kingdom during his abſence.

In order to ſupply the neceſſary funds for his Italian expedition, Francis had recourſe to meaſures the moſt arbitrary and impolitic. It was on this occaſion that the offices of the crown were firſt expoſed to ſale, at the inſtigation of the chancellor Duprat* ; a dangerous innovaſion, which was ſtrongly oppoſed by the parliament, who refuſed to regiſter it without the uſual clauſe, in all caſes where their own judgment was compelled to yield to the plenitude of the regal power, that it was entered in the regiſters, *by the expreſs command of the king*†.

The army deſtined for this enterpriſe was formidable from its numbers, and ſplendid from the rank of its officers and commanders. Beſides a great number of nobility, the king was attended by ſeven princes of the blood-royal. The Swiſs, after laying waſte the duchy of Savoy, had ſecured all the paſſages of the Alps, to force which it would have been neceſſary to ſuſtain an action at every defile, in which twenty men might impede the progreſs of an whole army. Triulzi received imformation, from a peaſant who inhabited the mountains, of a ſecret path, which was left unguarded, becauſe believed to be impracticable; and having previouſly explored it, it was reſolved to purſue it. It was neceſſary to blow up ſeveral points of rocks which intercepted the paſſage of the troops; and Peter Navarre, who had entered the French ſervice, becauſe the king of Spain had refuſed to pay his ranſom when taken priſoner at the battle of Ravenna, rendered eſſential ſervice to Francis on this occaſion: both the army and the artillery reached the oppoſite ſide of the Alps in ſafety, and unperceived by the Swiſs, whoſe attention was called to another quarter, by ſome troops of horſe, ſtationed purpoſely to amuſe them, on mount Cenis. The French deſcended the Alps into the marquiſate of Saluzzo, and Bayard ſurpriſed Proſper Colonna, the general of the papal forces, who, ignorant of the approach of the French, was negligently encamped, with a thouſand cavalry, at Villa-Franca, near the ſource of the Po‡. But two men of the whole detachment eſcaped: the reſt were all killed or taken.

This ſucceſsful beginning inſpired the French troops with additional courage; while the allies remained in a ſtate of ſuſpence, and diviſions and miſtruſt began

* Mezerai, tom vii. p. 237.

† When the practice of verifying and regiſtering the royal edicts in the parliament of Paris became common, the parliament contended that this was neceſſary in order to give them legal authority. It was eſtabliſhed as a fundamental maxim in French juriſprudence, that no law could be publiſhed in any other manner; that, without this formality, no edict or ordonnance could have any effect; that the people were not bound to obey it, and ought not to conſider it as an edict or ordonnance, until it was verified in the ſupreme court, after free deliberation. (Roche-flavin des Parlemens de France, quarto, p. 192.

‡ Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xii. p. 151.

to prevail among them. The Swiſs were the only enemies who were actuated by hoſtile zeal and violent reſentment; enraged at their failure in preventing the French from paſſing the Alps, they had retired into the duchy of Milan, with the reſolution to defend it to the laſt extremity. The king, meanwhile, had joined his army in the plains of Quieras; and the town of Novara immediately ſurrendered to his arms. The Swiſs continued to retreat before him, as if anxious to avoid a battle; owing to a diſpute with the cardinal of Sion, who had arreſted one of their chiefs, named Albert. The cardinal was obliged to releaſe Albert, who took the road to Berne with a part of his companions, while the reſt of their troops lent a favourable ear to a propoſal made by the duke of Savoy, in the king's name, to advance them ſeven hundred thouſand crowns, and to give Maximilian Sforza an eſtabliſhment in France. The treaty appeared to be on the point of concluſion, when the arrival of ten thouſand of their countrymen, and the powerful exhortations of the cardinal of Sion, made the Swiſs change their mind; they marched forwards to attack the lines of the French, who were encamped at Marignano, about a league from Milan.

Hiſtory ſcarce affords any example of a battle diſputed with greater obſtinacy than that of Marignano. It began about four in the afternoon of the thirteenth of September, and laſted more than three hours after the night cloſed; when laſſitude and darkneſs ſeparated the combatants, without abating their animoſity.—The king, who paſſed the night completely armed, on the carriage of a cannon, was ſurpriſed to find himſelf at dawn of day, within a few paces of the enemy, who renewed the charge with renovated vigour. The black bands, ſo called from the colour of their ſtandards, commanded by the duke of Guiſe, in the abſence of his uncle, the duke of Gueldres, who had given way the day before, now retrived their honour, by the moſt ſpirited and ſucceſsful exertions. The Swiſs, repulſed on every ſide, and perceiving Alviano approaching with a choſen body of Venetian cavalry, returned to Milan, without being purſued by the French. Diſcouraged at the loſs they had ſuſtained, and unable to procure any money from Sforza, who had none to give them, they left him fifteen hundred of their men to defend the caſtle of Milan, and haſtened back to their own country. Francis remained maſter of the field, which was ſtrewed with the bodies of ten thouſand Swiſs, and from three to four thouſand of the French, among whom were many of the nobility.

The king would not ſuffer the Swiſs to be moleſted in their retreat; but Alviano, who did not arrive till the end of the action, anxious to ſhare in the glory of the day, attacked the rear of the Swiſs; the attempt proved unſucceſsful, and was attended with the loſs of many officers of note. Triulzi, who had been preſent at ſeventeen pitched battles, ſaid, that "that of Marignano was a combat of giants, and all the reſt but mere children's play!"—The king rewarded the valour of the chevalier Bayard by receiving the honour of knighthood from his hands.

The terror which the battle of Marignano inſpired, together with the departure of the Swiſs, left Maximilian Sforza almoſt deſtitute of aſſiſtance. Yet he ſought to prolong the moments of his ſovereignty by retiring into the caſtle of Milan,

while Francis took poſſeſſion of the city; but that fortreſs was incapable of withſtanding the ardour of the French, directed by the duke of Bourbon. It was ſurrendered to that general, together with the city of Cremona; but Sforza obtained, at leaſt, honourable terms from the victor; and a ſafe retreat, with a penſion of thirty thouſand ducats, was aſſigned him in France. Deſtitute of ambition, and of talents, he gladly retired from a ſituation to which he was unequal, and, at laſt, expired at Paris, after lingering fifteen years through a life of contempt.

When the king made his entry into Milan, he exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and eſtabliſhed a parliament, in imitation of his predeceſſor, after which, he paſſed a week in viſiting the different towns of the duchy.

Leo the Tenth, verſed in all the refinements of Italian policy, abandoned with their fortunes, the cauſe his allies. He courted an interview with Francis; and that monarch ſuffered himſelf to be conducted, by the cardinals de Fieſco, and de Medicis, to the city of Bologna. The treaty was ſoon concluded; Leo agreed to withdraw his troops from the cities of Parma and Piacenza; in return for which conceſſion, Francis conſented to abandon the duke di Urbino, an uncertain ally, and the declared enemy of the houſe of Medicis, in whoſe favour he was deſpoiled of his duchy: Had the king gone no farther, his policy would not have been prejudicial to the nation, but he was ſo weak as to accede to the pope's propoſal for the total abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction*—an abolition deſtructive of the privileges of the Gallican church—for which he ſubſtituted *the Concordat*, whereby Leo ceded to Francis the right of appointing biſhops and abbots, throughout the French dominions; and the king, in return, granted the pope the *Annates*, or firſt fruits of thoſe eccleſiaſtical benefices*. The parliament long refuſed to regiſter the *Concordat*, continued to regulate their deciſions according to the Pragmatic Sanction, and confirmed the oppoſition of the univerſity. The clergy, too, called loudly for the convocation of a national council; but the authority of the king prevailed, and the parliament were, at length, obliged, much againſt their will, to give the diſgraceful compact a place on their regiſters, where it was inſerted, on the twenty-ſecond of March, 1518, with the uſual clauſe of diſapprobation.

While the king thus ſuffered himſelf to be duped by the artful adulation of the pope, his miniſters concluded a more honourable and more advantageous treaty with the Swiſs; by which they conſented to acknowlege Francis for duke of Milan, count of Aſt, and lord of Genoa; engaged to aſſiſt that monarch, and to defend his dominions, and to reſtore all the places they held in the Milaneſe, except Bellinzone. The king, on his part, engaged to pay them ſix hundred thouſand crowns, and the annual penſion which they received before their rupture with Lewis the Twelfth: but five cantons having refuſed to ſubſcribe theſe conditions, the others ſtipulated that they ſhould never be obliged to bear arms againſt their countrymen.

* Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 249.

A. D. 1516.] The victory of Marignano had inſpired with terror the mind of Ferdinand of Arragon; the accommodation with the pope, and the treaty with the Swiſs, which he had, in vain, exerted his utmoſt efforts to prevent, had encreaſed his alarm; he trembled for the throne of Naples, and, anxious to avert the danger with which he conceived himſelf to be threatened, he endeavoured to revive the animoſity of the neighbouring powers, and once more to excite a formidable confederacy againſt France; but death put a ſtop to his plans. He died on the twenty-third day of January, 1516. By his will he left the archduke Charles ſole heir of all his dominions, and allotted to Ferdinand, brother to Charles, a ſcanty penſion of fifty thouſand ducats; the regency of Caſtile was committed to cardinal Ximenes, and the archbiſhop of Saragoſſa was appointed regent of Arragon.

Meanwhile the French, who now only acted as auxiliaries to the Venetians in Italy, formed the ſiege of Breſcia, under the command of mareſchal Lautrec, whoſe brother Triulzi, had been appointed general of the Venetian forces on the death of Alviano. The garriſon agreed to ſurrender if not relieved within twenty days; but the German general, Roquendolf, haſtened to their aſſiſtance, with a body of ſix thouſand men, and was cloſe followed by the whole Imperial army, led by Maximilian himſelf. On the emperor's arrival Lautrec raiſed the ſiege, and retired with precipitation to Milan, where the alarm was ſo great that Maximilian might eaſily have made himſelf maſter of the city; but, inſtead of marching directly to Milan, he amuſed himſelf by laying waſte the country between the Po and the Adda, and thereby gave time to the conſtable to put himſelf in ſtate of defence. In the city of Milan there were thirteen thouſand Swiſs, in the pay of France, but as they refuſed to fight againſt their countrymen, who were in the Imperial army, the conſtable diſmiſſed them. Maximilian, who inveſted Milan, was ſoon reduced to the ſame dilemma; his Swiſs troops demanded their pay, and the emperor having diſſipated the money that was deſtined for that purpoſe, they mutinied, and returned to their own country. The Germans, too, diſperſed, and the whole army evacuated Italy.

During theſe tranſactions Charles, anxious to take poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh dominions, and deſirous to ſecure, during his abſence, the Netherlands from invaſion, evinced a ſtrong diſpoſition to maintain peace with France: the Flemings, too, who had long poſſeſſed an extenſive commerce, which, during the league of Cambray, had grown to a great height upon the ruins of the Venetian trade, dreaded a rupture with that power; and Chievres, the Flemiſh miniſter, ſagacious to diſcern the true intereſts of his country, warmly adopted the ſame ſentiments. Francis, ſolicituous to ſecure his late conqueſts in Italy by a treaty, liſtened with joy to the firſt overtures of accommodation. Chievres himſelf conducted the negociation, in the name of Charles, while Boiſi appeared as plenipotentionary for Francis. They concluded, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, 1516*, a treaty of con-

* Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 258.

federacy and mutual defence between the two monarchs. This alliance not only united Charles and Francis, but obliged Maximilian, who was unable alone to cope with the French and Venetians, to enter into a treaty with thoſe powers, which put a final period to the bloody and tedious war which the league of Cambray had occaſioned. This treaty was ſigned at Bruxelles, in the month of December, 1516, and comfirmed by an other treaty, concluded at Combray, in the month of March following.

A. D. 1517.] About the ſame period a more durable treaty was ſigned between the French and Swiſs; the five cantons who had refuſed to ſubſcribe the former conditions, now joined their countrymen, and acceded to a treaty of perpetual alliance: in conſideration of an additional penſion, they promiſed never to ſerve againſt France; and this treaty has ſubſiſted till the preſent time, without any alteration.

A. D. 1518.] The conſtable de Bourbon had been recalled from the Milaneſe, and was ſucceeded in his government by the mareſchal de Lautrac, who, intoxicated with the favour he enjoyed, and jealous of Triulzi, repreſented that gallant veteran, at the court of France, as a ſecret enemy to the country he profeſſed to ſerve. Triulzi, juſtly incenſed at this malicious imputation, immediately haſtened to France, in order to juſtify his conduct; but the reception he experienced from Francis, who, having inconſiderately given implicit credit to the baſe inſinuations of Lautrec, did not deign to ſpeak to him, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, as ſoon brought him to the grave. The death of Triulzi tended to alienate the affections of the Milaneſe, and their particular deteſtation of Lautrec, was ſpeedily converted into a general hatred of his countrymen.

Bonnevet, admiral of France, was now diſpatched to London, in order to gain the confidence and friendſhip of Henry the Eighth; and he was directed to employ all his inſinuation and addreſs, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himſelf a place in the good graces of Cardinal Wolſey, that monarch's prime miniſter and chief favourite. After the ambaſſador had ſucceeded in his purpoſe, he took an opportunity of expreſſing his maſter's regret, that, by miſtakes and miſapprehenſions, he had been ſo unfortunate as to loſe a friendſhip which he ſo much valued as that of his eminence. Wolſey was not deaf to theſe honourable advances from ſo great a monarch; and he thenceforth expreſſed himſelf in favour of the French alliance.

When matters ſeemed to be ſufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his maſter's deſire of recovering Tournay; and Wolſey, immediately, without heſitation, engaged to effect his purpoſe. He took an opportunity of repreſenting to Henry and the Engliſh counil, that Tournay lay ſo remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, in caſe of war, to keep the communication open between theſe two places: that as it was ſituated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it muſt neceſſarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the firſt aſſailant.

These reasons being deemed convincive by the English council, a treaty was concluded for the cession of Tournay; and in order to give that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princess Mary, daughter to Henry, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. But as Henry had been at considerable expence in the erection of a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him six hundred thousand crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them noblemen, for the performance of the article*: and lest cardinal Wolsey should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres as an equivalent for his administration of the bishoprick of Tournay. Wolsey attempted to procure the restitution of Calais, but found such a strenuous opposition to the distant overtures which he made for that purpose in the English council, that he did not think it prudent to proceed any farther in the business.

A. D. 1519.] But while Francis was diligenty employed in securing the amity of the neighbouring powers, an event occurred, that formed a kind of æra in the general system of Europe. This was the death of the emperor Maximilian, who expired at Lintz upon the Danube, on the twelfth of January, 1519.

On the death of Maximilian two candidates aspired to the vacant dignity, Francis and Charles, and the attention of all Europe was fixed upon this competition, no less illustrious from the high rank of the candidates, than from the importance of the prize for which they contended. Each urged his pretensions with sanguine expectations, and no unpromising prospect of success. Charles considered the Imperial crown as belonging to him of right, from its long continuance in the Austrian line; he knew that no one of the German princes was sufficiently powerful to become his rival; he flattered himself that no consideration would induce the natives of Germany to exalt any foreign potentate to a dignity, which, during so many ages, had been deemed peculiar to their own nation; and least of all, that they would confer this honour upon Francis, the sovereign of a people whose genius, laws, and manners differed so widely from those of the Germans, that it was hardly possible to establish any cordial union between them. He did not, however, trust the success of his cause to these alone. Great sums of money were remitted from Spain; and a considerable body of troops kept on foot by the states of the circle of Suabia was secretly taken into his pay. The venal were gained by presents; the objections of the more scrupulous were answered or eluded; and some feeble princes were threatened or overawed.†

Francis, on the other hand, supported his claim with equal eagerness, and no less confidence of its being founded on justice. It was contended by his emmisaries,

* Memoirs du Bellay, lib. i.—Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 264.

† Guicciardini, tom. iii. p. 263.—Sleidan, Hist. of the Reformation.—Struvii Corp. Hist. German.—Robertson.

that it was now high time to convince the princes of the houſe of Auſtria that the Imperial crown was elective, and not hereditary; that other perſons might aſpire to an honour which their arrogance had, at length, led them to regard as the property of their family; that it required a ſovereign of mature judgment and approved abilities, to hold the reins of government in a country where ſuch unknown opinions concerning religion had been publiſhed (alluding to the doctrines of the reformers, then recently propagated) as had thrown the minds of men into an uncommon agitation, which threatened to be productive of the moſt violent effects. That the election of Charles would be inconſiſtent with a fundamental conſtitution, by which the perſon that holds the crown of Naples is excluded from aſpiring to the Imperial dignity; that his elevation to that honour would ſoon kindle a war in Italy, on account of his pretenſions to the duchy of Milan, the effects of which could not fail of reaching the empire, and might prove fatal to it.* As the expeditious method of tranſmitting money, and the decent mode of conveying a bribe by bills of exchange, was then little known, the French ambaſſadors travelled with a train of horſes loaded with treaſure.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when the diet was opened at Frankfort, on the ſeventeenth of June. The right of chuſing an emperor had long been veſted in ſeven great princes, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Electors. But, notwithſtanding the ſpecious arguments produced by the ambaſſadors of Charles and Francis, in favour of their reſpective maſters, and in ſpite of all their ſolicitations, intrigues, and preſents, the electors did not forget that maxim on which the liberty of the German conſtitution was thought to be founded. To elect either of the contending monarchs would have been a groſs violation of that ſalutary maxim; would have given to the empire a maſter inſtead of a head; and would have reduced themſelves from the rank of equals to the condition of ſubjects.†

Impreſſed with theſe ideas, all the electors directed their eyes to Frederick, duke of Saxony, a prince, who from the dignity of his virtues, and the ſplendour of his talents, had acquired the honourable appellation of *The Sage*, and they unanimouſly offered him the Imperial crown. Unſeduced by an object ſo alluring, Frederick required a ſhort time for deliberation, and magnanimouſly rejected the proffered diadem. His rejection of a gift which the proudeſt monarchs had courted with avidity, was accompanied by an obſervation on the impolicy of invariably adhering to a maxim, which, though juſt in many caſes, could not be applicable to all. "In times of tranquillity"—ſaid Frederick—"we wiſh for an "emperor who has not power to invade our liberties; times of danger require "one who has the ability to provide for our ſafety. The Turkiſh armies are "now aſſembling under the conduct of a prince diſtinguiſhed for his gallantry, "and fluſhed with conqueſt. They are preparing to ruſh like a torrent upon "Germany, with a violence unprecedented in former times. New conjectures call "for new expedients. Some hand more potent than mine, or that of any other

* Guicciardini.—La Palinus.—Robertſon. † Robertſon.

"German prince, muſt, at this period, be entruſted with the Imperial ſceptre; "for we poſſeſs neither dominions, revenues, nor authority, which can enable "us to face ſuch a formidable foe. Recourſe, therefore, muſt be had to one "of the rival monarchs, each of whom can bring into the field forces ſufficient "for our defence. But as the king of Spain is of German extraction; as he "is a member and prince of the empire, by the territories he inherits from "his grandfather; as his dominions lie contiguous to the frontier which is moſt "expoſed to attack; his claim is, in my opinion, preferable to that of a ſtranger "to our language, to our blood, and to our country; and, therefore, I give my "vote to raiſe him to the Imperial throne."

This opinion dictated by ſuch uncommon generoſity, and ſupported by arguments ſo plauſible, made a deep impreſſion on the electors. The Spaniſh party among the electors daily gained grouud; and even the pope's nuncio, convinced of the inutility of farther oppoſition, endeavoured to acquire ſome merit with the future emperor, by offering voluntarily, in the name of his maſter, a diſpenſation to hold the Imperial crown in conjunction with that of Naples.*

On the twenty-eighth of June, five months and ten days after the death of Maximilian, this important conteſt, which had holden all Europe in ſuſpence, was decided. Six of the electors had already declared for the king of Spain; and the archbiſhop of Treves, the only firm adherent to the French intereſt, having, at laſt, joined his brethren, Charles was, by the unanimous voice of the electoral college, raiſed to the imperial throne, under the title of Charles the Fifth.

The French ambaſſador, Bonnivet, who had entertained the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs, was ſo mortified at the diſappointment he experienced on this occaſion, that it was ſome time before he could prevail upon himſelf to make his appearance at court. Francis himſelf, although he had been frequently heard to ſay to the Spaniſh ambaſſadors—"*Your maſter and I are ſuitors to the "ſame miſtreſs; the more fortunate will carry her; but the other muſt remain content-"ed*"—was equally mortified with his ambaſſador, though he took care to diſguiſe his feelings. From this moment, Charles, more fortunate or more politic, appears to have acquired an aſcendancy over Francis, which he always preſerved.

A. D. 1520.] Francis, alarmed at the augmented ſplendour and power of Charles, and mortified at the preference given to that prince in the ſight of all Europe, endeavoured, by a ſtrict alliance with Henry, to balance the acquiſion of his rival. He had before ſolicited an interview with the Engliſh monarch, which Charles had in vain endeavoured to prevent, by making a voyage to England, where he flattered the king, and detached his favourite Wolſey from the intereſt of France. Whatever impreſſion the engaging manners of Francis, or the liberal and unſuſpicious confidence with which he treated Henry, made on the mind

* Freheri Rer. Germ. Scriptores, vol. ii. p. 172.—Gianone, Iſtoria di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 498.

of that monarch, was ſoon effaced by Wolſey's artifices, or by an interview he had with the emperor at Gravelines, on the tenth of July; which was conducted by Charles with leſs pomp than that near Guiſnes, but with greater attention to his political intereſt.

A. D. 1521.] By the treaty of Noyon, Charles had agreed to do juſtice to John d'Albret, the excluded monarch of Navarre, whom Francis was bound in honour, and prompted by intereſt, to reſtore to his throne; but though frequent applications had been made to Charles for the purpoſe, he continually eluded them upon frivolous pretexts; and Francis, therefore, thought himſelf authoriſed by that treaty to aſſiſt the exiled family. Henry d'Albret had ſucceeded to the claims of his father John, and an army, levied in his name, was deſtined under the conduct of Andrew de Foix, lord of Leſparre, and brother to Laurrec, to reſtore him to the throne of his anceſtors. The juncture appeared peculiarly favourable for ſuch an enterpriſe, Charles was at a diſtance from that part of his dominions; the troops uſually ſtationed there had been called away to quell the commotions in Spain; the Spaniſh malecontents warmly ſolicited Francis to invade Navarre, in which a conſiderable faction was ready to declare for the deſcendants of their ancient monarchs. Leſparre had neither talents nor experience for the diſcharge of that important truſt to which, through the powerful influence of his connections, he had been recommended; but as there was no army in the field to oppoſe him, he reduced in a few days the whole kingdom, without meeting with any obſtruction but from the city of Pampeluna; nor would the ſlight reſiſtance made by that fortreſs have deſerved notice, if Ignatius Loyola, a gentleman of Biſcay, had not been dangerouſly wounded in its defence. During the ſlow progreſs of a lingering cure, Loyola happened to have no other amuſement than what he could find in the peruſal of the lives of the ſaints. The effect of ſuch reading on his mind, naturally enthuſiaſtic, but ambitious and daring, was to inſpire him with ſuch a deſire of emulating the glory of theſe "fabulous worthies of the Roman church," as led him into the wildeſt and moſt extravagant adventures, which terminated in the inſtitution of the ſociety of Jeſuits, the moſt political and beſt regulated of all the monaſtic orders, and from which mankind have derived more advantage, and received greater detriment, than from any other of theſe religious fraternities*.

Had Leſparre, on the reduction of Pampeluna, been content with taking proper precautions for ſecuring his conqueſt, the kingdom of Navarre might ſtill have remained annexed to the crown of France in reality, as well as in title. But ſtimulated by the ardour of youth, and encouraged by Francis, who was too apt to be dazzled with ſucceſs, he imprudently entered the dominions of Spain, and laid ſiege to Logrogno, a ſmall town in Caſtile. This roufed the Caſtilians from the lethargy in which they had hitherto appeared to be involved, and having nearly compoſed their own private diſſentions, both parties exerted themſelves with emulation in defence of their country. The ſudden advance of their troops, to-

* Robertſon.

gether with the gallant defence made by the inhabitants of Logrogno, obliged the French general to abandon his raſh enterpriſe. The Spaniſh army, which daily encreaſed, haraſſing him during his retreat, he, inſtead of taking ſhelter under the cannon of Pampeluna, or waiting the arrival of ſix thouſand Navareſe, who were marching to his aſſiſtance, attacked the Spaniards in the plains of Squiros, though far ſuperior to him in number, with great impetuoſity, but with ſo little conduct, that his forces were totally routed; Leſparre himſelf was wounded and taken priſoner; and Spain recovered poſſeſſion of Navarre in ſtill leſs time than the French had ſpent in the conqueſt of it*.

While Francis endeavoured to juſtify his invaſion of Navarre, by carrying it on in the name of Henry d'Albret, the lawful ſovereign of that country, another ſubject for diſpute occurred between the rival monarchs:—Robert de la Mark, prince of Sedan, having abandoned the ſervice of Charles, on account of an encroachment which the Aulic council had made on his juriſdiction, and having applied for protection to the king of France, ſent a herald, in the heat of reſentment, to Worms, to declare war againſt the emperor in form. He then entered Luxembourg, with troops levied in France, and after ravaging the open country, laid ſiege to Vireton. Of this Charles complained loudly, as a direct violation of the peace which ſubſiſted between the two crowns, while Francis diſavowed the tranſaction, and conſented to ſubmit the deciſion of their differences to the arbitration of Henry of England, who accordingly ſent Wolſey to Calais, where the conferences were opened, and commanded de la Mark to diſband his troops.

Charles, meanwhile, had aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men, which, under the count of Naſſau, invaded the territories of Robert, and in a few days reduced all the towns they contained, except Sedan. Having thus puniſhed the prince who had preſumed to defy him by a declaration of war, Charles would naturally have withdrawn his forces, had he been diſpoſed to the adoption of pacific meaſures; but before he had received any cauſe for complaint againſt Francis, he had formed a reſolution of humbling the power of a monarch who was as much his ſuperior in all the amiable and manly qualities of the human mind, as he fell ſhort of him in cunning, artifice, and fraud. For the promotion of his hoſtile and ambitious views, he had found means to engage in his intereſt the ſovereign pontiff, who preferred the labyrinth of politics to the plain path of religion. An ambitious prieſt is, at all times, a deteſtable character; but a miniſter of a God of Peace, who, actuated by an inſatiate thirſt of power, ſeeks to extend his authority by the effuſion of human blood, merits the execration of mankind. Leo, though poſſeſſed of many excellent endowments, fell into the ſame error, or rather adopted the ſame vices, by which too many of his predeceſſors had been diſtinguiſhed; purſuing the wretched ſyſtem of policy that prevailed among the Italian princes, and of which treachery and fraud formed the leading characteriſtics, he reſolved to ſacrifice his honour to his intereſt. He firſt concluded a

† Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 21.

treaty of alliance with Francis, by which he engaged to assist that monarch in recovering the kingdom of Naples, a part whereof was to be ceded to the pope's nephew, and the remainder to be governed by a papal legate, during the minority of young Henry, second son to the king of France, who was to be invested, by Leo, with the dignity of king of Naples*. But, allured by the prospect of reaping greater advantages from an alliance with the emperor, the perfidious pontiff soon deserted Francis, and made overtures of friendship, though with great secrecy, to Charles. A treaty was soon concluded, by which it was stipulated, that the pope and emperor should join their forces for the expulsion of the French from the duchy of Milan, the possession of which should be given to Francesco Sforza, (a son of Ludovico the Moor) who had resided at Trent, since the time his brother Maximilian had been dispossessed of his dominions by the French king; that Parma and Placentia should be restored to the church; that the emperor should assist the pope in conquering Ferrara; that the annual tribute paid by the kingdom of Naples to the holy see should be encreased; that the emperor should take the family of Medici under his protection; that he should grant to the cardinal de Medicis a pension of ten thousand ducats upon the archbishopric of Toledo; and settle lands in the kingdom of Naples to the same value upon Alexander, the natural son of Lorenzo de Medicis.

Charles having thus secured the alliance of the pope, and the friendship of Wolsey, for whom he had promised to obtain the papal dignity, on the death of Leo, resolved to embrace the first opportunity of coming to an open rupture with France. In consequence of this determination, the count of Nassua had no sooner dispossessed the prince of Sedan, than he received orders to advance towards the frontiers of France, where he, soon after, laid siege to Mousson. The cowardice of the garrison having obliged Montmort, the governor, to surrender almost without resistance, Nassau invested Mezieres, a place the possession of which would have enabled the Imperial army to penetrate into the heart of Champagne, where there was scarcely any other town capable of obstructing its progress.—Happily for France, the king, sensible of the importance of this fortress committed the defence of it to the chevalier Bayard, who had already signalized his zeal and courage in Italy, and who, by his valour and integrity, had merited and obtained the honourable appellation of—"*The Knight without Fear, and without reproach*†!"—In the defence of Mexieres Bayard displayed all the talents of a great general, and, by repeated exertions of valour and conduct, he contrived to protract the siege to a considereble length, and in the end obliged the Imperialists to retire, with infamy and loss‡. The services of Bayard, on this occasion, were rewarded with the collar of Saint-Michael, and a company of one hundred lances.

Mousson was soon retaken by the duke of Alençon, while the duke of Vendome reduced the towns of Bapeaume and Landrici. The Imperialists, flying be-

* Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 277. † Oeuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. p. 114.
‡ Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 25, &c.

fore the ſuperior forces of France, retired to Valenciennes, where they were reinforced by a conſiderable body of troops, commanded by the emperor himſelf. The king, meanwhile, having entered Artois, threw a bridge over the Scheld, between Bouchain and Valenciennes. Naſſua had been detached by Charles to prevent the troops from paſſing the river, but he arrived too late; all the infantry had already paſſed, and were drawn up on the oppoſite ſide in order of battle; and while he was deliberating whether he ſhould attack them or not the cavalry joined them, when Naſſua thought it prudent to retire. The retreat of the Imperialſts was favoured by a fog; the French, were appriſed of the circumſtance ſoon enough to have followed them and cut off the whole army*; and the conſtable, la Trémouille and Chabannes, were eager to embrace the opportunity, but this was oppoſed by the duke of Alençon and Chatillon, and unfortunately their advice was ſuffered to prevail. A party, indeed, was already formed againſt the conſtable, and it was determined to reject whatever he ſhould propoſe; the king had juſt affronted that nobleman in the moſt ſenſible manner, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon, though this poſt of honour belonged to Bourbon, as a prerogative of his office. Accordingly when, after that prince had revolted, he was called upon to reſign the conſtable's ſword, he replied, "*The king took it from me at the paſſage of the Scheld.*" The king retook Bouchain; but he endeavoured in vain to relieve Tournay, which, after a ſix months ſiege, ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts. The reduction of Heſdin by the French concluded the campaign.

The French arms had been equally ſucceſsful in Navarre; d'Eſtiſſac having aſſembled the ſcattered remains of Leſparres' army, fortified the towns of Bayonne and Saint John-de-Luze, while the young king of Navarre reduced ſeveral other places. Bonnivet, who had become a favourite with the king, but ſtill more with the ducheſs of Angouléme, and had recently been promoted to the rank of general, was ſent to their aſſiſtance with an army of ſix thouſand Lanſquenets, under the count of Guiſe, and four hundred men at arms. After taking ſeveral fortreſſes in Navarre, they paſſed the river at Andaye, where they put a body of Spaniards to flight, and made a ſudden and unexpected attack on Fontarabia, which capitulated after the firſt aſſault. Bonnivet, proud of his ſucceſs, haſtened to court to reap the laurels which he flattered himſelf he had deſerved.

During theſe operations in the field, the conferences had been carried on at Calais; but when the conditions on which hoſtilities might be terminated came to be conſidered, the emperor's propoſals were ſuch as diſcovered either that he was utterly averſe from peace, or that he knew Wolſey would ſanction with his approbation whatever terms he might offer. He demanded the reſtitution of the duchy of Burgundy, a province, the poſſeſſion of which would have given him acceſs into the heart of the kingdom; and required a diſcharge of the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Flanders and Artois, which had been paid

* P. Mart. Ep. 747.—Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 35.

by his anceſtors, and which he himſelf had, on the acceſſion of Francis, renewed. Theſe terms, to which an high-ſpirited prince would ſcarcely have liſtened, after the diſaſters of a moſt unfortunate war, Francis rejected with great diſdain; and Charles ſhewing no inclination to comply with the more equal and moderate propoſitions of the French monarch, that he ſhould reſtore Navarre to its lawful prince, and withdraw his troops from the ſige of Tournay, the congreſs broke up, without coming to any deciſion.

Meanwhile the league between the pope and the emperor produced great effects in Italy, and rendered Lombardy the theatre of war. The pride, rapacity, and imperious conduct of Lautrec, governor of the Milaneſe, and of his brother Leſcun, known by the name of the mareſchal de Foix, had totally alienated the affections of the people from France, driven many of the principal citizens into baniſhment, and forced others to retire for their own ſafety. Among the laſt was Jerome Moroné, vice-chancellor of Milan, a man diſtinguiſhed for his intriguing ſpirit and ſubtle genius. He repaired to Franceſco Sforza, whoſe brother he had betrayed, and ſuſpecting the pope's intentions of attacking the Milaneſe, although his treaty with the emperor had not yet been made public, he propoſed to Leo, in the name of Sforza, a ſcheme for ſurpriſing ſeveral places in that duchy by means of the exiles, who, from hatred to the French, and from attachment to their former maſters, were ready for any deſperate enterpriſe. Leo not only encouraged the attempt, but advanced a conſiderable ſum for the execution of it; and when, through unforſeen accidents, it failed of ſucceſs in every part, he allowed the exiles, who had aſſembled in a body, to retire to Reggio, which belonged, at that time, to the church. The mareſchal de Foix, who commanded at Milan, in the abſence of his brother Lautrec, informed of their reſort, marched into the eccleſiaſtical territories, and inveſted Reggio; but the vigilance and good conduct of Guicciardini, the hiſtorian governor of that place, obliged the French general to abandon the enterpriſe with diſgrace.* Leo eagerly ſeized this pretext for an open rupture with France; and now pretended to conclude a treaty with Don John Manual, the Imperial ambaſſador at Rome, although it had really been ſigned ſome months before; and publicly excommunicated de Foix as an impious invader of Saint-Peter's patrimony.

Francis, appriſed of the danger to which his Italian dominions were expoſed, immediately commanded Lautrec to repair to his government. That general, who was well acquainted with the great neglect of economy in the adminiſtration of the king's finances, and who knew how much the troops in the Milaneſe had already ſuffered for want of their pay, refuſed to ſet out, unleſs immediately ſupplied with the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns. But the king, the ducheſs of Angouléme, and Semblancy, ſuperintendant of finances, having pledged their words, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that, on his arrival at Milan, he ſhould find remittances to the amount he demanded, he ventured to depart.

* Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. 14.—Mem. de Du Bellay.

Theſe promiſes, however, were violated, and the ducheſs of Angoulême, partly from avarice, and partly from an inveterate diſlike ſhe had conceived to Lautrec, who had been rather too free in his remarks on the numerous adventures to which her amorous diſpoſition had given riſe, ſeized the three hundred thouſand crowns, and appropriated them to her own uſe.

Lautrec, however, ſtill continued to levy a powerful army, though far inferior in number to that of the confederates; acting chiefly on the defenſive, he perperpetually harraſſed the troops he could not venture to attack, and by his ſuperior ſkill kept the enemy in awe, and effectually impeded the progreſs of their arms. But all his meaſures were diſconcerted by an accident which no penetration could forſee, nor prudence prevent. A body of twelve thouſand Swiſs ſerved in his army under the banner of the republic, with which France was in alliance. By a law, eſtabliſhed among the cantons, their troops were not hired out by public authority to both the contending parties in any war. This law, indeed, had been ſometimes eluded, and private perſons had been allowed to inliſt in what ſervice they pleaſed, though not under the public banners, but under thoſe of their officers. The cardinal of Sion, (a Swiſs by birth) who ſtill preſerved his influence over his countrymen and his enmity againſt France, having prevailed on them to permit a levy of this kind, twelve thouſand Swiſs joined the army of the confederates. The cantons, ſeeing ſuch numbers of their countrymen and his enmity againſt France, having prevailed on them to permit a levy of this kind, twelve thouſand Swiſs joined the army of the confederates. The cantons, ſeeing ſuch numbers of their countrymen marching under hoſtile ſtandards, and intent on mutual deſtruction, became ſo ſenſible of the infamy to which they would be expoſed, as well as the loſs they might ſuſtain, that they diſpatched couriers, commanding their people to leave both armies, and to return forthwith into their own country. The cardinal of Sion, however, by corrupting the meſſengers appointed to carry this order, prevented it from being delivered to the Swiſs in the ſervice of the confederates; but being intimidated, in due form, to thoſe in the French army, they, fatigued with the length of the campaign, and murmuring for want of pay, inſtantly yielded obedience, in ſpite of Lautrec's remonſtrances. This defection of the Swiſs was followed by the reduction of Milan, which was betrayed to Colonna, the general of Leo; the other cities of the duchy ſoon imitated the example of the capital; Parma and Placentia were united to the domains of the church; and the town of Cremona, with the caſtle of Milan, and a few inconſiderable forts, only remained in the hands of the French. Lautrec, with the remains of his ſhattered army, retired precipitately towards the territories of the Venetiens, who had peremptorily rejected the ſolicitations of the pope, and faithfully adhered to their alliance with France.

The news of this ſucceſs had ſuch an effect upon Leo, that he was immediately ſeized with a fever, (if the French hiſtorians may be credited) which put an end to his exiſtence, on the ſecond of December, 1521. By this unexpected accident the ſpirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations ſuſpended; the

Swiſs were recalled by the cantons; ſome other mercenaries diſbanded for want of pay; and only the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the Imperial ſervice, remained to defend the Milaneſe: but Lautrec deſtitute both of men and money, was wholly unable to improve the favourable opportunity.

A. D. 1522.] In the conclave as in the cabinet, the policy of Charles prevailed over that of Francis, and the ſacred college, after much contention, raiſed cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who governed Spain in the emperor's name, (and was conſequently devoted to his intereſt) to the papal dignity. The war in the Milaneſe was reſumed with freſh vigour; the Swiſs, enraged at the deception paſſed on them by the cardinal of Sion, cemented their alliance with the king of France, and ſent him a ſupply of ſixteen thouſand men; the Venetians, too, evinced the greateſt zeal for his ſervice. But all theſe appearances proved deceitful: Guicciardini, not leſs ſkilful as a general, than eminent as an hiſtorian, repulſed, by his valour and addreſs, a bold and vigorous attack which Lautrec made on the city of Parma, of which he was governor. The Venetians, by their negligence, ſuffered ſix thouſand Lanſquenets, under the conduct of Jerome Adorno, to effect a junction with the confederates; and another body, led by Franceſco Sforza, to advance as far as Pavia, where they halted; while the French army lay encamped at Caſſano, between that city and Milan. Here he was joined by a conſiderable reinforcement from France, under the conduct of his brother, the mareſchal de Foix, accompanied by Bayard and Navarre, who, on their road, had reduced the towns of Novara and Vigevano. Sforza, however, had contrived to elude the vigilance of Lautrec, and had marched to Milan, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the people. The French were repulſed in an attack upon Pavia, and as a ſcarcity of proviſion began to be felt in their camp, they took the road to Mouza, and endeavoured to advance to Arona, whither the money deſtined for the pay of the troops had arrived from France; but the Imperialiſts, aware of their object, ſtationed their army in ſuch a poſition as to prevent its accompliſhment. The Swiſs, who had before been clamarous for their pay, now loſt all patience, and crowding around Lautrec, threatened inſtantly to retire, if he did not either advance the pay that was due, or promiſe to lead them next morning to battle. In vain did Lautrec expatiate on the impoſſibility of the former, and the temerity of the latter, which muſt be attended with certain deſtruction, as the enemy occupied a camp (at Bicocca) ſtrong by nature, and rendered almoſt inacceſſibly by art. Deaf to reaſon, and confident of ſucceſs, the Swiſs renewed their demand with encreaſed ferocity, and offered themſelves to lead the attack. Lautrec was thus compelled to act in oppoſition to his own jndgment, and when the morn approached, the Swiſs appeared in arms, and with intrepidity equal to their obſtinacy marched againſt the enemy, deeply entrenched on every ſide, ſurrounded with artillery, and prepared to receive them. As they advanced, they ſuſtained a furious cannonade with great firmneſs, and without waiting for their own artillery ruſhed impetuouſly upon the entrenchments. After incredible exertions of valour, which were bravely ſeconded by the

French, they were compelled to give up the vain attempt, and to retire with the loſs of three thouſand men. To that courage which had deſpiſed all danger, ſucceeded a puſillanimity which rejected all reſource. They retired to a valley, and peremptorily refuſed to renew the attack in a quarter where they would have met with much leſs reſiſtance. The Venetians, too, remained in a ſtate of inactivity, and refuſed to make a diverſion unattended with danger, and the only object of which was to prevent the enemy from directing their whole force againſt the mareſchal de Foix, who, by a deſperate effort of valour, had forced his way over a ſtone bridge into the camp. Not being ſeconded, he was compelled to retreat by the ſame bridge, a taſk of extreme difficulty, but which, by a diſplay of prudence equal to his courage, he did in good order. Lautrec was preſent every where; never had he diſplayed greater ſkill: and notwithſtanding the innumerable difficulties he had to encounter, he would inevitably have gained the victory had his orders been obeyed. He propoſed to renew the attack the next morning, but the Swiſs, diſcouraged by the loſs they had already ſuſtained, not only refuſed to fight, but left the camp, and ſet out for their own country. Lautrec deſpairing, after this diminution of his forces, to make any farther reſiſtance, retired into France, after throwing garriſons into Cremona and ſome other places, all of which, except the citadel of Cremona, ſoon ſurrendered to the confederates.

Theſe diſaſters were ſpeedily ſucceeded by the loſs of Genoa and the defection of the Venetians, who were, at length, induced to conclude a peace with the emperor; and Francis had now to oppoſe a confederacy of all the Italian princes, excepting only the duke of Savoy.

A. D. 1523.] The Spaniards, meanwhile, had attacked Fontarabia, which was gallantly defended by Du Lude, during a vigorous ſiege of thirteen months, when the approach of Chabannes, with a powerful reinforcement, compelled the enemy to retire; but on the return of Du Lude to France, the command of that important fortreſs devolved on Frauget, who, on a renewal of the ſiege, immediately ſurrendered it to the Spaniards; an act of cowardice which was puniſhed by degrading him from the rank of a nobleman.

Meanwhile, the duke of Bourbon, inflamed by a repetition of injuries, had recourſe to meaſures which deſpair alone could have dictated. He entered into intrigues with the Imperial court, and offered to transfer his allegiance from his natural ſovereign to the emperor, and to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of France. Charles, as well as the king of England, to whom the ſecret was communicated*, expecting to derive great advantage from his revolt, were ready to receive him with open arms, and ſpared neither promiſes nor allurements which might tend to confirm him in his reſolution. He was included as a principal in the treaty between Charles and Henry; and the counties of Provence and Dauphiné were to be ſettled on him, with the title of king.

The rumour of Bourbon's intrigues had reached the ear of Francis, who, far from giving credit to the report, had an interview with the duke at Moulin,

* Rymer's Foedera, t. xiii. p. 794.

where he informed him of what he had heard, at the ſame time aſſuring him of his friendſhip, and requeſting he would accompany him to Italy. The conſtable acknowledged that he had received ſome propoſals from the emperor, but declared that he had rejected them with diſdain, and only wiſhed for an opportunity of ſignaliſing his zeal and fidelity to his ſovereign. Francis paid implicit belief to what he ſaid, and proceeded on his journey; the conſtable ſet out ſoon after, apparently with an intention of following him, but turning ſuddenly to the left he croſſed the Rhone, eſcaped all the parties which the king (ſenſible too late of his credulity) ſent out to intercept him, and joined the emperor's army in Italy.

The king took every poſſible precaution to avert the ill effects of the irreparable error which he had committed. He ſecured all the towns in the conſtable's territories; he ſeized all the gentlemen whom he could ſuſpect of being his aſſociates; and as he had not yet diſcovered the whole extent of the conſpiracy, he relinquiſhed his intention of leading his army in perſon into Italy, and entruſted the command of that expedition to admiral Bonnivet, who paſſed the Alps with thirty thouſand men.

Colonna, who was entruſted with the defence of the Milaneaſe, was by no means, prepared to reſiſt ſuch a formidable force; deſtitute of reſourſes, he could only attempt to guard the paſſage of the river Teſino againſt the French; but in this he was foiled; Bonnivet croſſed the river without loſs, at a ford which had been neglected, and, at his approach, the Imperialſt's retired to Milan, preparing to abandon the town as ſoon as the French ſhould appear before it. By an unaccountable negligence, which Guicciardini aſcribes to infatuation, Bonnivet delayed his march for three or four days, and thereby loſt the opportunity with which good fortune had preſented him. The citizens recovered from their conſternation; Colonna, ſtill active at the age of fourſcore, and Moroné, whoſe enmity to France rendered him indefatigable, made every preparation for a vigorous defence; and when Bonnivet arrived, after a fruitleſs attack on the town, he was obliged, by the inclemency of the weather, to retire into winter quarters.

During theſe tranſactions, pope Adrian died, to the great joy of the Roman people, who publickly hailed his phyſican, as *The Deliverer of his Country*. He was ſucceeded in the chair of Saint Peter by the cardinal de Medicis, who aſſumed the appelation of Clement the Seventh.

La Trémouille had a more formidable enemy to encounter in Picardy, invaded by the united armies of England and Flanders, amounting to four-and-twenty thouſand men. The duke of Suffolk, who commanded them, penetrated as far as the banks of the Oyſe, within eleven leagues of Paris, filling that capital with conſternation. But the arrival of the duke of Vendóme, with a body of troops detached by the king, who was ſtill at Lyons; the active gallantry of the French officers, who perpetually haraſſed the enemy; the rigour of a ſeaſon more than uſually inclement, together with a ſcarcity of proviſions, compelled the Engliſh to retire; and la Trémouille had the glory of having, with a handful of men, checked the progreſs of a formidable army, and of expelling them with ignominy from the territories of France.



ADMIRAL COLIGNY.

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A. D. 1524.] Francis having repelled this formidable invaſion, ought certainly to have contented himſelf with providing for the future defence of his kingdom againſt ſimilar attacks; but having a numerous and well-appointed army at his command, he could not withſtand the temptation which now preſented itſelf to his view, for the recovery of the Milaneſe. In vain did his wiſeſt miniſters and generals attempt to diſſuade him from this imprudent enterpriſe, by repreſenting the danger of taking the field at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon of the year, with an army compoſed chiefly of Swiſs and Germans, to whoſe caprices he muſt be ſubject in all his operations, and on whoſe fidelity his ſafety muſt abſolutely depend. Francis was deaf to their ſolicitations, and began his march, croſſed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and advanced directly to Milan, where their unexpected arrival occaſioned ſuch conſternation, that although Peſcara entered the city with ſome of his beſt troops, he found it impoſſible to defend it; and having thrown a garriſon into the citadel, he retired through one gate while the French entered at another. Francis was guilty of a fatal error, in not immediately purſuing the Imperialiſts, who repaired to Loda on the Adda, an untenable poſt, which they had reſolved to abandon on his approach. Inſtead of doing this, to which he was adviſed by his moſt experienced generals, he unfortunately eſpouſed the opinion of Bonnivet; and, on the eighteenth of October, laid ſiege to Pavia on the Teſino. The poſſeſſion of Pavia would, indeed, have been an object of importance, ſince it would have opened to the French a free paſſage into a country, fertile and extenſive; but the ſeaſon was too far advanced for forming the ſiege of a place ſo ſtrongly fortified, and garriſoned by ſix thouſand veterans, under the command of a brave and experienced general.

The king proſecuted the ſiege with vigour, and during three months every exertion of art and valour was employed for reducing the town, but the vigilant activity and enterpriſing ſpirit of the governor, Antonio de Leyva, rendered them all fruitleſs.

While Francis lay before the town, Clement the Seventh, jealous of the emperor's power, endeavoured to bring about a peace, which would leave the king in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe; and when Charles rejected his propoſals with diſdain, he immediately concluded a treaty of neutrality with the king of France, in which the republic of Florence was included*. Francis having thus deprived the emperor of his two moſt powerful allies, and ſecured a paſſage for his own troops through their territories, was ſo imprudent as to detach ſix thouſand men, under the command of John Stuart, duke of Albany, to invade the kingdom of Naples, in the vain hope that Lannoy would be induced to recal a part of the Imperial army from the Milaneſe.

A. D. 1525.] The garriſon of Pavia was, by this time, reduced to the greateſt extremity; and the Germans, having received no pay for ſeven months, threatened to deliver the town to the French, a diſaſter which the Imperial generals

* Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xv. p. 448.

reſolved to avoid by immediately marching to their relief. This they were compelled to do, by the arrival of twelve thouſand Germans, whom Bourbon had juſt brought to their aſſiſtance, which gave them a ſuperiority over the French, who were conſiderably weakened, as well by the detachment ſent to Naples, as by another, under the command of the marquis of Saluzzo, which had reduced Savona, defeated four thouſand Spaniards, and inſulted the city of Genoa: and, laſtly, by the defection of the Griſons, who were recalled to the defence of their own territories.

Two falſe attacks were made by the enemy on the French camp, in the night of the twenty-third of February; while they were employed in deſtroying the wall by ſapping; this they did ſo effectually, that at break of day on the twenty-fourth, a breach ſixty toiſes in length was effected, by which the Imperialiſts entered the camp. They ruſhed on with ſuch impetuoſity, that the caſtle of Mirabello was reduced in an inſtant, and the garriſon taken priſoners; but a detachment of the Imperialiſts, who were advancing towards the town, were attacked and defeated by Chabot Brion, while the artillery was ſo well pointed and ſucceſsfully played by Galiot de Genouillac, that if that officer had been ſuffered to purſue his own plan, it would have ſufficed, of itſelf, to deſtroy the enemy's army. All the efforts of the Imperialiſts were directed againſt the center; but Bourbon, with his Germans, attacked the black-bands, who, after they had diſplayed the moſt intrepid valour, were all cut to pieces. The king continued fighting, till exhauſted with fatigue, and ſcarcely capable of farther reſiſtance, he was left almoſt alone, expoſed to the fury of ſome Spaniſh ſoldiers. At that moment came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had accompanied Bourbon in his flight, and placing himſelf by the ſide of the monarch, againſt whom he had rebelled, aſſiſted in protecting him from the violence of the ſoldiers, at the ſame time conjuring him to ſurrender to Bourbon, who was not far diſtant; but the name of Bourbon rouſed the indignation of Francis, who called for Lannoy, and gave up his ſword to him. Francis was immediately conducted to the Imperial camp, where his wounds were dreſſed, and whence he diſpatched this laconic but expreſſive note to his mother—"*Madame, all is loſt, except our honour.*"*

Ten thouſand men fell in this fatal action, and the field of Pavia was ſtained with the beſt blood of France. Lewis d'Ars, la Trémouille, Chabannes, Bonnivet, and San Severino, were among the ſlain. The king of Navarre, the prince of Bozzolo, the count of Saint-Pol, Montmorenci, Saint-Marceau, Brion, Monchenu, Fleuranges, de Lorges, du Bellai-Langeac, la Roche-du-Maine, and many other illuſtrious warriours, ſhared the fate of Francis.

Lannoy treated his royal captive with every mark of reſpect; but ſolicitous to prevent a poſſibility of eſcape, he conducted him the day after the action to the ſtrong caſtle of Pizzighitone, near Cremona, where he was committed to the cuſtody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spaniſh infantry, a man of

* Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xv. p. 472.—Oeuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. p. 355.—Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 90.

ſtrict honour, and incorruptible integrity. The feeble garriſon of Milan, on the firſt news of the defeat, retired without being purſued; and in two weeks after the battle not a Frenchman remained in Italy.

Henry the Eighth had been ſtartled at the fatal event of the battle of Pavia, and had become ſenſible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loſs of a proper counterpoiſe to the power of Charles the Fifth; while his miniſter, Wolſey, was enraged at the recollection of the emperor's treachery, in having deluded him with vain promiſes of the papal crown. The Engliſh monarch, however, though reſolved on a change of meaſures, deemed it prudent to ſave appearances, and he cauſed public rejoicings to be made throughout his dominions, on account of the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis; he alſo diſmiſſed the French envoy, whom he had hitherto allowed, notwithſtanding the war, to reſide at London*. But upon the ſubmiſſive applications of the ducheſs of Angouléme, he renewed his correſpondence with her, and beſides aſſuring her of his friendſhip and protection, he exacted a promiſe that they ſhould never conſent to the diſmembering any province of the monarchy for her ſon's ranſom. To the emperor, however, he held a different language; he reminded him that the hour was now come for extinguiſhing the monarchy of France: he required that Charles ſhould immediately invade Guienne with a powerful army, in order to put him in immediate poſſeſſion of that province; and he demanded that Francis ſhould be delivered to him, in conſequence of his claim to the crown of France, and an article of the treaty of Bruges, by which each party was bound to ſurrender all uſurpers to him whoſe rights they had invaded. Theſe propoſals were received by the emperor with the diſdain that was expected, and his rejection of them afforded Henry a decent pretence for withdrawing from his alliance.

Lannoy, anxious to convey his priſoner ſafe into Spain, flattered Francis with the hope that a perſonal interview with the emperor would accelerate his releaſe from captivity on more equitable terms; and the French monarch, anxious to graſp at any thing which could afford him the ſmalleſt proſpect of procuring his liberty, furniſhed the gallies neceſſary for the voyage, and commanded his admiral Doria, to ſuffer them to paſs without moleſtation. Bourbon and Peſcara were deceived by the pretence that Lannoy meant to transport his priſoner to the caſtle of Naples; and the latter officer embarking with the king at Portofiero, landed, on the ſeventeenth of June, 1525, at Palamos, in Catalonia. Francis was then conveyed to Madrid, and lodged in the Alcazar, under the care of the vigilant Alarçon.

The continuance of this harſh treatment for ſix months threw him into a fever; and the emperor, fearful of loſing by his death all the fruits of his victory, condeſcended to make him a conſolitary viſit, and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the ſick monarch called to him—"You come, ſir, to viſit your pri-

* Du Bellay, l. viii.—Stowe, p. 221.—Baker, p. 273.

"ſoner."—"No," replied Charles, "I come to viſit my brother, and my "friend, who ſhall ſoon obtain his liberty." This friendly language, and the ſpecious promiſes of the emperor, had ſo good an effect on the king, that he daily recovered; but the flattering expectations he had been led to entertain vaniſhed with the return of health; and Frances, in deſpair, entruſted to his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Alençon, a deed, by which he reſigned his kingdom to the dauphin.

A. D. 1526.] Charles, being appriſed of this circumſtance, and farther induced by a confederacy of the Italian powers, who, alarmed at the rapidity of his progreſs, had entered into an alliance with the ducheſs of Angouléme, began ſeriouſly to think of treating with the king; while Francis, on his ſide, was perſuaded by his friends to accede to any terms that might be propoſed to him, under the idea that engagements contracted under ſuch circumſtances could never be deemed binding. Accordingly, on the fourteenth of January, 1526, a treaty was concluded between the rival princes, after Francis had ſecretly proteſted, in the preſence of his friends, againſt the validity of a contract extorted, as it were, by force.

It was foretold by many of Charles's miniſters, that, however ſolemn the oaths, promiſes, and proteſtations exacted of Francis, he would never execute a treaty ſo diſhonourable to himſelf, and ſo diſadvantageous to his country. By reſigning Burgundy to emperor, he gave his powerful enemy a free paſſage into the heart of the kingdom; by ſacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himſelf of all foreign aſſiſtance, and rendered his oppreſſor irreſiſtible, by arming him with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country. To theſe great views of intereſt, were added the motives, no leſs cogent, of paſſion and reſentment. While Francis, a prince who piqued himſelf on generoſity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the cruel terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his freedom.

Such was the reaſoning of ſeveral of the Imperial miniſters, particularly of Gattinara, the chancellor*, who adviſed his maſter to treat Francis with more generoſity, and to give him his liberty on ſuch terms, as would engage him, not on the feeble bond of treaties, but, by the more forcible tie of honour, to a ſtrict and faithful performance. But the emperor's avidity prevented him from following this wiſer and more honourable council; at the ſame time that the proſpect of a general combination of the European powers, prevented him from detaining Francis in captivity, and taking advantage of the confuſions which his abſence muſt neceſſarily occaſion in his kingdom. Still ſuſpicious, however, of the ſincerity of his priſoner, he took an opportunity, before they parted, of aſking him privately, and as a friend, whether he ſeriouſly intended to execute the treaty of Madrid; proteſting that, at all events, he himſelf was firmly determined to reſtore him to liberty, and that the proſpect of obtaining this advantage, needed no longer engage him to diſſemble. Francis was too well acquainted with Charles's character

* Guicciardini, lib. xvi.

to truſt to the ſincerity of this proteſtation; and, therefore, renewed his aſſurances of fidelity, and a ſtrict obſervance of his word.

Francis was conducted to Fontarabia on the eighteenth of March, 1526, and haſtened to the banks of the Bidaſſoa, accompanied by Lannoy, Alarçon, and an eſcort of fifty horſe, while his two ſons appeared on the oppoſite ſhore, under the care of mareſchal de Lautrec. The exchange being made, the king croſſed the river, and inſtantly mounting a Turkiſh horſe, waved his hand over his head, and exclaiming, "*I am yet a king!*" galloped full ſpeed to Saint-John de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the ducheſs of Angoléme and the whole court. He was ſoon followed by a Spaniſh envoy, who came to demand his ratification of the treaty of Madrid; but Francis waved the propoſal, under pretence that he muſt previouſly aſſemble the ſtates of Burgundy, and obtain their conſent to the ceſſion of that province. As ſoon as he had diſmiſſed the envoy with this unſatisfactory anſwer, he wrote to the king of England, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he was indebted for his liberty, and proteſting that he ſhould be entirely governed by his councils in all tranſactions with the emperor*. He then proceeded to fill up all the vacant poſts in the miniſtry.

After the king had made theſe regulations he repaired to Coignac, to receive the ambaſſadors from the Italian princes, with whom he was about to form a league for fruſtrating the ambitious ſchemes and uſurpations of the emperor. At the ſame time Lannoy, who had remained at Vittoria, with the hoſtages and queen Eleanora, ready to conduct them to France as ſoon as the treaty ſhould be executed, went to Coignac, accompanied by Alarçon, to ſummon Francis to fulfil his engagements. The king made the ſame reply as before, and Lannoy waited to hear the determination of the ſtates of Burgundy, who declared againſt the clauſe which contained an engagement for alienating their province, and expreſſed their reſolution of oppoſing, even by force of arms, the execution of ſo ruinous and unjuſt an article. The Imperial miniſter then required, that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, ſhould return to his priſon; but the king, inſtead of complying with his requeſt, made public, on the twenty-eighth of June, the treaty which he had concluded with the Italian powers†.

The pope, the Venetians, and other Italian ſtates, who were deeply intereſted by theſe events, had been holden in the moſt anxious ſuſpence, with regard to the reſolutions which Francis ſhould take, after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, who ſuſpected that this monarch would never execute a treaty ſo prejudicial to his intereſts, and even deſtructive of his independence, had very frankly offered him a diſpenſation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis did not heſitate, but immediately entered into the confederacy propoſed to him. It was ſtipulated by that prince, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiſs, the Florentines, the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the

* Hume. † Guicciardini, lib. xvii.

two young princes of France, on receiving a reaſonable ſum of money; and to reſtore Milan to Sforza, without farther additions or incumbrances, Francis renouncing all his pretenſions in Italy, reſerving only for himſelf Genoa, and the county of Aſte. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but alſo as a protector of the *Holy League*, as this confederacy was called.

A. D. 1527.] Francis hoped that the appearance of this powerful confederacy would engage the emperor to relax ſomewhat of the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid, and, at leaſt, to accept the two millions of crowns which he had offered to him in lieu of the duchy of Burgundy; and led away by theſe hopes he neglected to ſend, in due time, reinforcements to his allies in Italy, and, indeed, forgot the whole world in the arms of his favourite miſtreſs, Anne de Piſſeleu, afterwards ducheſs of Etampes. The duke of Bourbon had got poſſeſſion of the whole Milaneſe, of which the emperor intended to grant him the inveſture; and having levied a conſiderable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates, and not leſs ſo, becauſe Charles, deſtitute of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The duke was extremely beloved by his troops, and, in order to prevent thoſe mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection for him had, alone, hitherto reſtrained, he led them to Rome, and promiſed to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. On the ſixth of May, 1527, the aſſault was given: Bourbon was killed by a random ſhot as he was planting a ladder to ſcale the walls; yet the army, the command of which devolved on Philibert, prince of Orange, rather enraged than diſcouraged by the death of their leader, entered the city ſword in hand, and exerciſed all thoſe brutalities which may be expected by ferocity excited by reſiſtance, and from inſolence inflated by ſucceſs.

Clement himſelf, who had truſted for protection to the ſacredneſs of his character, and neglected to make his eſcape in time, was taken priſoner; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spaniſh ſoldiers, did but draw on him the inſolent mockery of the Germans, who, from their attachment to the Lutheran principles, were pleaſed to gratify their animoſity by the abaſement of the ſovereign pontiff.

When the emperor was informed of the ſucceſs of his arms. He put himſelf and all his court into mourning: he ordered prayers, during ſeveral months, to be offered up for the pope's liberty, which a letter under his hand would, it was well known, have ſufficed to procure.

The concern expreſſed by Francis and the king of England for the misfortune which had befallen their ally, was much more ſincere. Theſe two monarchs had on the thirtieth of April, concluded a treaty, in which, beſides renewing former alliances, they agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ranſom of the dauphin Francis, and his brother, Henry duke of Orleans, and to repay the money borrowed of the Engliſh monarch; and, in caſe of refuſal, the ambaſſadors, attended with heralds were ordered to denounce war againſt him.

The more to cement the union between theſe princes, a new treaty was concluded at London, on the eighteenth of September; by which Henry agreed to renounce for ever all claims to the crown of France. As a return for this conceſſion, Francis bound himſelf and his ſucceſſors to pay, for ever, fifty thouſand crowns a year to Henry and his ſucceſſors; and that a greater ſolemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed, that the parliaments and principal nobility of both kingdoms ſhould give their aſſent to it. The mareſchal de Montmorenci, accompanied with many perſons of diſtinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was ſent over to England to ratify the treaty, and was received at London with all the parade which ſuited the occaſion.

The king, meanwhile, had holden a *Bed of Juſtice*, at which deputies from all the towns in the kingdom attended, who were unanimous in their opinions that he was not bound to obſerve the treaty of Madrid, which had been the reſult of force, and was contrary to the laws of the realm; and they agreeed that he had a right to levy on his ſubjects whatever money might be neceſſary for the ranſom of his ſon, and the other wants of the ſtate.* In conſequence of this determination, Francis reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour, and having aſſembled a powerful army, he appointed the mareſchal Lautrec to command it. The Italian ſtates received Lautrec with open arms, who inſtantly ſeized Alexandria, and reduced all the country on that ſide of the Teſino. Pavia was taken by aſſault, and the whole Milaneſe muſt have been reſtored to the dominion of France, had not Lautrec been fearful of exciting the jealouſy of the confederates. He therefore directed his march towards Rome; the terror of his approach induced Charles to reſtore Clement to liberty, and directed the ſubſequent operations of the war againſt the kingdom of Naples.

A. D. 1528.] Meantime Lautrec purſued his conqueſts in Italy with vigour and effect. He ſpeedily reduced the whole kingdom of Naples, except Gaieta and the capital; Andrew Doria, a citizen of Genoa, the ableſt ſeaman of his age, and the admiral of Francis, had gained a victory over the ſuperior fleet of the emperor, and every thing ſeemed to favour the progreſs of the French arms.

But the imprudence of Francis ſoon blaſted this flattering proſpect; he had neglected to make proper remittances for the ſupport of the Italian army; and he was prevailed on, by the fatal councils of his miniſters, to diſguſt his admiral Doria; who, though in the ſervice of France, maintained the independant ſpirit of a republican, and often preferred his complaints with freedom and boldneſs. He was anxious to re-eſtabliſh the republican form of government in Genoa; to have his countrymen regarded by the French not as ſubjects but allies; and he oppoſed, with threats, the deſign of Francis to reſtore the harbour of Savona, an adjacent town, which the Genoeſe had long regarded with jealouſy. Francis, irritated by his contemptuous expreſſions, commanded him to be inſtantly arreſt-

* Gaillard.

ed; but Doria, appriſed of his danger, retired with his gallies to a place of ſafety; entered into a negociation with the emperor, who granted him whatever terms he required, and ſailed back to Naples, not to block up the harbour of that city, but to afford it protection and relief.

The communication with the ſea being thus opened, plenty was reſtored to Naples; the French in their turn began to experience a ſcarcity of proviſions, and they were inceſſantly harraſſed by the Imperialiſts, under the conduct of the prince of Orange. To the ravages of famine thoſe of peſtilence ſucceeded; and the unfortunate Lautrec, after long ſtruggling with the difficulties of his ſituation, expired the victim of diſeaſe and diſappointment.

Theſe diſaſters were followed by the loſs of Genoa, the garriſon whereof was reduced by deſertion to an inconſiderable number. Doria, impatient to deliver his country from a foreign yoke, ſailed into the harbour, and was received by the acclamations of his fellow-citizens. The French retired into the citadel, but were ſoon obliged to ſurrender; while Doria, inſtead of uſurping the ſovereign power, eſtabliſhed the government nearly the ſame as it ſubſiſts to this day, and has obtained from the gratitude of poſterity the honourable appellations of THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY.

A. D. 1529.] In the duchy of Milan the French were totally defeated by the Imperialiſts, under Antonio de Leyva, and Francis, diſcouraged and exhauſted by ſo many unſucceſsful enterpriſes, began to entertain ſerious thoughts of peace. The emperor, alſo, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the Turkiſh arms, embarraſſed by the propagation of the doctrines of Luther in Germany, and the ſeditious murmurs of his ſubjects in Spain, evinced an inclination to liſten to his propoſals. Margaret of Auſtria and the ducheſs of Angouléme, mother to Francis, met at Cambray, and ſettled the terms of pacification. The king of England, the republic of Venice, the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, ſent ambaſſadors to aſſert or diſcuſs their reſpective rights. By this treaty, concluded on the fifth of Auguſt, 1529, the king renounced all pretenſions to the duchy of Milan, the county of Aſte, and the kingdom of Naples; engaged to compel the Venetians to reſtore all the places of which he himſelf had put them in poſſeſſion; and relinquiſhed his rights to the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and the poſſeſſion of Tournay and Arras. Charles agreed to accept of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, as the ranſom of the French princes, reſerving, however his pretenſions to that duchy in full force; and Francis conſented immediately to conſummate his marriage with Eleanora the emperor's ſiſter. The king of England was ſo generous to his friend and ally, Francis, that he ſent him an accquittal of ſix hundred thouſand crowns, which that prince owed him.

A. D. 1530, 1531.] It was with the utmoſt difficulty that the king could raiſe the ſum ſtipulated for the ranſom of his ſons, who did not arrive in France till the firſt of June, 1530, when they were met by Francis at the abbey of Vegin, where he conſummated his marriage with Eleanora, a princeſs whoſe per-

ſonal charms were inſufficient to fix the wavering affections of an amorous monarch. During this interval of tranquillity, Francis indulged in ſorrowful reflections on his paſt misfortunes, which he vainly ſought to remedy by the pitiful ſubterfuge of a ſecret proteſtation againſt the treaty of Cambray.

Meantime the progreſs of Lutheraniſm in Germany was rapid and extenſive; and the princes of the empire who profeſſed theſe doctrines, finding that liberty of conſcience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and becauſe they proteſted againſt the votes paſſed by the Catholic princes in the Imperial diet at Spires, for the defence of the eſtabliſhed faith, they thenceforth received the appellation of *Proteſtants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and, on pretence of ſecuring the purity of religion, he had laid a ſcheme for aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

A. D. 1532, 1533, 1534.] The death of the ducheſs of Angoléme, which happened on the twenty-ſecond of September, 1531, had delivered Francis from a councillor whoſe paſſions had frequently endangered the kingdom, which her wiſdom and magnanimity had contributed to protect; yet mindful of her councils, he completed her favourite project of annexing the duchy of Britany to the crown: the ſtates of that province were, after much difficulty, prevailed on to abandon their claim of a free and ſeparate principality, and, in the month of Auguſt, 1533, the long wiſhed-for annexation took place.

A. D. 1535, 1536.] Francis having by this time recruited his finances, and indignant at the humiliating conditions of the treaty of Cambray, ſeized the opportunity of his rival's abſence, then engaged in breaking the chains of the Chriſtian captives in Africa, to renew his intrigues in Italy. The execution of Merveille, his ambaſſador at Milan, whom Sforza cauſed to be privately put to death, afforded him a pretence for public hoſtilities; and the duke of Savoy, by refuſing permiſſion to the French troops to paſs through Piedmont, drew upon himſelf the firſt operations of war.

Velley, at the laſt audience he had of the emperor, preſſed the prince to tell him in what manner he ſhould juſtify himſelf to his maſter for having given credit to his promiſes: "I beg your majeſty"—ſaid the ambaſſador—"to declare before his holineſs, whether it be not true, that you promiſed me the Milaneſe for the duke of Orleans?" The emperor, ſomewhat diſconcerted by a queſtion thus preciſe, remained ſilent for ſome time, but being preſſed for an anſwer, he acknowledged that he had made ſuch a promiſe, but under conditions which had not been fulfilled: Velly then offered to fulfil thoſe conditions; Charles replied that it was impoſſible. "Why then did you promiſe them?" returned Velley. The emperor had recourſe to freſh evaſions; he obſerved that the time was paſt; that the king, by his invaſion of Piedmont, had releaſed him from his engagements, and that the Italian princes would oppoſe any attempt to fulfil them.—To ſuch pitiful ſubterfuges was this powerful monarch reduced by his artifice, diſſimulation, and treachery!

War was now unavoidable, and both monarchs prepared for the conteſt with a vigour and alacrity equal to their reſentment: but Francis, warned by the fatal defeat of Pavia, reſolved not to riſk any deciſive action, but to act chiefly on the defenſive. He ſtrengthened the fortifications of all thoſe towns which were moſt open to attack; he recruited his armies, and repleniſhed his coffers. The chief command of the troops, deſtined for the defence of Picardy, was conferred on the duke of Vendóme, who was aſſiſted by the mareſchal de Montmorenci; the duke of Guiſe commanded in Champagne; Humieres was ordered to defend the province of Dauphiné, and to guard the paſſes of the Alps: Barbeſieux was ſtationed at Marſeilles; and the king himſelf, with a powerful army, undertook to defend the remaining part of Provence, againſt which he juſtly concluded the principal attack would be directed.

De Leyva, meanwhile, made a fruitleſs attempt to enter Dauphiné, but the emperor's real deſign was to get poſſeſſion of Provence, which he claimed as well in his own right as in conſequence of the ceſſion which the duke of Bourbon had made him of that country. From the magicians and aſtrologers, whom he conſulted on this occaſion, he received the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs; and ſo thoroughly was he convinced that he ſhould complete, with facility, the conqueſt of France, that he diſtributed a variety of governments and poſſeſſions, in that kingdom, to his favourites and friends.

The king, meanwhile, had completed the fortifications of ſuch towns as were capable of defence, demoliſhed others, and laid waſte the open country: in his camp at Valence he was prepared to ſend ſuccours wherever they might be wanted, while Montmorenci was ſent to command the camp at Avignon, with orders to conduct himſelf with the utmoſt caution and prudence, and particularly, not to hazard a deciſive action. Montmorenci arrived at Avignon on the fourth of Auguſt, and, in a council of war, it was determined to confine his operations to the ſecuring his camp from inſult, and to the preventing the enemy from forming any eſtabliſhment on the rivers Rhone and Gurance. As the Imperialiſts approached they were alarmed at the face of deſolation which the country preſented, deſtitute alike of food and ſhelter: even Aix was diſmantled, notwithſtanding the offer of Montejan to take the command of it, and that of the inhabitants to defend it to the laſt extremity.

A victory obtained by the van of the Imperial army, over a detachment of the French, under the command of Montejan and Boiſy, who had extorted from Montmorenci a reluctant permiſſion to harraſs the enemy on their march, ſerved both to inflate the Germans and diſcourage the French, who began to tremble in their camp. The news of this check did not ſo much mortify the king as the intelligence which he received, at the ſame time, of the reduction of Guiſe in Picardy. The counts of Naſſau and Rieux had entered that province, where the duke of Vendóme commanded; and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes had taken place with little advantage on either ſide. But Naſſau, after an unſucceſsful attempt on Saint-Riquier, at which the female inhabitants greatly contributed to his defeat, took

by ſurpriſe the town of Guiſe. The neglect and cowardice of the garriſon were ſeverely puniſhed, and all the nobility, who were in the place at the time, were degraded from their rank. But theſe diſaſters were trifling when compared to one which now reached the ears of the king. The dauphin, on the road to join the army, had ſtopped at Tournon, where, after heating himſelf at tennis, he was ſo imprudent as to drink a glaſs of cold water, in conſequence of which he expired in four days. The cardinal of Lorraine was appointed to convey the dreadful intelligence to the king, but his tears ſtopped his utterance, and the monarch, by one of thoſe *preſentimens* which, though often felt, cannot eaſily be accounted for, was appriſed of that which no one dared to communicate. Francis felt as a father, and the whole kingdom joined in his lamentations for the loſs of a ſon, who was an object of univerſal eſteem.

During theſe tranſactions, the emperor advanced as far as Marſeilles, but all his attempts to reduce that city proved ineffectual, and he was finally compelled to relinquiſh the inglorious ſiege. Finding his army conſiderably reduced, and having loſt many of his braveſt officers, he, at length, was prevailed on to quit the territories of France, where he had neither gained honour nor advantage. He retreated in the greateſt confuſion, and the king might eaſily have deſtroyed his army, had he not been reſtrained by the pertinacious caution of Montmorenci, and by his deſire of reinforcing the duke of Vendôme, and of quieting the apprehenſions of the Pariſians. In Picardy, the count of Naſſau, after the reduction of Guiſe, had laid ſiege to Peronne, which was ably defended by the mareſchal de Fleuranges, who repulſed the enemy in four ſucceſſive aſſaults, and compelled them to abandon the hopeleſs enterpriſe; ſo that Francis, by the prudence of his own meaſures, and the union and valour of his ſubjects, rendered abortive the formidable ſchemes of his rival.

A. D. 1537.] Francis, on his return to Lyons, at the end of the campaign, found James the Fifth, king of Scotland, who had, without ſolicitation, ſailed to the aſſiſtance of his ancient ally, with an army of ſixteen thouſand men; though contrary winds had prevented him from landing, until the campaign was cloſed, and the emperor had retired. The king was ſo well pleaſed with the generous conduct of the Scottiſh monarch, that he gave his daughter, the princeſs Magdalen, in marriage, and the nuptials were celebrated on the firſt of January, 1537. Magdalen dying within the year, James took, for his ſecond wife, Mary, daughter to the duke of Guiſe, and widow to the duke of Longuville, who became mother to the celebrated Mary Stuart, not leſs famous for her beauty and accompliſhments, than for the perſecution which ſhe ſuſtained during her life, and the calumnies which have been heaped, with illiberal profuſion, on her memory.

A. D. 1538.] The enmity of Francis and Charles appears to have exceeded their ſtrength, and their coffers were exhauſted by their frequent and bloody wars. The mediation of the pope was offered and accepted, and an interview at Nice appointed between the rival princes. The emperor accordingly repaired,

on the third of March, to Villa-Franca; and the king arrived, about the ſame time, at Villa-Nuova; but ſtill the two monarchs did not meet. Mezerai is of opinion, that the emperor was fearful of being preſſed on the ſubject of the inveſture of the Milaneſe, and of having a promiſe extorted from him in the preſence of the pope. Both Charles and Francis viſited his holineſs, though at different times; and, after much altercation, a truce for nine years was at length concluded between them, on the eighteenth of June, 1538.

A. D. 1539.] The emperor, meanwhile, found ample occupation in his own dominions: the citizens of Ghent, mindful of their former immunities, and tenacious of their ancient privileges, had refuſed to contribute to the ſupport of the late war; and erecting the ſtandard of rebellion, had offered, by their deputies, to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the king of France; but that monarch ſtill flattering himſelf with the vain hope of obtaining the inveſture of Milan from the juſtice of the emperor, rejected the propoſals of the Flemings, and communicated their ſchemes and intentions to his rival—Charles, though free from any danger on the ſide of France, was alarmed at the revolt of a people, rich, turbulent, and obſtinate. The exigency, he was aware, demanded his immediate preſence, but his dignity would not allow him to paſs through Germany without a train of attendants and troops that muſt neceſſarily have delayed him; and the voyage by ſea was dangerous at that advanced ſeaſon of the year. In this dilemma, contrary to the opinions of his moſt experienced counſellors, he reſolved, as the ſhorteſt way, to demand a paſſage through the dominions of his rival. To Francis he, at the ſame time, made a promiſe to inveſt the duke of Orleans with the duchy of Milan*. The French council aſſembled on the occaſion; they were unanimous in agreeing that the emperor's requeſt ſhould be complied with, but the majority were of opinion that the inveſture of Milan ſhould be firſt granted; this, however, was over-ruled by Montmorenci (who had recently received the conſtable's ſword) as well as by Francis himſelf; who inſiſted on the propriety of placing a full reliance on the generoſity and juſtice of Charles.

A. D. 1540.] On the firſt of January, the emperor made his public entry into Paris, attended by all the nobility, magiſtrates, and municipal bodies; the dauphin and the duke of Orleans rode on either ſide of him, and the conſtable followed him. But this profuſion of honours was inſufficient to remove the apprehenſions of Charles, who, conſcious that he merited no kindneſs from his rival, began to blame his own imprudence in putting himſelf in his power: Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he was greatly alarmed at a joke paſſed on him by the duke of Orleans, who jumped up behind him, and throwing his arms around his waiſt, exclaimed—"Your Imperial majeſty is now my priſoner." Another time, the king, who was candour itſelf, told him, That the ducheſs of Etampes was of opinion he ſhould not ſuffer him to leave Paris, until he had re-

* Garnier.

voked the treaty of Madrid: "If the advice be good," replied the emperor, greatly diſconcerted, "you ought to follow it;" at the ſame he purpoſely let fall a ſuperb diamond, which the ducheſs picked up, and which he begged her to accept; ſhe complied with his requeſt, and, in the ſequel, repaid his attention by betraying the intereſts of her ſovereign. The king's fool having placed the emperor's name on his liſt, for having put himſelf in the power of his rival, obſerved, that if the king ſuffered him to eſcape, he would efface the emperor's name, and inſert his maſter's in the place.

Charles remained ſix days at Paris, but he had no ſooner reached his own territories, than the French ambaſſadors demanded the reſtitution of the Milaneſe; Charles relinquiſhed the diſguiſe which was no longer neceſſary to his intereſt; he peremptorily refuſed to grant the inveſture of the Milaneſe, and denied that he had ever made any promiſe that could bind him to an action ſo weak and imprudent.

A. D. 1541.] Francis was greatly enraged when he found himſelf the dupe of his unprincipled rival; and his indignation was augmented in proportion as he perceived that the credulous ſimplicity with with which he had truſted him, expoſed him to the ridicule of Europe. He ſuſpected the treachery of his own ſervants; and, though he had reſolved on a renewal of the war, he diſmiſſed his beſt general, Montmorenci. The cauſe of the conſtable's diſgrace—who received orders to retire from court, whither he did not return until the following reign—has never been well aſcertained. Some authors pretend that the king reproached him with the advice he had given to truſt to the generoſity of the emperor, and even go ſo far as to ſay that the conſtable maintained a criminal correſpondence with Charles.

The next object of the king's diſpleaſure was Brion, whoſe pride was inſupportable, but whoſe probity was undoubted: having expreſſed his intention of humiliating the admiral, the chancellor Poyet (who had been entruſted with the ſeals, on the death of du Prat, in 1535,) with the prompt zeal of a courtly ſycophant, inſtituted a proceſs againſt him for extortion and malverſation, and, by a baſe proſtitution of the laws, pronounced a ſentence which condemned Brion to perpetual baniſhment, and to pay a fine of fifteen hundred thouſand livres. The king, enraged at this unjuſt proceeding, revoked the ſentence, and reſtored the admiral to the poſſeſſion of his honours and eſtates; but Brion was ſo deeply affected by the attack which had been made on his honour, that he ſurvived the revocation of his ſentence only two years. Poyet himſelf was diſgraced, and by a ſentence of the parliament, pronounced on the twenty-fourth of April, 1545, was declared incapable of holding any office whatever, and condemned to pay a fine of one hundred thouſand livres, and to be impriſoned for five years.

Francis filled every court in Europe with his negociations; but Henry of England had lately beheld with a ſuſpicious eye his frequent interviews with the emperor, and his alliance with the king of Scotland; the pope ſtill maintained a ſtrict neutrality; and ſultan Solyman alone embraced his proffered alliance, and declared himſelf ready to avenge his wrongs. Two of the ambaſſadors of Fran-

cis, on their road to Venice, were aſſaſſinated near the mouth of the Teſino, at the inſtigation of the marquis del Guaſto, governor of the Milaneſe. The French monarch loudly complained of this baſe violation of the laws of nations; and demanded the puniſhment of the atrocious contriver of the guilty deed; but his demands were eluded, and he gladly embraced the opportunity of extorting by arms that juſtice which he vainly ſought to obtain by negociation.

A. D. 1542.] Piedmont and the Netherlands had been deſtined by du Bellay to become the theatre of war, but the new council rejected his plan, and regulated, on a far different ſcale, the operations of the enſuing campaign. It was determined to direct the principal efforts o the troops againſt Perpignan, the capital of Rouſſillon, which was falſely aſſerted to be in a defenceleſs ſtate, while another army was to be ſent into Luxembourg, to aſſiſt the duke of Cleves, who claimed the king's protection, to enable him to recover the duchy of Gueldres, which had been wreſted from him by the houſe of Auſtria. In purſuance of this plan, the dauphin was appointed to command the army deſtined for Rouſſillon; he had under him Annebaut and Montpezat, and his orders were to lay ſiege to Perpignan, to the relief of which place it was expected the emperor would march in perſon, and in that caſe the king intended to repair, himſelf, to the ſcene of action. The troops that were ſent to Luxembourg were commanded by the duke of Orleans, who was accompanied by the duke of Guiſe and his ſon, the count of Aumale; and by the young count of Enguien.

In Rouſſillon the French arms were far from ſucceſsful; conſiderable delays had occurred in collecting the troops deſtined for that quarter, and ſupplying them with proviſions; ſo that the emperor had ſufficient time to put Perpignan in a proper ſtate of defence, and to furniſh it with every requiſite for ſuſtaining a long ſiege. Charles, however anxious he might be for the fate of that city, determined not to hazard a deciſive engagement; but committed the defence of it to the perſevering valour of the duke of Alva. The French, after a ſiege of three months, waſted by diſeaſe, and repulſed in various attacks, received orders from Francis to abandon the enterpriſe, and return to their own country: the duke of Alva made a vain attempt to harraſs them on their retreat; his efforts were fruſtrated by the vigilance of the dauphin; and the army reached France in ſafety.

A. D. 1543.] In the enſuing campain the plan of operations was changed, Rouſſillon was neglected, and the principal efforts of the French were directed againſt the Netherlands. The intention of Francis was to fortify Landrecy, for which purpoſe he fixed his camp at Marolles. A detachment of the army, commanded by the dauphin, reduced Aimeries, Maubeuge, and Barlemont-upon-Sombre; while the count of Aumale extended his incurſions to the gates of Aveſne.

As ſoon as the fortifications of Landrecy were completed, the king left his camp at Marolles, and laid ſiege to Luxembourg, which he ſpeedily reduced, and which he expreſſed his determination of keeping as an amends for the loſs of the Milaneſe. He then detached Annebaut, with ten thouſand infantry, and four hundred

men at arms, to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Cleves; but that prince had already made his peace with the emperor, and agreed to join Charles againſt Francis, his friend and ally. The Imperialiſts, meanwhile, under the counts of Roeux and Roquenldoff, had inveſted Landrecy, and the king now marched with his whole army to the relief of that town, where he firſt received intelligence of the alliance which had been formed between the emperor and the king of England.

On the fourteenth of September, 1542, James the Fifth, king of Scotland, had expired in the flower of his age, leaving only an infant-daughter, the celebrated Mary Stuart, by his conſort Mary of Lorraine. The diſputes with regard to the regency, during the minority of the young princeſs, filled Scotland with confuſion. Henry formed the deſign of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his ſon Edward to the heireſs of that kingdom; and he engaged Hamilton, earl of Arran, who claimed the regency, as next heir to the crown, after Mary, to ſecond his plan. But his project was thwarted by cardinal Beaton, primate of Scotland, who alſo aſpired to the regency, and who perſuaded the majority of the Scottiſh nobles to oppoſe the projected alliance with England. As a war was fully expected to be the conſequence of this oppoſition, the cardinal found it neceſſary to make an immediate application to France, and to crave the aſſiſtance of that ancient ally, during the preſent diſtreſſes of the Scottiſh nation. Mathew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was, at that time, in the French court; and Francis being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, ſent him over to his native country, as a ſupport to the cardinal and the queen-mother; and he promiſed that a ſupply of money, and, if neceſſary, even military ſuccours, ſhould be ſoon diſpatched after him. By this means the French party acquired a decided ſuperiority over that of the Engliſh in Scotland.

Henry now reſolved to break with France, and to unite his arms with thoſe of the emperor, notwithſtanding the ill treatment he had formerly experienced from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to ſupport the Scots againſt the power of England*. He had received information of ſome railleries which the French king had thrown out againſt his conduct with regard to his wives; he was diſguſted that Francis, after ſo many obligations which he owed him, had ſacrificed him to the emperor; and in the confidence of friendſhip, had raſhly revealed his ſecrets to that ſubtle, intriguing, and intereſted monarch; and he complained, that regular payments were never made of the ſums due to him by France, and of the penſion which had been promiſed. Impelled by theſe various motives, he alienated himſelf from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who very earneſtly courted his alliance.

In conſequence of this league, ſix thouſand Engliſh troops were ſent to join the Imperialiſts, then engaged in the ſiege of Landrecy, which the emperor covered with an army of above forty thouſand men. Francis advanced at the head of

* Pere Daniel.

an army not much inferior, as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to abandon the ſiege: but while theſe rival monarchs were facing each other, the French king found means to throw ſuccors into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpoſe, he ſkilfully made a retreat. Charles ſent Gonzaga to attack the rear of the French army; but that general was vigourſly received and ſucceſsfully repulſed by Briſſac; and the emperor, finding the ſeaſon far advanced, deſpaired of ſucceſs in his enterpriſe, and found it neceſſary to raiſe the ſiege; in his retreat, however, he took Cambrai by ſurpriſe, and placed an Imperial garriſon in that city.

A. D. 1544.] The next campaign opened with greater vigour, and was attended with greater ſucceſs. The young count of Enguien, who was now entruſted with the command of the French forces in Piedmont, greatly reſembled the unfortunate duke of Nemours, who was killed at the battle of Cerignoles; with the valour of the braveſt ſoldier he combined the ſkill of the moſt experienced general, and he had the advantage of the duke, inaſmuch as his military talents were not ſullied by temerity. On the fourteenth of April the two armies met near Cerizoles; victory for a while remained doubtful; ſhe then ſeemed to incline to the Imperialiſts, and the flight of a body of Italians, under the count de Gryeres, induced Enguien to believe the day was loſt; but the ſpirited exertions of the French nobility and their gallant followers ſoon reſtored order to the army, and, preſſing forward with impetuous valour, the enemy were routed and put to flight. Enguien wiſhed to purſue them, but he was checked by the prudent advice of an old officer, who begged him to recollect the fate of the duke of Nemours. The victory was complete; ten thouſand of the Imperialiſts periſhed on the field, four thouſand were taken priſoners, and all their baggage, artillery and ammunition fell into the hands of the French. Del Guaſto, who had received a wound in the knee, retreated to Aſte, but the inhabitants refuſing to admit him, he haſtened to Milan. Enguien now reduced, with facility, the town of Carignano, and the greater part of the marquiſate of Montferrat; intelligence of his ſucceſs being diſpatched to the king, it was ſpeedily forwarded to all the foreign courts; the duchy of Milan was ready to ſubmit to the French; all Italy was in motion; even the kingdom of Naples exhibited ſymptoms of diſcontent; but Enguien was unfortunately, incapicitated from improving theſe advantages, by the formidable preparations of the king of England. Henry, on the fourteenth of July, landed at Calais with thirty thouſand men, attended by the principal nobility and gentry of England. The Engliſh army was ſoon joined by the count of Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe.

The emperor, with an army of near ſixty thouſand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and that he might loſe no time while he waited for the march of his confederate, he ſate down before Luxembourg, which he took; he thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuſe, which was ſurrendered to him: but the obſtinate reſiſtance of the garriſon of Saint Dizier made the emperor deſpair of reducing the place, and (as a ſcarcity of proviſions began to prevail in his camp)

had the dauphin's army marched to its relief, it is moſt probable he would have raiſed the ſiege. But the dauphin was reſtrained from acting by the king's poſitive orders; and the treachery of the ducheſs of Etampes relieved Charles from the difficulties under which he laboured; ſhe gave him ſecret intelligence of the proceedings of the French council; ſhe informed him of the place where the dauphin had left, under a ſlender guard, an ample ſupply of proviſions; and ſhe even forged the ſignature of the duke of Guiſe, in a letter addreſſed to the count of Sancerre, requeſting that nobleman to give up Saint Dizier, as it would be impoſſible to march to its relief *. This town was accordingly ſurrendered to Charles, after it had ſuſtained a ſiege of ſix weeks.

The emperor, after the reduction of Saint Dizier, purſued his march along the banks of the Marne, and pitched his camp immediately oppoſite to that of the French, who were only divided from him by the river. As the dauphin was not permitted to hazard a battle, Charles proceeded to take poſſeſſion of Epernay and Chateau-Thierry. The news of his progreſs filled the Pariſians with alarm; they haſtened to quit the capital, and the roads to Rouen and Orleans were covered with waggons loaded with their wives, children and effects. The king endeavoured, by his preſence and exhortations, to inſpire his ſubjects with confidence; while the dauphin, by a forced march, contrived to throw himſelf between the forces of Charles and the capital; and he ſent a ſtrong detachment of ſeven or eight thouſand infantry, and four hundred men at arms, to the aſſiſtance of the Pariſians, under the conduct of de Lorges, who fixed his camp at Lagny. The emperor, aſtoniſhed at the dauphin's vigilance and activity, turned to the left, and marched to Soiſſons. Finding his ſchemes for ſubduing France were likely to prove abortive, he propoſed terms of accommodation to the king, and conferences were accordingly opened at Creſpy in the Laonnois, and a treaty was concluded on the eighteenth of September, 1544. Francis agreed to relinquiſh his acquiſitions in Piedmont and Savoy; and the emperor engaged, in the ſpace of two years, to beſtow on the duke of Orleans his daughter or his niece in marriage, with the Low Countries or the Milaneſe as a dower. This peace, though highly advantageous to the king, as it relieved him from the efforts of his moſt powerful enemy, was highly blamed by his ſubjects.

A. D. 1545.] The war between England and France was not diſtinguiſhed this year by any memorable event. Francis equipped a fleet of above two hundred ſail, beſides gallies, which he entruſted to the command of the admiral Annebaut; and having embarked ſome land forces on board, he ſent them to make a deſcent in England†. They ſailed to the iſle of Wight, where they found the Engliſh fleet lying at anchor at Saint Helen's. It did not exceed one hundred ſail; and the Engliſh admiral thought it moſt adviſable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French among the narrow paſſages and rocks which were unknown to them. The rival fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and, except the

* Garnier. † Memoirs de Du Bellay.

ſinking of the Mary Roſe, one of the largeſt veſſels in the Engliſh fleet, the damage on both ſides was inconſiderable. The French landed troops in the iſle of Wight, and committed depredations on the circumjacent country, but being repulſed by the provincial militia, they retired to their ſhips, and ſoon after ſet ſail for France. They were, however, again driven by the wind on the coaſt of England, where they met with the Engliſh fleet, and a freſh cannonading enſued, which proved no more deciſive than the foregoing. It was indeed ſcarcely poſſible, that a fleet could, at that time, without boarding, obtain any conſiderable advantage over the enemy. The cannon were commonly ſo ill ſerved, that Du Langey obſerves in his memoirs, as a circumſtance ſomewhat ſingular, that each of theſe numerous fleets, in an engagement which laſted two hours, fired full three hundred ſhot; when a ſingle veſſel could now, without difficulty, perform thrice as much.

Francis's chief intention in equipping ſo powerful a fleet was to prevent the Engliſh from throwing ſuccours into Boulogne, which he intended to beſiege; and, for that purpoſe, he ordered a fort to be built, by which he propoſed to block up the harbour. After a conſiderable loſs of money and time, the fort was found ſo ill-conſtructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had collected, on that frontier, an army of near forty thouſand men, he was not able to effect any conſiderable enterpriſe. He broke into the territory of Oye, an extent of country which lies near Calais, and which ſerved commonly to ſupply the garriſon with proviſions; and he laid it entirely waſte by fire and ſword. Several ſkirmiſhes enſued between the French and Engliſh, in one of which the count of Aumale received a remarkable wound. A lance was run into his head between his eye and noſe; and notwithſtanding that the lance broke, and the head of it remained in the wound, he was not diſmounted by ſo violent a ſhock, and the head of the lance being extracted by the ſkill of an eminent ſurgeon, Aumale afterwards recovered, and became extremely famous under the name of duke of Guiſe.

A. D. 1546.] A new war was now expected with the emperor, as the treaty of Creſpy had been rendered void by the death of the duke of Orleans. Annebaut and the chancellor Olivier were diſpatched to the Imperial court, to propoſe a freſh treaty to Charles; but that prince, who was then occupied with the troubles occaſioned by the league of Smalcalde, deferred his anſwer, under various pretences, until he had obtained from the Flemings the ſuccours he had demanded, and had ſucceeded in his efforts to diſunite the league; he then replied—without explaining his intentions—that he ſhould not engage in a war unleſs he were attacked. This was conſtrued into a refuſal of the king's demands; and Francis, accordingly, put all his frontier towns in a proper ſtate of defence. The emperor ſtated ſome objections to the fortifying Villa-Franca, which, he pretended, was a fief of the empire; but du Bellay, by the production of ancient records, convinced him of his error. Charles gave up the point, but, in order to oppoſe one barrier to another, he reſtored the fortifications of Damvilliers, which had been diſmantled by the duke of Orleans, in 1542.

A. D. 1547.] The death of the duke of Orleans was followed by that of the count of Enguien, who had acquired an immortal reputation by the victory of Cerizoles; and the loſs of both theſe princes impreſſed Francis with a grief which nothing could mitigate. The remaining hours of his life were embittered by domeſtic contention, ariſing from the diſputes which prevailed between the ducheſs of Etampes and Diana of Poictiers; he was ſenſibly effected by the death of Henry of England, to whom he was perſonly attached. A ſlow fever continually preyed upon him; he wandered from one palace to an another, in a ſtate of languor and depreſſion, and, at length, expired at Rambouillet, on the thirty-firſt of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

Francis employed his laſt moments in giving uſeful council to the dauphin; he adviſed him never to recal Montmorenci; not to promote the elevation of the Guiſes; to retain in his ſervice the cardinal de Tournon, and the admiral Annebaut; and, finally, to ſpare protect, and relieve his ſubjects: but, unhappily, no part of this advice was followed.

Francis had, for his firſt wife, Claude of France, daughter to Lewis the Twelfth, and Anne of Brittany; this princeſs died in 1524. In 1530 he married Eleanora of Auſtria, ſiſter to Charles the fifth, and widow to the king of Portugal. By his ſecond wife he had no children; by the firſt, he had the dauphin, Francis, who died in 1545; Henry, who ſucceeded him on the throne; Charles, duke of Orleans, who died in 1545; Louiſa-Charlotta; Magdelen, who married James the Fifth of Scotland: and Margaret, who eſpouſed Emanual Philibert, duke of Savoy.

Francis, who was a great patron of the ſciences, had formed a plan for the erection of a college for the ſtudy of dead languages; but he never put it in execution: he eſtabliſhed, however, ſalaries for profeſſors of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, phyſic and ſurgery. A mathematical profeſſor was alſo eſtabliſhed during his reign; and the ſtudy of natural pliloſophy began to be cultivated with dilligence and ſucceſs.

From the year 1528 to 1534, perpetual ſummer prevailed in France; during four years not two days' froſt was experienced; nature, exhauſted by a continued heat, inceſſantly prodcued bloſſoms, but had not ſtrength to bring the fruit to maturity: a ſcarcity of proviſions was the conſequence of this phenomenon; the harveſt was ſcarcely ſufficient to ſupply ſeed for the following year. Worms, and inſects of every kind, multiplied *ad infinitum*, and deſtroyed the little fruit which the earth yielded. A moſt dreadful famine prevailed, and the conſumption of unwholeſome food gave riſe to a diſorder which carried off one-fourth of the inhabitants of France*.

* Gaillard.

HENRY THE SECOND.

A. D. 1547.] HENRY the Second completed his twenty-eighth year, the very day on which he ſucceeded to the throne, which was the thirty-firſt of March; though the ceremony of his coronation did not take place till the twenty-eighth of July. He was poſſeſſed of the full vigour both of body and of mind; handſome in his perſon, but aukward in his manners and addreſs; accompliſhed in all the martial exerciſes of the age, but averſe from application to buſineſs, and from every purſuit which required ſtudy and attention*. An ardent admirer of the fair ſex, he was grateful to all who favoured his prevailing paſſion; and as Diana de Poictiers had firſt initiated him in the ſchool of love, ſhe had acquired an unlimited aſcendancy over the mind of the youthful monarch.

Notwithſtanding the dying injunctions of his father, Henry haſtened to recall the conſtable Montmorenci, whom he re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of all his honours, and to whom he paid the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns, the amount of his ſalary, as conſtable, during the five years which he had paſſed in exile. The conſtable exerted his newly-acquired power for the gratification of his private revenge. The ducheſs of Etampes, who had greatly contributed to procure his baniſhment, was the firſt to feel the effects of his reſentment: ſhe was ſent back to her huſband, and ſtripped of all the poſſeſſions which the profuſe bounty of the late monarch had laviſhed on her. The hotel d'Etampes was given to Diana of Poictiers, and her eſtate at Chevreuſe to the cardinal of Lorraine†. All the old miniſters were diſmiſſed, ſome of them impriſoned, and moſt of them perſecuted. The requeſt of Francis the Firſt to his ſon to repreſs

* Brantome.—Matthieu. Mem. de la Vieuville. M.S. de Fontanieu.

† Belcarious.—De Thou.—Additions aux Mem. de Caſtelreau, par le Laboureur.—M. S. de Bethune.—La Vieuville.

the dangerous ambition of the houſe of Guiſe, was equally diſregarded with his other injunctions, and that potent family was ſoon received into favour, and entruſted with the confidence of Henry. To this imprudent conduct may be traced the origin of thoſe factions and leagues which tended, at a ſubſequent period, to deſolate the kingdom. Five different parties were already formed in France; the firſt of which was headed by Diana of Poictiers; the ſecond, by the conſtable; the third, by the houſe of Guiſe; the fourth, by the mareſchal St. André; and the fifth, by Catherine of Medicis.

Montmorenci, by being placed at the head of the adminiſtration, and by enjoying the two important offices of ſecretary of war, and ſecretary for foreign affairs, poſſeſſed the means of augmenting the number of his creatures and partizans; but the extreme ſeverity of his diſpoſition, his avarice, and exceſſive partiality for his numerous relations, diſguſted a conſiderable part of the higher order of nobles. During the preceding reign he had ſcarcely ſuffered a ſingle year to paſs away, without extending his domains by ſome new acquiſitions. He diſplayed leſs ardour in the attainment of titles and honours, than in the acquiſition of wealth; and as he was in no haſte to procure the dignity of a duke, he had the mortification to ſee himſelf preceded in all the public ceremonies by the princes of the houſe of Guiſe.

Thoſe princes purſued a very different line of conduct from that which had been adopted by the conſtable: affable, generous, and more anxious to obtain honours than to accumulate wealth, they ſought no other poſſeſſions than what they inherited from their anceſtors, and titles were the ſole objects of their ſolicitations. Beſides the two duchies of Guiſe and Aumale, they procured the erection of ſeveral eſtates they poſſeſſed in the province of Maine into a marquiſate, and the barony of Joinville into a principality.

Catharine of Medicis had been married to the king while only duke of Orleans, and when he had barely completed his thirteenth year; ſhe had ſome time ſince, brought him a ſon, who was named Francis; but ſhe was nevertheleſs holden in contempt, as well by Henry himſelf, as by all who ſurrounded him; yet the pliancy of her diſpoſition, and her profound diſſimulation, had, at length, enabled her to become the head of a party. By careſſing the ducheſs of Valentinois, whom ſhe deteſted; by perpetually flattering the pride, and aſking the advice of the conſtable, whom ſhe conſidered as her greateſt enemy; and by ſtopping at nothing which could, in the ſmalleſt degree, promote the object ſhe had in view; ſhe obtained many conſiderable favours, as well for herſelf as her partiſans.

The reſt of the court, or rather the whole nation, were divided between the four firſt parties, by whoſe recommendation all military promotions, all offices, civil and eccleſiaſtical, all penſions and employments, were diſtributed; ſo that the king, no longer conſidered as the fountain of honours and rewards, was holden in little eſtimation by his ſubjects.

Francis de Vivonne, lord of Chateigneraie, and Guy de Chabot, lord of Jarnac, both natives of the province of Angoumois, had been introduced at the court of Francis the Firſt, nearly at the ſame time; one of them was placed in the dauphin's houſhold, and the other in that of the duke of Orleans; and notwithſtanding the antipathy which prevailed between their reſpective maſters, and which extended to the partiſans and dependants of either prince, theſe young noblemen had ever preſerved a ſincere friendſhip for each other. The whole court was aſtoniſhed at the magnificence diſplayed by Jarnac; and la Chateigneraie, who was better acquainted than any one elſe with the circumſtances of his friend, having expreſſed a wiſh to know whence he derived his reſources, was informed by Jarnac, in confidence, that he was ſupplied with money by his mother-in-law, with whom he maintained a criminal connection; this report ſoon reached the ears of Jarnac's father. He immediately ſent for his ſon, who denied the charge, and requeſted he would inſtantly accompany him to court, that he might ſee in what manner he would confound the perſon who dared to caluminate him. They accordingly repaired thither, and entering the apartment where the court was aſſembled, young Jarnac exclaimed aloud, that *whoever aſſerted that he maintained a criminal intercourſe with his mother-in-law, was a liar, and a coward.* As la Chateigneraie could not ſuffer this challenge to remain unanſwered without diſhonouring himſelf in the eyes of his maſter, and, indeed, without expoſing the dauphin himſelf to the imputation of falſhood, he boldly replied, that Jarnac had imprudently boaſted of that which he now ſo proudly denied; and that he would extort from him a confeſſion of the fact: it was now reſolved that a judicial combat ſhould take place; and the liſts were accordingly marked out at Saint German en Laye, where Henry attended in perſon, and the conſtable, aſſiſted by the mareſchals of France, was judge of the field.

Having obſerved all the forms preſcribed by the laws of chivalry, the two combatants attacked each other ſword in hand; la Chateigneraie, who was one of the moſt robuſt men of the age, confided in his ſtrength, while Jarnac truſted to his ſuperior agility; the latter, covering his head with his ſhield, bent beneath the vigorous blows of his adverſary, till having watched an opportunity, he aimed two ſucceſsful ſtrokes at his left ham, which was left uncovered that the motion of his leg might not be impeded. The aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators, when they beheld that warrior whoſe brows they were in momentary expectation of ſeeing encircled with the wreath of victory, lay proſtrate on the ground, was inexpreſſible. While la Chateigneraie lay in a ſtate of inſenſibility, Jarnac approached the ſcaffold where the king was ſeated, and falling on his knees, exclaimed, "Sire, I am ſufficiently revenged if you believe me innocent. I reſign "my adverſary to you, and entreat you to impute all that has paſſed entirely to "to our own levity and thoughtleſſneſs." He then returned to la Chateigneraie, who had, by this time, recovered his ſenſes, and endeavoured to extort from him an acknowledgment of his innocence; but the wounded warrior riſing on his

knees, drew his dagger, and endeavoured to reach his opponent; but his ſtrength failed him, and he again ſunk to the ground. Although la Chateignaraie had loſt a vaſt quantity of blood, the ſurgeons, after examining the wound, expreſſed their opinion that a cure might eaſily be effected; but their patient, indignant at the triumph of his adverſary, tore off the dreſſings, and obſtinately rejecting all offers of aſſiſtance, ſoon after expired.

The rapaciouſneſs of the leaders of the different factions, by occaſioning the creation of many new places, greatly encreaſed the public expenditure, and, of courſe, cauſed a deficit in the revenue. As it was deemed impolitic to mark the commencement of a reign by an augmentation of impoſts, indirect means for procuring the neceſſary ſum were ſought for, and the following adopted:—the value of the mark of gold was raiſed ſix livres, twelve ſols, ſix derniers, which made it worth one hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand livres, the mark of ſilver was raiſed from fourteen livres ten ſols, to fifteen livres: crown lands, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thouſand livres were expoſed to ſale; the tenths levied on the clergy were doubled; a *free gift* was exacted from the principal towns in the kingdom; and ſome trifling additions were privately made to the *Gabelle* in the provinces beyond the Loire.

The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance, and after long delays, had at laſt ſummoned a general council, which had aſſembled at Trent, on the thirteenth of December, 1545, and had for the ſpace of fifteen months been employed, both in correcting the abuſes of the church, in aſcertaining her doctrines, and in condemning the tenets of Luther. The French monarch had obſerved with concern, that the emperor, at whoſe inſtigation this aſſembly had been ſummoned, aſſumed a kind of dictatorial authority over the fathers, and ſought to render them the inſtruments of his ambition and policy.

Charles the Fifth had long been accuſtomed to make religion ſubſervient to his intereſt: he was reſolved to employ the imputation of hereſy as a pretence for ſubduing the proteſtant princes, and oppreſſing the liberties of Germany; but found it neceſſary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adverſaries. He ſeparated the palatinate and the elector of Brandenburgh from the proteſtant confederacy: he took arms againſt the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe: he took the former priſoner at the battle of Mulhauſen, and treated him in the moſt unfeeling and inhuman manner: by a baſe violation of his word, and a dereliction of every principle of honour, he detained the latter captive, after he had granted him a ſafe-conduct. He ſeemed to have obtained the ſummit of his ambition; and the German princes, aſtoniſhed at his ſucceſs, and deprived of their uſual reſources by the death of Francis the Firſt, and Henry the Eighth, were no longer able to withſtand his power. Henry indeed, was willing to afford them aſſiſtance, but he rather choſe to interfere in favour of Scotland, his ancient ally, which, even before the death of the late king, had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

Henry who was deeply intereſted in preventing the union of Scotland and England, conſented to furniſh, at his own expence, the ſuccours required for the defence of the former kingdom, on condition that the Scottiſh parliament ſhould, by a formal act, decree that their young ſovereign ſhould give her hand to the dauphin Francis, who, in conſequence of this alliance, ſhould govern both kingdoms. The parliament was accordingly ſummoned to meet in an abbey, near Haddington, where the propoſal of Henry was ſubmitted to their conſideration. The arguments were carried on with great warmth and ability on both ſides; it was objected by ſome, that the meaſure propoſed was a deſperate one, that it allowed no reſource in caſe of miſcarriage; expoſed the Scots to be ſubjected by foreigners; and involved them in perpetual war with England. On the other hand, it was urged, that the queen's preſence was the very cauſe of war with England; that that nation would deſiſt when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and Henry, being engaged by ſo high a mark of confidence, would take their ſovereign under his protection, and uſe his utmoſt efforts to defend the kingdom. And as the Scottiſh clergy dreaded the conſequence of the Engliſh alliance, they ſeconded this meaſure with all the zeal and induſtry which either zeal or intereſt could inſpire, ſo that it was finally determined to accept the propoſals of the king of France.

Henry was no ſooner informed of the reſolution of the Scottiſh parliament, than he gave orders for the embarkation of three thouſand of his beſt infantry, to which he joined the ſame number of Lanſquenets, under the command of the Rhinegrave, and ſix companies of light horſe*. This army was entruſted to the conduct of Andrew Montalembert, lord of Eſſé.

The fleet which had conveyed theſe troops to Scotland, was deſtined to bring back Mary Stuart to France; Leo Strozzi, who commanded it, fearful of being intercepted by the Engliſh, if he employed all his ſhips for that purpoſe, detached the chevalier Villegagnon, with four gallies, then lying in the Frith of Forth, who ſet ſail as if he intended to return home: but when he reached the open ſea, he turned northwards, paſſed by the Orkneys, and came in on the weſt coaſt at Dunbarton. The young queen was there committed to his care; and being attended by two Scottiſh noblemen, ſhe put to ſea, and, after meeting with ſome tempeſtuous weather, arrived ſafely at Breſt, whence ſhe was conducted to Paris, and ſoon after betrothed to the dauphin.

A. D. 1548.] The rapid ſtrides which the emperor continued to make towards the accompliſhment of his ambitious projects gave ſerious inquietude to Henry, who, anxious to perſuade the pope to take up arms againſt Charles, levied an army, with which he entered Italy; but the Roman pontiff was too far advanced in years to think of engaging in a war, and the king himſelf was ſpeedily compelled to repaſs the Alps, in order to quell a dangerous ſedition which broke

* Oarnier, tom. xxvii. p. 101.

out in Guienne, in conſequence of the rapacious conduct of the officers of the revenue employed in collecting the oppreſſive duties upon ſalt.

A. D. 1549.] In the month of June, this year, the king made his ſolemn entry into Paris, where his acceſſion to the throne was celebrated by tilts and tournaments, and by every kind of rejoicing then in vogue; but the chief object of theſe rejoicings was to collect together all the nobility in the kingdom, in order to accelerate the execution of a project which the confuſion that prevailed in the Engliſh council had led him to form. Having, accordingly, collected a powerful army, Henry marched from Paris in the month of Auguſt, and directed his courſe towards the Boulonois, which he had reſolved to recover by force of arms. He arrived at the place of his deſtination, and falling on the Boulonois, ſpeedily reduced the forts of Sallacques, Ambleteuſe, and Blacquenai, though well ſupplied with every thing requiſite for ſuſtaining a ſiege. He endeavoured to ſurpriſe Boulenburg, and was repulſed; but the garriſon, not thinking the place tenable after the loſs of the other fortreſſes, deſtroyed the works, and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, deprived Henry of all hopes of ſucceſs againſt Boulogne itſelf; and he returned to Paris, leaving the command of the army to Gaſpar de Coligni, lord of Chatillon, (afterwards ſo famous by the name of admiral Coligni) who had orders to renew the ſiege in the ſpring.

A. D. 1550.] During theſe tranſactions, a powerful party had been formed in England againſt the duke of Somerſet, who was, at length, compelled to reſign the protectorſhip. The earl of Warwick, who was now at the head of affairs, finding it neceſſary to conclude a peace with France, ſent over Guidotti, a Florentine merchant, to Paris, to negociate, in a private manner, with the conſtable Montmorenci. Preliminaries being ſettled, the conſtable ſent his nephew, de Coligni; his brother, Francis Montmorenci, lord of Rochepot; Andrew Guillard, lord of Mortier; and William Botchetel, lord of Saſſi, ſecretary of ſtate, to meet the Engliſh plenipotentiaries; and, after ſome diſcuſſion, it was agreed to give four hundred thouſand crowns for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne: one half to be paid immediately, the other in Auguſt following. Six hoſtages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty, which was ſigned on the twenty-fourth of March. An agreement, ſome time after, was formed for a marriage between the king of England and Elizabeth, a daughter of Francis; all the articles were, after a little negociation, fully ſettled: but this project never took effect.

A. D. 1551.] Meanwhile the council had, by the pope's orders, reaſſembled at Trent; but many of the Italian prelates being prevented, by this war, or the preparations for it, from repairing to that city on the firſt of May, the day appointed; the papal legate and nuncios were compelled to adjourn till the firſt of September, when about ſixty prelates, moſtly from the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, or from Spain, were convened*. The ſeſſion was opened with the accuſtomed formalities, and the fathers

* Adriani Iſtoria, lib. viii. p. 505, 514, 524.—Sleidan, p. 513.—Paruta, p. 220.—Lettere del Caro, ſcritte al nome del Cardinale Farneſe, tom. ii. p. 2.

were about to proceed to buſineſs; when the abbot of Bellozane appeared, and, preſenting letters of credence from the French king, demanded audience. Having obtained it, he proteſted, in the name of his maſter, againſt an aſſembly called at ſuch an improper juncture, when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, made it impoſſible for the deputies from the Gallican church to reſort to Trent in ſafety, or to deliberate concerning articles of faith and diſcipline, with the requiſite tranquility; he declared, that his maſter did not acknowledge this to be a general or œcumenick council, but muſt conſider, and would treat it, as a particular and partial convention. The legate affected to depiſe this proteſt; and the prelates proceeded, notwithſtanding, to examine and decide the great points in controverſy, concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, penance, and extreme unction. This meaſure of the French monarch, however, gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the very commencement of its deliberations.

Early in the winter, Henry entered into a negociation with the Roman pontiff, and ſoon concluded a truce for two years, that he might be at liberty to direct all his efforts againſt the emperor. While Charles was employed in ſubverting the liberties of Germany, Maurice, duke of Saxony, couſin to the depoſed elector, and a proteſtant prince himſelf, had, from motives of intereſt, ſeconded his deſigns, and acquired his favour: but he was no ſooner inveſted with the ſpoils of his degrading kinſman, than he reſolved to reſcue them from the caprice of a maſter whom he dreaded, and more firmly to eſtabliſh a religion, the exerciſe of which he had contributed to reſtrain. He ſecretly negociated a new confederacy of the proteſtants, and he earneſtly courted the aſſiſtance of Henry to oppoſe the deſpotiſm which Charles laboured to eſtabliſh.

John de Freſſe, biſhop of Bayonne, whom Henry had ſent into Germany, under pretence of hiring troops to be employed in Italy, was empowered to negociate with Maurice and his aſſociates; and a formal treaty was, accordingly, concluded on the fifth of October*. The preparatory negociations for this treaty were conducted with ſuch profound ſecrecy, that, of all the princes who afterwards acceded to it, Maurice communicated his plans only to two of them, John Albert, the reigning duke of Mecklenburgh, and William of Heſſe, the Langrave's eldeſt ſon. The league itſelf was no leſs anxiouſly concealed, and with ſuch fortunate care, that no rumour concerning it reached the ears of the emperor or his miniſters; nor do they ſeem to have conceived the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of ſuch a tranſaction†.

A. D. 1552.] The king haſtened to make the neceſſary preparations for fulfilling the engagements he had contracted, but he found an extreme difficulty in raiſing a ſufficient ſum for defraying the expences of his expedition. The war in Italy had already exhauſted the treaſury, and compelled the government to have recourſe to exactions both odious and onerous. He now opened a loan at Lyons; and demanded a free gift from the city of Paris, in return for which he granted a duty of two ſols ſix deniers on every hogſhead of wine introduced into the capital. But

* Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 340. † Robertſon.

theſe expedients proving inſufficient, he had recourſe to others of greater extent and importance. By the advice of the cardinal of Lorraine, he inſtituted ſixty new courts of juſtice in the different towns of the kingdom, by which means nearly ſix hundred offices were expoſed to ſale*. The king alſo obtained from the clergy a promiſe of three millions of livres, payable in ſix months, on condition that he ſhould paſs an edict, reſtoring to the eccleſiaſtical courts the ſame degree of power which they enjoyed previous to the year 1539; the money was paid, and the edict paſſed; but the parliament refuſing to regiſter it, it was not enforced. A farther ſum was raiſed by the erection of other new offices, as well in the court of aids, as in the chamber of accompts.

Henry having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, during his abſence, took the road to Champagne, where his army was aſſembled. It conſiſted of fifteen thouſand French infantry; nine thouſand Lanſquenets; ſeven thouſand Swiſs; fifteen hundred lances; two hundred gentlemen, and four hundred archers of the king's houſhold-troops; twelve hundred horſe-arquebuſiers; two thouſand light-horſe; two thouſand militia, and five hundred Engliſh knights, ſent by Edward to the aſſiſtance of his intended father-in-law†. As ſoon as the troops were ready to march, Henry publiſhed a manifeſto, in which, after taking notice of the ancient alliance between the French and German nations, both deſcended from the ſame anceſtors, and, after mentioning the applications which, in conſequence of this, ſome of the moſt illuſtrious of the German princes had made to him for his protection; he declared that he now took arms to re-eſtabliſh the ancient conſtitution of the empire, to deliver ſome of its princes from captivity, and to ſecure the privileges and independence of all the members of the Germanic body.

So early as the fifteenth of March, the French, having entered Lorraine, laid ſiege to Toul, which opened its gates at their approach; Verdun followed the example. Their forces next appeared before Metz, and that city, by a fraudulent ſtratagem of the conſtable Montmorenci, who having obtained permiſſion to paſs through it with a ſmall guard, introduced as many troops as were ſufficient to overpower the garriſon, was likewiſe ſeized without bloodſhed. Henry, who had hitherto been detained at Joinville by the illneſs of his queen, now joined the army. He left a ſtrong garriſon in Metz, under the command of the lord of Gonnor, brother to the mareſchal de Briſſac, with orders to repair and ſtrengthen, without delay, the fortifications of that city. From thence Henry advanced into Alſace, as far as Straſburg, and demanded leave of the ſenate to march through the city. But the Straſburgers, inſtructed and put on their guard by the credulity and misfortunes of their neighbours, ſhut their gates, and having aſſembled a garriſon of five thouſand ſoldiers, repaired their fortifications, raſed the houſes in their ſuburbs, and determined to defend themſelves to the utmoſt. At the ſame time they ſent a deputation of their moſt reſpectable citizens to the king, in order to divert him from making any hoſ-

* De Thou.—Recueil d'Ordonn.—Regiſt. † De Thou—Matthieu—Rabutin—Paradin—Sleidan—Dom Calmet, Hiſtoire de Lorraine—Garnier.

tile attempt upon them. The Swiſs cantons ſeconded them with zeal, ſoliciting Henry to ſpare a city which had long been connected with their community in friendſhip and alliancé.

Powerful as this united interceſſion was, it would not have prevailed on Henry to forego a prize of ſo much value, had he been in a condition to ſeize it. The French, though not far removed from their own country, began already to ſuffer from ſcarcity of proviſions, and had not ſufficient magazines collected to ſupport them during a ſiege, which muſt neceſſarily have been of great length. At the ſame time, the queen of Hungary, governeſs of the Low Countries, had aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, which, under the command of Martin de Roſſem, laid waſte Champagne, and threatened the adjacent provinces of France. Theſe concurring circumſtances obliged the king, though with reluctance, to abandon the enterpriſe. But being willing to acquire ſome merit with his allies by this retreat, which he could not avoid, he pretended to the Swiſs that he had taken the reſolution merely in compliance with their requeſt*; and then, after giving orders that all the horſes in his army ſhould be led to drink in the Rhine, as a proof of having puſhed his conqueſts ſo far, he marched back towards Champagne.

Maurice had publiſhed his manifeſto, and taken the field at the ſame time with Henry, and after a variety of ſucceſsful manœuvres, compelled the emperor, who was unable to check the rapidity of his progreſs, to evacuate Inſpruck with a ſlender train, and under cover of the night; and that monarch fled with precipitation before the arms of Maurice as far as Villach in Carinthia, on the frontier of the Venetian territories.

While the king and the main army of the confederates were thus employed. Albert of Brandenburg was entruſted with the command of a ſeparate body of eight thouſand men, conſiſting chiefly of mercenaries, who had reſorted to his ſtandard rather from the hope of plunder, than the expectation of regular pay.

Meantime the emperor, alarmed at the powerful confederacy which had been formed againſt him, and wholly unprepared to reſiſt the united efforts of his enemies, expreſſed a willingneſs to liſten to terms of accomodation; and conferences were accordingly opened at Paſſau, at which moſt of the proteſtant princes and deputies from the free cities attended, and where Charles was repreſented by his brother, Ferdinand, king of the Romans. After much diſcuſſion, during which the emperor had raiſed up numerous obſtacles to the concluſion of a peace, Maurice left Paſſau abruptly, and joining his troops, which were encamped at Mergenthein in Franconia, he put them in motion, and renewed hoſtilities. At three thouſand men in the emperor's pay had thrown themſelves into Frankfort on the Maine, and might from thence infeſt the neighbouring country of Heſſe, he marched towards that city, and laid ſiege to it in form. The briſkneſs of this enterpriſe, and the vigour with which Maurice carried on his approaches againſt the town, gave ſuch an alarm to the emperor, that he lent a favourable ear to the

* Sleidan, p. 557.—Brantome, tom. vii. p. 39.

arguments which his brother advanced in behalf of an accomodation. Firm and haughty as his nature was, he found it neceſſary to bend, and ſignified his diſpoſition to make conceſſions on his part, if Maurice, in return, would abate ſomewhat of the rigour of his demands. Maurice, equally deſirous of an accomodation, complied with the propoſal, and after a long conſultation with his aſſociates, he ſigned, on the ſecond of Auguſt, the treaty of peace, of which the chief articles were---That the confederates ſhall lay down their arms, and diſband their forces; that the landgrave of Heſſe ſhall be ſet at liberty, and conveyed in ſafety to his caſtle of Rheinfels; that the proteſtants ſhall not moleſt the catholics, either in the exerciſe of their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, or in performing their religious ceremonies; that the Imperial chamber ſhall adminiſter juſtice impartially to perſons of both parties, and proteſtants be admitted indiſcriminately with the catholics to ſit as judges in that court; that Albert of Brandenburg ſhall be comprehended in the treaty, provided he ſhall accede to it, and diſband his forces before the twelfth of Auguſt*.

Such was the memorable treaty of Paſſau, that overturned the vaſt fabric, in the erection of which Charles had employed ſo many years, and had exerted the utmoſt efforts of his power and policy; that annulled all his regulations with regard to religion; defeated all his hopes of rendering the Imperial authority abſolute and heriditary in his family: and eſtabliſhed the proteſtant church, which had hitherto ſubſiſted precarioufly in Germany, through connivance, or by expedients, upon a firm and ſecure baſis.

The intereſts of Henry had been little attended to during the negociations at Paſſau. Maurice and his aſſociates having attained their object, diſcovered no great ſolicitude about an ally, whom, perhaps, they deemed overpaid for the aſſiſtance he had afforded them, by his acquiſitions in Lorraine. But how much ſoever Henry might be enraged at the perfidy of his allies, or at the impatience with which they haſtened to make their peace with the emperor at his expence, he was perfectly ſenſible it was more his intereſt to keep well with the Germanic body, than to reſent the indignities offered him by any particular members of it. For that reaſon he diſmiſſed the hoſtages which he had received from Maurice and his aſſociates, and affected to talk in the ſame ſtrain as formerly, concerning his zeal for maintaing the ancient conſtitution and liberties of the empire.

On the other hand, the empire had now loſt as much, in point of ſecurity, as France had acquired, and being ſtripped of the defence which thoſe cities afforded it, lay expoſed to invaſion on a quarter, where all the towns having been conſidered as interior, and remote from any enemy, were but ſlightly fortified. Charles was influenced by theſe conſiderations to attempt the recovery of the three towns which Henry had reduced; and the preparations which he had made againſt Maurice and his aſſociates, enabled him to carry his reſolution into immediate execution.

* Recueil des Traites, tom. ii. p. 261.

The peace therefore, was no ſooner concluded at Paſſau, than he left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and advanced to Augſburg, at the head of a conſiderable body of Germans which he had levied, together with all the troops which he had drawn out of Italy and Spain. To theſe he added ſeveral battalions which had been diſmiſſed by the confederates, and prevailed alſo on ſome princes of the empire to join him with their vaſſals. In order to conceal the deſtination of this formidable army, and to guard againſt alarming the French, ſo as to lead them to prepare for their defence, he gave out that he meant to march to Hungary, in order to ſecond Maurice in his operations, who had engaged in an expedition againſt the Turks. When he began to advance towards the Rhine, and could no longer employ that pretext, he had recourſe to new artifices, and ſpread a report, that he took this route in order to chaſtiſe Albert of Brandenburg, whoſe deſtructive incurſions and cruel exactions in that part of the empire, called loudly for his interpoſition.

But Henry immediately diſcerned the true object of his vaſt preparations, and reſolved to defend the important conqueſts which he had gained with vigour equal to that with which they were about to be attacked. As he foreſaw that the principal efforts of the Imperialiſts would be directed againſt Metz, by whoſe fate that of Toul and Verdun would be determined, he nominated Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guiſe, to take the command of that city during the ſiege. The character and conduct of this nobleman fully juſtified his choice; he repaired with joy to the dangerous ſtation aſſigned him; while the martial genius of the French nobility, which led them to diſdain a life of inactivity, when an opportunity occurred for the acquiſition of honour, prompted great numbers to follow a leader. Several princes of the blood, many noblemen of the higheſt rank, and all the young officers who could obtain the king's permiſſion, entered Metz as volunteers. By their preſence they added ſpirit to the garriſon, and enabled the duke of Guiſe to employ, on every emergency, perſons eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and fit to conduct any ſervice.

But with whatever alacrity the duke of Guiſe undertook the defence of Metz; he found every thing, upon his arrival there, in ſuch a ſituation, as might have induced any perſon of leſs zeal and intrepidity to deſpair of defending it with ſucceſs. The city was of great extent, with large ſuburbs; the walls were in many places feeble and without ramparts; and the ditch was narrow, and the old towers, which projected inſtead of baſtions, were at too great diſtance from each other to defend the ſpace between them. For all theſe defects he endeavoured to provide the beſt remedy which the time would permit. He ordered the ſuburbs, without ſparing the monaſteries or churches, not even that of Saint Arnulph, in which ſeveral kings of France had been buried, to be levelled with the ground; but, in order to guard againſt the imputation of impiety, to which ſuch a violation of ſo many ſacred edifices, as well as of the aſhes of the dead, might expoſe him, he executed it with much religious ceremony,

He then pulled down ſuch houſes as ſtood near the walls, cleared and enlarged the ditch, repaired the ruinous fortifications, and erected new ones. As it was neceſſary that all theſe works ſhould be finiſhed with the utmoſt expedition, he laboured at them with his own hands; the officers and volunteers imitated his example, and the ſoldiers ſubmitted with chearfulneſs to the moſt extreme fatigues, when they ſaw that their ſuperiors did not decline to bear a part with them. At the ſame time he compelled all uſeleſs perſons to leave the place; he filled the magazines with proviſions and military ſtores; burnt the mills, and deſtroyed the corn and forage, for ſeveral miles round the town. Such were his popular talents, as well as his art of acquiring an aſcendant over the minds of men, that the citizens ſeconded him with no leſs ardour than the ſoldiers; and every other paſſion being ſwallowed up in the zeal to repulſe the enemy, with which he inſpired them, they beheld the ruin of their eſtates, together with the havock which he made among their public and private buildings, without any emotion of reſentment*.

The emperor, meantime, having collected all his troops, continued his march to Metz. As he paſſed through the cities on the Rhine, he ſaw the diſmal effects of thoſe deſtructive depredations which Albert had committed in thoſe parts. Upon his approach, that prince, though at the head of twenty thouſand men, withdrew into Lorraine, as if it were his intention to join Henry, whoſe arms he had quartered with his own in all his ſtandards and enſigns. Albert was not in a condition to cope with the Imperial troops, which amounted to upwards of ſixty thouſand men, forming one of the moſt numerous and beſt-appointed armies which had been brought into the field during that age, in any of the wars between the princes of Chriſtendom.†

The chief command, under the emperor, was committed to the duke of Alva, aſſiſted by the marquis of Marignano, together with the moſt experinced of the Italian and Spaniſh generals. Theſe officers repreſented the danger of beginning at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon—the month of October being nearly expired—a ſiege which could not fail to prove very tedious. Charles, however, rejected their advice; and, relying on the ſtrength of his preparations, and the efficacy of his precautions, he ordered the city to be inveſted. As ſoon as the duke of Alva appeared, a large body of the French ſallied out and attacked his van-guard with great vigour, threw it into confuſion, and killed or took priſoners a great number of men. The place, notwithſtanding this check, was completely inveſted by the Imperialiſts, the trenches were opened, and the other works begun.

The attention both of the beſiegers and beſieged was turned, for ſome time, towards Albert of Brandenburg, and they ſtrove, with emulation, which ſhould ain that prince, who ſtill hovered in the neighbourhood, fluctuating in all the un-

* De Thou, tom. xi. p. 387.—Salignac, Journal—Rabutin.—Hiſtorie de Lorraine, par Dom Calmet.—Fontanieu.

† Natalis Comes.—Robertſon.

certainty of reſolution natural to a man, who, being ſwayed by no principle, was allured different ways by contrary views of intereſt. He marched in triumph to Metz, and joined his army to that of the emperor. Charles, in reward for this ſervice, and the great acceſſion of ſtrength which he brought him, granted Albert a formal pardon of all paſt offences, and confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of the territories which he had violently uſurped during the war.

The duke of Guiſe harraſſed the beſiegers by frequent ſallies, in which his officers were ſo eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves, that his authority was ſcarcely ſufficient to reſtrain the impetuoſity of their courage. He repaired in the night whatever damage the enemy's artillery had affected during the day. The Imperialiſts, on their part, puſhed on the attack with great ſpirit, and carried forward approaches againſt different parts of the town at the ſame time. The beſiegers, after the unwearied labour of many weeks, found that they had made but little progreſs; and although breaches were effected by their batteries in various places, they were aſtoniſhed by the ſudden appearance of works, the demolition of which would require a renewal of all their dangers and fatigues. The emperor, enraged at the obſtinate reſiſtance which his army experienced, left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and, though ſtill ſo infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp, that, by his preſence, he might animate the ſoldiers, and urge on the attack with greater ſpirit. Upon his arrival, new batteries were erected, and new efforts were made with redoubled ardour.

The winter, however, had by this time ſet in with extreme rigour. Diſeaſes began to ſpread among the ſoldiers, eſpecially among the Italians and Spaniards, unaccuſtomed to ſuch inclement weather; ſo that great numbers were rendered unfit for ſervice, and many died. Charles reſolved to hazard a general aſſault, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of his generals, concerning the imprudence of attacking a numerous garriſon, conducted and animated by the moſt gallant of the French nobility, with an army weakened by diſeaſes, and diſheartened with ill ſucceſs. The duke of Guiſe, ſuſpecting the enemy's intentions, from the extraordinary hurry he obſerved in their camp, ordered all his troops to their reſpective poſts. They immediately appeared on the walls and behind the breaches, with ſuch a determined countenance, ſo eager for the combat, and ſo well prepared to give the aſſailants a warm reception, that the Imperialiſts, inſtead of advancing to the charge, when the word of command was given, ſtood motionleſs, in a timid dejected ſilence. The emperor perceiving the impoſſibility of truſting troops whoſe ſpirits were ſo much broken, retired abruptly to his quarters, complaining that he was now deſerted by his ſoldiers, who no longer deſerved the name of men*.

Deeply as Charles was mortified and affected by the conduct of his troops, he would not conſent to abandon the ſiege, though he perceived the neceſſity of changing the mode of attack. He ſuſpended the fury of his batteries, and propoſed to proceed by the more ſecure but tedious method of ſapping. But as it ſtill continu-

* De Thou, p. 397.—Robertſon.

ed to rain or ſnow inceſſantly, ſuch as were employed in this ſervice endured incredible hardſhips: and the duke of Guiſe, whoſe induſtry was equal to his valour, diſcovering all their mines, counterworked them, and prevented their effect. At laſt, Charles, finding it impoſſible to contend any longer with the rigour of the ſeaſon, and with enemies whom he could neither overpower by force, nor ſubdue with art; while at the ſame time, a contagious diſtemper raged among the troops, and daily cut off great numbers of the officers as well as ſoldiers, yielded to the ſolicitations of his generals, who conjured him to ſave the remains of his army by a timely retreat: "Fortune,"—ſaid he—"I now perceive reſembles other females, and "chooſes to confer her favours on young men, while ſhe forſakes thoſe who are "advanced in years."

On the twenty-ſixth of October, Charles gave orders to raiſe the ſiege, and ſubmitted to the diſgrace of abandoning the enterpriſe, after having continued fifty-ſix days before the town, during which time he loſt upwards of thirty thouſand men, who died of diſeaſes, or were killed by the enemy. The duke of Guiſe, as ſoon as he perceived the intention of the Imperialiſts, took meaſures to moleſt them on their march, and ſent out ſeveral bodies of cavalry and infantry to infeſt them on their rear, to pick up ſtragglers, and to ſeize every opportunity of attacking them with advantage. Such was the confuſion with which they made their retreat, that the French might have annoyed them in the moſt cruel manner. But when they ſallied out, a ſpectacle preſented itſelf to their view, which extinguiſhed at once all hoſtile rage, and melted them into tenderneſs and compaſſion. The Imperial camp was filled with the ſick and wounded, with the dead and dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort to eſcape, beyond their ſtrength, were left, when they could go no farther, to periſh without aſſiſtance. This they received from their enemies, to whom they were indebted for all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. The duke of Guiſe immediately ordered proper refreſhments for ſuch as were dying of hunger; he appointed ſurgeons to attend the ſick and wounded; he removed ſuch as could bear removal into the adjacent villages; and thoſe who would have ſuffered by being carried ſo far, he admitted into the hoſpitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own ſoldiers. As ſoon as they recovered, he ſent them home under an eſcort of ſoldiers, and with money to bear their charges. By theſe acts of humanity, which were uncommon in that age, when war was carried on with greater rancour and animoſity than at preſent, the duke of Guiſe completed the fame which he had acquired by his gallant and ſucceſsful defence of Metz, and engaged thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed to vie with his own countrymen in extolling his name*.

In Italy the Sineſe threw off the Imperial yoke, and placed themſelves under the protection of France, ſo that this was the moſt diſaſtrous year in the life of Charles the Fifth, and the moſt glorious in that of Henry.

* Pere Daniel, Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. p. 392.—Natalis Comes.

A. D. 1553.] Maurice and his aſſociates were inclined to liſten to the overtures of the king of France, from the perfidious conduct of the emperor at this period, who encouraged the deſtructive depredations and other violent proceedings of Albert of Brandenburg.—That prince's troops having ſhared in the calamities of the ſiege of Metz, were greatly reduced in number; but the emperor, leſs from gratitude for his ſervices on that occaſion, than from his deſire to foment diviſions among the princes of the empire, having paid all the money due to him, he was enabled with that ſum to hire ſo many of the ſoldiers diſmiſſed from the Imperial army, that he was ſoon at the head of a body of men as numerous as ever.

The Imperial chamber now iſſued its decree againſt this dangerous uſurper, Albert, and required the elector of Saxony, together with ſeveral other princes, to take arms in order to enforce its execution. Maurice, and thoſe aſſociated with him, were not unwilling to undertake this ſervice, ſince they were convinced that the emperor encouraged Albert in his extravagant and irregular proceedings, and ſecretly afforded him aſſiſtance, that, by raiſing him up to rival Maurice in power, he might, in any future broil, make uſe of him to counterbalance and controul the authority which the other had acquired in the empire*.

The confederacy formed againſt Albert wrought no change in his ſentiments; but as he knew that he could not reſiſt ſo many princes if he ſhould allow them time to aſſemble their forces, he endeavoured, by his activity, to deprive them of all the advantages which they might derive from their united power and numbers; and, for that reaſon, marched directly againſt Maurice, the enemy whom he dreaded moſt. It was happy for the allies, that the conduct of their affairs was committed to a prince of ſuch abilities. He, by his authority and example, had inſpired them with vigour; and having carried on their preparations with greater rapidity than could have been expected, he was in condition to face Albert, before he could make any conſiderable progreſs.

Their armies, which were nearly equal in number, each conſiſting of twenty-four thouſand men, met at Sieverhauſen, in the duchy of Lunenburgh; and the violent animoſity againſt each other, which poſſeſſed the two leaders, did not ſuffer them to continue long inactive. The troops, inflamed with the ſame hoſtile rage, marched fiercely to the combat; they fought with the greateſt obſtinacy; and, as both generals were capable of availing themſelves of every favourable occurrence, the battle remained long doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately. At laſt, victory declared for Maurice, who was ſuperior in cavalry, and Albert's army fled in confuſion, leaving four thouſand dead in the field; and their camp, baggage, and artillery, in the hands of the conquerors.

The emperor, meanwhile, impatient to efface the ſtain which his ignominious repulſe at Metz left upon his military reputation, took the field early in the ſpring, and entering the Low Countries with a powerful army, laid ſiege to Térouenne.

* Sleidan, p. 585—Memoires de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 442—Arnolpi vita Mauritii apud Menken, tom. ii. p. 1242—

Though the town was of ſuch importance, that Francis uſed to call it one of the two pillows on which a king of France might ſleep with ſecurity, the fortifications were out of repair, and the garriſon conſiſted of only one troop of light-horſe, under the command of the lord of Loſſes, who was governor of the place, and three companies of foot. The conſtable jealous of the glory acquired by the duke of Guiſe in the defence of Metz, procured for his eldeſt ſon, Francis Montmorenci, the appointment of lieutenant-general of Térouenne; and the celebrated d'Eſſé, who had ſignalized his courage and military conduct in the expulſion of the Engliſh from Scotland, was given him as an aſſiſtant in the arduous enterpriſe. D'Eſſé was afflicted with the jaundice, and when he went to take leave of the king, Henry expreſſed his concern at the languid and debilitated ſtate to which he ſeemed to be reduced; to which the gallant vetran replied —"*When your majeſty ſhall receive intelligence of the reduction of Térouenne, you* "*may ſafely affirm that d'Eſſé is cured of the jaundice.*" D'Eſſe conducted a ſtrong reinforcement, and ample ſupplies, which entered the town without loſs or moleſtation; and from this firſt ſucceſs it was generally believed at court, that the emperor was preparing for himſelf at Térouenne the ſame affront which he had ſuſtained at Metz.

The ſiege of Térouenne ſtill continued: d'Eſſé when he entered the town, found the enemy's batteries completed, and all the poſts ſo well fortified that it was impoſſible to attack them with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The trenches were opened, and extended to the very walls of the place: in vain did d'Eſſé make continual ſallies, by day and night; in vain did he effect a partial deſtruction of their works, and bring off in triumph ſeveral pieces of artillery which greatly incommoded the garriſon; inconveniences were ſpeedily remedied by the Imperialiſts; and the emperor had ſuch a prodigious quantity of artillery at his command, that one piece was no ſooner taken or deſtroyed, than three or four others appeared in its place, owing to the zeal of the Flemings, who were ſo anxious to have the town reduced, that ſooner than ſuffer the army to be in want of pioneers, they would have deſerted their cities, and left their fields untilled. A practicable breach being effected, the Imperialiſts, on the twelfth of June, delivered a general aſſault, which laſted four hours, when they were repulſed with the loſs of twelve or fifteen hundred men: the beſieged loſt only three hundred, but among the ſlain was their brave commander d'Eſſé, who cloſed a life of millitary toil in the field of honour. Young Montmorenci, who, though his equal in rank, had chearfully conſented to fight under his orders, now became commander in chief: he immediately aſſembled Loſſes, Fumel, Contai, Renti, Warti, la Chapelle, and all the principal officers, who unanimouſly agreed to follow the example of d'Eſſé, and bury themſelves beneath the ruins of the place. They were confirmed in the heroic reſolution by the unexpected arrival of three hundred arquebuſiers, ſent by the duke of Vendome, and of thirty young noblemen, who had obtained permiſſion to ſerve as volunteers in this choſen band: among theſe

gallant gentlemen, hiſtory has preſerved the names of Baugé, Dampierre, la Roue, Bailleul, Vieuxmaiſons, and Rambure.*

Elated with ſucceſs, the Imperialiſts immediately inveſted Heſdin, which, though defended with great bravery, was likewiſe taken by aſſault, and ſuch of the garriſon as eſcaped the ſword was taken priſoners. Charles entruſted the conduct of this ſiege to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, who, on that occaſion, gave the firſt diſplay of thoſe great talents for military command, which ſoon entitled him to be ranked amongſt the firſt generals of his age.

The loſſes which France had ſuſtained, and by which the emperor had aſſumed his wonted ſuperiority in the field, were aſcribed to the extreme jealouſy and precaution of the conſtable, in refuſing to appoint a commander in chief of the troops, or to put the army in motion, till he had ſecured a deciſive ſuperiority.†

In Italy the French arms were more ſucceſsful; Charles having exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to make a great effort in the Low Countries, his operations on the other ſide of the Alps were proportionably feeble. The viceroy of Naples, in conjunction with Coſmo di Medicis, who was greatly alarmed at the introduction of French troops into Sienna, endeavoured to become maſter of that city; but inſtead of reducing the Sienneſe, the Imperialſts were obliged to retire with precipitation, in order to defend their own country, upon the appearance of the Turkiſh fleet, which threatened the coaſt of Naples; and the French not only eſtabliſhed themſelves more firmly in Tuſcany, but, by the aſſiſtance of the Turks, conquered a great part of the iſland of Corſica, ſubject, at that time to the Genoeſe.

A. D. 1554, 1555.] Henry obſerved the progreſs of the emperor's negociation in England with much uneaſineſs. The great acceſſion of territories as well as reputation which his enemy would acquire by the marriage of his ſon with the queen of ſuch a powerful kingdom, was obvious and formidable. For this reaſon the king gave it in charge to Anthony de Noailles, his ambaſſador at the court of London, to employ all his addreſs in order defeat or retard the treaty of marriage; and as there was not, at that time, any prince of the blood in France whom he could propoſe to the queen as a huſband, he inſtructed him to co-operate with ſuch of the Engliſh as wiſhed their ſovereign to marry one of his own ſubjects. But the queen's ardour and precipitation rendered all his endeavours ineffectual.

The duke of Nevers reduced and demoliſhed the fort of Jodiner, with the caſtles of Orcimont, Beaurain, Fument, and Hierges; while the mareſchal de St. Andreé, with a detachment of ſix thouſand Swiſs and two thouſand cavalry, laid ſiege to Mariemburgh, a town which the king of Hungary, governeſs of the Low Countries, had fortified at a great expence; but being deſtitute of a ſufficient garriſon, it ſurrendered in ſix days. Henry, elated with this ſucceſs, put himſelf

* Memoires de Villars. † Haraeus, Annales Brabant.

at the head of his army, and inveſting Bouvines, took it by aſſault, after a ſhort reſiſtance. With equal facility he became maſter of Dinant; and then turning to the left, bent his march towards the province of Artois. The vaſt ſums which the emperor had remitted into England, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the leading men in his intereſt, with regard to the marriage of his ſon, had ſo exhauſted his treaſury, as to render his preparations at this juncture ſlower and more dilatory than uſual. He had no body of troops to oppoſe the French at their firſt entrance into his territories; and though he haſtened to collect all the forces in the country, and gave the command of them to the duke of Savoy, they were in no condition to face an enemy ſo far ſuperior in number. The duke, however, by his activity and good conduct, made up for his want of troops. By watching all the motions of the French at a diſtance, and by chuſing his own poſts with ſkill, he put it out of their power either to form any ſiege of conſequence, or to attack him. Want of ſubſiſtence ſoon obliged them to fall back towards their own frontiers, after having burnt all the open towns, and having plundered the country in the moſt cruel and licentious manner.

The emperor had reſolved, if poſſible, to avoid a deciſive action, but, notwithſtanding all his precautions, a diſpute about a poſt, which both armies endeavoured to ſeize, brought on an engagement, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, which proved almoſt general. The object of diſpute was a wood, which commanded one part of the French camp, and in which the duke of Guiſe, foreſeeing the emperor's intentions, had judiciouſly poſted, in an advantageous ſituation, ſeveral companies of arquebuſiers, who ſucceſsfully repelled the firſt body of troops that were ſent to diſlodge them. Charles, however, being reſolved to carry his point, detached from his army three thouſand Spaniſh arquebuſiers, under the conduct of Gonzaga, and two thouſand light horſe, headed by the duke of Savoy. The duke of Guiſe, thus overawed by a ſuperior force withdrew the troops he had ſtationed in the wood, and ſent word to the king to prepare the army for action, while he endeavoured to retard the enemy's march as much as poſſible, he placed himſelf at the head of his company of one hundred lances. The count of Schwatzemberg, meantime, continued to advance at the head of two thouſand foot, all vetrans. This formidable corps was twice attacked by the French light horſe, under the conduct of the dukes of Aumale and Nemours, who were ſpeedily repulſed: but Gaſpard de Saulx Tavannes, at the head of his company of fifty lances, charged them with ſuch fury, both in front and flank, that he made them give way, and then, by mixing among them compleated their diſorder; being firſt ſupported by the duke of Guiſe, and afterwards by the dukes of Aumale and Nemours, who, having rallied, their men, returned a third time to the charge, he was enabled to purſue his advantage; and the Germans falling back on a regiment of Lanſquenets which had been ſent to their ſupport, fled for ſhelter to the wood. Meanwhile the admiral de Coligny, at the head of the French and Swiſs infantry, after receiving the firſt fire of Gonzaga's arquebuſiers, ordered his men to charge with their pikes, by which

means the enemy were routed, and purſued to the farther extremity of the wood. In this action two hundred of the French were ſlain, the loſs of the Imperialiſts amounted to fifteen hundred or two thouſand men.* Both armies paſſed the night under arms: that of the emperor, from the expectation that the conqueror would be induced to purſue his advantage; and that of Henry, becauſe, as they were ſituated in an open field, and deſtitute of entrenchments, they had every thing to dread from an attack during the night. The conſtable, who went to reconnoitre it the next morning, declared the impoſſibility of attacking it, with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and as it would have been extremely imprudent to make an aſſault upon the town of Renti, in ſight of a numerous army, it was determined, in a council of war, that the troops ſhould return to Picardy; and, in order that this retreat might not wear the appearance of a flight, the king ſent a herald to inform the emperor that he would wait for him the next day on the field of action, during four hours; and that, on his arrival at the firſt place where forage could be procured, he would again wait for him during four days.

The campaign of 1555 was neither conducted with ſpirit nor effect; both parties being too much exhauſted to bring any conſiderable army into the field. During the ſiege of Metz, Leonard, father guardian of a convent of Franciſcans in that city, had inſinuated himſelf into the eſteem of the duke of Guiſe, by his attachment to the French; and the duke, in return for the ſervices he had rendered him, in procuring intelligence of the motions and deſigns of the enemies, had ſtrongly recommended him to Vielleville, who was appointed to the government of Metz. This monk, from the levity natural to bold and projecting adventurers, or from reſentment againſt the French, who had not rewarded him according to his own opinion of his deſerts, or tempted by the unlimited confidence which was placed in him to imagine that he might carry on and accompliſh any ſcheme with perfect ſecurity, formed a deſign of betraying Metz to the Imperialiſts.

Leonard accompliſhed, with great ſecrecy and diſpatch, every thing which he had undertaken to perform; but, happily for France, Vielleville, an able and vigilant officer, received information from a ſpy, whom he entertained at Thionville, that certain Franciſcan friars reſorted frequently thither, and were admitted to many private conferrences with the governor, who was making great preparations for ſome military enterprize. This intelligence having awakened Vielleville's ſuſpicions, he inſtantly viſited the convent of Franciſcans, and detected the ſoldiers who were concealed there; the father-guardian was alſo ſeized, on his return from Thionville; and he, in order to eſcape the rack, revealed all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy.

Vielleville, not content with having fruſtrated the nefarious machinations of theſe traitors, was ſolicitous to avail himſelf of the diſcoveries which he had made,

* Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 522.

ſo as to be revenged on the Imperialiſts. For this purpoſe, he marched out with the beſt troops in his garriſon, and placing theſe in ambuſh near the road, by which the father-guardian had informed him that the governor of Thionville would approach Metz, he fell with great fury upon the Imperialiſts, who, confounded at this ſudden attack, by an enemy whom they expected to ſurprize, made little reſiſtance; and a great part of the troops employed in this ſervice, among which were many perſons of diſtinction, was killed or taken priſoners before next morning, Vielleville returned to Metz in triumph.

On the twenty-third of March, this year, pope Julius the Third died, and was ſucceeded in the papal throne, by Macellus Cervino, cardinal of Santa Croce, who enjoyed his new dignity only twenty days. All the refinements in artifice and intrigue peculiar to conclaves, were diſplayed in that which was holden for the election of a ſucceſſor to Marcellus; the cardinals of the French and Imperial factions labouring, with equal ardour, to gain the neceſſary number of ſuffrages for one of their own party. But, after a ſtruggle of no long duration, though conducted with great warmth and eagerneſs, they united in chuſing John Peter Caraffa, the eldeſt member of the ſacred college, and the ſon of count Montorio, a nobleman of an illuſtrious family in the kingdom of Naples. In order to teſtify his reſpect for the memory of Paul the Third, by whom he had been created cardinal, he aſſumed the name of Paul the Fourth. The new pontiff, at the inſtigation of his nephews, propoſed an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the king of France, and the treaty was accordingly concluded on the fifteeth of December: the conditions were much the ſame as had been propoſed by the pope's envoy at Paris; and it was agreed to keep the whole tranſaction ſecret until their united forces ſhould be ready to take the field.

During the negociation of this treaty at Rome and Paris, an event happened, which ſeemed to render the fears which had given riſe to it vain, and the operations which were to follow upon it unneceſſary. This was the emperor's reſignation of his hereditary dominions to his ſon Philip; together with his reſolution to withdraw entirely from any concern in buſineſs or the affairs of this world, in order that he might ſpend the remainder of his days in retirement and ſolitude. At Bruſſels this extraordinary renunciation was made; and Charles only retained for himſelf the Imperial dignity, which, about a year afterwards, he reliquiſhed to his brother Ferdinand, the king of the Romans.

A. D. 1556.] Charles ſenſible of the importance of peace, at the commencement of a reign, he was anxious to conclude an accommodation with Henry. By a long truce, during the ſubſiſtence of which, and without diſcuſſing their reſpective claims, each ſhould retain what was in his poſſeſſion. Charles declared warmly for cloſing with the overture, though manifeſtly diſhonourable as well as diſadvantageous; and ſuch was the reſpect due to his wiſdom and experience, that Philip, notwithſtanding his unwillingneſs to purchaſe peace by ſuch conceſſions, did not preſume to urge his opinion in oppoſition to that of his father.

Henry could not have hefitated one moment about giving his conſent to a truce on ſuch conditions as would leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of the duke of Savoy's dominions, together with the important conqueſts which he had made on the frontiers of Germany. But it was no eaſy matter to reconcile ſuch a ſtep with the engagements which he had recently contracted, by his late treaty with the pope. The conſtable Montmorenci, however, repreſented, in ſuch ſtrong terms the imprudence of ſacrificing the true intereſts of his kingdom to theſe raſh obligations, and took ſuch advantage of the abſence of the cardinal of Lorraine, who was anxious to maintain his alliance with the Caraffas, that Henry, naturally fluctuating and unſteady, and apt to be influenced by the advice laſt given him, authorized his ambaſſadors to ſign, on the fifth of February, a treaty of truce for five years, on the terms which had been propoſed: * but that he might not ſeem to have altogether forgotten his ally the pope, whom he foreſaw would be highly exaſperated, he, in order to ſoothe him, took care that he ſhould be expreſsly included in the truce.

Under theſe circumſtances, Paul had recourſe to the arts of negociation and intrigue: he affected to approve highly of the truce, as an happy expedient for putting a ſtop to the effuſion of human blood: and he offered, as their common father, to be mediator between them. Under this pretext, he appointed cardinal Rebiba, his nuncio to the court of Bruſſels, and his nephew cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris. The public inſtructions given to both were the ſame; that they ſhould exert themſelves to the utmoſt to prevail on the two monarchs to accept of the pope's mediation, that, by means of it, peace might be re-eſtabliſhed, and meaſures taken for aſſembling a general council. But Caraffa received a private commiſſion to ſolicit Henry to renounce the treaty of truce, and to renew his engagements with the holy ſee; and he was empowered to ſpare neither entreaties nor promiſes, nor bribes in order to gain that point.

Caraffa made his entry into Paris with extraordinary pomp; and having preſented a conſecrated ſword to Henry, as the protector, on whoſe aid the pope relied in the preſent exigency, he beſought him not to diſregard the entreaties of a parent in diſtreſs, but to employ that weapon which he gave him in his defence. This repreſented not only as a duty of filial piety, but as an act of juſtice. As the pope, from confidence in the aſſiſtance and ſupport which his late treaty with France entitled him to expect, had taken ſuch ſteps as had irritated the king of Spain, he conjured Henry not to ſuffer Paul and his family to be cruſhed under the weight of that reſentment which they had drawn on themſelves merely by their attachment to France.

Theſe arguments made a deep impreſſion on Henry; but reverence for the oath, by which he had ſo lately confirmed the truce of Vaucelles, together with the extreme old age of the pope, whoſe death might occaſion a total revolution in the political ſyſtem of Italy; kept him for ſome time in ſuſpence. The cardinal, however, had expedients ready for removing theſe obſtacles. To obviate the

* Recueil de Traites.

king's ſcruple with regard to his oath, he produced powers from the pope to abſolve him from the obligation of it.

The cardinal having had the art to ſecure in his intereſt not only the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, but even Catharine of Medicis and her rival, the ducheſs of Valentinois, they, by their ſolicitations, eaſily ſwayed the king, whoſe ſecret inclinations were favourable to their deſign. The prudent remonſtrances of Montmorenci were treated with neglect; the nuncio abſolved Henry from his oath; and he ſigned a new league with the pope, which kindled the flames of war both in Italy and in the Low Countries.

A. D. 1557.] Preparations, meanwhile, had been making in France for affording effectual aſſiſtance to Paul; and on the twenty-fifth of January the duke of Guiſe arrived at Turin, and ſtrengthened his army with fifteen hundred foot and three hundred light horſe, part of the forces commanded by the mareſchal de Briſſac, he proceeded to Regio, where he had a conference with the duke of Ferrara and the cardinal Caraffa, after which he accompanied the latter to Rome. On his arrival at that city he found the pope profuſe in profeſſions, but ſlow in the performance of his promiſes; neither the pecuniary nor military aids which he had engaged to furniſh, were ready. The duke of Guiſe ſoon perceived that his hopes of ſucceſs muſt entirely depend on his own exertions: he took the field with an army conſiſting of five hundred men at arms; eight or nine hundred light-horſe, and from thirteen to fourteen thouſand foot; * he opened the campaign by the reduction of Campoli, which he reſigned to pillage, and then advancing to the Neapolitan frontiers, laid ſiege to Civitella. Twice he made a general aſſault on the town, and as often was repulſed; the neglect or treachery of the Caraffas had rendered him deſtitute of the means of prolonging the ſiege, and the unexpected approach of the duke of Alva compelled him to reſign all hopes of conqueſt, and to confine himſelf to the defence of the capital.

Henry, meanwhile, had recalled a part of the veteran troops which ſerved under the mareſchal de Briſſac in Piedmont, and had ſent repeated orders to the duke of Guiſe to bring back his army, with all poſſible expedition, to France. Alarmed at the progreſs of the enemy, he had ordered the citizens of Paris to take arms, and when they were reviewed by the prince de la Roche-ſur-Yon, they were found to amount to forty thouſand men, properly equipped for the field. Fortifications were alſo begun to be erected for the protection of the capital; but the arrival of the lord of Termes, a veteran officer, from Italy, put a ſtop to the works. After viewing the ſtate of the frontiers, he was of opinion, that Paris was ſecure from inſult, and that the money about to be expended there, might be better employed in Picardy. The metropolis was ſtill covered by three towns of great ſtrength; La Fére, Compiégne and Loan; and by an entrenched camp on the river Oiſe, capable of containing one hundred thouſand men, and in which

* Garnier.

the troops assembled by the duke of Nevers were supposed to be in greater safety than in any town in the kingdom.

The duke of Guise was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. His late ill-success in Italy seemed to be forgotten, while his former services, particularly his defence of Metz, were recounted with exaggerated praise; and he was welcomed in every city through which he passed, as the restorer of public security, who, after having set bounds, by his conduct and valour, to the victorious arms of Charles the Fifth, returned now, at the call of his country, to check the formidable progress of Philip's power. The reception which he experienced from Henry was no less cordial and honourable: He was appointed lieutenant general in chief, both within and without the kingdom, with a jurisdiction almost unlimited, and little inferior to that which was possessed by the king himself. The duke of Nevers, who had, for a time, enjoyed the dignity of commander in chief, resigned, without a murmur, his station to his rival. After having, during several months, by his exertions, his prudence, and the voluntary sacrifice of his property, sustained the falling fortunes of the state, he saw another preparing to reap the fruits of his labours; but, so far from being actuated by envy, he consented to serve under the duke of Guise.

By the arrival of ten thousand Germans, as many Swiss, the vetran bands from Piedmont, and the troops which had served under the duke of Guise in Italy, Henry had collected an army so formidable, he was resolved it should not remain inactive during the winter. A secret council was therefore called to settle the plan of operations, when Henry, to the surprise of all present, proposed the reduction of the city of Calais. The duke of Guise at first exclaimed against the scheme as impracticable. The plan, however, was not hastily conceived, nor was Henry the author of it. Sênarpont, governor of Boulogne, a man of great knowledge in the art of fortifying towns and taking plans, had availed himself of the short interval of peace between France and England, to visit Calais, and to examine the fortifications as closely as he could, without laying himself open to suspicion. What information he was unable to procure himself, he obtained by means of his emissaries. He had particularly observed that it was the custom of the English to dismiss the greater part of the garrison towards the end of autumn, and to replace it in the spring, in order to save expence; and he judged, therefore, that the winter would be the only season to make any attempt on it. The duke of Guise consented to make the experiment, but without being answerable for the event, from the conviction, that in an operation so complicated, the smallest accident might overturn the whole plan.

A. D. 1558.] While the duke of Guise was employed in making preparations for his intended expedition, the states-general assembled in Paris, and after some deliberation consented to grant the king three millions of crowns of gold, one third of which the clergy agreed to advance as a free gift. The duke of Guise having, at length, assembled his troops, sent the duke of Nevers, with the greater part of the army, towards Luxembourg, as if his intention had been to penetrate

into that province; while he placed himſelf at the head of a ſecond diviſion, and took the road to Picardy, under pretence of viſiting the different towns, and reinforcing the garriſons. After amuſing the enemy with threatning ſucceſſively different places on the frontiers of Flanders, the two diviſions joined, when the duke of Guiſe ſuddenly turned to the left, and inveſted Calais with his whole army. As the country adjacent to the city was overflowed during the winter, the marſhes around it became impaſſible, except by one avenue, which the forts of Saint Agatha and Newnham-bridge commanded. The duke, ſenſible that the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe depended on conducting his operations with ſuch rapidity as would afford the Engliſh no time for throwing relief into the town by ſea, and prevent Philip from giving him any interuption by land he puſhed the attack with a *degree of* vigour little known in carrying on ſieges during that age. He drove the Engliſh from fort Saint Agatha at the firſt aſſault; he obliged them to abandon the fort of Newnham-bridge, after defending it three days; he took the caſtle which commanded the harbour by ſtorm; and, on the eighth day after he appeared before Calais, compelled the governor to ſurrender, as his feeble garriſon, which did not exceed five hundred men, was worn out with fatigue of ſuſtaining ſo many attacks, and defending ſuch extenſive works.

The duke of Guiſe, without allowing the Engliſh time to recover from the conſternation occaſioned by this blow, immediately inveſted Guiſneſs, the garriſon of which, though more numerous, defended itſelf with leſs vigour, and, after ſtanding one briſk aſſault, gave up the town. The caſtle of Hames was abandoned by the troops poſted there, without waiting the approach of the enemy.

Henry imitated the policy of its former conquerer, with regard to Calais. He commanded all the Engliſh inhabitants to quit the town, and giving their houſes to his own ſubjects, whom he allured to ſettle there by granting them various immunities, he left a numerous garriſon, under the gallant officer the mareſchal de Termes, for their defence. After this, his victorious army went into quarters of refreſhment, and the uſual inaction of winter returned.

By this event the duke of Guiſe acquired new conſideration and importance; but though the marriage of his niece to the heir apparent of the crown raiſed him ſo far beyond the condition of other ſubjects, as ſeemed to render the credit which he had gained by his ſplendid atcheivements no leſs permanent than it was extenſive, yet he ſoon perceived the difficulty of inſinuating himſelf into the confidence of the king, which ſeemed to be monopolized by the conſtable. The faults and the misfortunes of Montmorenci, far from weakening Henry's eſteem and attachment for that miniſter, had only ſerved to give them additional energy. Henry even ſubmitted to the voluntary degradation of ſerving his friend in the capacity of a ſpy; informing him daily of every thing that was ſaid and done to his prejudice. The ducheſs of Valentinois, enraged at the conduct of the Guiſes, who began to treat her with diſdain, in order to obtain the good graces of Catharine of Medicis, ſupported, to the utmoſt of her power, the tottering faction of the conſtable, and contributed, in no ſmall degree, to the preſervation of his influence. Some letters, forming a part of this

ſecret correſpondence, are ſtill extant in the royal library at Paris, written partly by the king and partly by the ducheſs, and ſubſcribed "*Your old and beſt friends Diana and Henry**."

When the campaign opened, however, ſoon after the dauphin's marriage, the duke of Guiſe was placed at the head of the army, with the ſame unlimited power as before. Henry had received ſuch liberal ſupplies from his ſubjects, that the troops under his command were both numerous and well appointed; while Philip, exhauſted by the extraordinary efforts of the preceding year, had been obliged to diſmiſs ſo many of his forces during the winter, that he could not bring an army into the field capable of making head againſt the enemy. The duke of Guiſe did not loſe the favourable opportunity which his ſuperiority afforded him; urged by Vieilleville, governor of Metz, who had long entertained ſpies in the town, and obtained every neceſſary information, he inveſted Thionville, in the duchy of Luxembourg, one of the ſtrongeſt towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and of great importance to France, by its vicinity to Metz; and notwithſtanding the obſtinate valour with which it was defended, he forced it to capitulate on the twenty-ſecond of June, after a ſiege of three weeks.

But the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, which it was expected would lead to other conqueſts, was more than counterbalanced by an event that happened in another part of the Low-Countries. The mareſchal de Termes, governor of Calais, having penetrated into Flanders without oppoſition, with an army conſiſting of ſix hundred light-horſe, and from ſix to ſeven thouſand infantry†, ſeized and pillaged the town of Bergue-Saint-Vinoch, and then inveſting Dunkirk, took it by ſtorm, on the fifth day of the ſiege. The mareſchal perceiving that the ſoldiers, ſolely intent on preſerving the rich booty they had acquired, neglected all military diſcipline, took the precaution to ſend it to Calais; and at the ſame time wrote to the king, to inform him that Dunkirk, from its advantageous ſituation, might, in a ſhort time, and at a little expence, be rendered a place of importance. Unhappily for France, Henry had, at this period, no perſon near him with whom he could adviſe on the buſineſs; for the cardinal of Lorraine, who officiated as prime miniſter, was totally ignorant of all military concerns. At the expiration of twelve days the king's anſwer arrived, containing a permiſſion to the mareſchal to fortify Dunkirk, for which purpoſe the ſum of two thouſand crowns were remitted to him. But it was now too late; Lalain, lord of Bénicourt, had entered Gravelines with four thouſand men, while the count of Egmont, the moſt active of all Philip's generals, having received a regiment of cavalry from the duke of Savoy, and having aſſembled all the garriſons of the neighbouring towns, advanced to the banks of the river Aa, in order to cut off the retreat of the French. At this critical conjuncture de Termes was ſeized with a violent fit of the gout that nearly deprived him of the uſe of his limbs; he therefore gave up the command of the troops to John d'Eſtouteville, lord of Vil-

* Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 475.—Mem. de du Villars—Garnier.

† La Popliniere—De Thou—Matthieu—Monuſ. de Bethune

lehon with orders to retreat along the ſea-coaſt, and to profit by the falling of the tide to ford the Aa, by which means he would get the ſtart of the count of Egmont, who lay in wait for him at that part of the river which the army had croſſed on their road to Dunkirk. The mareſchal, however, followed the next day in a litter, and overtook his troops juſt as the baggage and rear guard were paſſing the ſtream; but he had no ſooner gained the oppoſite bank than he deſcried the enemy, who, fearful leaſt he ſhould eſcape them, had left all their artillery behind. Finding an action unavoidable, de Termes now drew up his army in the moſt advantageous manner; with the ſea at their backs, their right wing extended along the banks of the river, and their left covered by the baggage-waggons. In this poſition, the French ſuſtained the impetuous attack of an enemy whoſe numbers were double their own; repulſed, with conſiderable ſlaughter, their foremoſt battalions, and were on the point of obtaining a victory, when one of thoſe accidents which human foreſight cannot anticipate, nor human prudence avert, gave a different turn to the conteſt. A ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips of war, which were cruizing on the coaſt, being drawn by the noiſe of the firing towards the ſcene of action, entered the river Aa, and turned its great guns againſt the right wing of the French with ſuch effect, as immediately broke that body, and ſpread terror and diſmay through the whole army. The Flemings, to whom aſſiſtance ſo unexpected and ſo ſeaſonable gave freſh courage, redoubled their efforts, that they might not loſe the advantage which fortune had preſented them, or give the enemy time to recover from their conſternation; and the rout of the French ſoon became general. Near two thouſand of them were killed on the ſpot; and the reſt were taken priſoners, together with the mareſchal de Termes, Villebon, Annebaud, Morvilliers, and the count of Chaunes.

The victory obtained by the count of Egmont over the mareſchal de Termes, obliged the duke of Guiſe to relinquiſh all other ſchemes, and to haſten towards the frontier of Picardy, that he might oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy in that province. This diſaſter reflected new luſtre on his reputation, and once more turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as the only general on whoſe arms victory always attended, and in whoſe conduct, as well as good fortune, they could confide in every danger. Henry reinforced Guiſe's army with ſo many Germans and Swiſs, that it ſoon amounted to forty thouſand men, whom Guiſe encamped on the banks of the Somme, from Amiens to Pont-Remi. The enemy's army, after the junction of the count of Egmont with the duke of Savoy, was not inferior in number, and they pitched their camp at the diſtance of ſix leagues from the French. Each monarch having joined his army, it was expected that a deciſive action would, at laſt, determine which of the rivals ſhould take the aſcendant for the future, and give law to Europe. But though both had it in their power, neither of them diſcovered any inclination to bring the determination of ſuch an important point to depend upon the uncertain and fortuitous iſſue of a ſingle battle. *Who* made the *firſt* overtures for a peace, however, it is not known, nor is it of any conſequence to aſcertain.

Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation to the throne with equal ſolicitude. As during Mary's jealous adminiſtration, under the moſt difficult circumſtances, that princeſs had conducted herſelf with great prudence and addreſs, they had conceived a high idea of her abilities, and already formed expectations of a reign very different from that of her ſiſter. Equally ſenſible of the importance of gaining her favour, both monarchs ſet themſelves with emulation to court it, and employed every art, in order to inſinuate themſelves into her confidence. Each of them had ſomething meritorious, with regard to Elizabeth, to plead in his own behalf. Henry had offered her a retreat into his dominions, if the dread of her ſiſter's violence ſhould force her to fly for ſafety out of England. Philip, by his powerful interceſſion, had prevented Mary from proceeding to the moſt fatal extremities againſt her. Each of them now endeavoured to avail himſelf of the circumſtances in his favour. Henry wrote to Elizabeth ſoon after her acceſſion, with the warmeſt expreſſions of friendſhip and regard. He repreſented the war which had unhappily been kindled between their kingdoms, not as a national quarrel, but as the effect of Mary's blind partiality to her huſband, and fond compliance with all his wiſhes. He entreated her to diſengage herſelf from an alliance which had proved ſo unfortunate to England, and to conſent for a ſeparate peace with him, without mingling her intereſts with thoſe of Spain, from which they ought now to be altogether disjoined. Philip, on the other hand, unwilling to loſe his connection with England, the importance of which, during a rupture with France, he had recently experienced, not only vied with Henry in declarations of eſteem for Elizabeth, and in profeſſions of his reſolution to cultivate the ſtricteſt amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himſelf to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a diſpenſation from the pope to that effect.

Elizabeth weighed the propoſals of the two monarchs with all the attention that their importance deſerved. She gave ſome encouragement to Henry's overture for a ſeparate negociation, becauſe it opened a channel of correſpondence with France, which ſhe might find to be of great advantage, if Philip ſhould not diſcover ſufficient zeal and ſolicitude for ſecuring to her proper terms in the joint treaty. But ſhe ventured on this ſtep with the moſt cautious reſerve, that ſhe might not alarm Philip's ſuſpicious temper, and loſe an ally in attempting to gain an enemy. In order to give her time to come to a deciſion on this point, it was agreed to ſuſpend the conferrences for two months, and to aſſemble, either at Cercamp, or at ſome more convenient place, towards the end of January.

Henry, in the courſe of this buſineſs, conducted himſelf with a degree of meanneſs and duplicity, wholly unworthy a monarch. The Guiſes, appriſed by one of their emiſſaries of the tranſaction which had paſſed between the king and the conſtable, during their late interview at Beauvais, were enraged at the idea that a man, whoſe imprudence had brought the ſtate to the brink of deſtruction, ſhould reap the rewards which had been refuſed to thoſe whoſe conduct and courage had reſtored it to its former ſplendour: for the duke himſelf had been anxious to obtain the place of grand-maſter of the houſhold, which gave a conſiderable influ-

ence to the perſon who held it, by ſubjecting to his will almoſt all the principal officers of the court. Having reſolved to come to an explanation with Henry, he begged that monarch to believe that the humble requeſt which he was about to prefer was not, in the ſmalleſt degree, influenced by jealouſy ; but that been choſen, by his majeſty himſelf, to act as grand-maſter of the houſhold, on the marriage of the dauphin with the queen of Scotland, he could not but feel ſenſibly mortified at ſeeing any other perſon veſted with that dignity : that he had, therefore, experienced the moſt lively concern on hearing that his majeſty had promiſed it to the conſtable's eldeſt ſon, becauſe the whole kingdom would believe that nobody would have received a preferrence over himſelf, unleſs he had given cauſe for diſpleaſure, or had been deemed unworthy of the office. The king, embarraſſed, at firſt denied that any converſation had paſſed between him and the conſtable on the ſubject ; but obſerved that if the conſtable had aſked the place for his ſon, he was ſo ſtrongly attached to the young man, and his father had rendered ſuch eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, that he could with difficulty have refuſed him. The duke of Guiſe preſſed the matter no farther ; and the king, after denying, in the moſt poſitive manner, that he had diſpoſed of the place in queſtion, did not dare to inveſt young Montmorenci with the promiſed dignity*.

The conſtable, on giving ſecurity to the king of Spain for the payment of the ſum ſtipulated for his ramſon, was releaſed from priſon, whence he haſtened to court. During his captivity, he had formed the project of an alliance which was calculated to confirm his influence, and ſecure him a ſuperiority over his rivals : this was the marriage of his ſecond ſon, Danville, with Antoinette, de la Mark, grand-daughter to the ducheſs of Valentinois. Danville, who had ſignalized his courage in the wars of Italy, whence he had been recalled after the fatal battle of Saint-Quintin, had made ſuch an impreſſion on the heart of his intended bride, and had ſo far ingratiated himſelf with her relations, that, though a younger ſon, he obtained a preference over the moſt opulent noblemen who frequented the court, and even over ſome of the princes of the blood, who aſpired to obtain her hand. Appriſed of theſe circumſtances, the conſtable went to ſign the marriage contract, and to aſſiſt at the nuptials, which were celebrated at his caſtle of Ecouen.

The Guiſes, on their ſide, availing themſelves of the favour they now enjoyed, and for the poſſeſſion of which they were ſolely indebted to their recent ſervices, preſſed the concluſion of the marriage of Charles the Third, duke of Lorraine, the head of their family, with the princeſs Claude, ſecond daughter to the king : the young duke, who, for the laſt ſeven years, had been brought up with the dauphin, received, as a marriage-portion with his wife, the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns, and the town of Stenay, one of the keys of the province of Champagne, which formerly belonged to the dukes of Lorraine.

A. D. 1559.] Elizabeth, meanwhile, had inſtructed the Engliſh plenipotentiaries to act in every point in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Spain, and to take

* Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 540.

no ſtep until they had previouſly conſulted with them. But though ſhe deemed it prudent to aſſume this appearance of confidence in the Spaniſh monarch, ſhe knew preciſely how far to carry it; and diſcovered no inclination to accept of that extraordinary propoſal of marriage which Philip had made to her. The Engliſh had expreſſed ſo openly their deteſtation of her ſiſter's choice of him, that it would have been highly imprudent to exaſperate them by a renewal of that odious alliance. She was too well acquainted with Philip's harſh and imperious temper, to think of him for a huſband: nor could ſhe admit a diſpenſation from the pope to be ſufficient to authorize her marrying him, without condemning her father's divorce from Catharine to Arragon, and acknowledging, of conſequence, the nullity of her mother's marriage, and the illegitimacy of her own birth. But, though ſhe determined not to yield to Philip's addreſſes, the ſituation of her affairs rendered it dangerous to reject them; and ſhe returned in anſwer, therefore, in terms which were evaſive, but ſo tempered with reſpect, that though they gave him no reaſon to be ſecure of ſucceſs, they did not altogether extinguiſh his hopes.

By this artifice, as well as by the prudence with which ſhe concealed her ſentiments and intentions with regard to religious concerns, for ſome time after her acceſſion, ſhe ſo far gained upon Philip that he warmly eſpouſed her intereſt in the conferences which were renewed at Cercamp, and afterwards removed, on the ſixth of February, to Cateau-Cambreſis. A definitive treaty, which was to adjuſt the claims and pretenſions of ſo many princes, required the examination of ſuch a variety of intricate points, and led to ſuch infinite and minute details, as ſpun out the negociations to a great length. But the indefatigable exertions of the conſtable Montmorenci, who alternately repaired to the courts of Paris and Bruſſels, in order to obviate or remove every difficulty, the chief points in diſpute were at length adjuſted.

The claims of England remained as the only obſtacle to retard the treaty. Elizabeth demanded the reſtitution of Calais, in the moſt peremptory terms, as an eſſential condition of her conſenting to peace; Henry refuſed to give up that important conqueſt; and both ſeemed to have taken their reſolution with unalterable firmneſs. Philip warmly ſupported Elizabeth's pretenſions to Calais, not merely from a principle of equity towards the Engliſh nation, that he might appear to have contributed to their recovering what they had loſt by eſpouſing his cauſe; nor ſolely with a view of ſoothing Elizabeth by his manifeſtation of zeal for her intereſt; but in order to render France leſs formidable, by ſecuring to her ancient enemy this eaſy acceſs into the heart of the kingdom. The earneſtneſs, however, with which he ſeconded the arguments of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries ſoon began to relax. During the courſe of the negociation, Elizabeth, who now felt herſelf firmly ſeated on her throne, began to take ſuch open and vigorous meaſures, not only for overturning all that her ſiſter had done in favour of popery, but for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant church on a firm foundation, as convinced Philip that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now deſperate.

Pending the negociation, the mareſchal de Briſſac, who commanded in Piedmont, appriſed of the ſacrifices which France was about to make, and fearful of being deprived of his government, ſent his ſecretary, Boivin, to the king: he obſerved to Henry, that the country propoſed to be ceded to the enemy was equal in value to any one of the beſt provinces in his dominions; and would, in time of peace, produce a revenue of five hundred thouſand crowns, three hundred thouſand whereof, or even more, would be paid into the treaſury, every year; that the finances of the Spaniſh monarch were in ſuch a deplorable ſtate, that the continuance of the war for another year would ſuffice to make him alter his tone, and ſubmit to ſuch conditions as France might chooſe to exact. "Do not be offended, Sire,"—ſaid the duke of Guiſe, who was preſent at the time—"if I declare that the conduct you "are made to purſue proves the contrary; and that a ſingle ſtroke of your pen is "about to take from you more than you could poſſibly loſe by an unſucceſsful war "of thirty years. Put me in one of the weakeſt places which you are adviſed to "reſign, and let your enemies diſlodge me if they can. In the offer I now make, "I ſhall be joined by hundreds of your ſervants, as well on this as on the other "ſide of the Alps." Henry remained ſilent, and exhibited evident marks of confuſion: and the duke believing him to be ſhaken, told him to truſt to his brother and him for providing the requiſite funds for raiſing and ſupporting an army of equal ſtrength to that of the preceding year; that they would even, he ſaid, ſave him the trouble of convening the ſtates-general a ſecond time, having already opened a negociation with certain bankers who had conſented to advance as much money as would be wanted; and he had formed a plan of operations for the enſuing campaign, the ſucceſs whereof appeared to him to be infallible, and would put him in a ſituation to give law to the enemy.

Theſe offers, from a man who had always been accuſtomed to perform more than he promiſed, ſeemed to decide the king; who, to give an apparent ſatisfaction to the duke of Guiſe, immediately diſpatched Boivin with orders to his plenipotentiaries to exerciſe their power with great diſcretion; but, in a private letter which he ſent, at the ſame time, to the conſtable, he gave him an account of this converſation, which he repreſented as a new ſcheme of the Guiſes in order to keep the reins of government in their own hands; and he therefore urged Montmorenci to accelerate the treaty as much as poſſible*.

The treaty of peace between France and England contained no article of real importance, but that which reſpected Calais. It was ſtipulated, that Henry ſhould keep poſſeſſion of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years; that, at the expiration of that term, he ſhould reſtore it to England; that in caſe of nonperformance, he ſhould forfeit five hundred thouſand crowns, for the payment of which ſum ſeven or eight wealthy merchants, who were not his ſubjects, ſhould grant ſecurity; that five perſons of diſtinction ſhould be given as hoſtages until that ſecurity were provided; that, although the forfeit of five hundred thouſand

* Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 567.

crowns ſhould be paid, the right of England to Calais ſhould ſtill remain entire, in the ſame manner as if the term of eight years were expired; that the king and queen of Scotland ſhould be included in the treaty; that if they, or the French king, ſhould violate the peace by any hoſtile action, Henry ſhould be obliged inſtantly to reſtore Calais; that, on the other hand, if any breach of the treaty proceeded from Elizabeth, then Henry, and the king and queen of Scots, were abſolved from all the engagements which they had contracted by this treaty.

The expedient employed by Montmorenci for the purpoſe of facilitating the concluſion of peace between France and Spain, was the negociating two treaties of marriage, one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldeſt daughter, and Philip, who ſupplanted his ſon, the unfortunate Don Carlos, to whom that princeſs had been promiſed in the former conferrences at Cercamp; the other between Margaret, Henry's only ſiſter, and the duke of Savoy. Henry having, by this means, ſecured an honourable eſtabliſhment for his ſiſter and his daughter, granted, in conſideration of theſe marriages, terms both to Philip and the duke of Savoy, of which he would not, on any other account, have ventured to approve.

The principal articles in the treaty between Henry and Philip were, that a ſincere and perpetual amity ſhould be eſtabliſhed between the two crowns and their reſpective allies; the two monarchs ſhould labour in concert to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progreſs of hereſy, and reſtore unity and concord to the Chriſtian Church; that all the conqueſts made by either party on this ſide of the Alps, ſince the commencement of the war, in 1551, ſhould be mutually reſtored.

Thus, by this famous treaty, peace was re-eſtabliſhed in Europe. All the cauſes of diſcord which had ſo long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, which had tranſmitted hereditary quarrels and wars from Charles to Philip, and from Francis to Henry, ſeemed to be wholly removed or finally terminated.

Soon after the concluſion of the treaty, the duke of Savoy repaired, with a numerous, retinue, to Paris, in order to celebrate his marriage with Henry's ſiſter. The duke of Alva was ſent to the ſame capital, at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy, to eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth, in the name of his maſter the king of Spain; the ceremony was performed, on the twenty-ſixth of June, by the cardinal of Bourbon, at the church of Notre Dame. The greateſt rejoicings and feſtivities took place on this occaſion, and on the twenty-ninth of June a grand tournament was holden in the Rue Saint-Antoine, at which the king bore away the palm of victory. But as he was retiring from the circle, he perceived two lances, at one end of the liſts which were unbroken; one of theſe he took himſelf, and the other he ſent to Montgomery, the captain of his guards, a man eminently ſkilled in all martial exerciſes, inviting him to break it with his ſovereign in honour of the ladies. Montgomery heſitated for ſome time, and even twice refuſed to obey the ſummons; the queens of Scotland and France too, who were preſent, ſent to entreat the king to content himſelf with the glory he had already acquired, and to run no farther riſk; Henry, however, perſiſted, and, at length, ſent a poſitive order to Montgomery

to prepare for the aſſault: he obeyed; the attack was violent; their lances were ſhivered in pieces: but the king's vizor having been deranged by the ſhock, one of the broken pieces of his adverſary's lance pierced his forehead, juſt above the left eye, and he fell ſenſeleſs on the ground. He was immediately conveyed to his palace, and the ſurgeons, after examining the wound, declared it, though dangerous, not incurable; but an abceſs having unexpectedly formed in the head, their utmoſt ſkill proved ineffectual, and, on the 10th of July, Henry expired, in the forty-firſt year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

The character of this monarch may be traced in a few words: he had more in his diſpoſition of the warrior than the ſtateſman; active and intrepid in the field, but weak and irreſolute in the council: better formed for obedience than command, a culpable facility of temper ſubjected him to perpetual impoſition, and betrayed him into ſituations by which he was not only degraded as a monarch, but diſgraced as a man. The *beſt* feature in his character was his conſtancy in friendſhip, and the *worſt*, his cruelty in religion.

The doctrine of the Reformers began to ſpread with great celerity in France, during the reign of Henry the Second; and from a principle, juſtly applied to religious ſectaries, in whom oppoſition begets perſeverance, the perſecuting ſpirit of that monarch, who piqued himſelf upon the orthodoxy of his religious tenets, far from ſtemming the torrent it was intended to check, only ſerved to encreaſe the rapidity of its progreſs. The French Reformers being chiefly Calviniſts, and their principles, of courſe, being farther removed from thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, than the principles of the more moderate Proteſtants, could not fail to be highly diſguſting to ſuch as were firmly reſolved to adhere to the religion of their country.

A ſyſtem of perſecution was accordingly entered upon and purſued with unrelenting ſeverity, by Henry and his principal miniſters, who publickly declared war againſt heretics of every denomination. The cognizance of the crime of hereſy had been ſometimes entruſted to the parliaments, and ſometimes to the biſhops' courts; and theſe rival juriſdictions had, from a ſpirit jealouſy, generally contrived to thwart the operations of and impoſe a reſtraint upon each other. With a view to remedy the inconveniences ariſing from the jealouſy, and to enforce the execution of the laws againſt heretics, Henry the Second, in the year 1551, iſſued the famous edict of Châteaubriand, by which two courts were ſtrictly enjoined, in all ſimilar proſecutions, to act in conjuction, and to afford each other all poſſible aſſiſtance. The *preſidials*—tribunals eſtabliſhed in the different provinces during this reign—were empowered to decide definitively in matters of hereſy, and even pronounce ſentence of death on the perſons convicted of that crime, provided not leſs than ten judged were preſent at the time; and, in order to effect the expulſion of the Reformers from the kingdom, all *lords high-juſticiaries* were ſtrictly enjoined to inform againſt ſuch as were *ſuſpected* of hereſy, throughout their reſpective lordſhips, and to ſend their informations to the neareſt preſidial, that the culprits might be proceeded againſt without delay.

Many of thoſe who favoured the new doctrines, and were afraid of being expoſed to the dangers of a trial, extended by every circumſtance of prejudice and partiality, fled to Geneva or to Switzerland, after transferring his property and eſtates to their friends who remitted them the produce thereof. Some, indeed, really ſold their eſtates at a very inferior price, from the idea that it was better to ſave a part than to run the riſk of loſing the whole. All the property belonging to theſe fugitives was ordered to be ſeized; and if the officers employed in executing this commiſſion met with any obſtacle from perſons who pretended to have purchaſed ſuch property, the judges were ſtrongly enjoined by the edict to inveſtigate, with the utmoſt vigour, the validity of their titles, and, in caſe they ſhould diſcover any colluſion between the purchaſer and vender, not only to ſeize the property in diſpute, but to impoſe a heavy fine upon the purchaſer: whoever gave information, and ſubſtantiated ſuch information by proof, that any of the king's ſubjects ſent money to Geneva, was entitled to a third of the amount: any perſon informing againſt a heretic was alſo entitled to a third of his property, but, in ſome meaſure to check the abominable oppreſſions which ſuch a regulation would neceſſarily occaſion, it was decreed that if the informer failed to convict the perſon he had accuſed, he ſhould be ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment as that perſon would have incurred, had his guilt been confirmed.

The executions, in conſequence of this rigorous and oppreſſive edict, were numerous; but ſtill the number of proteſtants, as well in the capital as in the provinces, continued to encreaſe. Enraged at the inefficacy of their meaſures, and ſtimulated by the proſpect of confiſcations, the produce whereof the king had reſigned to his favourite courtiers. The magiſtrates themſelves, were infected with the new opinions, and far from enforcing the execution of his edicts, acted in concert with the proteſtant miniſters: that the preſidials, through fear of being engaged in a diſpute with the ſovereign courts, ſeldom exerciſed the power which had been conferred on them of trying heretics in dernier reſort; that the eccleſiaſtical tribunals in vain cauſed the culprits to be apprehended and proceeded againſt with becoming ſeverity, ſince, by means of an appeal which the judges were compelled to reſpect, they were taken from their juriſdiction, when the ſecular judges always diſcovered ſome mode of clearing them from the accuſation: that religion would be deſtroyed in France, unleſs reſource were had to the only remedy which preſerved it pure and unpolluted, throughout Spain, and the greater part of Italy: that for this purpoſe, it was only neceſſary to make two alterations in the edict of Châteaubriand, which the calamity of the times rendered indiſpenſable; that the firſt of theſe alterations conſiſted in putting a ſtop to all appeals from the ſentences of the eccleſiaſtical courts, which ought to be ſent to the neareſt ſecular judge, who ſhould be compelled to enforce their execution: the ſecond in confiſcating the property of all perſons, indiſcriminately, who ſhould leave the kingdom, through the dread of perſecution, in order to ſettle in foreign countries; and in ſeizing ſuch property, for the king's uſe, wherever it might be found, even though it were in poſſeſſion of a perſon who had

given a valuable conſideration for the ſame. As ſoon as this reſolution had been adopted by the council, a ſecret conference was holden at the houſe of Bertrand, keeper of the ſeals, at which certain magiſtrates, who were ſworn enemies to the new doctrines, were invited to attend; and two new edicts were there drawn up, which were preſented to the parliament to be regiſtered, at a time when moſt of the judges were abſent. This attempt, however, being foiled, the matter was argued on the eleventh of September; when Denis Riant, advocate-general, in ſupport of the edicts, obſerved, that they were the reſult of the deliberations of the moſt enlightened men in the kingdom; that the king had been led to paſs them from the conviction that there was no other preſervative to be found againſt the progreſs of a contagion which infected the capital and ſpread over the provinces: that if any objections could be raiſed againſt the edicts, it was the too great extenſion of its juriſdiction of the ſpiritual courts, by ſubjecting to them, indiſcriminately, all orders of citizens: but it could not be denied that it was highly expedient with regard to apoſtate monks, and other fanatics, who, aſſuming the right of dogmatiſing, perverted the conſciences of his majeſty's ſubjects, and diffuſed trouble and confuſion throughout the realm: that the court, as might be proved from the regiſters, did not diſapprove of the inquiſition, provided it were directed by the rules laid down in the canons: that he was therefore juſtified in his expectation, that the court would, after making ſuch reſtrictions as it might think proper with regard to the too great extenſion of the power of the ſpiritual tribunal, proceed to regiſter the edict in queſtion. It was however decided in the parliament, by a very conſiderable majority, that the edict ſhould not be regiſtered, but that the court would addreſs the king, and indicate ſome other means of promoting the extirpation of hereſy, more conformable to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity.

Accordingly, on the ſeventeenth of October, 1555, the preſident Séguier, and the counſellor Dudrac had an audience of the king at Villers-Cuterets, when the former thus addreſſed his majeſty, in the name of the parliament;

"Sire, The difficulties naturally attending the commiſſion with which we are entruſted, are conſiderably augmented by the ſiniſter impreſſions which your majeſty has been led to encourage againſt your parliament. Were the ſole object of our commiſſion the juſtification of thoſe by whom we are ſent, it would ſuffice to obſerve that the edict which they refuſed to regiſter is preciſely the ſame as that which was rejected by a part of the court ſome months ago; and that it would be impoſſible to act otherwiſe without making your parliament fall into a contradiction with itſelf, and without introducing into the kingdom, and into the ſame ſanctuary of juſtice, two tribunals oppoſed to each other. But this reaſon, powerful as it was with regard to ourſelves, is not that which we mean to employ, ſince it would only juſtify us at the expence of our brethren, and would rather conſtitute an excuſe than form an apology. In fact, it is not, becauſe the edict has before been rejected that we have thought proper to reject it alſo, but be-

cauſe, after a cloſe examination, it appeared to us, as it did to our brethren, that it could not be admitted without depriving your ſubjects of their liberty, and your majeſty of the nobleſt rights of that ſovereignty which we are conſtitutionally bound to defend and protect. But before I enter on the reaſons by which our conduct has been influenced, let me be permitted to offer one previous reflection.

"Your parliament, Sire, is compoſed of one hundred and ſixty magiſtrates, who were not admitted as members of the court, until they had furniſhed ſatisfactory proofs of their capacity, and ample atteſtations of the purity of their lives and manners; who are, in ſhort, men of that deſcription, that your majeſty would ſcarcely find it poſſible to replace them throughout the whole extent of your dominions: what mortal, then, can be ſo preſumptuous as to oppoſe his private judgment to that of ſo large a body of men, devoted, from their infancy to the ſtudy of the laws, and employed, from morning to night, in diſtinguiſhing what is juſt and lawful, from what is unjuſt and prohibited? As for me, I have formed ſo high an opinion of the integrity and knowledge of that auguſt ſenate, that if it had pronounced a ſentance of death againſt me, I ſhould be led to doubt my own innocence, and, in ſome degree, to reject the teſtimony of my conſcience. Thoſe men who wiſhed to perſuade your majeſty to eſtabliſh the inquiſition, were aware they could only ſucceed in their attempt, by rendering the religion of your magiſtrates ſuſpected; by repreſenting them either as heretics in diſguiſe, or as men floating between error and truth, and perfectly indifferent on the article of faith. That, Sire, is an accuſation, ever eaſy to hazard, but which no honeſt man would ever advance unleſs he were able to ſubſtantiate the charge by clean and convincive proofs. The orthodoxy of your magiſtrates has been proved, and they are obliged to give a certificate with regard to the ſtability and purity of their faith; it muſt, therefore, be ſuppoſed, either that they have been perverted ſince their reception, or that they have given falſe certificates; if a door be once opened to ſuſpicions of that nature, what man will be free from them, or in whom can you place your confidence? we know our brethren much better than thoſe who ſpeak of them with ſuch diſreſpect; and if your majeſty will give credit to our oaths, we ſhall not heſitate to ſwear by all that we hold ſacred, that we have never perceived any thing in the conduct of the parliament, that could poſſibly occaſion or juſtify ſimilar ſuſpicions. Not that we pledge ourſelves that, in a ſociety ſo numerous, there are no fantaſtical nor whimſical minds, which entertain peculiar ſentiments on the article of faith; God is the the ſole judge of men's conſciences; and it would be wonderful indeed if, in an age when the rage for reaſoning is become an epidemic diſorder, not a ſingle man could be found among us who, impelled by prejudice and preſumption, had ſtrayed from the right road; but will venture to aſſert, that we do not know any one magiſtrate but what profeſſes and practiſes the true religion; in ſhort, I ſhould ſooner be made to believe that anti-Chriſt is arrived, and the world is juſt at an end, than to give credit to any of the abſurdities which have been related

to you. It is you, Sire, who appoint magiſtrates: when you choſe the preſent members of your parliament, you deemed them worthy your confidence; to that confidence, then, they have an undoubted right, until it ſhall have been proved that they deſerve to loſe it; and you cannot deprive them of it, either wholly or partially, without prejudice to your own authority and power. For how can their deciſions be reſpected by the inferior judges, and by the reſt of your ſubjects, if it be ſuſpected that they are the deciſions of men of doubtful characters, and who are themſelves acting in oppoſition to the laws of the realm? it is evident therefore, that the perfidious and malicious inſinuations which have been conveyed to you have a direct tendency to ſubvert all order, and expoſe your authority to contempt.

"Such, Sire, are the real motives by which we have been deterred from paying obedience to your orders, and we never doubted but that, as ſoon as we ſhould be permitted to explain them to you, they would make the ſame impreſſion on your mind as on our own. Your parliament laments the rapid progreſs of hereſy, and has long preceived the neceſſity of oppoſing it with ſtrength and efficacy; but cannot this be done without ſhaking the foundations of the monarchy? Grant, if you will, permiſſion to the biſhops and Inquiſitors to inflict capital puniſhments on men of their own profeſſion—though even with regard to them it would be infinitely more juſt to leave open the way of appeal—but never ſuffer your lay-ſubjects to be tried except by your own tribunals, and by men who hold of you alone their commiſſions and their powers. To this firſt expedient, ſuggeſted by the court, another muſt be added, of much greater efficacy.

As for you, gentlemen," addreſſing himſelf to the miniſters and courtiers who were preſent, "who liſten to me with ſo much tranquillity, and who think, propably, that the matter does not concern you, it is proper that you ſhould be undeceived. As long as you are in favour, you wiſely make the moſt of your time; honours and rewards are laviſhed on your heads: you are reſpected by all who approach you; and no one thinks of attacking you: but the higher your ſtation, the nearer you are to the thunder, and a man muſt be ignorant of hiſtory not to know on what trivial circumſtances the diſgrace of a courtier frequently depends. Formerly, however, when this diſaſter befell you, you could, at leaſt, retire with a fortune, that conſoled you, in a certain degree, for the loſs you had ſuſtained, and that enabled you to enrich your heirs. But were this edict to paſs, from that moment your ſituation would be altered; yon would, as before, be ſucceeded by needy men, of hungry minds, who, knowing not how long they may remain in office, will burn with the deſire of making a ſudden fortune, and will find it a very eaſy matter to gratify that deſire: certain of obtaining from the king the confiſcation of your property, it will only be neceſſary to ſecure in their intereſt one Inquiſitor and two witneſſes, and though you were ſaints, you would be burned as heretics.

At theſe words, the conſtable Montmorenci, who had not forgotten his own diſgrace, in the preceding reign, knitted his brows and changed colour; and the other

miniſters ſhuddered with horror. The king himſelf exhibited evident marks of confuſion, and thanking the parliament for their remonſtrances, promiſed to pay attention to them. Nothing farther, however, was done in the buſineſs, till the year 1557, when the number of Calviniſts having conſiderably encreaſed, the king, by his letters-patent, enjoined all prelates to repair to their dioceſes, and either to diſcharge the duties of their office in perſon, or to appoint grand-vicars of approved virtue and rigid principles, who were worthy to act as their ſubſtitutes: in caſe of diſobedience, the king authorized the parliament to proceed againſt them, by ſeizing their temporalities, and applying the produce thereof to the purpoſe of paying enlightened miniſters who might preach the Word of God to the people.

In the year following, after the return of the cardinal of Lorraine from Rome, a bull was publiſhed, by which Paul the Fourth, at the king's requeſt, eſtabliſhed an Inquiſition in France, after the model of that which ſubſiſted at Rome; and the cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon, and Chatillon, were appointed preſidents of this new tribunal, with the power of chuſing vicars, either from among the biſhops, or doctors of divinity; conferring, as well on theſe inquiſitors, as on their delegates, a full power to arreſt, impriſon, and condemn all perſons, of whatever rank or quality, convicted or ſuſpected of the crime of hereſy.

This attempt to eſtabliſh the Inquiſition had been preceded, though not influenced, by a tumult in the Rue Saint-Jacques, where about four hundred Calviniſts had aſſembled, in a private houſe, in order to perform divine ſervice*: the neighbours, alarmed, or pretended to be ſo, at this unuſual aſſemblage of people, at ſuch a late hour—for it was night—ſurrounded the houſe; and, having collected a mob, aſſailed the congregation, on their attempt to leave the place after ſervice was over with ſtones and other miſſile weapons. The Calviniſts held a conſultation among themſelves, and as they knew that death would be their portion if taken, the boldeſt of them reſolved to cut their way through the mob, ſword in hand. This they eaſily effected; the cowardly rabble fled before them; but they were no ſooner out of danger, than they ſpeedily re-aſſembled, and prepared to vent their rage on the old men, women, and others, who had been reſtrained by fear from following their companions. The timely arrival of the miniſters of juſtice ſaved the unhappy victims—among whom were ſeveral females of high diſtinction—from immediate aſſaſſination; though, as they were conducted to priſon, they were expoſed to the blows and licentious inſolence of a brutal populace. To complete the miſery of their ſituation, by adding a calumny to perſecution, a report was induſtriouſly propagated, that, immediately after the celebration of their infernal orgies, the Calviniſts extinguiſhed the lights, and, mixing together indiſcriminately like brutes, each man ſeized, as the partner of his crimes, the firſt woman he could lay hold of, even though ſhe were his mother, daughter or ſiſter. Theſe atrocious calumnies were repeated from the pulpit†, and the king, prone to credulity, gave eaſy credit to tales that flattered his religious prejudices. Muſnier, a man of infamous character, who had

* Beze, Hiſt. Eccleſ.—La Popliniere. † Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 406.

been convicted of ſubordination of perjury, was appointed, by the cardinal of Lorraine, to try the culprits, but the parliament remonſtrated with ſuch warmth on the inſult offered to them by that appointment, that the cognizance of the cauſe was left to themſelves. Five of the wretched Calviniſts were publickly burned at the Place de Gréve, but the judge purpoſely prolonged the trials of the reſt, and, by that means, afforded them an opportunity to eſcape.

The remonſtrance, which was rather intended as an appeal to the public, than as an addreſs to the king, produced but little effect: but the unhappy priſoners found more able advocates in the proteſtant cantons of Switzerland, and the elector palatine, who ſolicited their releaſe with uncommon earneſtneſs; and the king, who was, at that time, raiſing troops in their dominions, did not think it prudent to reject their application. The calm, however, which enſued on their releaſe, was but of ſhort duration. Many princes of the blood, who favoured the new doctrines, and among others, Anthony of Bourbon and his conſort Jane d'Albret, king and queen of Navarre, with the prince and princeſs of Condé, having repaired to Paris, to be preſent at the marriage of the dauphin with the young queen of Scotland, frequented the private aſſemblies of the Calviniſts, careſſed their miniſters, and encouraged them to redouble their zeal and activity.

Calvin had, for ſome time paſt, reproached them, in his letters, with their timid circumſpection, or rather puſillanimity; and, convinced that any exploſion muſt prove advantageous to the propagation of his doctrine, which had already taken ſuch deep root in the kingdom, that it was deemed impoſſible to eradicate it, he inceſſantly exhorted them to act with firmneſs and deciſion, and boldly to publiſh their profeſſion of faith wherever they went*. Piqued at theſe reproaches, and encouraged by the preſence and exhortations of the princes of the blood, they appointed two or three ſucceſſive meetings, in a meadow, called Le Pré aux Clercs, where three or four thouſand perſons aſſembled, and ſang the Pſalms of Marot, ſet to muſic: they then marched in proceſſion through ſeveral ſtreets in the ſuburbs of Saint-Germain, attended by a great number of armed gentlemen, who threatened to cut down all that ſhould attempt to oppoſe their paſſage. The magiſtrates, alarmed at this unexpected tumult, ordered thoſe gates to be ſhut which led to the univerſity and the ſuburb of Saint-Germain, and ſent their officers to take informations on the ſpot. The biſhop of Paris immediately ſent the particulars of this tranſaction to the king, without, however, naming the principal perſons concerned in it. Henry, having compared this intelligence with the notice that Granvelle, biſhop of Arras, had recently given to the cardinal of Lorraine, of a conſpiracy on the point of breaking out, diſpatched, without delay, the cardinal Bertrand keeper of the ſeals, with three maſters of requeſts, to inveſtigate the buſineſs. Bertrand, after he had read the informations already taken by the officers of the Chatelet, went to the parliament, where he obſerved, that the cardial of Lorraine, having had a freſh conferrence with the Biſhop of Arras, prime miniſter to the king of Spain, on the ſub-

* Beze, Hiſt. Eccleſ.—Reg. du Parlement—Calv. Epiſt.

ject of peace, had received intelligence from that prelate of a conſpiracy then forming by the proteſtants, which would ſoon break out: that the day after the cardinal's return to the court, the king had received a letter from the biſhop of Paris, in which he was informed that ſome of the inſurgents had been heard to ſay—"*That they "would do as they pleaſed in ſpite of every body:—they cared not who diſapproved of "their conduct—it would ſoon be ſeen who was the ſtrongeſt:*"—that there could be no doubt but this inſolent challenge was addreſſed to the king, and announced a regular plan for overthrowing the ſtate.

The firſt preſident, Le Maitre, replied that the little lights which they had been able to procure on the ſubject, rather reſembled intelligence imparted in confidence, than evidence delivered on oath, becauſe the witneſſes had no ſooner evinced a diſpoſition to enter into explanations, than they had been threatened by perſons in diſguiſe to be maſſacred in the ſtreets, or to have their houſes reduced to aſhes; fear, therefore, had rendered them ſilent: that Truth was the daughter of time, and as ſoon as it was known that the king would ſpare none of the criminals, however, elevated their rank in life, depoſitions would flow in apace: that, if it was intended to trace the evil to its ſource, it would be found to originate in the Concordate; and that the people had only been led aſtray ſince they had ceaſed to hear the voices of their lawful paſtors: that, at that time, there were forty biſhops at Paris, who did nothing but excite diſguſt: that, formerly, at leaſt they never appeared in public but in the canonicals, whereas now they ſtrutted about the ſtreets in court dreſſes: that the edict, publiſhed at the requeſt of the parliament, for compelling biſhops and curates to reſide, had been ſpeedily abrogated: that all the abbies in the kingdom were ſucceſſively expoſed to the degredations of the commendataries, who laid waſte the woods, ſuffered the buildings to go to ruin, and endeavoured to aboliſh the little regularity which ſtill ſubſiſted in the monaſteries.

Still the doctrines of Calvin continued to be propogated with great ſucceſs; the parliament themſelves were divided in their ſentiments; for while the *Grand Chamber*, preſided by Le Maitre, Saint André, and Minart, conſigned to the flames almoſt every heretic that was brought before them, the chamber of the *Tournelle*, preſided by Harlai, de Thou, and Seguier, generally contrived to acquit them, or, at moſt, made them pay a trifling fine.

This indulgence excited an univerſal clamour throughout the capital, and the crown-lawyers received inſtructions to remonſtrate with the court on the impropriety of their conduct, and to convene one of thoſe meetings—called *Mercuriales*—at which every member of the parliament was compelled to anſwer all queſtions that ſhould be put to him on religious matters. The parliament accordingly met, at the beginning of June, in a great room at the convent of the Auguſtine friars, when they ſpoke with ſo much force and vehemence, that the firſt preſident, alarmed at the commotion which prevailed in the court, ſent word to the miniſters, that the king muſt either diſſolve the aſſembly, or repair thither in perſon, or order to preſerve a proper decorum. Accordingly, on the tenth of June, at an hour when he was leaſt expected, Henry entered the room, accompanied by the cardinals of Lor-

raine and Guiſe; the princes of Montpenſier and La Roche-ſur-Yon; the dukes of Guiſe and Montmorenci; and Bertrand, keeper of the ſeals. As ſoon as he was ſeated, he ſaid, that ſince it had pleaſed God to grant him a durable peace, he thought he could not make a better uſe of his time than in endeavouring to put a ſtop to thoſe diſſentions which began to prevail among his ſubjects with regard to religion.

If, on the one ſide, this ſudden appearance of the king, and the number of his guards, who had taken poſſeſſion of the doors, alarmed the judges; on the other, the ſerenity of his countenance, the tone of impartiality he had aſſumed, and more than that, the undoubted right which every member of the court enjoyed to deliver his ſentiments without reſtraint or moleſtation, encouraged the moſt timid. Some of thoſe who favoured the Proteſtants inſiſted on the neceſſity of allowing them ſix months, in order to procure inſtruction, and to return to the right path, which if they failed to do, they ſhould then be baniſhed from the kingdom; while others voted for the convocation of a council, which would be authorized to decide on all points of controverſy, and for ſuſpending, till the deciſions of the council ſhould be known, all proſecutions againſt thoſe who were improperly called *heretics*, ſince they had neither been tried nor even heard in their own defence. This laſt opinion was broached by Lewis Dufaur and Anne Dubourg; the former an eminent lawyer and ſtateſman; the latter a good divine and a pious chriſtian. Dufaur, tracing all civil puniſhments to their ſource, and laying it down as a principle that they could only be juſt and uſeful ſo long as they were proportioned to the nature of thoſe diſorders which it was the intereſt of ſociety to repreſs, deſired to know by what ſubverſion of ideas the crimes of homicide and adultery, which ſap the very foundations of ſocial order, came to be puniſhed with leſs rigour in France, and excited public cenſure in a leſs degree, than a few ſpeculative opinions, which were almoſt indifferent to the ſupport and welfare of ſociety? why men, branded with thoſe crimes, were received, and even honoured, both at court and every where elſe, while Inquiſitors were paid, and every ſpecies of cruelty exerciſed, in order to torture a few unhappy men, who injured no one, who practiſed the precepts of the Goſpel, and ſerved God according to the dictates of their own conſciences? That, being at a loſs to account for this rage, he aſked thoſe who perſecuted them with the greateſt virulence, what they had to reproach them with; and the only anſwer he had ever received was, that they were peſts to ſociety, though how or in what they had never been able to explain to him. That it might be expected the Calviniſts would anſwer their perſecutors, as a prophet formerly anſwered king Ahab—"*'Tis thou who troubleſt Iſrael.*"—After returning thanks to God for having inſpired the king with the reſolution to enquire into the merits of the queſtion, and to act in conformity to the rules of juſtice, he obſerved, that the only mode of forming a juſt opinion of a thing, was to conſider it by itſelf, laying aſide all thoſe collateral circumſtances with which prejudice and paſſion were apt to clog it.

The preſidents Seguier, Harlai, and de Thou, juſtified the conduct of the parliament, without entering into the merits of the queſtion: Minart voted for the ſtrict

execution of the laws againſt heretics; and the firſt-preſident, Le Maitre, in ſupport of the ſame opinion, quoted the example of Philip Auguſtus, who, in one day, had cauſed ſix hundred heretics to be burned in his preſence, and beſtowed the greateſt eulogies on the various cruelties which had been exerciſed, at different times, againſt the Vaudois*.

The king retired, with the princes of the blood and the noblemen who had accompanied him, into an adjoining apartment, where he ordered the liſt to be brought to him, on which were inſcribed the names and opinions of all the judges who had ſpoken before his arrival. After he had read it he returned to his ſeat, and ſaid—That it was but too true, though he had hitherto refuſed to believe it, that there was a great number of heretics in his parliament; that though he had a right to puniſh the whole body, for having ſo long ſuffered them to remain on the bench, yet he would not confound the innocent with the guilty. The conſtable, after approaching the throne to receive the king's orders, ſeized Dufaur and Dubourg, and delivered him over to the captain of the guards, who conducted them to the Baſtille: orders were iſſued for the apprehenſion of ſix other judges, who had delivered their opinions with candour and freedom; three only were taken, Anthony Fumée, Euſtache de la Porte, and Paul de Foix: the others, having received timely notice, effected their eſcape.

By an edict, publiſhed in 1557, at the inſtigation of the conſtable Montmorenci, whoſe ſon had contracted a marriage, in oppoſition to the will of his father, it was enacted, that all children of diſtinction, under the age of thirty, if males, and under twenty-five, if females, who ſhould marry in a clandeſtine manner, againſt the will and conſent of their parents—excepting only the caſe in which the father was dead, and the mother married again—ſhould forfeit their inheritance; and it was left at the option of the parents to make any or no proviſion for them; all ſuch marriages were likewiſe declared null, unleſs conſummation had taken place.

Another edict, leſs oppreſſive in its nature, and more ſalutary in its effects, though ſtill too rigorous and ſevere, was publiſhed about the ſame time. Young women and widows, who had ſacrificed their honour to the gratification of their paſſions, in order to conceal their diſgrace, not unfrequently delivered themſelves in private, and put the wretched offspring of their illicit amours to death as ſoon as it was born; if they were apprehended and proſecuted, they did not fail to alledge that the infant had given no ſigns of life, and provided they did not contradict this declaration, when applied to the rack, they were acquitted, and, emboldened by their eſcape, often repeated the ſame crime. To remedy this evil, any girl or woman, duly convicted of having concealed her pregnancy and delivery, and who ſhould fail to produce her child, on being ſummoned ſo to do, was, by this edict, declared guilty of murder, and puniſhed accordingly.

* Beze, Hiſt Eccleſ.—La Popliniere—La Place—De Thou—Regiſtres du Parlem.

FRANCIS THE SECOND.

A. D. 1559.] HENRY was ſucceeded by his ſon, Francis the Second, who, though the eldeſt of ſeven children, had but juſt entered his ſixteenth year, when he was called to the throne. His education had been neglected, not from inattention or deſign, but from neceſſity; for frequent ſickneſs and habitual langour rendered him equally unfit for mental exertions, and for thoſe martial exerciſes which by invigorating the body, give ſtrength and energy to the mind. His mother, Catharine of Medicis, had remained ſterile for a conſiderable time after her marriage, and ſhe was in danger of being divorced on that account, when the ſkilful efforts of Fernel, a celebrated phyſician, effected an alteration in her conſtitution, and removed the cauſe of her ſterility; but the violent remedies ſhe employed, as well before as during the period of her pregnancy, had a fatal effect on her firſt offspring, at his birth, he exhibited every ſymptom of debility, and never enjoyed more than a paſſive exiſtence: without deſires, without vices, without virtues, pronounced of age by the law, but condemned by nature to a perpetual minority, he was deſtined to become a blind inſtrument in the hand of the firſt perſon who ſhould take poſſeſſion of him.

No ſooner were the eyes of Henry cloſed by death, than the Guiſes entered the dauphin's chamber, accompanied by the duke of Ferrara, their brother-in law, and the duke of Nemours, and hailed him as their ſovereign. They then conducted him to his mother's apartment, who was eaſily perſuaded to remove him from the palace of the Tournelles to the Louvre, where he received the deputies from the parliament, to whom he announced his intention of taking the reins of government into his own hands, aided by the advice of his mother, and aſſiſted by the experience of the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, to the former of whom he had aſſigned the military department, and to the latter the finances.

Bertrand, the keeper of the ſeals, was diſmiſſed from his office, and retired to Rome; but the mareſchal de Saint André, who had amaſſed an immenſe fortune during the laſt reign, courted the friendſhip of the duke of Guiſe, and ſecured it by marrying his only daughter and heireſs to one of the duke's younger ſons. The conſtable Montmorenci ſeemed better entitled to reſpect, and better calculated to give uneaſineſs to the new miniſtry: independent of a property ſuperior to that of almoſt any ſubject in France, and the degree of conſideration which long ſervices command, he oppoſed to the Guiſes, through himſelf and his numerous relations, a maſs of power which it appeared difficult, and infinitely dangerous to attack.

Montmorenci received a viſit from the ſecretary of ſtate, Aubeſpine, who, in the king's name, deſired him to deliver up the PRIVATE SEAL which Henry had entruſted to his care. Although this meſſage ought clearly to have convinced him that his reign was at an end, yet he could not reſiſt the temptation of having auricular conviction of the king's diſpoſition towards him; rather chuſing if he found it unfavourable, to take a voluntary leave, than to wait for his diſmiſſion. Having, accordingly, aſſembled his ſons and nephews, he went with them to the palace before the king had riſen from table; Francis took him by the hand, and led him to his cloſet, whither he was followed by the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, who never loſt ſight of him. The conſtable preſenting his family to the king, expreſſed a wiſh that his majeſty would confirm them in the poſſeſſion of their places, and continue to favour them with the ſame ſpecial protection with which they had been honoured by his father: as he was proceeding to explain his wiſhes with regard to himſelf, the king, who was better tutored than Montmorenci had ſuppoſed, ſuddenly interrupted him, and ſaid—That he was well apprized of the merits and ſervices of thoſe whom he had recommended to his protection, wherefore he confirmed them in the poſſeſſion of their reſpective offices, and would certainly employ them, whenever an opportunity ſhould occur, in preference to all others: that being equally ſenſible of the length and utility of his own ſervices, in the two preceding reigns, and of the perfect confidence repoſed in him by his father, he ſhould ſettle all his ſalaries and penſions on him for life; but that wiſhing to ſave him for particular occaſions, and to releaſe him, in his old age, from the cares of government, he had divided the adminiſtration between the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guiſe, to the former of whom he had entruſted the management of the revenue, and to the latter the military department: that all he had to requeſt of him was, that he would aſſiſt him with his knowledge, and attend, as often as he could, at the council, where he ſhould preſerve his ancient rank.

To this the conſtable replied, that the favour his majeſty had voluntarily offered, of releaſing him from the cares of ſtate, he had come purpoſely to ſolicit, but that, as his great age rendered it abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould be wholly unmoleſted in his retirement, he muſt farther requeſt that his majeſty would diſpenſe with his attendance at the council. He then quitted the king, and re-

paired to the apartment of the queen-mother, in order to inform her of what had paſſed. Catharine, conſidering the diſdain with which the conſtable refuſed the ſeat that had been reſerved for him at the council board as an affront offered to the king and to herſelf, adviſed him to act with more caution and prudence; and, in a tranſport of paſſion, reproached him with the artifices he had employed in order to deprive her of her huſband's confidence, and particularly with one expreſſion, ſo imprudent, that it is inconceivable how a man of Montmorenci's ſagacity could have ſuffered it to eſcape him: he had aſked the king how it happened that none of his children reſembled him except Diana, his natural daughter, who was widow to the duke of Caſtres, and had afterwards married the conſtable's eldeſt ſon. Montmorenci, however, ſtrongly denied the fact.

Mortified with the reception he had experienced, the conſtable haſtened to complete the preparations for Henry's funeral, and after he had attended the corpſe of his late ſovereign to the royal vault at Saint Denis, he followed the court to Saint Germain, ſtill uncertain whether he ſhould purſue the advice of Catharine of Medicis, or adhere to his firſt reſolution; but here his mortification was encreaſed, for the young monarch did not even deign to ſpeak to him. Enraged at a treatment to which he had been ſo little accuſtomed, he reſolved to retire without farther delay; and that the foreign ambaſſadors who had witneſſed the inſult might be convinced that though his credit was loſt at court, his influence with the nobility remained undiminiſhed, he ſet out from Saint Germain with ſuch a numerous train of friends as gave to his retreat the appearance of a triumph, and left the court almoſt wholly deſerted that day.

Of the Guiſes, who acted ſuch a conſpicuous part during this reign, there were ſix brothers—the duke of Guiſe, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, the cardinal of Guiſe, and the grand prior—but the two firſt only appear in the foreground of the political picture. The duke had ſecured the attachment of the troops, by the repeated proofs he had given of his ſkill and courage in the field; while his liberality, magnificence, and courteſy endeared him to the people. The cardinal was chiefly indebted for the extent of his influence to the ſtrength of his oratorical talents, and the orthodoxy of his religious principles.

Still the king of Navarre remained, and, as the firſt prince of the blood, he was indiſputably entitled to the firſt ſeat at the council, and, in caſe the king were incapable of holding the reins of government in his own hands, he might have preferred well-founded pretenſions to the high poſt of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The conſtable, aware of this, had offered him his ſupport; but Anthony, conſidering him as a ſworn enemy to the princes of the blood, doubted his ſincerity, and paid no attention to his propoſal. Naturally timid and irreſolute, he was long at a loſs how to act; but finding the Guiſes aimed at a monopoly of power, he, at length, determined to repair to court. The news of his departure excited a general commotion in all the ſouthren provinces; men of the firſt families mounted their horſes and attended by their neighbours, their re-

lations and friends, met him on the road, and offered to accompany him. But they ſoon became ſo numerous, that, through fear of alarming the Guiſes, he was compelled to reject their offers, at the ſame time thanking them for their zeal, and requeſting them to reſerve it for a future opportunity.

Anthony had appointed a general rendezvous of all who were diſcontented with the preſent government at Vendome, the chief city of his appanage. They accordingly attended on the appointed day, except the conſtable, who ſent Dardois, his confidential agent, to repreſent him. As ſoon as the king of Navarre propoſed the ſubject for deliberation, every body agreed in conſidering the domination of the Guiſes, whom they called foreigners, as an inſult not only to the princes of the blood, but to the whole order of French nobility, whoſe honour and whoſe privileges were materially affected thereby; but though they were unanimous on this point, they differed eſſentially as to the means of repreſſing the uſurpation of which they complained. The moſt violent, ſuch as the prince of Condè, d'Andelot, and the count of Rochefoucaud, obſerved that, there were but two means eſtabliſhed by nature for one man to obtain of another the object of his deſires—perſuaſion and force;—the firſt of which ought undoubtedly to be preferred, and always to be tried, whenever you had to deal with men who were juſt and enlightened; but, that with men of a different diſpoſition, ſuch a mode of proceeding would only be productive of ſhame, ridicule, and contempt; were the mode of perſuaſion to be adopted, they aſked to whom they were to apply?—certainly either to the Guiſes themſelves, to the king, or to the queen-mother; could any one ſuppoſe then, that by proving clearly to the Guiſes that they were uſurpers, he could perſuade them to reſign that authority which they had diſputed with ſo much violence during the preceding reign, and which they had juſt taken ſuch pains to ſecure?

In oppoſition to theſe arguments it was urged by the admiral and Dardois, that celerity was not more requiſite in the execution of a great undertaking, than prudence and deliberation in the formation of a ſcheme: that thoſe who had juſt adviſed them to fly immediately to arms, evidently acted on two ſuppoſitions, which appeared, at leaſt, doubtful:—firſt that the Guiſes would be taken by ſurprize; ſecondly, that almoſt the whole order of nobility would eſpouſe the quarrel of the princes with the ſame ardour by which they themſelves were actuated: that, by this calculation, they ran an evident riſk of being deceived both as to their friends and their enemies. It was therefore, thought time enough to have recourſe to more violent methods: that, in the mean time, they might ſound their friends, watch their enemies, and avail themſelves of all the faults that might eſcape them.

This laſt opinion met the approbation of the king of Navarre, inaſmuch as it correſponded to his natural deciſion, and differed but little from the advice he had previouſly received from his own miniſters: he accordingly repaired to Saint-Germain, where the court then was, but having received the moſt pointed inſults, as well from the Guiſes as from the king himſelf, he did not dare to take his ſeat

at the council, but departed, with precipitation, for the capital, in concert with the prince of Condé, and others of the ſame party. The Guiſes, meanwhile, apprifed of their attempts, perceived the neceſſity of ſending the princes from the capital, as ſoon as poſſible; they therefore haſtened the preparations for the king's coronation, which ceremony was performed at Rheims on the twelfth of October, by the cardinal of Lorraine. Emboldened by the preſence of the great officers of the crown, the king of Navarre now ventured to take his ſeat at the council; and his ſuggeſtions began to meet with attention, when an artifice of the Guiſes again made him change his reſolution. They read, in his preſence, a letter from Philip the Second to Francis, in which that prince offered, in conſequence of the information he had received that ſome turbulent men had formed a plan for overthrowing the adminiſtration which had been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and for encroaching on the authority of the king, although he was of age, and perfectly in a condition to govern his kingdom, to ſend him, as his friend and brother-in-law, an army of forty thouſand men, which he might diſpoſe of at his pleaſure for the purpoſe of reducing the inſurgents to obedience. Anthony, hearing at the ſame time, that Philip, after ſettling his affairs in the Low Countries, intended to embark for Spain, began to tremble for his principality of Bearn: reſigning all his projects of grandeur, he only ſought for an honourable pretext for retiring; and this his adverſaries were careful to afford him, by propoſing that he ſhould, himſelf, execute the commiſſion which had been entruſted to his brother the cardinal of Bourbon, and his couſin the prince de la Roche-ſur-Yon, and conduct the princeſs Elizabeth to the frontiers of Spain. He was afterwards detained in Bearn, with the vain hope of recovering his former dominions by a negociation, with which he was amuſed by the queen-mother and the duke of Alva.

While the court were at Rheims, the duke of Guiſe, in a private converſation which he had with the admiral, told him in confidence that a man, whoſe name he would not mention, but who paſſed for a friend of Coligni's, wiſhed to deprive him of the government of Picardy, by repreſenting that the inceſſant care and attention which the adminiſtration and defence of a frontier province required, were wholly incompatible with the duties of an admiral. Coligni could not miſtake the perſon to whom the duke alluded, becauſe the prince of Condé had been his competitor for the poſt, and he alone could form pretenſions to an office which had been ſucceſſively holden by his father and elder brother; he therefore entered into an explanation with the prince on the ſubject, and after expreſſing his concern, in the moſt affectionate manner, at his having applied to any other than himſelf, in order to obtain what he was juſtly entitled to, he offered to give up the government immediately. Condé proteſted, with great truth, that he had no concern whatever in the buſineſs, nor could he eaſily forgive the admiral for having thought him capable of an action ſo dark and treacherous. Coligni, however, ſtill perſiſted in his determination to reſign his poſt; for conſidering that he ſhould be unable to keep the frontier towns in a proper ſtate of defence, if the cardinal of Lorraine, who had

the ſole management of the finances, ſhould refuſe him the neceſſary ſupplies for that purpoſe; and that he ſhould thereby run the riſk of receiving an affront, either from the enemy in caſe of war, or from the king himſelf, on his viſit to the provinces, he rather choſe to anticipate his adverſaries, than to wait till they choſe to diſmiſs him. He therefore gave in his reſignation, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the queen-mother, and ſtrongly recommended the prince of Condé as his ſucceſſor, whoſe pretenſions to that office were, he ſaid, anterior to his own, and whom he never would have conſented to deprive of it, but for the deference which he owed to the commands of the late king. But his recommendations were diſregarded, and the government of Picardy was conferred on the mareſchal de Briſſac.

The prince of Condé was juſtly offended at the preferrence given, under ſuch circſtances, to a private gentleman over a prince of the blood: and his reſentment on this account probably induced him to pay greater attention to the ſuggeſtions of his mother-in-law, the lady of Roye, and to his wife, the princeſs of Condé, who being ſtrongly attached to the new doctrines, and ſurrounded by enthuſiaſtic miniſters, had long exhorted him to open his ears to inſtruction, and to take under his immediate protection the numbers of unhappy men who were perſecuted on account of their religious principles.

This party was in a very different ſituation from that to which it had been reduced but a few years before; it no longer conſiſted of a few fortuitous aſſemblies of obſcure individuals, whom the publication of an ordonnance, or the ſight of a commiſſary, put to flight, and frequently diſperſed never more to meet: it now formed an immenſe corporation of citizens of all ranks and conditions, who held aſſemblies *political* and religious*, and who began to calculate their ſtrength: From Boulogne to Bayonne, from Breſt to Metz, France was crouded with churches, whoſe enthuſiaſtic miniſters, long accuſtomed to brave the dangers of impriſonment and torture, inſpired their proſelytes with the ſame degree of audacity, and the ſame reſolution; connected together by one common danger, they maintained a cloſe correſpondence with Calvin, and through his means, with ſome of the Swiſs cantons, the Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Heſſe, who having embraced the ſame religion, thought themſelves intereſted in procuring its ſolid eſtabliſhment in a neighbouring kingdom. If, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the Hugonots ſtill continued to keep themſelves concealed, and to hold their aſſemblies in the night, even in thoſe places where they were nearly as numerous as the Catholics, indignant at the reſtraint impoſed on them, they took proper precautions for repelling any violence that might be offered them, and clearly evinced, by their conduct, that they only waited for a leader to make them act in concert with each other, in order to extort a toleration which they regarded as their right, but which they knew would never be voluntarily granted. The prince of Condé, who enjoyed but little credit at court and in the council, naturally inclined to the adoption of violent meaſures, but to this mode of proceeding an obſtacle accurred, which, at firſt, they knew not how to ſurmount.

* Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 58.

It was firſt aſked—Whether, when a ſovereign, either from extreme youth, or any other natural defect, was rendered incapable of governing, it did not belong to the nation to form a council of adminiſtration? and whether they who, without conſulting the nation, had, by ſtratagem, taken poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority, and meant to maintain it by force, might not be regarded as uſurpers and plunderers?

II. Whether the principal nobility of the kingdom, headvd by one or more of the princes of the blood, had not a right to demand a convocation of the ſtates-general, and to procure for the three orders, by lawful means, the liberty of aſſembling? What were the means which it was lawful to employ for that purpoſe, as well with regard to the ſovereign, as to the other orders of the ſtate?

III. Whether, if convinced that their humble requeſt and their juſt complaints could not reach the ears of the king, without exciting the rage and provoking the reſentment of thoſe violent men who ſurrounded his throne, and impoſed on his youth and inexperience, and without expoſing the lives of their deputies to extreme danger, they would not be authoriſed in ſending with them an eſcort of armed men, not for the purpoſe of attacking nor even of threatening any one, but merely to guard their deputies from all violence, as well on the road, as during their reſidence at court?

IV. Whether the proviſional regulations which this aſſembly might be induced to adopt, would not have the force of law until the aſſembly of the ſtates-general ſhould meet, when they ſhould be duly examined?

V. In what manner they ought to conduct themſelves towards the oppreſſors of public liberty, and whether it was permitted to kill them, in caſe they could not ſeize their perſons and bring them to a formal trial?

Such were the principal queſtions which the Hugonots wiſhed to be propounded, before they proceeded to the execution of their plan. The prince of Condé was appointed their leader; and John de Barri, lord of La Renaudie, of an ancient family in the Perigord, but of a ruined fortune, was choſen for his lieutenant and repreſentative.

The Guiſes knew nothing of this tranſaction; content with watching the king of Navarre and the conſtable, and thinking themſelves rid of them, at leaſt for a time, they laboured, in concert with the chancellor Olivier, to repair the diſorders which had crept into the adminiſtration, and to reſcue the ſtate from the ruin which ſeemed to threaten it. Though the treaſury was exhauſted, the nation conſiderably in debt, and demands were daily encreaſing, yet the dreadful ſituation to which the farmers and peaſants were reduced, rendered a conſiderable diminution of the taxes a matter of neceſſity.

They began by reducing the intereſts of the ſums which had been borrowed of the bankers, as well in France as in other countries, during the late reign; and thoſe bankers were compelled either to reimburſe, or carry to account all the money they had received above the rate of intereſt as now arbitrarily ſettled*. This

* Piguerre—La Planche—Villars—La Popliniere—Manuſcrits de Fontanieu—Ordon. de Fontanon.

meaſure was both unjuſt and impolitic: unjuſt, as it violated, without the conſent of one of the parties, an engagement voluntarily contracted and ſolemnly confirmed: and impolitic, ſince it ſhut up thoſe ſources to which the nation had been accuſtomed to apply in the hour of diſtreſs.

But the moſt difficult, and not the leaſt neceſſary taſk, yet remained to be accompliſhed; viz. The reduction of the army. It had been reſolved in the council, after the treaty of Cateau-Cambreſis, to reduce the national forces to fifteen hundred lances, and ſix or ſeven thouſand infantry; but many obſtacles occurred to the execution of this plan. During the war, which had continued for nearly thirty years, a new generation of men had been formed, who knew no other profeſſion than that of a ſoldier, and no other patrimony than their pay, and the contributions they levied: by ſuddenly depriving them of their ſituation in life, without affording them any other means of ſubſiſtence, the government would almoſt reduce them to the neceſſity of living by plunder. Nor was the ſituation of the officers much better than that of the ſoldiers: moſt of them were gentlemen, born with ambition, who had abandoned the care of their domeſtic concerns, and ſacrificed the greater part of their fortune, in order to obtain promotion in the ſervice, and to procure rank or penſions. Theſe were not only debarred any kind of recompence for the loſs they ſuſtained by the reform, but were even deprived of their ſalaries for ſeveral quarters that were due to them; this violent and unjuſt plan had been adopted towards the concluſion of the laſt reign, and was purſued under the preſent. The commiſſioners appointed to ſuperintend its execution had been expoſed to the greateſt danger; in order to get rid of the ſoldiers, they had divided them into different corps, arming thoſe who were retained againſt thoſe who were diſbanded, and cutting to pieces ſuch companies as were moſt untractable; numbers of them entered on board the fleet which Philip was fitting out againſt the ſtates of Barbary. The officers inſiſted on being treated with greater delicacy and reſpect; and it was not poſſible to call in queſtion their right to make a direct application to the king and his miniſters, in order to ſolicit what was lawfully due to them; they accordingly repaired in crowds to Fontainbleau, where the court then reſided.

Though the enemies of the Guiſes were already ſufficiently numerous, yet do they ſeem to have ſtudied the means of encreaſing their number. Anne Dubourg, one of the members of the parliament, who had been committed to priſon by Henry for delivering his ſentiments with freedom on the ſubject of religion, was now proceeded againſt with the utmoſt rigour; in vain did he proteſt againſt the irregularity of the proceeding, againſt the competency of the court to try him, and againſt the admiſſion of men who were his avowed enemies to ſit as his judges; all his remonſtrances were diſregarded, and after a trial, which, from the injuſtice and partiality that marked it, could ſcarcely be called a trial, he was ſentenced to be hanged; he was accordingly executed at Paris, and died with the ſame firmneſs and fortitude that had diſtinguiſhed his conduct through life; the other magiſtrates who had been impriſoned at the ſame time were releaſed, on making on apology for their imprudence.

Meanwhile the aſſembles of the Hugonots became more frequent, and a number of ſatires and libels, calculated to inflame the minds of the people, and to excite an inſurrection, was diſtributed by their emiſſaries, throughout the capital*. The Guiſes, on the their part, not content with renewing the ancient ordonnances, and with encouraging informers, by the hope of reward, cauſed a new edict to be publiſhed, by which it was ordained that, all the houſes in which ſuch aſſemblies ſhould be holden, ſhould be razed to the very foundation, without even excepting thoſe which belonged to religious communities, or to proprietors ſettled in the country, who, in this inſtance, were made reſponſible for the conduct of their tenants.

Two young apprentices, the one a painter, and the other a muſical inſtrument-maker, had been initiated, by their maſters, into the doctrines of Calvin, and taken to thoſe nocturnal aſſemblies at which the Hugonots received the ſacrament. Being afterwards driven on account of their miſconduct, from their maſter's houſes, they returned home, and going to confeſſion, were ſent, by the director of their conſciences, to the preſident Saint-André, and the inquiſitor Démocharés, who, after beſtowing on them many careſſes, took their depoſition, in which they ſwore, that they had frequently attended the aſſemblies of the Calviniſts, in the Place Maubert, at the houſe of an advocate, named Trouillas, who had a wife, and two daughters grown up: that, at a numerous aſſembly holden on the night of Holy Thurſday, after the ſervice was over, the lights were extinguiſhed, when each man laid hold of a woman, and that one of them had one of the advocate's daughters whom he knew very well, notwithſtanding it was dark, and with whom he paſſed the remainder of the night. Catharine enraged at the peruſal of this depoſition, acknowledged the juſtice of the cardinal's proceedings, and meeting, juſt after, with ſome of her maids of honour, whom ſhe knew to be attached to the Hugonots, ſhe repeated to them what ſhe had read, and declared, that if ever they attended thoſe aſſemblies, ſhe herſelf would inform againſt them, and abandon them to all the rigour of the laws.

A. D. 1560.] At the commencement of this year, the king, whoſe general debility was greatly encreaſed, and in whoſe face ſeveral reddiſh ſpots had lately appeared, was adviſed by his phyſicians to repair to Blois, where the air was more ſalubrious and temperate than at Saint-Germain, and there prepare himſelf, by moderate exerciſe, for the uſe of the aromatic baths. Some evil deſigning perſons, appriſed of his intentions, had ſpread a report that the king was afflicted with the leproſy, and that the only remedy which could be of ſervice to him was to bathe in the blood of young children. A number of emiſſaries had viſited all the villages within twenty leagues of Blois; and while ſome, without entering into any explanation, took an exact liſt of the moſt healthy and beatiful children; others, who followed them at ſome diſtance, revealed the ſecret, and promiſed the parents, for a trifling reward, to procure the eraſure of their childrens' names

* La Planche—La Place—La Popliniere—De Thou—Beze.

from the fatal liſt. By this abominable manœuvre, the report, abſurd as it was, obtained ſuch credit with the common people, that, inſtead of the acclamations of joy with which they were wont to hail their ſovereigns, alarm, ſorrow and deſolation marked the progreſs of the court. Moſt of the towns and villages were abandoned, while ſuch as had courage to remain in their houſes, had ſtrongly barricaded the doors, and did not even dare to look through the windows: troops of peaſants, carrying off their children, were deſcried in the fields, at a diſtance from the high roads; and when purſued, they fell on their knees, and in the moſt pitious accents implored mercy for their children. The king, at this unuſual ſpectacle, burſt into tears, and inſiſted, with ſuch eagerneſs, on knowing the cauſe of it, that his attendants were under the neceſſity of telling him the truth; he endeavoured to diſpel the fears of the wretched fugitives, and ordered the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made after the authors of ſuch an infamous report; but they had all diſappeared except one, who was apprehended at Loches. This man, when applied to the rack, had the audacity to maintain that he had only acted in obedience to the orders of the cardinal of Lorraine.

During theſe tranſactions, the queen of England had concluded a treaty with the Scottiſh rebels, and prepared a manifeſto in juſtification of her conduct.—Having publiſhed her manifeſto, ſhe ſent ſeveral copies of it to her ſecret partiſans on the continent.

The preparations were carried on with rapidity, and the Guiſes, notwithſtanding their numerous ſpies, and notwithſtanding the advice they had received from foreign courts, would have been taken by ſurpriſe, if the man who was moſt intereſted in the ſucceſs of the ſcheme had not himſelf betrayed the ſecret*. La Renaudie, who had aſſumed the name of Le Forêt, went to Paris in order to inform the prince of Condé of what had paſſed at Nantes, and to confer with Chandieu, the miniſter, and the elders of the reformed church in the capital, on the ſubject of the contributions they were to ſupply on the preſent important occaſion. He took up his reſidence at a houſe in the ſuburb of Saint Germain, belonging to one Peter des Avenelles, an advocate, who ſecretly profeſſed the reformed religion. This man perceiving, from the numbers of people that viſited La Renaudie at all hours of the day and night, from the anxiety viſible in their countenances, and from certain expreſſions which eſcaped them, that ſome great enterpriſe was in agitation, reproached him with his want of confidence in a perſon who was ſo firmly attached to the party, and by that means extorted from him a confeſſion of all the reſolutions adopted by the aſſembly at Nantes. But though Avenelles had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve the moſt inviolable ſecrecy, either the dread of puniſhment or the hope of reward operated ſo powerfully on his mind, that, as ſoon as La Renaudie had left his houſe, he went to de Vouze, a maſter of requeſts, and Millet, ſecretary to the duke of Guiſe, to whom he revealed the whole ſecret. The Guiſes immediately communicated the matter to Catharine of

* La Planche—La Popliniere—De Thou—Memoires de Conde—Davila.

Medicis, who in the midſt of her alarms, recollecting a letter ſhe had received two months before from the miniſters of the reformed church at Paris, in which they warned her of the danger to which the government would be expoſed, ſhould they perſiſt in perſecuting the Hugonots, could not forbear obſerving that thoſe ſectaries were men of their words. The chancellor Olivier, deeply affected at the news, reproached, with great bitterneſs, the Guiſes, for having neglected to follow his advice, for the violence of their adminiſtration, the tone of authority, and the threats, which, in ſpite of his remonſtrances, they had ſubſtituted for the language of confidence and affection, ſo proper to proceed from the mouth of a king of France, and a monarch of ſixteen; and he declared, that to their own obſtinacy alone they ought to aſcribe the dreadful ſituation to which they were now reduced.

But while the duke of Guiſe endeavoured to inſpire others with confidence, he was not without inquietude himſelf: knowing the talents of the three Châtillons, and particularly of the admiral, formerly his comrade in the field, but now his moſt inveterate enemy, he foreſaw that if they were the conductors of the enterpriſe, they muſt have taken their meaſures ſo well that he ſhould not be able to foil them without great difficulty and conſiderable danger. In order to learn whether this was the caſe, he had recourſe to Catharine of Medicis, who preſerved an appearance of intimacy and confidence with them. The queen-mother accordingly wrote to requeſt their immediate attendance at court, as ſhe wiſhed to have their advice on a matter of the utmoſt importance. Although it does not ſeem probable that the three brothers, who were avowed partiſans of the new religion, and inſeparable friends of the prince of Condé, ſhould not have been appriſed of the conſpiracy, yet the whole of their conduct tends to demonſtrate that they had taken no immediate part in it, that they had not attended any of the aſſemblies at which the plot was formed, and that, following the example of the king of Navarre and the conſtable, they had determined to wait the iſſue of the buſineſs before they had declared themſelves. They obeyed the ſummons from Catharine without the ſmalleſt heſitation, and that princeſs having conducted them to her cloſet, where they found the chancellor, informed them of the diſcovery that had been made, and conjured them by the friendſhip they bore her, not to abandon her at ſuch a dreadful conjuncture: then addreſſing herſelf to the admiral, ſhe deſired him to declare, with that frankneſs and candour which ſhe had ever remarked in him, whence the evil proceeded, and what remedy ſhould be applied.

Coligni, after aſſuring her that he and his brothers would never forſake her, but would ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in her defence, were ſuch a ſacrifice neceſſary, obſerved that the only cauſe of the inſurrection was the exceſſive rigour with which all who profeſſed to live according to the purity of the Goſpel were perſecuted, without being permitted to juſtify themſelves, or without any attention being paid to the offers they had ſo repeatedly made, of ſubmitting to the deciſions of a council, either general or national: that it was infinitely dangerous

to reduce a great number of men to the neceſſity of chuſing between the ſervice which in their opinion, they owed to God, and the obedience and duty they owed to the king.

This opinion was diſcuſſed in the council, and was ſo ſtrongly ſupported, that the Guiſes did not dare to oppoſe it; but they took care, under pretence of preſerving the royal authority from encroachment, ſo to word the edict, as to render it wholly inadequate to the purpoſe it was intended to promote. The king was made to declare, that, on his acceſſion to the throne, having found ſeveral provinces of his kingdom already infected with the poiſon of hereſy, as well through a crowd of preachers imported from Geneva, as from a profuſion of dangerous publications read without precaution, he had thought it his duty to have recourſe to exertions of vigour in order to check the progreſs of the contagion.

The edict was publiſhed at Paris on the eleventh of March; and on the preceding day the principal conſpirators had aſſembled, according to agreement, at the caſtle of Fredonniere, ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from Blois*. From the ſudden removal of the court, and various other circumſtances, they had no longer any doubt but that their ſecret was diſcovered, and that they ſhould find their enemies prepared to receive them.

The duke of Nemours, leaving Amboiſe in the night with a company of light horſe, took poſt near the caſtle of Noizai, where the troops from Gaſcony and Bearn were ſtationed. He ſurpriſed and carried off captains Raunai and Mazeres, as they were walking in one of the avenues, while the baron de Caſtelnau was left to defend the fortreſs. Nemours, leaving the greater part of his company before the gates of the caſtle, to prevent the garriſon from eſcaping, conducted his two priſoners to Amboiſe. Caſtlenau ought to have taken this opportunity to have cut his way through the enemy; but as the caſtle of Noizai was one of the principal magazines for arms and ammunition in the poſſeſſion of the conſpirators, and as the loſs of it would have rendered uſeleſs a great number of ſoldiers, who were to repair thither unarmed, in order to eſcape obſervation, he was loth to abandon it, and, therefore, contented himſelf with ſending ſeveral meſſengers to La Renaudie, to adviſe him of the capture of his two companions, and of the danger which threatened him; unleſs he were ſpeedily relieved. Nemours, however, ſoon returned with ſuch a ſuperior force, that Caſtelnau, finding his men totally diſheartened, and deprived of all means of eſcape, at length conſented to a conference. Nemours aſked them what was the object of their taking arms, and whether they wiſhed to rob the French of the glory they had ever enjoyed, of being more faithful to their ſovereign than any other people upon earth?

Caſtelnau replied, that ſo far from renouncing that glory, they were labouring, in imitation of their anceſtors, to deſerve it; that informed of the danger to

* La Planche—La Place—La Popliniere—De Thou—Davila—Caſtelnau.

which the king was expoſed, they were going to preſent a petition to him, and to expoſe the perfidious machinations of two foreigners, who had already uſurped his authority, and who carried their pretenſions ſtill farther.—"Ought ſubjects," ſaid Nemours, "to preſent a petition to their ſovereign ſword in hand?" Theſe "ſwords," returned Caſtelnau, "were only deſtined to open us a paſſage to "the throne; our petition would have been preſented on our knees, in the "poſture of ſupplication." "If that be all you deſire," returned Nemours, "you may ſpeedily be ſatisfied; give up your arms to me, and I pledge myſelf "to conduct you, in ſafety, to the foot of the throne, where you ſhall have full "liberty to prefer your complaints." The duke's propoſal being accepted, the ſoldiers delivered up their arms, and were conducted to Amboiſe, where they were all thrown into priſon. The other captains employed by the duke of Guiſe, were equally ſucceſsful with Nemours; laying concealed in ravines and among the buſhes, in places by which the conſpirators were to paſs, they carried them off with little reſiſtance, and conducted them, in bands, to the town of Amboiſe. The moſt diſtinguiſhed were put in priſon; but the ſubalterns and privates were proceeded againſt in a ſummary manner, and hanged, either on the parapets, or elſe on long poles, fixed in the walls of the caſtle.

After a blow thus deciſive, it was preſumed that the conſpirators would ſpeedily return, provided a paſſage was left open for them. The chancellor Olivier, already deeply afflicted at the ſight of ſo many executions, and perceiving that the town was ſtill crowded with a multitude of unfortunate men, whoſe only crime was the too eaſy belief they had paid to ſome of their miniſters, who had really perſuaded them that it was only intended to preſent a ſupplicatory addreſs to the king, remonſtrated with great energy on the injuſtice of treating them as criminals, and on the danger of reducing them to a ſtate of deſperation. He deſired that the king would grant freſh letters of remiſſion to all who ſhould return peaceably to their homes, and even promiſed to lend a favourable ear to their complaints and remonſtrances. But the king, notwithſtanding his devotion to their will, appeared reſtleſs and unhappy. In a tranſport of grief, he had one day ſhed tears, and exclaimed, with acrimony, in preſence of the cardinal; "*What injury have* "*I done to my people, that they ſhould ſeek my life? I am willing to hear their com-* "*plaints, and to render them juſtice: I no longer know what to think, but I am told* "*that you are the only object of their reſentment; I wiſh you were abſent for a* "*time, that I might know whether 'tis againſt you, or againſt me, that their rage is* "*directed.*"

Young Ferriere-Maligni, knowing that La Bigne was a priſoner, and not doubting but that he would reveal the whole myſtery, choſe the beſt horſe in the prince of Condé's ſtable, and with the aſſiſtance of Deſvaux, the prince's equerry, who accompanied him for four or five leagues, left Amboiſe and took the road to Lyons. La Bigne, in fact, thinking himſelf releaſed from his oath, by the death of the perſon at whoſe requeſt he had taken it, decyphered all the manuſcripts that

had been found in his poſſeſſion, declared that the prince of Condé was the ſecret leader of the conſpiracy, and that La Renaudie was only his lieutenant. He neither concealed the project for ſeizing or maſſacreing the Guiſes, nor any of the meaſures which had been adopted for the execution of that deſign. He even added—either becauſe ſuch was the fact, or becauſe he wiſhed to pleaſe thoſe on whom his life depended, and who were deeply intereſted in not appearing to have been the real objects of the conſpiracy.

Although this depoſition, of a man perfectly well-informed of the whole buſineſs, preciſe in all its circumſtances, and exactly conformable to all thoſe which had been before taken, was deemed of great weight, yet it did not appear ſufficient to juſtify the proſecution of a prince of the blood. The king ſent an order the next morning to the prince to attend his levee, accompanied by a prohibition to leave Amboiſe: at the ſame time the grand-provoſt arreſted Deſvaux, the prince's equerry, who, being interrogated on the ſubject of Maligni's eſcape, replied that, as that gentleman had the honour to live on terms of friendſhip with his maſter, who even acknowledged him for his relation, he had not thought it neceſſary to apply for *permiſſion* to let him have a horſe, and to accompany him as far on the road as he wiſhed.

The prince, in obedience to the order he had received, attended the king's levee, when Francis told him, with an air of ſeverity, that ſeveral of the conſpirators had made oath that he was their leader; and ſhould that prove to be the caſe he would teach him how dangerous it was to attack a king of France. The prince, without betraying any ſymptoms of fear or ſurpriſe, replied, that he had already learned from public report what his majeſty had juſt revealed to him; that he only requeſted he would aſſemble that very day the members of his council, ſuch of the princes of the blood, and of the knights of the order of Saint Michael, as were then at court, and all the foreign miniſters and ambaſſadors, ſince finding himſelf publicly defamed by the malice of his enemies, he wiſhed his juſtification to be equally public. While the prince was at the levee, the grand-provoſt went, by the king's orders, to ſearch his houſe, where it was ſaid a vaſt quantity of arms were concealed, and to examine his papers. No arms, however, were found, and the provoſt declared, that the papers contained nothing that could ſubſtantiate the accuſation. The reſidence and papers of the king of Navarre's ſecretary were likewiſe ſearched and examined, by command of the cardinal of Lorraine, but with no better effect.

The prince of Condé went to the caſtle a few minutes before the council had aſſembled, and paid a viſit to the queen-mother, with whom he found the cardinal of Lorraine: Catharine, deeply affected at the ſight of the prince, told him that ſhe did not believe a ſyllable of what ſhe had heard to his prejudice.

As ſoon as the council was aſſembled, the prince entered the apartment, and in a manly ſpeech juſtified himſelf from the accuſations that had been preferrd againſt him by men of ſuſpicious characters, ſtimulated, no doubt, by the ſuggeſtions of his ſecret enemies, or intimidated by the threats of torture; if, he ſaid, there

were one man in the whole world who would accuſe him, not by indirect means, but in an open manner, of having ſhaken the fidelity of the people, of having urged towns to revolt, or of having either ſaid or done any thing which could tend to excite a ſedition, he would throw off his quality of prince of the blood to fight him on equal terms, till he ſhould extort from him a confeſſion that he was a lyar and a coward. The duke of Guiſe, to whom this challenge ſeemed to be directed, although he had vehemently oppoſed the preſent proceeding, the event of which he foreſaw, artfully obſerved, that the king ought not to ſuffer the reputation of a prince, ſo nearly related to the throne, to be affected, in the ſmalleſt degree, by the intereſted accuſations of a few miſerable wretches, who ſought to diminiſh their own crime by transferring the principal guilt to perſons of high diſtinction.

The baron de Caſtelnau-Chaloſſe, the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonage of the whole party, as well by his birth as his perſonal merit, was the laſt whoſe fate remained to be decided: Being called upon to anſwer the queſtions that were put to him, and threatened with the rack, he appeared confuſed, and, for an inſtant, remained ſilent; upon which the duke of Guiſe told him that he ſeemed to be frightened. "I do not deny it," replied Caſtelnau, "for what man, who was not totally deprived of ſenſation, could ſay that he was exempt from fear, when ſurrendered to the diſcretion of enemies implacable in their hatred, and thirſting for his blood? But give me my arms again, and then dare to repeat the ſame expreſſion; or ſuppoſe yourſelf in my place, and then candidly tell me whether you would not tremble in every limb? The fear, however, with which you reproach me, will not, I hope, deprive me of the judgment and preſence of mind neceſſary to enſure my juſtification."

Being known to have paſſed the greater part of his life at court or in the field, they could not imagine that he was in the leaſt qualified for theological diſputations. But here they were again diſappointed, for in the queſtions which were put to him in regard to his religion, his anſwers were ſo oppoſite, and his replies ſo pointed, that his adverſaries were completely foiled. The chancellor aſtoniſhed, could not forbear the exclamation, that it was eaſy to perceive the baron had well ſtudied his leſſon. "Yes, Sir," replied Caſtelnau, "I have ſtudied it well; you would be authoriſed to deſpiſe me, and I ſhould think myſelf truly deſpicable, if I had embarked in a cauſe, in the event of which the ſalvation of my ſoul and the happineſs of my country were intereſted, without previouſly ſatisfying all my ſcruples."—"But how happens it," ſaid Olivier, "that you have thus ſuddenly become ſuch an experienced theologiſt; for at the time that you frequented the court, you did not pay much attention to thoſe controverſies?" "That's true," returned the baron, "but does it become you to put ſuch a queſtion to me? Recollect the viſit I paid you at your eſtate at Leuville; you then aſked me how I had paſſed my time in priſon; and when I anſwered, in ſtudying the ſcriptures in order to underſtand the merits of thoſe diſputes which made ſo much noiſe, you expreſſed your approbation of my labours, and diſpelled the few doubts that ſtill remained on my mind: if my memory do not fail me, we then perfectly agreed in our

ſentiments: how happens it that in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, one of us has ſo far changed his opinion, that we no longer underſtand each other? but you was then in diſgrace, and really ſpoke what you thought: wretched ſlave to courtly favour, how dare you, merely to pleaſe a man by whom you are, probably, deſpiſed, thus betray God and your conſcience?"

As Olivier betrayed the moſt unequivocal marks of confuſion at this reproof, the cardinal of Lorraine, came to his aſſiſtance, anxious to confound a man who appeared ſo firmly fixed in his principles; but, contrary to his expectation, he ſuffered an acknowledgment to be extorted from him, which Caſtelnau called on the duke of Guiſe to witneſs. The duke replied, that it was not conſiſtent with his profeſſion to enter into diſputes of that nature, and that he gloried in his ignorance on religious concerns. "I am ſorry for that," returned Caſtelnau—"for I have ſo good an opinion of you, that I durſt ſwear that were you as well informed as your brother in theſe matters, you would make a better uſe of your knowledge."

The preſence of mind, the determined courage and unſhaken firmneſs which Caſtelnau diſplayed during his trial, had fixed the eyes of the whole court upon him; and great as was the danger of appearing his friend at ſuch a conjuncture, three noblemen of the firſt rank, the duke of Longueville, the admiral Coligni, and the duke of Aumale himſelf, who, though a ſtrong Catholic, bore not that hatred to the Hugonots which his brothers did, ventured to intercede in his favour; and Catharine of Medicis joined in the ſame petition; but the young monarch, tutored no doubt by the Guiſes, diſplayed a pertinacity unnatural at his age, and, remaining inflexible to their intreaties, confirmed the ſentence. When that ſentence was read to Caſtelnau, by which he was declared guilty of *leze-majeſty*, he exclaimed—"I call my judges to witneſs that the declaration "is falſe; unleſs to have oppoſed the tyranny of the Guiſes to the utmoſt of my "power, be deemed an act of *leze-majeſty*; but, in that caſe, they ſhould have "begun, by declaring them kings." He ſuffered decapitation, and met his fate with coolneſs and intrepidity: Raunai and Mazeres experienced a ſimilar puniſhment: Briquemaut de Villemongis, another of the conſpirators, when brought to the ſcaffold, dipped his hands in the blood of his aſſociates, and raiſing his eyes towards heaven, exclaimed—*Heavenly Father, behold the blood of thy children, which thou wilt revenge.*

The prince of Condé, hurried away towards the place of execution by ſome pretended friends, who had undertaken to watch his words and motions, was not ſufficient maſter of himſelf to conceal his emotions; being reproached with this, he replied, "I freely confeſs, that I feel for the fate of thoſe brave officers who have done ſuch ſignal ſervice to the ſtate under the two laſt reigns: I will even acknowledge that I am at a loſs to conceive why none of the miniſters ſhould have repreſented to the king the prejudice which the ſtate would ſuſtain by ſuch a loſs: for if it ſhould be attacked by any foreign power, they will probably repent the having deprived him of its beſt defenders." Theſe expreſſions were carefully re-

peated to the cardinal of Lorraine, who never forgot them: but the grief of the chancellor, who had been compelled, by his ſtation, to become an inſtrument of vengeance to the Guiſes, was exceſſive: inconſolable, at having neglected to oppoſe, with ſufficient vigour, the violent adminiſtration of the cardinal of Lorraine, he felt more deeply the reproaches of his own conſcience, than thoſe of the unfortunate victims whom he had conſigned to execution: the acuteneſs of his feelings brought on a deep melancholy, attended with the loſs of ſleep, and followed by a burning fever, which, in a few days, reduced him to the brink of the grave. The cardinal, appriſed of his ſituation, went to pay him a laſt viſit, but Olivier, tired of conſtraint, turned his back on the miniſter, and in a few moments breathed his laſt.

The removal of the court to Tours, gave an opportunity to the prince of Condé to leave Amboiſe, and, notwithſtanding the inſidious attempts of the cardinal of Lorraine again to allure him to court, and his ſecret orders to arreſt him on the road, he effected his eſcape into Gaſcony. The kingdom, meanwhile, was thrown into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion: the Hugonots, in different places, ſeized on the churches and convents, and in contempt of the prohibitory edicts, publickly celebrated divine ſervice: at Nimes they drove the prieſts from the church of Saint-Stephen, during the celebration of maſs, broke the images, and trod the conſecrated wafer under foot.

The enmity entertained by the Hugonots againſt the Guiſes ſeemed daily to acquire freſh ſtrength: ſatires and libels were diſtributed in great abundance, and one, in particular againſt the cardinal of Lorraine, attracted the public attention; it was entitled the TIGER, and contained a liſt of the acts of cruelty and perfidy perpetrated by that prelate, together with a ſcandalous account of his amours with a lady of diſtinction, his near relation, who, according to Brantome, had nearly died of grief in conſequence of this publication.

The intelligence which the Guiſes continued to receive from the different provinces, where the minds of the people ſeemed ripe for revolt, and the adverſe ſtate of affairs in Scotland, induced them to renounce all the projects they had formed upon that kingdom, and to recall, with all poſſible expedition, the troops they had ſent thither, whoſe preſence in France had now become neceſſary to their own defence.

By the treaty of peace concluded with Elizabeth, it was ſtipulated, that the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould henceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England, or aſſuming the title of that kingdom: that all titles and public acts in which that title had been employed, ſhould either be altered or abrogated; that the farther reparation demanded by Elizabeth for the injury ſhe had ſuſtained in that particular ſhould be referred to the deciſion of commiſſioners, to be appointed at a future period; and, laſtly, that the king and queen ſhould perform the promiſes they had made to their ſubjects in Scotland.

Meantime the Guiſes, reſolved to engage the king and the queen-mother to

convoke, at Fontainebleau, not the ſtates-general, nor even an aſſembly of notables, but an extraordinary council, which the princes of the blood, the great officers of the crown, the ſtate counſellors, knights of the order of St. Michael, and maſters of requeſts, ſhould be ſummoned to attend, in order that thoſe perſons who were moſt intereſted in the welfare of the ſtate would concur, if poſſible, in the adoption of ſome efficacious means for the reſtoration of public tranquillity, and in the determination to enforce the execution of ſuch meaſures as they ſhould deem neceſſary for that purpoſe.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, convinced that this meaſure was only adopted for the purpoſe of bringing them to court and ſecuring their perſons, wiſhed to have the advice of the conſtable; they accordingly ſent a meſſenger to him to ſay, that as all their captains were engaged in an expedition againſt Lyons, which they had every reaſon to expect would prove ſucceſsful, they thought it would be dangerous to accept the king's invitation. The conſtable exhorted them to deſiſt from their projected attempt upon Lyons, adviſed them rather to direct their efforts againſt the towns of Limoges and Poitiers, which would ſerve to cover the provinces in their poſſeſſion, and might be defended with greater eaſe and convenience; but, he obſerved, that they ſhould not have recourſe to this violent proceeding until all other means had failed: he conjured them to attend the aſſembly, and to ſend word to their partiſans to meet them on the road; at all events, he ſaid, they would find their friends at Fontainbleau ſo well attended that nobody would dare to moleſt them. This advice, however, was rejected by the king of Navarre, from the conviction that, if the Guiſes intended to ſecure their perſons, they would take care to prevent them from reaching Fontainebleau, the two princes, therefore, ſent a courier with letters to the king and queen-mother, to excuſe, on account of the ſhortneſs of the notice, and the length of the journey, their attendance at the council.

The council, however, met on the appointed day, when the debates were warm and animated: the admiral Coligni, preſented a petition from the Hugonots of Normandy, profeſſing their attachment to the king, and demanding a toleration of their religion; this petition, defended with zeal and ability by Coligni, was oppoſed with violence by the cardinal of Lorraine, who, in the courſe of his ſpeech, obſerved that the king could not comply with the requeſt of the Hugonots, without riſking the ſalvation of his ſoul, and incurring the guilt of perjury: the final reſult of this meeting was the diſtribution of two circular letters: the firſt was addreſſed to the ſeneſchals and bailiffs, who were ordered by the king to aſſemble without delay the provincial aſſemblies, for the purpoſe of electing deputies to the ſtates-general, which were appointed to meet at Meaux, on the tenth of December; the ſecond, to the biſhops, enjoyning immediate reſidence, and commanding them to meet at Paris on the twentieth of January to hold a national council, unleſs the pope ſhould, in the interval, be induced to convoke, (agreeably to the promiſe he had made the king,) a general council.

The meaneſt and moſt diſhoneſt artifices were now employed by the Guiſes to get the prince of Condé into their power; and in this attempt they were ſeconded by Catharine of Medicis, who exerted all thoſe arts of hypocriſy in which ſhe was ſo eminently verſed*. At length they ſucceeded in extorting from the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé a promiſe to repair to court, attended only by their uſual retinue; and as the violent meaſures they meant to purſue would naturally excite great diſcontent among the nobility, they fought to ſecure their friendſhip, by the diſtribution of honours and rewards: the government of Touraine, Anjou, the Blaiſois and Vendomois, was conferred on the duke of Montpenſier; and that of the Orleanois, the Chartrain and Berry, on the prince of la Roche-ſur-Yon: eighteen new knights of the order of Saint-Michael were created at the ſame time, and for the ſame purpoſe; and from this Era may be dated the decline of that illuſtrious order, which had ſubſiſted, with great glory, for a whole century.

About the middle of October, the king, with an army of ten thouſand diſciplined troops, repaired to Orleans, and ſtruck terror and conſternation into the inhabitants of that town, who were ſtrongly attached to the Hugonots. Meanwhile the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé ſet out on their journey, and Francis iſſued orders to the Catholic gentlemen who reſided in the provinces through which they were to paſs, to levy troops, diſperſe all aſſemblies, political or religious, and kill, without mercy or diſcrimination, all who ſhould attend them.

Notwithſtanding the prayers and ſolicitations of the princeſs of Condé, who threw herſelf at the king's feet, and implored his mercy in favour of her huſband, Francis, with an unfeeling perſeverance, unnatural at his age, purſued the neceſſary meaſures for bringing the prince to trial. A commiſſion, compoſed of Chriſtopher de Thou, preſident of the parliament of Paris; of James Viole and Bartholomew Faye, judges of the ſame court; Bourdin, attorney general: and the ſecretary du Tillet, was appointed to interrogate him in priſon; but the prince proteſted againſt the competency of the ſubſerviant tribunal, and appealed to the king in parliament. The appeal, however, was rejected by Francis; and the chancellor, with ſome members of the council, and all the knights of Saint-Michael and maſters of requeſts who were then at Orleans, being added to the commiſſion, the trial was purſued and the prince, being found guilty of leze-majeſty, was ſentenced to loſe his head. The count of Sancerre, one of his judges, peremptorily refuſed to ſign the ſentence, and, when preſſed to it by the king, replied, that any other command from his majeſty ſhould meet with inſtant compliance from him, but that he would rather loſe his own head, than tranſmit to his children the ſhame of reading their father's name annexed to a ſentence of death pronounced againſt a prince, whoſe deſcendants might poſſibly become

* La Planche—La Place—La Popliniere—D'Aubigne.

their ſovereigns. But the refuſal of this honourable old man made no impreſſion on the king, who confirmed the ſentence, and appointed the tenth of December, the day on which the ſtates general were to meet, for the execution of the prince.

On the nineteenth of November, Francis, as he was attending veſpers at the Jacobins, fainted in the church, whence he was conveyed ſenſeleſs and motionleſs to his apartment; on the recovery of his ſenſes, he complained of a violent pain in his ear, which was ſpeedily followed by a burning fever, attended with ſymptoms of the moſt alarming nature. The Guiſes, thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by this unexpected event, aſſembled their friends, ſome of whom were of opinion that they ſhould extort from the king an order for the immediate execution of the prince of Condé, and the impriſonment of the king of Navarre, as the beſt means of ſecuring a preponderance to their own party, but this advice was overruled by the cardinal of Tournon, not on the plea of juſtice or humanity, but from conſiderations of policy.

The king of Navarre, meanwhile, embraced the opportunity to court a reconciliation with the queen-mother, who, at the inſtigation of the ducheſs of Montpenſier and the chancellor, concluded an accomodation with that prince, and conſented to receive him and his brother into favour, on condition that he ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the regency in the event of the king's demiſe, and ſubmit to a reconciliation with the Guiſes, who ſhe aſſured him, had been nowiſe inſtrumental to the impriſonment of his brother; falſe as this aſſurance inconteſtibly was, ſhe promiſed Anthony that he ſhould hear it confirmed by the king himſelf. He was accordingly conducted to the royal apartment, where the feeble Francis, docile to the laſt, declared, in the preſence of ſeveral witneſſes, that he had cauſed the prince of Condè to be impriſoned of his own accord, and contrary to the advice of his uncles, the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine*.

The king's diſorder proved to be an abceſs in the head, which, burſting, put an end to his exiſtence on the fifth of December, in the eighteenth year of his age and the ſecond of his reign. His body was privately conveyed to the royal vault at Saint-Denis, attended only by Lanſac and La Broſſe, who had been his governors.

* Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 583.

CHARLES THE NINTH.

A. D. 1560, 1561.] ON the death of Francis the crown devolved on his next brother Charles, then only in the eleventh year of his age, who accordingly received the oaths of the magiſtrates and great officers of the court, whom he confirmed in the poſſeſſion of their places and privileges. The early age of the infant monarch incapacitating him from holding the reins of government, his mother, Catharine of Medicis, at firſt, aſſumed the authority, though not the title, of Regent, but after a ſhort time ſhe was compelled to relinquiſh a conſiderable portion of her power to to the king of Navarre, who was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

The ſtates-general, ſummoned by Francis to aſſemble at Orleans on the thirteenth of December, were ſuffered, in conſequence of a deciſion *that the king never died*, to meet on the appointed day*.

In the preſent temper of the kingdom it could not be ſuppoſed that an aſſembly ſo numerous, compoſed of members of different ſects, would act with concord, uniformity, and effect: the gratification of private reſentment, roſe ſuperior to concern for the public welfare; and party contentions, with all their baſe concomitants of haſty accuſations and petulent invective, were permitted to diſgrace the proceedings of a convention aſſembled for the nobleſt purpoſe—to reſcue the nation from diſtreſs, by giving ſtrength and ſtability to the laws, and happineſs and relief to the people. The Hugonots complained of the injuries they had ſuſtained, the perſecutions they had experienced, and the hardſhips to which they were expoſed; demanded a repeal of all the penal laws paſſed in the preceding reigns, and claimed a free and perfect toleration of their religion. The clergy of the eſtabliſhed church were not leſs loud in their complaints, nor leſs urgent in their applications for redreſs; they accuſed the ſectaries of miſrepreſenting their con-

* Legende du Cardinal de Lorraine—La Planche—Hiſtoire Manuſrite de Francois II.—De Thou.

duct, of defaming their characters, and of ſowing diſſentions between the paſtors and their flocks: they reproached them with exerting their ſuperiority, in thoſe places where they were ſtrongeſt, to compel the Catholics to attend their meetings, to beat and mutilate the prieſts, to take forcible poſſeſſion of the churches, to overturn the altars, to profane the ſacred vaſes, and to inſpire ſuch terror into the regular clergy, that they did not dare to appear in public with any of the external marks of their profeſſion. To redreſs theſe grievances, it was required, that all the penal laws againſt heretics ſhould be rigidly enforced: that a *religious teſt* ſhould be impoſed, as an indiſpenſable qualification for holding any office judicial, municipal, or political: and that the introduction of the money and inhabitants of *Geneva* into the kingdom ſhould be ſtrictly prohibited.

During the interval between the diſſolution of the ſtates and the meeting of the new convention, the kingdom was alike agitated by religious diſputes and political intrigues. The queen-mother, anxious to ſecure the attachment of the Hugonots, cauſed letters-patent to be iſſued, by which the king forbade all his ſubjects, under the ſevereſt penalties, to inſult each other on account of religion, and ordered all thoſe to be releaſed from priſon whoſe only crime was that of having attended the conventicles, or complied with the other forms of the new religion, exacting only from ſuch perſons a promiſe to live *Catholiquement* in future; and in caſe they ſhould refuſe to make that promiſe, they were ſtill to be releaſed, but on condition that they ſhould leave the kingdom within a given time: the parliament was enjoined to re-publiſh the edict of Romorentin, without any reſtrictions whatever.

The Hugonots, meanwhile, held a ſynod at Poitiers, where they decided, that as the king was a minor, the ſtates could take no meaſures for paying his debts, nor contracting any valid engagements whatever with him, until a council, choſen by the ſtates lawfully aſſembled, ſhould have been appointed to aſſiſt him with their advice: that thoſe who now called themſelves members of the council, had no right to aſſume that dignity, ſince their commiſſion had expired with the monarch from whom they received it, and could not be renewed either by the new king, who was a minor, or by the queen-mother, to whom the law gave no ſuch authority: that the chancellor himſelf ſhould be warned to abſtain from the exerciſe of his functions, as he did not hold his office either with the approbation of the ſtates, or the conſent of the princes of the blood: that, if government ſhould refuſe to comply with theſe demands, the deputies ſhould abſtain from all diſcuſſion whatever, and prefer an appeal to the future ſtates-general, lawfully aſſembled.

This deciſion gave freſh vigour and energy to the intrigues of the court, where the partiſans of either religion endeavoured to acquire a ſuperiority; the arrival of the prince of Condé, at this critical period, ſeemed to turn the ſcale in favour of the Hugonots: that nobleman had refuſed to leave the place of his confinement until the Guiſes were removed from court, but the cardinal of Lorraine having voluntarily retired to his dioceſe of Rheims, and the duke of Guiſe conſenting to expreſs his diſapprobation of the violent proceedings againſt the prince, and his

belief of his innocence, Condé repaired Fontainebleau, where he was publicly juſtified from the charges which had been preferred againſt him, by a decree of the council; and he afterwards obtained a deciſion of the parliament of Paris, ſanctioning that decree*.

The conjuncture appeared favourable for the promulgation of an edict that had been ſome time projected by the council; in which the king forbade all his ſubjects, under pain of death, without any hope of pardon, to inſult each other by uſing the injurious appellations of *Papiſts* and *Hugonots*: or to violate the ſafety which every individual ought to enjoy in his own houſe, under pretence that unlawful aſſemblies were holden there; it ordained, that all priſoners confined on account of religion ſhould be releaſed; and that all exiles and fugitives ſhould be permitted to return to France, where no one ſhould be ſuffered to moleſt them, either in their perſons or property, ſo long as they lived *Catholiquement*, and without giving offence; and if they violated theſe conditions, they ſhould then be allowed to ſell their effects, and retire whereſoever they pleaſed. The chancellor, knowing the diſpoſition of the parliament of Paris, foreſaw that they would oppoſe the regiſtering of the edict; and in order to obviate this difficulty, he addreſſed it immediately to the magiſtrates of the inferior courts, who, by the edict of Romorentin, were appointed judges in dernier reſort in all ſimilar caſes. The parliament were greatly incenſed at this conduct, and, after proteſting againſt ſuch an irregular mode of proceeding, attacked, with greater violence than juſtice, the edict itſelf, and maintained the propriety of acting with vigour againſt the Hugonots, and of promoting their extirpation by encouraging informers†.

In the midſt of theſe diſorders Charles repaired to Rheims, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed, on the fifteenth of May, by the cardinal of Lorraine‡; who, availing himſelf of the opportunity when the king had juſt ſworn, on the altar, to maintain the Catholic religion, and preſerve the privileges of the clergy, repreſented to the queen-mother, in energetic terms, the ſtate of oppreſſion to which the church was reduced, and the neceſſity of immediately extricating her from a ſituation which foreboded her ſpeedy ruin. At an extraordinary council holden at Rheims, on this ſubject, it was unanimouſly agreed that the beſt mode of providing a remedy for the evil complained of, would be to appoint an aſſembly of the prelates, to correct all the abuſes which had crept into the Gallican church; and to admit, into ſuch aſſembly, the moſt celebrated divines of the new ſect, who ſhould be at full liberty to defend their doctrine againſt the attacks of the Catholic theologians, in preſence of the king himſelf.

But as it would be ſome time before this meaſure could be accompliſhed, it was deemed prudent to paſs an edict that might, in the interval, keep the ſectaries within bounds. One was accordingly iſſued—diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory, by the appellation of *The July Edict*—by which all aſſemblies, public or private, at which

* Memoires de Conde—La Planche—La Popliniere—Du Thou.
† Reg. du Parl—Mem. de Conde—La Popliniere ‡ De Thou—La Popliniere.

ſermons were preached, and the ſacrament was adminiſtered, in a manner contrary to the rites of the Romiſh church, were prohibited, under pain of confiſcation of property, to all who ſhould attend them. This edict, ſo different from the laſt, far from being adapted to the prevention of diſorders, was calculated to promote them*.

On the twentieth of July, the prelates, in obedience to the ſummons they had received, aſſembled at Poiſſy, and ſoon after ten proteſtant miniſters arrived at St. Germain, attended by two of the moſt celebrated divines of that age—Peter Martyr and Theodore de Bezé or Beza. The firſt had been a regular canon in the Romiſh church, then a profeſſor at Straſburgh, where he married a nun; under the reign of Edward the Sixth, he was invited to England, whence he was baniſhed on the acceſſion of Mary; after which he returned to Germany, and was, at this time, firſt paſtor of the church of Zurich. Bezé was by birth a Frenchman, of a noble family in Burgundy; being deſigned for the church, his parents had procured for him, at a very early age, two valuable livings†. At the age of thirty-two, ſatiated with voluptuous gratifications, and rouſed by a dangeous fit of ſickneſs, he aſpired to a different kind of celebrity, and openly eſpouſed the doctrines of the reformed, which he had ſecretly imbibed at an early period of his life.

While the clergy were aſſembled at Poiſſy, the two other orders of the ſtate had met at Pontoiſe, and, after various debates, on the ſubject of the revenue, it was at lenght ſettled, that the clergy ſhould pay ſixteen hundred thouſand livers a year, till ſuch time as the redemption of the king's domains, which were pledged for fifteen millions, ſhould be completed. The admiral and d'Andelot experienced much greater difficulty in purſuading the nobility and the commons to conſent to an adequate contribution: at laſt, however, by repreſenting how important it was to all who were intereſted in the progreſs of the reformation not to alienate, by a refuſal, the mind of the queen, who, anxious to favour them, had promiſed to abrogate the *July Edict*, to grant the free exerciſe of the new religion throughout the whole of the kingdom, and ſpeedily to make the neceſſary arangements for bringing up the king, and her other children in that purſuation, they brought them to conſent to the eſtabliſhment of a new duty upon liquors, for ſix years, the annual produce whereof was eſtimated at twelve hundred thouſand livers.

Thus, in order to accompliſh her deſigns, Catharine made no ſcruple to contract two contradictory engagements in her ſon's name, at the ſame time; ſhe retained Bezé and his companions near her perſon, and ſuffered them to preach within the precincts of the palace of Saint-Germain, whither an immenſe con-

* Beze—La Planche—La Laboureur.

† Beſides his Latin Poems, Beze wrote ſeveral polemical works, moſt of which have long ſince been conſigned to oblivion. The only one of theſe, which has been much noticed in later times, is his Treatiſe, "De Hereticis a Magiſtratu Puniendis," written on occount of the excution of Michael Servet, a phyſician, who, in 1553, was condemned by the magiſtrates of Geneva, at the inſtigation of Calvin, to be burnt, for having written a book againſt the Trinity. The Calviniſts, who could beſtow commendation on the founder of their ſect, for having procured the execution of a man, who differed from himſelf in one point of religion, could ſurely have no right to complain of the perſecutions they experienced from the Catholics on the ſame accouut.

courſe of people flocked to hear them. She appointed the prince de la Roche-ſur-Yon, who ſecretly favoured the new doctrines, to the office of ſuperintendant of the king's education; and that nobleman encouraged Charles and his brothers to read books publiſhed by the Hugonot's, and not only to be preſent at indecent farces, in which the ceremonies of the church of Rome were turned into ridicule, but to play parts in ſuch exhibitions themſelves.

As things could not poſſibly remain in this violent ſituation, it was determned, in the council, to begin by diſarming indiſcriminately all the citizens in the principal towns, and then to convene a certain number of deputies from the different parliaments, who, conjointly with the princes of the blood, the great officers of the crown, and other counſellors of ſtate, ſhould deviſe, for the prevention of inſurrections, ſome means alike applicable to all the provinces. The prince of La Roche-ſur-Yon was ordered to enforce the execution of the letters-patent, by which the Pariſians were ordered either to carry their arms either to the Hotel de Ville, or to the arſenal; and the only reſiſtance to be experienced was on the part of the Hugonots, who being objects of averſion to the inhabitants, and greatly inferior to their adverſaries in number, expreſſed a reluctance to rely for protection on the faith of the public. But aſſured that their ſafety would be effectually provided for by other means, they at length complied, and their example was followed by the citizens of Lyons, and ſome other places.

The Guiſes, averſe from theſe meaſures, and having no means of preventing them, ſince they were debarred all acceſs to the king of Navarre, and ſince the queen-mother was entirely devoted to their enemies, once more reſolved to retire from court: but their departure was attended with a circumſtance which furniſhed their adverſaries with arms againſt them, and left a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of Catharine.*

The ſermons of the Catholic clergy at Paris were, at this time, filled with invective againſt government, and with other inflammatory remarks, that ſtrongly tended to the ſuſcitation of diſcord, the prieſts inveighed, in particular, againſt the patience of the citizens, in ſuffering the municipal guard, which was paid by themſelves, to be employed in eſcorting the Hugonots, whom they repreſented as alike enemies to God and man.† The moſt violent of theſe fanatics, a monk, named John de Han, preacher of the church of Saint-Bartholemew, was ſeized in his convent during the night, by an order from the prince de la Roche-ſur-Yon, but the citizens, having aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, haſtened to Saint-German, and compelled the king to releaſe him.

A. D. 1562.] While the minds of the people were in this ſtate of fermentation, the deputies from the different parliaments aſſembled at Saint-Germain, when the chancellor, in a long and able ſpeech, remarkable for moderation of

* Mem. de Conde—La Poplinere—Beze—Brantome. † Lettres de Paſquier.

ſentiment, and admirably calculated for the purpoſe of conciliation, explained the object of the convention: "You muſt not forget,"—ſaid that magiſtrate—"that you are not met to examine which of the two religions is beſt, but to enſure the public tranquillity, by removing the uſual pretexts for tumults. Ought the exerciſe of the new religion to be tolerated agreeably to the requeſts of the nobility and commons, at the ſtates of Pontoiſe? Or are we to regard, as a thing impoſſible, that men of different perſuaſions may live in peace with each other, and that a heretic can fulfil the duties of a citizen? Theſe are the queſtions on which you are to decide."

After many debates, in the courſe of which no new arguments were employed, the queen-mother made a propoſal, which was adopted by both parties: ſhe declared that it was both her ſon's intention and her own, to live and die in the profeſſion of the eſtabliſhed faith, and not to ſuffer any attack to be made on it: that the king, therefore, meant that wherever the partiſans of the new religion had ſeized upon the churches, they ſhould reſtore them to the Catholics, without being permitted to build any others for their own uſe; that in conſideration, however, of the offer they had conſtantly made of ſubmitting to the deciſions of a general council, and from a wiſh to give them time for reflection, he would conſent that they ſhould aſſemble unarmed, and in a peaceable manner, without the walls of the towns, in order to perform divine worſhip, under the immediate inſpection of a magiſtrate: that this permiſſion ſhould only remain in force until the publication of the decrees of a general council, which ſhould be conſidered as laws for all his ſubjects. The Catholics, inferior in numbers at this aſſembly, acceded to Catharine's propoſal, in order to avoid a greater evil; and the reformed acquieſced, in order to acquire a civil exiſtence, which, though reſtrained for the preſent, they hoped ſoon to be able to extend.

But notwithſtanding this reſerve on the part of the Proteſtants, Catharine was aware that ſhe had already advanced too far to retreat, and ſhe accordingly purſued with warmth the publication and execution of the late edict. It was regiſtered by the parliaments of Rouen, Bourdeaux, Toulouſe and Grenoble, without difficulty, becauſe in thoſe provinces where the commotions were moſt violent, and where the number of Hugonots almoſt equalled that of the Catholics, an immediate remedy was deemed indiſpenſable*. At Dijon, on the contrary, it was unanimouſly rejected by the parliament, becauſe the reformed religion had made leſs progreſs in Burgundy; and Tavannes, the governor, had taken upon himſelf to enforce the execution of the July-Edict. Catharine, however, perſiſting in her determination, appointed commiſſioners, whom ſhe armed with all the plentitude of ſovereign authority, to make all the refractory provinces comply. The reſiſtance was ſtrongeſt from the parliament of Paris, who made repeated remonſtrances to the king, which, though founded on erroneous principles, containing maxims both falſe and pernicious, were not wholly deſtitute of wiſe and

* Beze—De Thou—D'Aubigne—Hiſtoire de Provence.

judicious obſervations. In one of theſe they remark that—the magiſtrates, who are the repreſentatives of the prince in the diſcharge of his moſt dignified functions, ought to be of the ſame religion with him, and there never exiſted a government in which this maxim was not inviolably obſerved. Even among the Turks, where Chriſtians and Jews are tolerated, every public officer is a Mahometan. But after a violent oppoſition, the parliament was, at length, compelled to yield, and decreed—*That, in conſideration of the urgent neceſſity of the caſe, and in obedience to the king's will, the edict ſhould be regiſtered and publiſhed, without approbation of the new religion.**

It was next agreed between Anthony and the duke of Alva, that the Spaniſh ambaſſador ſhould, in his maſter's name, require the diſmiſſion of the Chatillons from the council, and that this demand ſhould be ſupported by the king of Navarre, and all the Catholics. The queen-mother was ſoon appriſed of this reſolution by the biſhop of Limoges, the French ambaſſador at the court of Spain, and from the diſpleaſure ſhe evinced on the occaſion it was ſuppoſed that the admiral might eaſily have perſuaded her to reject ſuch a propoſal with all the contempt it deſerved, and to come to an open quarrel with the king of Navarre. He deemed it, however, more prudent to make a voluntary retreat; and he according aſked and obtained, not without much apparent difficulty, permiſſion to paſs ſome time at his own ſeat, under the uſual pretext of ſettling ſome family affairs. She expreſſed her diſpleaſure in ſtrong terms to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, obſerving that ſome one muſt have prejudiced her ſon-in-law againſt her, or he never would have ventured on a meaſure ſo contrary to a conduct he had been accuſtomed to obſerve towards her. She added, that ſhe had granted permiſſion to the admiral Coligni, and to d'Andelot, at their particular requeſt, to abſent themſelves from the council, in order to attend to their own private affairs.

The duke of Guiſe, who had left the court towards the end of November, had recently accompanied his brother the cardinal to Saverne, where they had agreed upon a conference with the duke of Wertemberg, who had promiſed to bring with him ſome of his moſt expert theologians. The real object of this interview was to engage the duke and his colleagues, who were followers of Luther, to renounce all alliance with the French Hugonots, and thereby to diſappoint the admiral and the queen-mother of the aſſiſtance they expected to receive from that quarter.

As the duke of Guiſe paſſed through the ſmall town of Vaſſi, in Champagne, on his road to Paris, he ſtopped to attend the celebration of divine ſervice: and being informed that a Proteſtant-meeting had, in contradiction to the late edict, been eſtabliſhed in a barn, within the town, and very near the pariſh-church, he ſent one of his officers, attended by two pages, to deſire the miniſter would come to ſpeak to him. On the approach of the officers, the door of the meeting-houſe was ſhut againſt them, and, on their knocking with conſiderable violence, ſome

* Garnier, tom. xxix. p. 477.

of the Hugonots, who were then aſſembled at their devotions, went out to chaſtiſe them for an interruption which they deemed unſeaſonable and improper: a ſuffille enſued, and the duke of Guiſe, being appriſed of it, haſtened to the ſpot, attended by his troops. He was immediately aſſailed with a volley of ſtones, whence he received a ſlight contuſion on the arm, and De Broſſe, one of his officers, was ſeverely wounded on the head: the ſoldiers, enraged at the ſight, immediately fired on the Hugonots, then entering the barn, put numbers of them to the ſword, before the duke of Guiſe could repreſs their violence: Some authors aſſert that only thirty of the reformed were ſlain, and about double that number wounded*; but others, with greater probability, maintain that the number of the killed and wounded amounted to two hundred and ſixty†. The miniſter, wounded in ſeveral places, was conveyed to Saint-Dizier, where the duke preferred his complaint, and demanded juſtice againſt thoſe who had commenced the attack. Having received information that the reformed were preparing to diſpute his paſſage, and that captain Vaudrai-Saint-Phalle, was laying wait for him at Vitri, with ſix hundred men, he quitted the Paris road for that of Rheims, where he was not expected.

The news of the maſſacre of Vaſſi, as it was called by the Hugonots, was ſoon ſpread over Europe, and the party endeavoured, by means of this event, to render the duke of Guiſe an object of general execration.

As a religious proceſſion was to take place on Palm Sunday, at which it was expected the duke of Guiſe would be preſent, ſome gentlemen of diſtinction among the reformed attended the conſiſtory, and offered to poniard him, provided the church would avow the enterpriſe; but the miniſters expreſſed their diſapprobation of ſuch a mode of proceeding, obſerving that acts of violence were only authoriſed in matters which concerned the public ſafety, and when the courts of juſtice were ſhut againſt them: that they had denounced the author of the maſſacre at Vaſſi to the queen, who had promiſed that juſtice ſhould be done them; and nothing, therefore, ſhould be attempted, till that buſineſs was brought to a concluſion.

The prince of Condé, finding his enemies ſo greatly ſuperior, reſolved to quit Paris; and he accordingly repaired to his ſeat near Meaux, where he was ſoon after joined by the admiral and his friends. The firſt object of the Hugonots, after failing in their attempt upon Paris, ſhould have been to ſecure the king's perſon, which would have given them a great advantage over their enemies, who, in that caſe, would have been reduced to the neceſſity, either of acting ſimply on the defenſive, or of committing the crime of rebellion, in attacking their ſovereign. This attempt would have been attended with no difficulty, as the queen herſelf would have favoured its execution. But the Hugonots were averſe from the adoption of a ſcheme that would have worn the appearance of violence; and thinking it better to provide a place of ſafety to which the queen

* Garnier. † Mezerai.

and her ſon might voluntarily retire, they fixed their eyes on the city of Orleans, which d'Andelot, with his three hundred veterans, undertook to take by ſurpriſe.

The prince of Condé, intent on the reduction of Orleans, marched from Meaux, the ſame day on which the Catholic noblemen left Paris, and had occaſioned a great alarm in the metropolis. The ſudden appearance of a numerous body of cavalry, near the gate of Saint-Honoré, made the citizens fear that the prince had been ſecretly invited thither by the reformed, who had not yet diſcontinued their aſſemblies; and in this perſuaſion they flew to arms, and prepared to ſuſtain a ſiege. The prince's object, however, was only to ſecure the bridge of Saint-Cloud, which commanded the road to Orleans; which city he did not reach till after d'Andelot had taken poſſeſſion of it.

The conſtable had no ſooner entered Paris, than he ſeized and impriſoned Ruze, who was general agent to the reformed churches. The king, on his arrival in the capital, promiſed the citizens to forbid all exerciſe of the new religion within their territory: the prohibition indeed was ſuperfluous, for all the Hugonots immediately left Paris, and retired to Orleans.

That city now became a ſecond capital in the kingdom, or rather the metropolis of an extenſive and well-organiſed ſtate, which was neither an oligarchy nor a democracy, although it partook of the nature of both thoſe ſpecies of governments. The admiral was the founder of this ſtate. The prince of Condé was unanimouſly choſen chief of the aſſociation, under the title of *protecter and defender of the crown*: and the aſſociates all ſwore obedience and ſubmiſſion to him, ſo long as he ſhould continue to act as their chief, and to follow the advice of the councils, three of which were formed; the firſt, compoſed of the principal nobility, had the conduct of all military enterpriſes, negociations, and other affairs in which ſecrecy and celerity were required: the ſecond, conſiſting of miniſters, elders, and officers of the ſecond rank, was deſtined to regulate the police and all matters ſubject to a long diſcuſſion: the third, was formed of all ſuch as were excluded from the two firſt, and its province was to deliberate on objects which concerned the whole community, ſuch as the acceptance of a treaty of peace, or the approbation of a new regulation.

All theſe regulations, however, muſt have proved of little avail, unleſs ſome means had been deviſed for ſupporting and encreaſing the army they had on foot. The private fortunes of the leaders were the more inadequate to this purpoſe, as they were now deprived of all their penſions and ſalaries, and even their eſtates were liable to be confiſcated by an *arrét* of the parliament. Four or five different modes of raſing the neceſſary ſums ſuggeſted themſelves to the reformed: the firſt was a general contribution of the churches, to which the prince of Condé had recourſe when he attempted to ſecure the capital; but their zeal had perceptibly diminiſhed ſince the publication of the laſt edict, which granted them nearly all they deſired: the church of Paris had, indeed, continued her ſupplies,

though with ſuch a ſparing hand, that the prince's firſt military cheſt contained only ſixteen hundred crowns. He now diſpatched couriers to the different provinces, and addreſſed circular letters to the two thouſand five hundred churches in the name of which he acted, to appriſe them of the change which had taken place in the ſituation of affairs, and to requeſt a ſpeedy ſupply of men and money: the ſecond mode was to ſeize on the produce of the taxes, whenever they ſhould find themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong: the third, to pillage all the abbies and monaſteries.

As there could be little doubt, however, that the government, in the embarraſſment to which it would ſpeedily be reduced, would accept the offers repeatedly made by the pope and the king of Spain, and as it would be highly imprudent to defer taking precautions till reduced to the laſt extremity, it was determined to ſend agents to the different courts whence aſſiſtance might be reaſonably expected, but with orders not to urge their ſolicitations until they ſhould receive farther inſtructions; the prince, keeping only his wife and eldeſt ſon with him at Orleans, had the precaution to ſend his other children, with the lady of Roye, his mother-in-law, into Germany, to ſecond the efforts of his negociators, and to ſerve as hoſtages for the repayment of any money that might be advanced him.

The prince's affairs were, at this time, in a proſperous ſituation, for he had no ſooner made himſelf maſter of Orleans, than the inhabitants of Beaugenci, Blois, Tours, Angers, and Maus, immediately flew to arms, maſſacred or expelled the clergy and all the Catholics, who made any reſiſtance: and as there were many rich abbies and monaſteries within the precincts of theſe towns, the Hugonots found means not only to maintain the garriſons, but even to pour conſiderable ſums into the military cheſt of the prince of Condé.* Some larger towns, ſuch as Poitiers, Bourges, and Angouleme, followed the ſame impulſe, and their defection would have been ſucceeded by that of all the ſouthern provinces, had not chance, rather than foreſight, placed at the head of the civil and military adminiſtration of Guienne, a man, in diſpoſition ardent, impetuous, violent and mercileſs; but vigilant, active, and indefatigable, a friend to order and ſubordination, and ſincerely attached to his king and country.

This man was Blaiſe de Montluc, who had been bred up in the Piedmonteſe wars, and, after paſſing a conſiderable time in the camp, was ranked among the moſt valiant and able captains in the army.

In Dauphiné, where the revolution was almoſt general, the reformed were headed by a man, who proved himſelf a worthy rival of Montluc. This was the baron des Adrets, who had alſo ſerved in Piedmont, where he had been tagen priſoner by the Spaniards: after his releaſe he preferred a complaint againſt the vidame of Pecquigni, to whoſe negligence or cowardice he aſcribed his capture; but the authority of the Guiſes being interpoſed to deprive him of that redreſs

* La Popliniere—De Thou, &c.

which he demanded, he enliſted with their enemies, and retired to his eſtate in Dauphiné, where Montbrun and Mouvans appointed him to the chief command of the Hugonots. He placed himſelf at the head of ſome of the gentlemen of that country, who, with ſome citizens of Valence, conſpired againſt La Motte Gondrin, the lieutenant of the province under the duke of Guiſe, and revenged their hatred of his ſeverities by his death. While the queen-mother inclined to the Proteſtant-party, oppoſition to the power of their antagoniſts was, in inſtances of this kind, ſecretly connived at by her. The authority of Des Adrets being confirmed by the prince of Condé, and that officer having enliſted numbers of gentry and common people under his ſtandard, he took the field with a conſiderable army. His very menaces terrified the city of Grenoble, which ejected its Catholic partiſans, and deſtroyed the altars and images of the churches. All the other towns of Dauphiné, except Ambrun and Arainçon, followed this example. His name, already terrible, became every day more dreadful by his actions. Audacious in enterpriſe, and following cloſe the terror of his firſt victories, he aſſaulted and took the town and caſtle of Pierreenlatte, ſtormed Bourg, obliged the town of Pont St. Eſprit to open its gates to him, and made himſelf maſter of Boulenes. In almoſt every one of theſe places, the garriſons were put to the ſword without quarter, and many of the ſoldiers hanged on the walls, or thrown headlong from the top of the rocks. Avignon trembled at his approach, but he turned back to Grenoble, which had made a treaty with Maugiron, the Catholic lieutenant of the province. Though it ſurrendered at diſcretion he for once ſhewed mercy. Abſolute as he was tremendous in his army, he lodged ſix thouſand troops in the city and ſuburbs, without any of the inhabitants having cauſe to complain of their violence; and boaſted that he could turn them into lions, or ſheep, at his pleaſure. When Monbrizon was taken, and the caſtle capitulated, he drenched the ſtreets with blood, and precipitated, or made ſeveral ſoldiers, along with the governor, Moncelar, toſs themſelves from the ſummit of the tower. His officers remonſtrated againſt theſe cruelties, but could not prevent them. One of the unfortunate captives, whom he had ordered to jump from the top of a precipice, ran twice to the brink and there ſtopped ſhort—Des Adrets reproved him for his ſlowneſs, and aſked him why he ſhould take two runs when his companions had only taken one—"Brave as you are, baron," replied the ſoldier, "I'll give you ten runs to it." This unexpected anſwer extorted a ſmile from the baron, and ſaved the man's life. The aſſiſtance he gave to the proteſtant commanders in Provence, by the defeat of a conſiderable body of forces, under the count De Suz, at Vaurias: the reduction of numbers of forts and caſtles upon the Rhone, and a variety of other enterpriſes, rendered the baron's military ſervices as important as thoſe of Montluc, and his renown in arms more remarkable. Perceiving, however, that the prince of Condé, inſtead of applauding him, had transferred to Soubiſe the chief command in Lyons, and that his reputation with his party declined, he entered into a treaty with the duke of Nemours; but, before the terms of accommodation could be ſettled, he was ſurpriſed and taken priſoner by Montbrun.

and Mouvans, and kept in cuſtody till the termination of the firſt civil war. Lyons, in vain beſieged by Nemours, remained in the power of the Proteſtants; and the count of Cruſſol preſerved their footing in Languedoc.

In Champagne and Picardy the Catholic party prevailed, and at Sens, Amiens and Abbeville the proteſtants were maſſacreed without mercy, in return for the cruelties they had exerciſed in other parts, and for the plunder and profanation of the churches. In Normandy theſe violences were retaliated on the Catholic inhabitrnts: at Rouen the Hugonots expelled the parliament, and proſcribed the eſtabliſhed religion; while the ports of Havre and Dieppe, having followed the example of the capital, were entruſted, by the admiral, to the care of experienced officers, in whoſe zeal and fidelity he could confide.

The Catholic chiefs having ſecured Catharine in their intereſt, ſuffered her to paſs the ſummer, with her ſon, at Monceaux, that the unfavourable impreſſions excited by the idea of their being kept in the ſtate of captivity, might be effectually removed. The mareſchal de Briſſac ſuperceded the cardinal of Bourbon in the government of Paris, which he divided into different quarters, nearly equal in extent, leaving the citizens the choice of their officers, and aſſigning to each quarter its particular departmnt and hours of ſervice. By this judicious arrangement he juſtifid the idea that had been formed of his military talents, though, at the ſame time, he did aſſential injury to the ſtate, by giving a too vigorous conſtitution to a multitude, difficult to govern, and prone to revolt. It is certain, that after this eſtabliſhment, the Pariſians, enabled to calculate their ſtrength, became more turbulent and untractable than before; and that from this epoch may be dated the origin of that offerveſcence which raged, with more or leſs energy, for nearly two centuries. At the firſt review of the city militia, the mareſchal counted four-and-twenty thouſand men, completely armed, and moſt of them fit to rank with regular troops.

The Catholic army being aſſembled, and ſuperior in numbers to that of the confederates, Catharine once more reſolved to try the effect of negociation, and for that purpoſe requeſted an interview with the prince of Condé, at the village of Thuri; but when preſſed to explain what freſh terms ſhe had to propoſe, ſhe made a poſitive declaration, that the edict of January ſhould never be re-eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, and that her ſon was determined to allow the public exerciſe of no other religion than the Catholic. The conference was, of courſe, broken off. Another interview between the chiefs of the Hugonots, the queen-mother, and the king of Navarre, at the village of Talſi, was productive of no better effect; a letter from the duke of Guiſe to the cardinal of Lorraine, which fell into the hands of the prince of Condé, ſufficiently proved the treachery of the triumvirs, who only ſought to ſeparate the aſſociates, in order to cruſh them with greater facility.

On the twenty-ſeventh of July, the parliament of Paris pronounced an arret, which amounted to a general proſcription of the Hugonots, by permitting all the Catholics in towns and villages to aſſemble in arms at the ringing of the bells, to purſue and deſtroy them: this arret was tranſmitted to the curates of pariſhes to

be read every Sunday in the churches; and its publication occaſioned exertions of cruelty diſgraceful to humanity. In Tourain, the peaſants ruſhed in the towns of Liquiel on the Indre, Cormeri, Loches, and other villages, where they committed every ſpecies of depredation; and after tearing out the eyes of a Proteſtant miniſter, they burnt him at a ſlow fire. Theſe barbaraties, however, were frequently retaliated. When the prieſts and monks of Saint Carlais, taking advantage of the ſlender guard kept there by the Hugonots, rang their bells, and cut them in pieces; De Coignée aſſaulted them on the retreat of their aſſociates, deſtroyed moſt of them, and hanged two of their ringleaders in the church, where the ſignal had been given at the veſpers.

The Catholic confederates having atchieved the conqueſts of ſeveral towns that, from the ſouth-weſt, communicated by the Loire with Orleans, determined to cut off its intercourſe with the Lyonnoiſe, and the provinces in a different quarter. The reduction of Bourges was their particu'ar aim. Elevated with their ſucceſsful progreſs, they were deſirous, in ſetting out on this attempt, to make the utmoſt diſplay of all their civil authority; for which purpoſe they prevailed with the queen-mother to bring the young king to the camp. Before they left the Bois de Vencennes, Catharine acquainted the prince of Condé, by a meſſenger, that he ought now to take his final reſolution for an accommodation, on the terms propoſed, when the king was ready to ſhew himſelf along with her in the Catholic army, when the foreign auxillaries had entered the kingdom for his ſervice, and the parliament of Paris had declared the prince's party guilty of high treaſon. The prince's reply was ſpirited and firm: after recapitulating all the argments he had before urged, on the ambition of the triumvirs, and the perſecution of the Proteſtants, he obſerved, that it could not be forgotten by her, by whoſe order and entreaties he had raiſed his military forces, when the triumvirate were diſpoſed to ſtrip her of all authority, and the ambaſſador of Spain joined them in this deſign; and that the whole world ſhould ſoon know, by the publication of the letters under her hand, to which of the confederacies the name of rebels to the ſtate could, with propriety, be applied. Though in the parliament's judicial condemnation of his adherents, by a gradation of arrets, the prince was always perſonally excepted, under the feigned notion of his involuntary detention from the court; it did not prevent him from treating the exception as an inſult, and from proteſting, in a formal writ, againſt the legality of the whole judgment.

But the proceedings of the parliament had conſiderable effect on many of the prince's adherents, who, fearful of loſing their eſtates, expreſſed an inclination to viſit their native provinces. That Condé might have appeared to form a reſolution which he could not avoid, he determined to ſend ſeveral of the chieftains with detachments of troops, into thoſe countries whither they wiſhed to withdraw, and to retire himſelf, with the remainder of his army, to Orleans. In conſequence of this reſolution, the count of Rochefoucaud was appointed to march into Angouléme and Saintonge, Soubiſe into the Lionnoiſe, Duras into Guienne, Montgomery into Normandy, and the prince of Porcein into Champagne.

The Catholic chieftains now had it in their power to carry on their military operations to the utmoſt advantage. The provinces where their adverſaries we e moſt formidable, had been already attended to by them: the duke of Aumale being ſent into Normandy; Montpenſier to Tourain; the count de Cruſſol into Languedoc; the chevalier de Montre, into Guienne and Gaſcony. While the king of Navarre went to eſcort their majeſties to the camp, the army, under the conduct of the duke of Guiſe, had moved to Bourges. Being joined by the Swiſs, it conſiſted of three thouſand cavalry, and fifteen thouſand foot. Ivoy, brother to Genlis, commanded the garriſon of the city, which, being reinforced by the prince of Condé, amounted to two thouſand infantry, and three troops of Arquebuſiers*. The defence was conducted with no leſs courage and vigour than the attack: frequent ſallies were made from the town; and, when a conſiderable breach was effected in the wall, a rampart of earth, raiſed in one night's time, ſurpriſed and baffled the aſſailants. Having conſumed the greater part of their ammunition, a convoy of artillery and military ſtores from Paris was expected, for the conduct of which the duke of Guiſe had detached four troops of horſe, and ſix companies of infantry. The admiral Coligni having intelligence of its approach, marched in the night from Orleans, and attacked it near Chateaudun. Having ſurrounded the troops, he became maſter of the whole convoy; but the artillery horſes having been carried off by their drivers, at the firſt onſet, he was compelled to ſet fire to the powder and demoliſh the guns. Among others, Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, was taken priſoner, on his way to the camp, and conducted to Orleans, where the prince of Condé treated him with the greateſt reſpect. Meanwhile, the duke of Guiſe began to induce Ivoy, by promiſes, and an offer of the moſt honourable terms, to ſurrender; and, having no information of the defeat of the convoy, he liſtened too eaſily to the propoſals. By obtaining a moſt preciſe and formal capitulation for the ſafety and free exit of himſelf and the troops, and even for liberty of conſcience to the Proteſtants in the town, he thought to obviate all reflections againſt his honour; but this precaution proved inſufficient to ſcreen him from the reproaches of his party; upon preſenting himſelf at Orleans, he was refuſed admittance to the prince, and was compelled to hide his diſgrace in a private retreat.

When the Catholic chiefs had thus added the reduction of Bourges to that of the other towns whence Orleans might be ſupported, the capital undertaking of the ſiege of that city ſeemed to many, in point of expediency, preferable to all others, and not diſproportioned to their military ſtrength. But the opinions, in the council of war, were divided upon this head. It was urged on the one ſide, that Orleans being the main fortreſs of the adverſe party, and their arſenal of war, occupied by the body of their gentry, and their two principal chieftains, a ſucceſsful blow directed againſt it would at once cruſh the root of oppoſition; and that, from preſent circumſtances, it appeared liable to ſuch a deciſive ſtroke, from the diſaſters that had befallen the circumjacent towns, from the diſperſion of many of the leaders, and from the preſent imperfect ſtate of its fortifications.

* De Thou—D'Aubigne.

It was known from the computation of their troops, compared with the extent of the bulwarks of the place, that they were ſufficient to environ and aſſault the whole. It was added, that the ſiege of Orleans would not only ſtrike the Proteſtants, in the provinces with terror, but diſturb the route, and perhaps cauſe the deſertion of their German auxiliaries, who would not be forward to expoſe themſelves by ſupporting a party which would appear reduced to extremity. On the other hand, it was alledged, that the military force of Orleans, conſiſting of four thouſand veteran troops, twelve hundred horſe, and three thouſand militia, trained to diſcipline, and inured to arms, would prove equal to half of the beſieging army, and, though they might receive ſome reinforcements, that their want of many of the materials neceſſary for a regular ſiege rendered it an unſeaſonable and dangerous enterpriſe: that it became them rather to turn their thoughts upon Normandy.

That province had been embroiled by the contention of three factions for the ſuperiority; one being headed by the duke of Bouillon, who inclined to favour the Proteſtants, without renouncing his connexions with the court; another by Matignon, the king's lieutenant in Lower Normandy, who was employed in ſupporting the duke of Aumale, appointed to ſupercede Bouillon in his government; and a third, which was the moſt powerful, conſiſting of the prince of Conde's partiſans, and the determined Hugonots guided by the count of Montgomery. The duke of Aumale had already attempted the ſiege of Rouen, but his forces were inſufficient for the undertaking. Matignon being obliged to retire to Cherbourg, applied to the duke of Eſtampes and Martigues, in Brittany, for their aſſiſtance, and obtained it. The parliament of Rouen, having retreated to Louviers, publiſhed its decrees, in imitation of that of Paris, for condemning all the Hugonots that could be ſeized, and for confiſcating their property, which created a particular ſcene of animoſity and cruel repriſal between the people of Rouen and thoſe of Louviers.

The forts and poſts in the vicinity of Rouen had been repeatedly taken and re-taken by the oppoſite parties. Thoſe of Oire and St. Lo, of Caudebec, Quillebeuf, and Harfleur, upon the Seine, which were the moſt important, had, after the arrival of Eſtampes, ſurrendered to the Catholics. Meanwhile all practicable means for the defence of Rouen had been taken by Montgomery.

It would be foreign from the purpoſe of general hiſtory to record the particular events of every ſiege; in that of Rouen equal gallantry was diſplayed by either party, and the ſlaughter was dreadful on both ſides: after an obſtinate reſiſtance, Mount St. Catharine was taken by ſurpriſe, which greatly facilitated the reduction of the town. Its capture, however, was retarded for ſome time, by the arrival of a reinforcement of Engliſh troops, who, in repelling the aſſailants, diſplayed the moſt obſtinate valour; at length, the ſiege having continued a month, and the propoſals to ſurrender being treated with contempt, the place was taken by aſſault.

The taking of Rouen, which is computed to have been attended with the de-

ſtruction of four thouſand men on each ſide, was followed by the death of the king of Navarre, who, during the ſiege, had received a muſket-ſhot in the ſhoulder. Through his impatience of the neceſſary operation, or the unſkilfulneſs of the ſurgeons, the ball remained unextracted from the wound: and he expired a few days after the ſurrender of the town. Henry, who was born at Peau in Berne, was only, at this time, nine years of age. He was educated by the queen his mother at Nerac, who, with her ſon and an infant daughter, had retreated from the court about the time her huſband had declared himſelf a Catholic*, The queen-mother was apprehenſive the king of Navarre's death might produce ſome diſadvantage to the Catholic party, by his immediate vaſſals and pertiſans falling off to the other ſide. In the preſent minority of the king, and of the firſt prince of the blood, the prince of Condé might indeed have been ſuppoſed to ſtand in the room of his brother, and to be the only acting guardian of the blood-royal. But, when the political confederacies were already formed, and cemented by the animoſities of the civil war, this conſideration could have little influence to make a change.

As ſoon as the reduction of Rouen had appeared inevitable, Dieppe and Caen ſurrendered to the Catholics, who, after detaching a part of their army to blockade Havre, retired with the remainder to the vicinity of Paris. The general ſucceſs of the Catholics elevated them with the hopes that the entire ſubjection of the Proteſtants would ſoon be accompliſhed. But the intelligence received, during the ſiege of Rouen, of the ſucceſs of D'Andelot in his miſſion for German levies, gave a different aſpect to the condition of that party, and appears to have been the principal inducement for drawing the army nearer the metropolis, and the center of the kingdom.

The exertions of Spifame, biſhop of Nevers, and D'Andelot, the prince of Condé's agents in Germany, in conducting the difficult negociation with which they had been entruſted, deſerved and obtained the warmeſt thanks of their party. At the diet of Frankfort, where Maximilian, ſon to Ferdinand, was elected king of the Romans, Spifame, having obtained three ſeveral audiences of the emperor and his ſon, and of the electors, got the letters written by the queen-mother to the prince of Condé, the originals of which he produced, entered into the archives of the imperial chamber; and, by his addreſs afterwards, the Rhingrave and count Rokendolf, who were in the ſervice of France, were both put to the ban of the empire. The production of queen Catharine's letters, though neceſſary for the prince's vindication, excited her indignation againſt him, and fixed her more immovably in the intereſt of the oppoſite faction. The affected delays of two German captains, who had private reaſons for ſpinning out the time of the levies, being overcome by Spifame, and the landgrave of Heſſe engaged to exert himſelf in the buſineſs; D'Andelot was enabled to bring them to a rendezvous at Bacara in Lorraine, about the middle of October. His vigilance in keeping them from de-

* Brantome.



HENRY · III·

Sub.° by Ja.s Stuart & C.

ſertion for want of regular pay; his well-concerted marches; and his indefatigable labours (notwithſtanding his violent attacks of a quartan ague contracted in the mountains) in directing and guiding the frequent and long circuits he was obliged to make in them, ſhewed the ſpirit of the man, and the abilities of the officer. Having feigned an intention of penetrating the direct way through Lorraine, he turned ſuddenly towards the left, and ſtretching over the difficult roads of Burgundy, he avoided an encounter with the mareſchal de St. Andrê and the duke of Nevers, who had been ſent to oppoſe his paſſage. He brought his whole compliment of three thouſand foot in nine companies, and four thouſand horſe in twelve troops, to Montargis, and the neighbourhood of Orleans, in the middle of November. This reinforcement, augmented by a body of French gentry, who joined D'Andelot in his march, and fifteen hundred ſoldiers, collected by the count of Rochefoucaud and Duras, was not only ſufficient to enable the prince of Conde to take the field, but occaſioned his undertaking an enterpriſe no leſs injudicious in itſelf than it appeared to be diſproportioned to his ſtrength. This was an attempt to beſiege Paris, which, it was evident, could neither be taken, nor forced to a capitulation, by his army.

The abſence or diſperſion of the Catholic forces in different quarters was thought ſufficient to juſtify this hazardous ſtep.

But the interruption he met with at Corbeil was more unfortunate. This town, ſituated on the Seine, almoſt equally defenceleſs with the others, made reſiſtance, and obliged him to begin a kind of regular ſiege of it, until ſome ſuccours being thrown into it by the mareſchal St. André, the prince embraced the pretext of a conference propoſed by the queen to withdraw from the aſſault. The Catholic forces were, by this time, aſſembled in great numbers, and the two armies, ſeparated by the Seine, marched ſometimes in ſight of each other. That of the Catholics was drawn around the city and ſuburbs, while the prince purſued his route to Ville-juif, within two leagues of Paris. Though the hopes of gaining any advantage was now almoſt vaniſhed, yet, reſolved upon ſtriking ſome intimidating ſtroke before he retired, he prepared for attacking the ſuburb of St. Victor. The effect it produced at firſt ſurpaſſed expectation. Six hundred light-horſe, who had advanced beyond the ramparts, were driven back in ſuch diſorder, that carrying their terror along with them, the ſoldiers began to fly into the city, throughout which a vaſt conſternation was immediately ſpread. The firſt preſident of the parliament, La Maitre, died of the fright, while the populace in confuſion called on the troops to abandon the ſuburbs and ſhut the gates. The alarm, however, was ſoon compoſed by the diſpoſition made by the duke of Guiſe for repelling the enemy. The prince drew off his forces, and divided them into three bodies, for the ſake of lodging them in covered quarters. Their number amounted to eight thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. The Catholic chiefs, ſatisfied with guarding againſt their attack of the ſuburbs, anſwered their defiances to battle only by ſome cannonading and ſlight ſkirmiſhes.

By the departure of Genlis from the camp, who had reſented the diſgrace of of his brother Ivoy, for the ſurrender of Bourges, the prince of Condé believed his deſigns betrayed to the enemy, and therefore determined on a retreat.

He was purſued, for ſome days, by the Catholic army, and at length believing an engagement to be unavoidable, he made a forced march, with his main body, towards Dreux, a town on the confines of Normandy, with the view of making himſelf maſter of this poſt, which was admirably calculated for promoting the plan he had formed of preſerving a communication betweeen Havre and Orleans. The Catholic chiefs, who now approached the plains of Dreux, and ſaw, that, by a little expedition, they could oblige the enemy to fight, diſpatched Caſtelnau to the queen to inform her that they had it in their power to bring the Hugonots to action, and only waited for orders. It was the unanimous opinion of the council that the deciſion of the queſtion ſhould be left to the prudence of the commanders.

The conſtable Montmorenci, who had brought the Catholic army to the oppoſite ſide, and encamped there unperceived by the enemy, forded the Eure in the night; and favoured by the moon, got his whole artillery moved to the unguarded villages. The noiſe of the drums and trumpets, which was heard when the prince's army began to be put in motion, ſerved as a ſignal for the conſtable to range his forces in order of battle.

Such was the diſpoſition of the catholic forces, when firſt preceived by the commanders of the adverſe army, which now conſiſted of from eight to nine thouſand infantry, and from four to five thouſand horſe*. While, in the utmoſt hurry, the latter prepared for an action quite unexpected, D'Andelot, diſabled by the attack of his ague from taking his poſt, moved forward on a baggage-horſe, and reconnoitred the enemy. His opinion was to endeavour to paſs without fighting, which might be done by leading to the left, and gain the village of Tréon, on the road to Chateauneuf. Immediately the prince of Condé, having joined his main battle with the van, conducted by the admiral Coligni, began to move forward according to his direction: But having now the enemy in full view, he advanced two or three hundred paces before he made his declination. The diſcharge of the conſtable's artillery, from the left wing, reached his foremoſt ranks, made ſome of his horſe give way, and forced a part of the German Reiters to wheel into declivity. The prince, intent on their motions, no ſooner preceived them thus expoſed, than, without diſcovering what was before him, and leaving the count Grammont with his foot he turned with all his cavalry, and fell on the flank of the Swiſs. Their battallion was ſucceſſively pierced by Moui, and D'Avaret, who gave the firſt charge; by the prince's own ſquadron, and by the Reiters of his diviſion. His brother, Gabriel de Montmorenci Montberon, the conſtable's fourth ſon, fell in this charge. In the mean time the admiral having marched forward with more delibration, directed his attack againſt the conſtable's cavalry, and that part of his centre that ſtood firm. The vollies of cannon he received in advancing having occaſioned no diſorder, his vigorous charge proved effectual to van-

* La Popliniere.

quiſh all that oppoſed him. A total confuſion enſuing, the conſtable being unhorſed, and having his jaw-bone broken by a muſket-ſhot, was made priſoner by ſome Reiters, from whoſe hands the prince of Porcien received him. No part of his main battle now remained unrouted but a few Swiſs, who, at laſt, were obliged to retreat. The prince of Condé having rallied two hundred of the German troops, could not induce them to charge the enemy, but taking the ſame route the others had done, they left him in their rear, wounded in the hand, and diſmounted, to be taken priſoner by Damville.

Though the battle was reſtored by the admiral, and the prince of Porcien, who, at the head of three hundred horſe, aud a thouſand German Reiters, ſuſtained the combat with ſuch reſolution, that the duke of Guiſe was left for a ſhort ſpace of time, with not a hundred cavaliers around him; the advantages gained by the Proteſtant chiefs were irrecoverably loſt. Martigues advancing with an old battallion of foot which had not yet engaged, the admiral was obliged to draw off his French horſe, who had broken or loſt moſt of their lances. He made his retreat with ſo much compoſure, that he carried off his artillery, and moſt of his baggage to Neufville, about a league diſtance from the field of battle, where he paſſed the night. The duke of Guiſe, being in no condition to follow him, took up his lodging at Bleville. The ſlaughter of the Catholic army exceeded that of of the Proteſtants, and the field was more fatal to the officers of rank. The mareſchal Saint André was ſhot by Mezieres, whom he had induced to kill a kinſman of his own, that he might proſecute him, and obtain the confiſcation of his fortune*. The duke of Nevers received a ſhot in the thigh, from the careleſſneſs of his own equerry, in holding a piſtol with the muzzle towards him, of which he died in a few days. Varicarville, equerry to the duke of Guiſe, underſtanding that the enemy intended to direct their principal efforts againſt his maſter, had obtained permiſſion to wear his arms, and to mount his charger; an inſtance of fidelity that coſt him his life.

By the flight of the right wing of the Catholics at the battle of Dreux, the ſpeedieſt intelligence was conveyed to Paris of the total defeat of their army. The appearance of D'Oſſun (an officer who had, in Piedmont, acquired the appellation of The Bold Soldier) among theſe ſwift couriers, confirmed it beyond all contradiction. The Pariſians were thrown into the greateſt conſternation, which continued to encreaſe, until the arrival of De Loſſes, who had been diſpatched by the duke of Guiſe, with the certain accounts of his having turned the fate of the battle, and obtained a victory. Public proceſſions were appointed, and bonfires ordered to celebrate the happy event: and the commiſſion of commander in chief of the army, in abſence of the conſtable, was immediately ſent to the duke, with twenty-five collars of the order of Saint Michael, to be diſpoſed of by his direction. Though from a ſenſe of the reproach he incurred, D'Oſſun ſtarved himſelf to death, his boldneſs became an ironical proverb.

* De Thou, p. 682.

The Proteſtant chiefs, who had beat one half of the Catholic army, taken the conſtable priſoner, and carried off ſome ſtandards and booty from the field, were as much mortified at the diſcredit of being obliged to retire before their enemies, as at the diſcomfiture they had ſuſtained. The admiral, who had, with ſignal bravery and conduct, diſputed the honour of keeping the field with the duke of Guiſe, propoſed, in a council of war, to attack him again the next morning. But the Germans, who had ſuffered leaſt in the battle, declined ſuch a ſudden renewal of the combat. To prevent, however, in ſome meaſure, the unfavourable report of a defeat, the admiral drew up his troops in order of battle, and marched half a league towards the enemy, before he turned off to Gallardon and Anet, on the borders of La Beauſſe. His high reputation immediately eſtabliſhed him, by unanimous conſent, in the principal command of the army, during the captivity of the prince.

While the queen-mother, for many weighty reaſons, was deſirous of a peace, the duke, in the midſt of winter, urged the undertaking of the ſiege of Orleans. To avert or diminiſh the force of this impending blow, the admiral determined on an expedition into Normandy, with part of his forces, while the remainder might form a garriſon ſufficient for the defence of Orleans. Upon a review of the troops, he found that fourteen companies of French and German infantry, and four troops of the oldeſt French cavalry, could be muſtered in the city. The body of the townſmen, too, could be depended on to ſecond the troops with firmneſs and alacrity. D'Andelot, in conjunction with Saint Cyr, the governor, and Feuquiere, an excellent engineer, undertook the defence of that important place. While Coligni made incurſions in Berri and Sologne, where he extended his quarters, the utmoſt attention was paid to the collecting of proviſions, and whatever might contribute to the ſtrength of Orleans.

A. D. 1563.] The ſiege of that city was begun by the duke of Guiſe, on the eighth of February. De Cipiere led on the firſt diviſion of the Catholic army, and, after ſkirmiſhing parties, had proceeded to aſſail a part of the entrenchments defended by four companies of French foot, he was informed that the German Lanſquenets were obſerved to quit their poſt in diſorder. Animated by the intelligence, and the arrival of freſh troops, he puſhed another attack that way, by which the Gaſcon infantry, who made the only reſiſtance, were almoſt ſurrounded, and a general confuſion enſued. The duke of Guiſe having next poſſeſſed himſelf of the Ponterau, proceeded to take meaſures for battering the Tourelles, the beſiegers acquired the command of the bridge, and the approaches to the town were in ſuch a ſtate of forwardneſs, that the duke of Guiſe had fixed on the morning of the nineteenth of February for delivering a general aſſault, when his death was ſought and accompliſhed by the ignominious de Merei Poltrot. As the duke returned from the works, on the evening of the eighteenth, to his quarters, at the caſtle of Cornei, accompanied only by Roſtaing, one of the queen's domeſtics, the aſſaſſin, watching his opportunity, ſhot him from behind with a piſtol. The ball entering his body above the right ſhoulder, the

duke fell forward on his horſe's neck, but did not loſe his ſeat. The duke with difficulty reached his quarters, while Roſtaing, in vain purſued the murderer, who was quickly out of ſight. But the terrors that ſeized him, joined to the darkneſs of the night, rendered him incapable of effecting his eſcape. Having tired his horſe with wandering, he was taken in the morning, at no great diſtance from the place where the murder was committed. As he immediately confeſſed it, and threw out aſperſions againſt ſome of the Proteſtant chiefs, as having inſtigated him to the deed, it is requſite to explain the grounds of this calumny.

When Poltrot, who had been bred a Catholic, and turned Proteſtant, heard, at a conference holden near Vienne, by the baron des Adrets, that the king of Navarre was killed at Rouen, he ſighed deeply, and ſaid, "this one victim is "not ſufficient to atone for the public miſeries; there ſtill remains a greater "ſacrifice to be made." When aſked what ſacrifice he meant—"The mighty "Guiſe himſelf," replied he; and ſtretching forth his right arm, and elevating his voice, "and here it is,"—added he—"that ſhall be raiſed to finiſh, by one "act the ſcene of our calamities."

The confeſſion extorted from him when put to the queſtion, exhibited a confuſed maſs of contradictions. There was not a ſingle perſon he had named in his firſt confeſſion, whom he did not, by turns, exculpate and accuſe; and, in the midſt of his torture, at laſt concluded with ſaying, that if the deed were yet uncommitted he would not ſcruple ſtill to be the actor of it; he being conveyed to Paris, in a few weeks underwent the puniſhment appointed by the law for traitors.

The duke of Guiſe ſurvived his wound ſix days, and, during that interval, diſplayed the moſt dignified compoſure and manly fortitude, which juſtified the repreſentation given of his exit by the Catholic authors, as worthy of a Chriſtian hero.

As the reins of government had now fallen entirely into the queen's hands, the reſolution ſhe had already formed for concluding a peace, could be proſecuted without reſtraint. The prince of Condé himſelf being favourably inclined to it, was farther inſtigated by various arguments ſhe had uſed with him to promote the meaſure.

After various conferences, a treaty was at length reſolved on. In the place of the edict of January, a more limited rule of toleration was accepted by the Hugonots. In all fiefs, holding directly of the crown, and which had the privilege of *Haubert*, or high juſtice, the barons and nobillity were allowed the free and public exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, for themſelves and their vaſſals. In other fiefs, the proprietors, when they did not reſide in towns or villages, ſubject to higher juriſdictions, were permitted to enjoy the ſame liberty in their own houſes. In every bailiwick, having an immediate privilege of appeal to the court of parliament, a city or town was to be appointed, in the ſuburbs of which the Proteſtants might aſſemble for public worſhip; and in the places where they enjoyed it at the time of ſigning the convention, the free exerciſe of it was alſo to be retained. In the

city and liberties of Paris, and in all other parts of the kingdom not ſpecified, they were prohibited to meet publicly; but private liberty of conſcience was univerſally allowed them. The other articles reſpecting indemnities for the cival war, were conceived in the moſt preciſe and expreſs terms. The whole particular ſtipulations, reduced to the form of an edict, ſigned by the king, and dated from Amboiſe, on the nineteenth of March, was ordered to be regiſtered by the parliaments.

The treaty of peace, thus concluded by the prince, without being communicated to any of the foreign powers who had embraced the cauſe of the Hugonots, became the ſubject of ſome animadverſions and complaints. The admiral, in whoſe abſence the whole affair had been conducted, had great reaſon for diſſatisfaction; but unwilling to appear as an enemy to the public peace, he not only deſiſted from his objections, but declared, that the treaty being brought to an iſſue, every one ſhould acquieſce in it*.

The prince of Condé returned to court, where Catharine now reigned with unrivalled ſway. Upon the death of the duke of Guiſe, the conſtable expected to have the office of grand-maſter of the houſhold reſtored to him, and ſhewed ſome diſguſt at its being conferred on the young duke, by abſenting himſelf a while from court; but he, at length, conſented to accept the transfer of his government of Languedoc to his ſon D'Amville as an equivalent for the diſappointment. Nothing now remained for the perfect reſtoration of tranquillity but the expulſion of the Engliſh, by the reduction of Havre-de-Grace.

Elizabeth teſtified her chagrin at the treaty of Orleans, by demanding from France the reſtitution of Calais, and declaring ſhe was entitled to keep poſſeſſion of Havre, until that important article of the general peace was fulfilled. The French court replied, that the clauſe of the ſame treaty obliged her to commit no acts of hoſtility againſt France, during the ſpace of eight years; at the expiration of which time, the reſtitution of Calais, or a pecuniary redemption, had been, on that condition, promiſed. When the neceſſary preparations for a ſiege were made, the French troops marched from all quarters into Normandy; and, on the fifteenth of July, encamped before Havre.

The Engliſh troops in that town, commanded by the earl of Warwick, conſiſting, at firſt, of ſix thouſand men beſides ſeven hundred officers, had been already thinned by the ravages of a peſtilental diſeaſe: the heat of the weather, and a dearth of proviſions, encreaſed the fatal effects of this dreadful diſorder, and ſoon reduced Warwick to the neceſſity of capitulating on the honourable condition of retiring with the remnant of his forces. The whole terms of the treaty were ſettled, and hoſtages delivered for the performance of them, when ſixty ſail of Engliſh ſhips, under lord Clinton, appeared in the bay, ſteering towards the harbour. But Warwick having given notice to the admiral that Havre had

* D'Aubigne.

ſurrendered, Clinton caſt anchor in the road; and, having embarked the troops, immediately ſet ſail for England.

Tranquillity being now reſtored to the nation, no means appeared to the chancellor ſo effectual for its preſervation, as well as for the ſupport and intereſt of royalty, as that of accelerating the ſolemn declaration of the king's majority. By Catharine's ready compliance with de l'Hopital's advice, and the aſſiduous application ſhe gave to the ſettling both the domeſtic and foreign affairs of the ſtate, it muſt be owned, that, at this time, ſhe ſhewed herſelf abundantly capable of exerciſing, and not altogether unworthy of, that ſupreme authority in the government, to which, with exceſſive eagerneſs, ſhe always aſpired. By her prudence and addreſs, the emperor's demands for the reſtitution of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, were eluded in a manner that created no miſunderſtanding with the Imperial court. An opportunity was taken to retaliate the affront offered to the French ambaſſador, by ſeizing Throgmorton, who ventured, along with another envoy from Elizabeth, to return to France without paſſports. But in this ſtep the manner of proceeding was ſuch, as rather indicated an intention to puniſh the inſolence of an obnoxious envoy, than to teſtify indignation againſt the court of England. There was a diſtinction made in the treatment of the two ambaſſadors, and the advantage was gained of excluding Throgmorton from the negociation, a point of no ſmall importance to the commencement and happy progreſs of a treaty of peace.

It was reſolved in the council, in purſuance of the previous determination of the queen-mother and the chancellor, to obtain a formal recognition of the king's majority, who had now entered his fourteenth year, and had conſequently completed the term preſcribed by the edict of Charles the Wiſe. This ceremony was performed, on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, at Rouen, whither the court had repaired after the reduction of Havre. The preference given, on this occaſion, to the parliament of Rouen, over that of Paris, was intended as a mortification to the latter.

When de Lanſac was ſent to demand of the parliament of Paris the regiſtration of the act of majority, and the other edicts, enraged at the ſlight that had been put upon them, they appointed deputies to remonſtrate on this diſparagement of their ſuper-eminent juriſdiction. But they overſhot their mark, it having been determined in the council to prevent a repetition of ſuch conduct, by giving them a firm and authoritative repulſe. The young king, inſtructed how to anſwer the deputies, firſt required the members of the council, who were preſent, to declare whether advice had not been taken about authenticating the act in the parliament of Rouen. When this was avowed, Charles aſſumed a commanding tone, and told them, "he would not bear that the magiſtrates of the parliament of Paris ſhould now behave as they had done in his minority; that "their original and proper function was to diſpenſe civil juſtice, to which it be"came them to confine themſelves, and no longer to cheriſh that ancient preju"dice of being the coadjutors of royalty, the protectors of the kingdom, and

"the guardians of the city of Paris; and that, having once remonſtrated to him, "it was their duty to think of nothing more than ſubmiſſion to his will." But this was not ſufficient to intimidate the parliament, which, after hearing the reports of their delegates, ſtill debated the regiſtration, and, being divided in opinion, appointed a new deputation to the king. Their reſiſtance became a direct trial of the authority of the court. A grand council of the ſtate was called to controul their obſtinacy by a decree, which annulled their proceedings, and required them, under the penalty of interdiction from their office, to regiſter the edict without any reſtrictory clauſe, and to eraſe the record of their arrogant procedure. The parliament then deſiſted from the dangerous contention, and ſubmitted (on the twenty-ſixth of September) to the king's command.

A. D. 1564, 1565.] The altercations which had ariſen in the different provinces with regard to the tenor of the late edict, and the difficulties that occurred in putting it in execution, ſuperinduced a determination of the council, that the king and court ſhould make a progreſs through the greater part of the kingdom. It was conceived, that the appearance of the young ſovereign would not only ſerve as a check to ſedition, but verify and confirm the principles of loyalty and obedience to the government. To theſe motives, by which alone the chancellor was actuated, queen Catharine joined other views better ſuited to the political caſt of her own mind: beſides an opportunity of inveſtigating the conduct of the governors of the chief cities and provinces, and making ſuch changes among them as might be judged neceſſary, ſhe had propoſed a conference with her daughter the queen of Spain, on the confines of the two kingdoms, and propoſed to hold interviews with ſome of the German princes. But before the court left Fontainebleau, ambaſſadors arrived from the king of Spain, the pope, and the duke of Savoy, the object of whoſe miſſion was to prefer an unanious requeſt to the king for the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent, which had been cloſed about a month before. This application, ſo ill-timed and precipitate, appeared to the queen and the council to have been effected by the artful intrigues of the cardinal of Lorraine, and the zealous partiſans of the papal power at court, who laboured to ſubvert the peace*. The conduct of the ſovereign pontiff, with reſpect to the queen of Navarre, exhibited a convincive proof of the diſpoſition of the court of Rome to expoſe the principality of Bearn as a prey to the Catholic king.

Though natural ſpirit and political circumſpection induced the queen-mother to reſiſt the concurrence of other princes to impoſe their admonitions on the government; though, perhaps, ſhe was not inſenſible, that the preſent interpoſition of foreign courts was intended to encourage domeſtic faction, the ſcope and aim of her politics were ſo congenial to the principles of their ſyſtem, that all the honour and advantage ſhe contended for, amounted, in fact, only to that of purſuing it in her own way. This, doubtleſs, appeared to *her* a very material point, who had reaſon to be conſcious and vain of her ſkill, in the artificial management of affairs.

* Receuil de Dupuis—La Laboureur, &c.

Perſuaded that, by the help of time, and the advantage of peace, ſhe would be enabled to ſtrengthen the power of the government, and give it vigour ſufficient to encounter and cruſh all oppoſition from party; ſhe endeavoured to attain her political ends under the appearance of promoting the public tranquillity and good of the ſtate. Before ſhe ſet out with the king on the intended progreſs through the kingdom, the treaty of peace with England was brought to a concluſion, and the articles of it were finiſhed and preſented to the king when he came to Troyes. The renewal of the league with the Swiſs Cantons was alſo purchaſed at this time, with a large pecuniary ſubſidy. But queen Catharine was diſappointed of her hopes of an interview with the king of the Romans on the confines of Lorraine, which was *alledged* to have been the principal motive of her journey thither. Catharine was equally unſucceſsful in her attempt to bind the duke of Wirtemberg, the count Palatine of the Rhine, and Wolfang, duke of Deux Ponts, who were Proteſtant chieftains, by the civil obligations of penſions from the king, to withhold their aſſiſtance from the Calviniſts in France. There was only the marquis of Baden, and one of the family of Saxe, that condeſcended to become her ſtipendiaries.

In the king's circuit of the provinces of the kingdom, which commenced with the excurſion through Champagne to the territories of the duke of Lorraine, almoſt two years were employed. In moſt places he viſited, he was tormented with the alternate complaints of Catholics and Proteſtants. The deputies of Burgundy harangued the king againſt the extenſion of the late edict of toleration to their province. The Proteſtants preferred a general complaint of the violent oppoſition made in various parts to its eſtabliſhment, and of the injurious treatment they experienced. Theſe differences were ſeized by the court as a pretext for rendering the late edict palatable to the Catholics; and for this purpoſe another edict was paſſed at Rouſſillon, in which the liberty of the Proteſtants was conſiderably retrenched. The allowance of public worſhip to the poſſeſſors of the ſuperior fiefs was interpreted to extend only to their families and immediate vaſſals, and to exclude all occaſional partakers of the benefit thereof. The prince of Condé, who thought his honour concerned in maintaining the articles of it, tranſmitted to the court a remonſtrance on the ſubject of the innovaſions, by which the edict was ſubverted. The anſwer given him, from its amicable and mild tendency, though not ſatisfactory, appeared to be dictated by the chancellor, who, by ſuggeſting thoſe emendations, ſtudied to convince the court, that the Proteſtants might be tolerated, and at the ſame time reſtrained within ſuch reaſonable bounds as the government choſe to preſcribe to them. The procedure upon this maxim ſoothed the queen-mother, gave to the government that air of authority ſhe required, and furniſhed her with a ſpecious anſwer to the Catholic princes, who excepted againſt the pacification as derogatory to the honour of the crown.

Upon intelligence received of a confederacy being formed by the family of Guiſe, and ſome of their partiſans, in conſequence of a conflict that occurred between the cardinal of Lorraine and the mareſchal Montmorenci, at Paris, the

weakneſs and tremor of the court appeared. All the nobles preſent, being aſſembled before the king, were required to declare what they knew of ſecret cabals and combinations, which threatened diſturbance to the ſtate; and to ſubſcribe an obligation never to engage in them, or take arms without his majeſty's authority. After paſſing the winter in Languedoc, the court proceeded, in the following ſpring, to Bourdeaux, and from thence to Bayonne, where the queen of Spain was expected to arrive. The interview at Bayonne, took place on the the tenth of June, 1565.

A league of the Catholic princes having been propoſed, a general alarm prevailed among the Proteſtants, who thought they beheld in the congreſs at Bayonne the image of what they dreaded. But what really paſſed there it is impoſſible to aſcertain, as the accounts of contemporary hiſtorians are vague, uncertain, and contradictory. It then took its courſe to Nerac, in the queen of Navarre's dominions, and from thence, by various ſtages, to Blois, where it continued till the commencement of the following year, when an aſſembly of the notables was holden at Moulins, in the Bourbonnois.

A. D. 1566.] At this aſſembly, which met in the month of February, the chancellor, ever attentive to the welfare of the ſtate, ſet forth the various defects and abuſes which prevailed in the political government, and in the adminiſtration of the laws.

The aſſembly of Moulins concluded with the former compromiſe of the contention between the family of Guiſe and the Colignis'. The admiral purged himlelf, upon oath, from the imputation of being acceſſary to the duke of Guiſe's death, and the Guiſes ſhook hands with him in the king's preſence.

Meanwhile the complaints of the Proteſtants, on the inexecution of the edict of toleration, continued to encreaſe; and Bouchet was deputed, by the nobility of that purſuation, to preſent to the king at Angouléme, a particular reſcript of the injuries and grievances they ſuffered, and to enreat the prevention of a fatal recourſe to extremities. No attention, however, was paid to this remonſtrance. The re-eſtabliſhment of the public exerciſe of the Catholic religion in Berne, and the viſcounty of Foix, which the queen of Navarre had there reſtrained, was effected by the king's authority*.

A. D. 1567.] The prince of Condé had ſtrenuouſly remonſtrated againſt theſe proceedings, but the queen-mother found means to lull his ſuſpicions, by profeſſions of favour and marks of regard. It was impoſſible, however, long to deceive the leaders of the Hugonots, jealous of her conduct, and attentive to her motions; and, indeed, her uſage of the prince of Condé himſelf, in his ſuit for the office of conſtable, which Montmorenci deſired to reſign, while it betrayed her averſion from his advancement, ſhowed her partiality to the oppoſite party.

Theſe circumſtances, united with the fears of the Hugonots on account of the late interview at Bayonne, and others occaſioned by the march of the duke of

* De Thou.

Alva, along the frontiers of France, into the Belgic provinces, accelerated the renewal of civil commotions. Senſible of the alarm which this laſt event would excite, the queen-mother was prepared to obviate and ſilence it, by the utmoſt ſtretch of her political craft. Feigning an apprehenſion of the purpoſes of the court of Spain, and appearing to reſent the approach of the Spaniſh forces to the borders of the kingdom, ſhe adopted the language, and ſeemed to concur with the ſentiments of the Proteſtant chiefs, and thoſe who inſiſted on the neceſſity of putting the ſtate in a poſture of defence. A commiſſion for hiring ſix thouſand Swiſs was given, and ſome troops being levied in the Lionoiſe, were ordered to march towards the fronties of Italy.

The ſecurity of the court, at this period, is the more remarkable, as the frequent warnings they received ought certainly to have put them on their guard.—At Lyons, the Proteſtants were ſuſpected of having run a mine, ſome hundred paces under ground, along the principal ramparts of the city. When the duke of Alva began his march from Lombardy, Mouvans had raiſed eight hundred men, and thrown them into Geneva; and an attempt had even been made by him, to introduce, by a ſtratagem, a part of theſe ſoldiers into the ſtrong town of Metz. It is ſaid that Catharine, whoſe obſervations were chiefly directed on the admiral's motions, was the more deceived, by the report of one of her ſpies, with reſpect to the manner in which he ſaw him employed at Chatillon. Clad in a homely frock, with a pruning-knife in his hand, Coligni had mounted a tree in his orchard, and appeared like the peaceful inhabitant of the rural ſhades. The Proteſtant chiefs, convinced that the queen-mother had concerted meaſures for their deſtruction, reſolved to make the firſt aſſault. The conduct of the duke of Guiſe, at the commencement of the late war, was deemed worthy of imitation: and it was accordingly reſolved to make an attempt to ſecure the perſon of the king.

The court reſided at Montceaux, a pleaſure-ſeat of the queen's in Brie, when, (on the twenty-ſixth of September) four years after the pacification of Orleans, this enterpriſe was planned and attempted. From the diſcovery of ſeveral parties of armed men, reſorting to Chatillon, the queen-mother was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation: and retiring with precipitation to Meaux, ſhe diſpatched orders to the Swiſs to advance, without delay, to the aſſiſtance of the court. Roſoy, the place of rendezvous for the prince of Condé and his friends, was not farther from Meaux than Chateau-Thierry, where the Swiſs were quartered, and their horſe could, with greater celerity, perform the march. In this dangerous perplexity, Catharine had recourſe to her uſual ſubterfuge of a conference, during which the Swiſs had time to reach the place of their deſtination.

Their arrival inſpired the court with courage, and induced the queen to accede to the propoſals of colonel Fifer, who offered to conduct the royal family in ſafety to the capital. The exclamations of the Pariſians at the ſight of the king, eſcaped from the hands of the Hugonots, and their reflections on the horror of the attempt, joined to Charles's own ſenſation of the violent indignity, added freſh fuel to the former combuſtions of the ſtate, and heightened the rage of the parties againſt

each other. Such were the circumſtances of the commencement of the ſecond civil war in France.

The queen of England deemed this a proper time for diſcovering her inclinations to ſupport the Proteſtant party: ſhe ſent an ambaſſador to renew the old demand of the reſtitution of Calais. To this unexpected requiſition, France, however provoked, found it convenient, at the preſent juncture, to return a decent refuſal. Elizabeth expected no more. It was alſo proper, that ſhe ſhould not appear too forward in engaging with them, who had not adhered to the terms of the league they had made with her; while, by inviting the cardinal of Châtillon to the Engliſh court, it was evident ſhe conſidered this conduct as a pardonable tranſgreſſion.

The bold attempt of the Proteſtant chiefs to ſieze the perſon of the king, was conſidered as a ſignal, by the leaders of both parties, to collect their military forces. The prince of Condé and his aſſociates, inſtead of being diſmayed at the failure of their firſt enterpriſe, not only kept the field, but acted offenſively, with an intrepid ſpirit, that had the ſhew of ſuperior ſtrength. No ſooner had the prince of Condé ſeized a few poſts on the Seine, and burnt a great number of mills between the gates of the Temple and Saint Honré, than the Pariſians began to utter complaints*. This made the queen-mother have recourſe to her uſual expedient of a negociation, which only ended in mutual invectives.

To a train of deluſive negociations ſucceeded the open operations of war.—With about ſix thouſand troops, the prince of Condé, having ſecured the paſſage of the Seine. The alarm had no ſooner been given by the Proteſtants, than the principal Catholic nobility began to muſter their forces, and to conduct them to the metropolis. The different corps of the Swiſs, and of the old and new levies of the French infantry, formed an army of ſixteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Beſides volunteers, the city furniſhed a complete regiment. Having detached five hundred picked cavalry to harraſs the enemy for a day and a night, early on the tenth of November he began to move his whole force from the capital. As he paſſed through the gate, turning to thoſe around him, "This "day"—ſaid he—"ſhall acquit me from the detractions of my enemies, and the "calumny of the vulgar; for either I ſhall return alive and victorious, or meet "death in a field revengeful and bloody to the king's foes†."

Unalarmed at the great ſuperiority of the royaliſts, the prince of Conde reſolutely determined to meet them in the field; the Proteſtant chiefs accordingly drew out their troops from their different poſts, choſe their ground in the plain of Saint Denis, and arranged their battalions with all the compoſure and intrepidity of men, about to engage in the moſt equal combat. The conſtable, who moved ſlowly from the city, was aſtoniſhed at ſeeing them ranging their little army in order of battle.‡ The action began on the right by the diſcharge of

* De Thou. † D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 9. ‡ De Thou—Caſtelnau.

the conſtable's artillery. Genlis, finding his diviſion galled by the fire, ordered his lieutenant De Vardes to advance with a party, and charge the enemy. The repulſe of this briſk attack having brought moſt of the cavalry to the ſide of the trench, they were there ſaluted with a ſharp fire: at the ſame time Genlis opened his ranks, his foot advanced, and poured their ſhot on the enemy, while he again forming his line in order, proceeded with de Vardes to make a vigorous aſſault on the broken troops of the Catholics. The admiral perceiving that the action on the right had become general, put the troops in motion, and having appriſed the prince of Condé of his intention, began to engage the enemy in the ſame manner as Genlis had done, by advancing his foot before his cavalry. By the regular fire the line of infantry made, and the impetuous charge which followed it, the troops on the left of the enemy were broken, and their horſe wheeling on the regiment of Paris, a general confuſion, approaching to a total rout, enſued. Immediately after this the prince of Condé puſhed forward with his diviſion to attack the conſtable's centre, which on the left lay open and expoſed. He alſo marched his foot before him: but, as he advanced, the mareſchal, Montmorenci obſerving his aim, made a wheel to fall on the flank of his ſquadron. The prince, leaving his foot, and part of his line, to encounter the mareſchal, ruſhed, with great impetuoſity, on the gendarmerie of the centre. Diſorder already begun there, by the rout of the left wing, facilitated the impreſſion of the charge. In a few minutes the main body gave way. The old conſtable, deſerted by his troops, and wounded in the face, was ſeen exerting his utmoſt efforts for rallying the fugitives. Diſdaining to ſurrender, when required by Robert Stuart (the Scotchman who had been accuſed of aſſaſſinating the preſident Minart) and reſiſting, with a vigour of body and ſpirit uncommon at his age, he daſhed the pommel of his ſword, which was broken, in his adverſary's face, and knocked out ſevaral of his teeth: when a piſtol-ſhot from behind pierced him in the reins, and ſoon after he fell to the ground. At no great diſtance, and almoſt at the ſame inſtant, the prince of Condé's horſe being wounded, and falling with him, it was with difficulty he could be extricated from the danger which threatened him*. The mareſchal Montmorenci had, by this time, not only routed the detachment ſent againſt him, but ſome troops of the left wing that were not broken rallying about him, he had already made a conſiderable impreſſion on the admiral's ſquadron. D'Aumale and d'Amville, who had not engaged, being aſſured that the Swiſs on the right ſtill kept their ground, and that the mareſchal Montmorenci was victorious, haſtened to advance their body of reſerve from the rear. But while the hurry on one ſide to reſcue the conſtable, and on the other the attention to recover and remount the prince of Condé, ſuſpended the renewal of the combat, the approach of night put an end to the conflict. The prince drew off his troops to Saint Denis, and the mareſchal

* Brantome—D'Aubigne—D'Avila.

Montmorenci was only anxious to ſave the life of his father, who recovering his ſenſes, aſked why the victory was not aſcertained by the purſuit of the enemy. He expired the ſecond day after the battle.

Not more than three or four hundred men on either ſide periſhed in the action, which may juſtly be termed a draw battle; but the Proteſtants experienced the greateſt loſs, on occount of the number of their officers who were killed: The fall of the count of Saux, the vidame of Amiens, and ſeveral others of eminent fame and dignity, conſiderably aggravated the loſs of the Hugonots. The intrepid bravery of the prince of Condé's troops was witneſſed by the Ottoman ambaſſador, who had taken his ſtation with ſome of the courtiers in an adjacent tower: his ſurpriſe was teſtified by exclaiming—"If my maſter had only two "thouſand of theſe white ſcarfs to place at the head of the different armies, the "univerſe would not ſtand againſt him for two years."

D'Andelot and Montgomery having refitted ſome pontoons on the Seine, and joined the army on the night after the battle, the Hugonots again dared their enemies to meet them in the field: their defiance not being accepted, the prince of Condé inſulted the capital, by beating off the out-guards, ſetting fire to ſome mills, and extending his incurſions into the very ſuburbs of Paris. Though during the blockade of Paris*, La Noue, by a rare inſtance of valour and conduct, had, with ſcarce a troop of ſoldiers, poſſeſſed himſelf of Orleans, and even reduced the citadel.

After ſome days repoſe in their quarters near Paris, they turned off to Montereau-faut-Yonne, whence they meant to proceed towards the confines of Lorraine. The prince of Condé led the van with his main battle, the admiral followed with the left wing; and D'Andelot, with all the muſqueteers they could mount on horſeback, covered the flanks and foraged for the army; De Moui, having the command of the light cavalry, cloſed the rear. After encountering various difficulties, and eſcaping from an attack of the royaliſts, on the ſeventeenth of December, at Sarri near Châlons, the prince of Conde was ſo fortunate as to accompliſh the object of his expedition, by effecting a junction with the German forces.

On the death of Montmorenci, the duke of Anjou was, at the inſtigation of Catharine of Medicis, appointed to the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, notwithſtanding the repugnance of Charles to ſuch a promotion.

A. D. 1568.] The flames of civil war were ſpeedily enkindled throughout the different provinces of the kingdom, where continual ſkirmiſhes took place between the Catholic and Proteſtant chieftains: towns were reduced and detachments defeated on either ſide, but no conqueſt of importance was either atchieved or attempted, until the prince of Condé, on the twenty-firſt of Pebruary, inveſted the town of Chartres, which was vigorouſly defended by the chevalier de

* D'Aubigne.

Liniers, with a garriſon of four thouſand men. After ſome ineffectual attempts to open a breach, the enterprize of turning off the river near D'Eure, was undertaken and executed by the Hugonots. The ſuſpenſion of the corn-mills, which enſued from thence, and the ſcarcity of other proviſions, would ſoon have reduced the city to the neceſſity of capitulating; but while Linieres, by his courage and conduct, protracted the defence of the place, a treaty of peace was on the twentieth of March concluded with the royal commiſſioners, by the cardinal of Chatillon, at Longjumeau. Upon the point of religion, the articles were reduced to a general head, that of the full reſtoration of the laſt edict of pacification ſigned at Amboiſe, without the reſtrictions afterwards annexed to it. The king being of age, there was no reference made to his future will and pleaſure, but the edict was declared to be ratified until it ſhould pleaſe God to unite France in the bond of one religion*.

Scarce three months had elapſed from the concluſion of this treaty, before an evident diſpoſition in the court to renew the war was evinced. Catharine who delighted in exertions of fraud and diſſimulation, laid a plan for ſeizing the perſon of the prince of Condé and the admiral, whe had retired to their reſpective ſeats: but by the generous probity of the chancellor, and the military honour of the mareſchal de Tavannes, they were warned of their danger, and adviſed to accelerate their eſcape. Encompaſſed by a body of one hundred and fifty horſe, they bent ther courſe towards the Loire, which, by the accident of an uncommon dry ſummer, was found fordable near Sancerre. They had ſcarcely paſſed it, and endeavoured to ſecure their rear by poſting a party commanded by Bois on the banks of the river, when Martinengues came up and attacked this feeble ſquadron, who were obliged to fly into the fortreſs of Boni, where they ſoon ſurrendered. A ſudden ſwell of the river, regarded as providental by thoſe who felt the advantage of it, concurred to prevent all immediate purſuit; and, on the ninteenth of September, having been previouſly joined by great numbers of their adherents, who flocked to them from all quarters, the Proteſtant chiefs entered the city of Rochelle, to the great joy of the inhabitants.

By the ſpeedy arrival of the queen of Navarre, with her infant ſon Henry, the foundation of a firmer aſſociation of the blood royal ſeemed to be laid, and the Proteſtants prepared for war with more than uſual confidence. A declaration was now publiſhed by the court, offering the king's protection to the Proteſtants, and a redreſs of grievences, if they would return peaceably home; but two rigid edicts appeared immediately after (on the firſt of October) in direct contradiction to thoſe moderate profeſſions. Theſe edicts were regiſtered with extravagant ſymptoms of joy, and a voluntary ratification of them, by a new-invented oath, was ſubjoined.

Henry, duke of Anjou, was now employed in preparing his army to march into Saintonge, where that of the Proteſtants, which, after the acceſſion of Henry of

*. De Thou—D'Avila.

Navarre to it, was called the army of the princes, had conſiderably encreaſed in number and ſtrength. D'Andelot, in his march to join the princes, ſeized Parthenay: Niort ſurrendered to his brother, the admiral; and Fontenai, taken by capitulation, added to their conqueſts*.

The duke of Anjou's army, augmented by the bands of the nobility, the Swiſs brigade, and a great train of artillery, now conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, and about four thouſand horſe. The princes, on their ſide, beſides the troops in garriſon, muſtered in the field to the number of eighteen thouſand infantry and three thouſand cavalry. Never before did the contending parties oppoſe each other with ſuch a formidable force, and appear ſo nearly matched. Though it was the middle of winter, both armies took the field. On the twenty-ninth of November their advanced guards approached each other, in the vicinity of Luſignan, and, by a ſingular accident, the camp-maſter on either ſide met at Pamprau to arrange their reſpective quarters. Both parties refuſed to quit the ground, though no advantage could be reaped by maintaining it: the reſpective leaders entered into the diſpute with great eagerneſs: Martigues was ſoon diſpatched with eight hundred horſe to ſupport the Catholics; while the two Coligni's, with ſomewhat more than half the number, haſtened to oppoſe them. A party, ſent by the admiral to reconnoitre the enemy, precipitately engaged: ignorant of each other's ſtrength, the chiefs declined a general charge; and yet neither would retire. The admiral, firſt apprehending the riſque he run of being attacked by the whole van, ranged his troops on the brow of a hill in order of battle; and their appearance on the eminence, while a party of them ſkirmiſhed on the plain below, deceived Martigues in his opinion of their numbers, and induced him, under favour of the night, to ſecure his retreat. This rencounter was the prelude to the famous ſkirmiſh of Jazeneuil.

Some ſkirmiſhes afterwards occurred between the rival armies, but the extreme rigour of the ſeaſon at length compelled them to put their troops into cantonments, after loſing, each of them, four thouſand men, chiefly from the inclemency of the weather†.

A. D. 1569.] Nothing of importance was attempted during the winter, by the provincial chieftains, who were ſeparated from the main armies, except the ſiege of Sancerre, by a Catholic party under Martigues, and that of the abbey of Saint-Michael, by a body of Proteſtant ſoldiers. In the firſt, three hundred Calviniſts, ill-provided with arms or ammunition, and having only Joanneau, an advocate, for their captain, defended themſelves, for near ſix weeks, againſt a body of three thouſand foot, and a troop of horſe, under the command of Martigues, and other experienced warriors, who battered the walls with eight pieces of cannon. Nine hundred of the Catholics were killed, and, after various aſſaults, the ſiege was raiſed.

* D'Aubigne—De Thou. † De Thou, lib. xliii. p. 878.

At the opening of the campaign, the duke of Anjou, having received an expected reinforcement of two thouſand Rheiters, and a ſtrong body of troops from Provence, was reſolved, if poſſible, to bring the enemy to action; while the prince of Condé, on the contrary, whoſe reinforcement had not yet arrived, determined to avoid an engagement. The Proteſtants directed their march along the bank of the river Charente, which the Catholics, notwithſtanding their utmoſt precautions, found means to paſs unobſerved in the night. There was no diſcovery of their motions till La Noue, before ſun-riſe, on the thirteenth, making the round of the different poſts with fifty horſe, perceived the blue ſtanderd of Martigues waving in the midſt of a ſquadron, which advanced towards him. By his retreat on full gallop, the admiral was ſoon informed of the enemy's approach. The paſs of a rivulet was immediately ſecured, and the different detachments received orders to haſten to their rendezvous at Baſſac*. As Martigues could not, without farther ſupport, venture to puſh beyond the brook, and the ſafe paſſage of it required conſiderable force and caution, there was ſtill ſufficient time to make an orderly retreat with the van. But full three hours paſſed before the captains Montgomery, Pluviaut and others, could draw together their ſtraggled detachments of horſe, which had been previouſly ſtationed in the vicinity of Chateau-Neuf. La Noue, meanwhile, bravely maintaining, with ſome troops of cavalry, the vigorous charge of the count de Briſſac and Martigues, who ſtrove to encompaſs him, was obliged to yield his defence of the rivulet, and, overpowered with numbers, before he could reach Baſſac, was thrown from his horſe and taken priſoner. His ſoldiers, driven towards the village, were rallied by D'Andelot, who, with undaunted courage, advanced to the charge. This daring commander, after this ſhort exhortation to his men—"*Act now as I do*"—was ſeen, immediately on cloſing with the enemy, to lay hold of the beaver of the duke of Monſalez's helmet with one hand, and with the other to diſcharge a piſtol in his face, which laid him dead on the ground. By his bravery, Martigues was driven out of Baſſac with conſiderable loſs, and an opportunity given to the admiral to range the remainder of the van, when compelled to evacuate the village, in an advantageous ground behind it.

As not only Montpenſier, with the whole left wing of the Catholic army, but alſo de Tavannes, with the German Rheiters, was on the point of charging the admiral, matters were brought to a critical and dangerous extremity, in which the reſolution to ſacrifice a part of his troops, in order to ſave the reſt, hardly afforded the proſpect of eſcaping. It was then a courier was diſpatched to the prince of Condé, with intelligence of the ſituation of the van. That gallant commander, unuſed to linger when ſummoned to the field, and undiſmayed by danger when honour called for his exertions, took the brave and unfortunate reſolution of haſtening to the aſſiſtance of the admiral, with a choice body of cavalry, while the remainder of his army had orders to follow him, with all poſſible expedition. This reinforcement only conſiſted of ſeven troops of horſe, amounting in the

* Caſtelnau.

whole to about three hundred and fifty men. As they drew up around him, and were told what he expected from the valour of men whom he conſidered as the flower of his army, the duke of Rochefoucaud's horſe reared, and fractured the bone of the prince's leg. Superior to pain, with an undaunted countenance, ſuffered only with the glow of courage—"Remember," ſaid he, "nobility of "France, that Lewis of Bourbon this day verifies his motto, and eſteems the con-"dition in which he now goes to encounter the enemy for the ſake of his religion, "of you, and of France, a circumſtance not unfavourable to his renown." In diſpoſing his troops to the beſt advantage, in fighting with the moſt heroic courage, the prince diſplayed the moſt eſſential qualities of a ſoldier and a general.—After a charge by the prince of Condé, that exceeded any of the former inſtances of reſolution, and by which Montpenſier's van was repulſed, he was attacked on the flank by the duke of Anjou's main body, ſupported by de Tavannes and the Rheiters, which overwhelmed his ſlender battalion. Valour alone prolonged the reſiſtance, till the prince, thrown from his horſe, which was wounded, and able only to raiſe himſelf upon one knee from the ground, ſurrendered himſelf to D'Argens, to whom he delivered his ſword. Being placed under a tree, Monteſquieu, captain of the duke of Anjou's Swiſs guard, coming up, and being told who he was, ſhot him through the head with a piſtol. The infamy of this brutal aſſaſſination, which was generally abhorred in the Catholic army, was not ſolely confined to the perſon who committed it*. Brantome acknowledges that the duke of Anjou's intimates had encouragement to believe, that ſuch a ſacrifice would not diſpleaſe him; and ſo far from concealing his ſatisfaction, he is ſaid, upon hearing Cloud des Saintes' panegyric on his victory, (from which, by the bye, he could derive neither honor nor credit) to have entertained the deſign of erecting a chapel on the ſpot in which the prince of Condé was murdered; but the prudent intelligence of his governor, Carnavalet, prevented him from raiſing ſuch a monument of his own infamy. Robert Stuart, the Scottiſh captain, was alſo killed in cool blood, by Honorat de Savoy, marquis of Villars. The body of the prince of Condé, thrown on an aſs, was carried to the caſtle of Jarnac, and after being expoſed to the view of the victorious army, was delivered to his nephew, who interred it with thoſe of his anceſtors at Vendome†.

Though the battle of Jarnac laſted ſix hours, only four hundred Proteſtants periſhed on the part of the vanquiſhed, but the fourth part of theſe were gentlemen. If, obedience to the orders they had received, the main body of the Proteſtants had marched up to the field, they would inevitably been involved in the defeat. But d'Acier, who commanded the infantry, having advanced to the village of Jarnac, and learned from the fugitives how things were ſituated, judged it proper to proceed no farther, and, having broken down the bridge, made a ſafe retreat to Cognac, a conſiderable part of the cavalry, by the ſame means, gained Saintes. The admiral with his brother, with a reſolute band, taking an oppoſite courſe, made his way to Saint Jean D'Angeli.

* Floge de Condé. † Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 344.

The moment the queen of Navarre was informed of the event of the battle of Jarnac, ſhe haſtened to Cognac, with the two Henry's, her ſon, and the young Condé, the one fifteen years of age and the other ſixteen. Her introduction, ſoon after, at Tonnay Charente, to an aſſembly of the Proteſtant chiefs, her affecting and animating ſpeech to a muſter of the officers and troops in the city, and the tender ſhe made of the two youthful princes to ſucceed to the title and authority of their principal head, ſhewed at once her ardour to ſupport the intereſt of her family, and her knowledge of the diſpoſition of the admiral, and the other commanders, to concur with her wiſhes. An oath of fidelity to the prince of Bearn being taking by the troops at hand, and Saint Jean D'Angeli pitched upon for their retreat, and the ſecurity of their perſons, the councils of war proceeded with little difficulty or interruption. Montgomery was detached to Angouléme, with ſeven troops of horſe; while Piles, who brought a ſmall reinforcement from Perigord, received orders to throw himſelf into Saintes. The duke of Anjou, as was expected, made an attack upon Cognac, in the hope of cruſhing the remaining part of the Proteſtant army, by one ſucceſsful ſtroke; but D'Acier, who commanded in the place, with eight thouſand foot, compelled him to raiſe the ſiege in four days. The duke then entered the Perigord, and reduced ſome trifling places with the loſs of ſeveral of his beſt officers. At the ſige of Mucidan, the gallant count de Briſſac was killed. On the other ſide, after many hazards in the field, various encounters ſuſtained, and military toils undergone, the brave D'Andelot, juſtly deemed one of the firſt commanders of the age, whoſe intrepidity had gained him the ſurname of *The Fearleſs*, was carried off by an epidemical fever at Saintes.

The hopes of the Proteſtants were revived by the arrival of Walfang of Bavaria, duke of Deux-Ponts, with a formidable army of German auxiliaries, amounting to ſeven thouſand ſix hundred Rheiters, and ſix thouſand Lanſquenets; who, marching through the heart of France, reduced the town of La Charité on the Loire, and effected a junction with the forces of the princes on the banks of the Vienne, to the great diſgrace of the Catholic army, which had been recently reinforced by two thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred Rheiters, ſent from Flanders by the duke of Alva. The duke of Deux-Ponts died on the eleventh of June, the day before this junction took place, of a quartan ague, at Chaſtus; having previouſly appointed Volrad, count of Mansfeld, to the chief command of his troops, and exhorted the German officers to perform with fidelity the ſervice expected of them.

Though the royaliſts, independent of the reinforcement we have already noticed, had received, from the pope, a body of five thouſand Italian foot, and a thouſand horſe, under the command of the count of Sanctaſiore, it was determined, in a council of war, that the duke of Anjou ſhould remain on the defenſive. With this view he pitched his camp at La Roche-la-belle, near Saint Irier in the Limouſin, where he formed ſuch entrenchments, as, joined to the natural ſtrength of his ſituation, might be well deemed inacceſſible by a ſuperior

force. A deep valley near a rising ground, encompassed with marshes, supplying on one side the place of artificial lines of defence, the greatest part of the artillery was placed there, under the custody of the Swiss battalions. All the troops were protected by the circumvallation, except two regiments of foot, which chose to take their station on the outside of the marsh, on ground only fenced by hedges and trees. Against these regiments the admiral, who had unexpectedly approached the camp directed his attacks, and thereby occasioned the combat of La Roche-la-belle, (on the twenty-fourth of June) which was reckoned among the most signal skirmishes in the civil wars. Begun by the brave Piles, who threw himself, with some light troops into the midst of the enemy's infantry, and sustained, on the ather side, by Strozzi, who then first acted as general of the French foot, the conflict soon became vigorous and of doubtful issue. Four hundred Catholic soldiers, and no less than two-and-twenty of their officers slain on the field, shewed the advantage their antagonists had gained, and the little quarter that had been given.

The count of Montgomery was now detached, with a small body of forces, to effect the reduction of Bearn, which had been seized by the count of Terride, the king's governors of Quercy; and he fulfilled his commission with such intrepidity and address, as greatly enhanced his military fame.

The siege of Poitiers was the first enterprise of importance attempted by the main army of the Protestants, after the battle of Jarnac; but the young duke of Guise, emulous of his father's fame, threw himself into the town, and by his resolute conduct inspirited the garrison to an obstinate and successful defence. After losing two thousand men before the place, by wounds and an epidemical disorder, the admiral drew off his troops, and compelled the duke of Anjou to raise the siege of Chatelleraud, which he had recently formed. Conscious, however, of the superiority of the enemy's forces, he was studious to shun a decisive engagement; but the two armies meeting, on the thirtieth ef September, at a short distance from the small town of Montcontour, his design was defeated by the impatient and uneasy temper of his own troops*.

Already had Coligni, with his vanguard, reached Saint Cler, within two leagues of Montcontour, and the chieftans La None and La Nore, detached with seven troops of horse and a party of foot, had taken possession of that village, when the duke of Montpensier, commander of the Catholic van, informed that La Noue, who brought up the admiral's rear with two hundred cavalry, and without apprehensions of an attack, redoubled his pace to fall upon him. La Noue, contrary to his usual diligence, had both deceived himself with respect to the distance of the enemy, and misinformed the admiral, who had charged him with the business of intelligence. Confident of the certainty of the report he had made, that there were only some flying parties of the enemy at hand, he re-

* De Thou, lib. xliv. p. 914.

ceived the firſt charge of Montpenſier's troops as if he had been wholly a match for them, and boldly ſtood his ground, till Martigues came up, and cut off a fourth of his party, and put the reſt to flight. But the duke of Montpenſier neglecting to puſh his advantage with ſpirit and reſolution, allowed the admiral time to form his van, and recover from the conſternation into which his troops were viſibly thrown. One error generated another. Montpenſier's irreſolution was miſtaken for weakneſs, and it was preſumed that he had not ſtrength enough to reſiſt an attack, if urged with vigour. In the firſt charge, which was well ſuſtained, a conſiderable repulſe was given to Martigues; but the duke of Montpenſier being reinforced by the freſh troops of the main battle, the retreat became difficult and perilous. Clermont D'Amboiſe, unrecovered from ſickneſs, and without his armour, and with only twenty horſe, diſtinguiſhed his valour, by defending the paſs of a rivulet for a conſiderable ſpace of time, againſt a great body of the Catholics. The action was now changed into a cannonade by the latter, which galled the German Rheiters, who kept their poſt on the bank. When their attempts to force a paſſage failed, and the fire of the cannon ceaſed, the admiral, under favour of the night, drew off his troops, and encamped between the rivulet and the Dive; thence he next day extended his quarters to Montcontour and the adjacent villages, where he was covered by the Dive, a narrow river, but not every where fordable. Such were the previous movements and combats of the two armies in the interval of three days before the general engagements enſued.

The two armies were drawn up in an open plain, deſtitute, on either ſide, of any natural advantages, and interſected only, at unequal diſtances, by a few eaſy declivities. The Catholics amounted to twenty-ſeven thouſand men; the Proteſtants to eighteen. The former appeared to derive confidence from the ſuperiority of their numbers, the latter from their hardy and determined courage. Compoſed to obedience and unanimity, and touched with the pathetic admonitions of the young princes, the German lanſquenets, according to their conſtant cuſtom, on the eve of battle, kneeled on the ground, and promiſed to fight and die like men of honour. Each of the armies was ranged in two great diviſions, but ſo diſpoſed, that they could all engage at the ſame time. The admiral's main battle, under count Naſſau, was rather advanced towards Ervaux, before the left wing, which he commanded himſelf, and which ſtood more directly oppoſed to the enemy, as if he had ſtill aimed at cutting ſhort the combat by a retreat. To his uſual practice of interlining his ſquadrons of horſe with ſome foot of arquebuſiers, he added that of covering the flanks of the diviſions of the Rheiters, with a troop of French cavalry. The Germans, after their firſt rank had fired their long piſtols, uſed the method of wheeling to the rear, in order to charge them again, which expoſed them to be more eaſily thrown into diſorder by the enemy. The ſide-long line of French horſe, who ſtood firm, and fought chiefly with their lances and their ſwords, was a well-contrived remedy for this inconvenience. The troops, on both ſides, equalled the bravery of their ſeveral commanders. After

the firſt charge, given by a part of the left wing of the Catholics, under the duke of Montpenſier, by which La Mouy's horſe were driven back on ſome of the infantry advanced before the admiral, the action on the left became general. The body of Catholic Rheiters, led by the Rhingrave, puſhed forward in the opening made, and endeavoured to break the line of foot. Coligni, who had ſent to count Naſſau for a ſquadron of Rheiters to oppoſe them, led on, in the mean time, ſome French arquebuſiers to the charge. The Rhingrave turned and faced him, and both of them advancing near thirty paces before their troops, diſcharged, at the ſame inſtant, their piſtols at each other. The admiral's jaw was ſhattered by the Rhingrave's ſhot, while his own laid his adverſary dead on the ground. Coligni concealed the hurt he had received, till being almoſt ſuffocated by the blood, he ſuffered himſelf to be led off the field. This accident did not prevent the total defeat of the Rheiters, which was accompliſhed by Volrad, count Mansfield, at the head of his Germans. Nearly the whole of the left wing of the Catholics was thrown into confuſion notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of the duke of Aumale, and the marquis of Baden, who were detached from the main body to ſupport them. The troops of both theſe generals were routed by Mansfield, and the latter of them was killed in the charge. As count Naſſau now advanced againſt the duke of Anjou, the battle became furious and bloody: the duke's horſe was wounded, his ſquadrons began to give way, and the Proteſtant troops repeated their ſhouts of victory. But the efforts of their courage, now ſtrained beyond their numbers and ſtrength, required that ſupport which the Catholics ſtill had in a body of reſerve. It was the arrival of the Swiſs, brought forward by the mareſchal de Coſſe, that changed the fate of the day. While three freſh regiments of the reſerve withſtood and repelled the thinned and drooping ſquadrons of the counts Naſſau and Mansfield, they moved in cloſe files to aſſault their hated rivals, the German Lanſquenets. The broken Rheiters, having rallied around them, firſt pierced the ranks of the Germans, when the Swiſs ruſhed in like a torrent, and completed their ruin. Here was the principal ſlaughter; of four thouſand Germans, not four hundred were ſpared by the mercileſs Swiſs, who continued to maſſacre them after they had thrown down their arms. A ſimilar fate would have befallen a body of French infantry, that ſtood their ground beſide the lanſquenets, but for the timely interpoſition of the duke of Anjou, who, after ſome hundreds of them had been ſlain, called out, "Spare the French." After ſeveral vain attempts made by the chief commanders of the Proteſtants to reanimate their ſcattered troops, and to renew the fight, they found themſelves compelled to provide for their own ſafety. While the fugitives fled to Parthenai and Niort, count Naſſau, having collected a body of three thouſand Rheiters, faced and repulſed the purſuers; then proceeded to Ervaux, where he croſſed the river Thoue. The admiral's prudence, in ſecuring, by ſome detachments, placed there before the battle, the paſſes of the defiles on that road, proved the ſafety of a conſiderable part of the routed army.

This was the only battle of the four they had now fought, in which the Proteſtants could be ſaid to have been completely vanquiſhed. By a moderate computation, near ſix thouſand of their ſoldiers periſhed in the field, beſides the havock made among the ſuttlers and followers of the camp, who were in arms. All the baggage waggons of the Germans, which were numerous, and almoſt all the equipage of the infantry, fell into the hands of the victors. La Noue and D'Acier were among the priſoners. The one was with difficulty reſcued from ſlaughter in cold blood; and Sancta-Fiore was blamed by the pope for taking the other alive. About ſix hundred of the Catholic cavalry, chiefly Germans, were ſlain, and nearly as many wounded*; but they loſt few of their infantry.

It was the peculiar characteriſtic of Coligni's mind, that it ever acquired freſh fortitude in adverſity, and its ſpirit and ſagacity invariably encreaſed in proportion to the dangers it had to encounter. The parliament of Paris had recently publiſhed an arret, calculated to ſtimulate the hand of the aſſaſſin, by which they offered a compenſation of fifty thouſand crowns, to any man who ſhould produce the admiral, dead or alive.† Deſpiſing theſe ungenerous proceedings, Coligni was only intent on extricating his party from the difficulties in which their late defeat had involved them. He immediately ſent off diſpatches to England, to the Proteſtant princes of Germany, and to the Swiſs cantons, with a repreſentation of the iſſue of the battle, that leſſened the idea of the diſaſter of the Proteſtants, while it implied a want of aſſiſtance in their preſent circumſtances. It was reſolved to garriſon the three towns of Niort, Angouléme, and Saint Jean D'Angeli; while the chief commanders, conducting the young princes, along with the remains of the army, directed their courſe to Rochelle.

The duke of Anjou advancing, with his victories army, met with no oppoſition till he came to Niort, the defence of which was entruſted to La Mouy. That gallant officer exerted his uſual courage on this occaſion, but, on his return from a ſally, he received a mortal wound from the hand of an aſſaſſin, Louvriers Maurevel, who ſhot him in the reins with a piſtol, and eſcaped, on a horſe which Mouy had given him, to the Catholic camp. This blow had been deſigned for the admiral; but the wretch who undertook it having failed of his aim, endeavoured to make ſome amends for his diſappointment, by transferring it to La Mouy, eſteemed the next to Coligni in authority and intereſt among the Proteſtants. It occaſioned the ſurrender of Niort, and the death of that intrepid chieftain, who expired, ſoon after, at Rochelle, whither he had retired for his cure. Aggravated with the circumſtances of perfidious villainy and baſe ingratitude, the atrocious deed expoſed the public ſanction given to ſuch attempts, by the parliament's arret againſt the admiral, the count of Montgomery, and the vidame of Chartres. The family of Guiſe, whoſe creature Maurevel was, acknowledged that, from motives of private vengeance againſt Coligni, they had

* Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 355. † D'Avila—D'Aubigne.

inſtigated the aſſaſſin. It will afterwards appear, that the gratification of that revenge correſponded to the cabinet policy of the court, and that Maurevel was introduced to perform his part in the tragedy of Saint Bartholomew.

In the month of November the royaliſts came to the reſolution of beſieging the town of Saint Jean D'Angeli, and, in order to encourage the ſoldiers, the king made his appearance in the camp. Envious of his brother's military fame, Charles could not be hindered from ſhewing himſelf in the trenches, and from partaking of the labour and danger of the common ſoldiers. "With all my "heart,"—ſaid he—"would I conſent, that my brother and I ſhould reign by "turns, and that he ſhould wear the crown for ſix months in the year, while "I took the command of the army." At Saint Jean D'Angeli the Catholics experienced a moſt daring reception: the town, the fortifications, and the garriſon were of moderate ſtrength*, but the reſolution of the inhabitants, who were Calvaniſts, the preſence of ſeveral valiant officers, and of Piles, who was chief commander, ſupplied the want of numbers and other defects. Though breaches were frequently made, yet the beſiegers gained no ground, for entrenchments, at which men and women laboured continually roſe to baffle the aſſault. An honourable capitulation was at length propoſed, but Piles would hearken to no terms, till ſome aſſurances were given that a general treaty was on foot. That he might have an opportunity of knowing the reſolution of the princes, with reſpect to peace or ſuccours, a truce for ten days was agreed on.—In the night of its expiration, forty ſoldiers were introduced into the town, and Piles anſwered, to the demand of ſurrendering according to the conditions, that he was reinforced. The attacks were now renewed with additional fury: more than ſix weeks had elapſed, while the beſieged ſtill reſiſted, amidſt the ruins; and the Catholics ſeverely felt what their victory at laſt would coſt them, by the fall of Martigues from a ſhot, and the carnage of many of their beſt ſoldiers. When Piles and valour could do no more, of a garriſon which conſiſted of near two thouſand men, nine hundred marched out, with their arms, colours and baggage. By the terms of ſurrender, they were bound not to appear in arms for four months; but the Catholic ſoldiers, in ſpite of their officers, having plundered their baggage, Piles, when eſcorted to Angouléme, declared himſelf acquitted of the capitulation, and ſoon marched to join the princes. The ſiege protracted to December occaſioned diſeaſes and epidemical ſickneſs to ravage in the Catholic army; and when the town was reduced, the duke of Anjou found his loſs amounted to full ſix thouſand men. The troops immediately went into winter-quarters, and the duke of Anjou retired, with the court, to Angers.

As ſoon as the ſiege of St. Jean D'Angeli, was begun, the admiral had marched with expedition from Saintes into Quercy, paſſed the Dardonne, and placed himſelf in a poſition to co-operate with the advancement of the count of Mont-

*D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 18.

gomery, from Bern, on the other ſide of the Garonne, to join him*. By the ſeizure of Aiguillon at the confluence of the Lot with this laſt river, and the poſſeſſion of Pont St. Marie upon it, he not only defied and bridled the excurſions of the enemy from the confines of Guienne and Languedoc, but having, by his previous march to Montauban, firſt compelled the mareſchal D'Amville to raiſe the ſiege of Mazeres, and then forced Montluc to ſhut himſelf up in Agen, he began, and, in a ſhort time, completed the conſtruction of a large bridge of boats, over the Garonne. It was ſecured by piles and chains, and rendered paſſable to cavalry. But the troops, under Montgomery, laden with the ſpoils of the Catholics in Bearn, advanced ſo ſlowly, that the bridge, by the contrivance of a mechanic, was deſtroyed before their arrival. After Montgomery appeared, ſo much time was loſt in ferrying over his troops, that the admiral ſaw it neceſſary to drop his deſign on Guienne, and turn back towards Montauban, in order to penetrate through Languedoc.

Meanwhile an attempt was made, by a ſtrong detachment of royaliſts, to blockade Rochelle, which produced innumerable ſkirmiſhes. The honour of defeating this project was due to the gallant chieftain La Noue, who, after various atchievements, in which he ſignalized his ſkill and courage, marched to beſiege a fort, lately erected to cover Luçon, and cut off the communication of Rochelle with that quarter of Poitou. Puy-Gaillard, fluſhed with ſome recent advantages, and eagerly wiſhing for ſuch an opportunity to fall on the main body of the Proteſtants, had formed the ſcheme of ſurpriſing them on their march. But La Noue diſcovered his deſigns, and turned them to his ruin. His little army, compoſed of ſeveral old battalions, and the flower of various garriſons, amounting to full ſix thouſand men, was totally vanquiſhed, with the ſlaughter of five hundred men and the captivity of a greater number. This victory paved the way to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtants in the Pays d'Aunis, in Saintonge, and the borders of Poitou, though the brave atchiever of it, in beſieging Fontenay ſoon after, received a ſhot in his arm, which, to prevent the effects of a gangrene, he ſuffered to be cut off. De Thou, in his deſcription of the battle of Luçon, obſerves that La Noue, no leſs remarkable for modeſty than courage, had altogether ſunk, in his commentaries, the exemplary figure of his valour and humanity on this occaſion. When the Lanſquenets, in revenge for the cruelty they experienced at Moncontour, were putting all who fell in their way to the ſword, he obliged them to give quarter. When Luçon capitulated, and a complaint was made by the Catholic commander of ſome baggage being taken, contrary to the terms agreed on, he made good the damage out of his own private fortune. Such behaviour was then as rare among the warriors, as reſerve, equal to that of La Noue, in the diſplay of their own actions, has proved uncommon in modern authors of memoirs†.

A. D. 1570.] The admiral, having been diſappointed of fixing his quarters in Guienne, undertook, in the midſt of winter, to traverſe the kingdom by a

* De Thou. † Anderſon.

march from Mantauban, through Languedoc, to the mouth of the Rhone, and from thence, along the courſe of that river, and that of the Saone, to the entrance of Burgundy and the head of the Seine. This arduous undertaking he ſucceſsfully accompliſhed, and, ſurmounting every obſtacle that oppoſed his paſſage, after pillaging above fifty, and burning a hundred places, he aſtoniſhed the court, which believed him entangled in a train of inextricable difficulties, and totally incapacitated from giving them annoyance, by the news of his arrival in the confines of Burgundy. He gradually approached to La Charité on the Loire, ſtill occupied by a Proteſtant garriſon; but his army, by diſaſters, deſertion and diſeaſe, in a march of more than four hundred French leagues, during the courſe of eight months, with ſcarcely a week's intermiſſion of fatigue, was worn out and reduced to half its former number. Recruited with ſome companies from Dauphiné and Geneva, and a party brought from La Charité by Briquemaut, it amounted not in foot and horſe to five thouſand men. Yet this ſmall number of combatants, under the conduct of bold and experienced commanders, preſerved the honour of their party, and forced peace to themſelves and to France, by defeating the mareſchal de Coſſe, who attacked them, at Arnay-le-Duc, on the twenty-third of June, with thirteen thouſand men, and twelve pieces of cannon. The attack laſted ſeven hours, at the expiration of which the Catholics allowed the admiral to march forward with his army, and pitch his camp between La Charité, Sancerre and Vezelai, three towns garriſoned by his confederates, which was the ſtation he ſought for the repoſe of his troops; the re-aſſemblage of the ſcattered forces of the Proteſtants, and the revival of the war in the heart of the kingdom.

During theſe operations ſome overtures for a negociation had been made by the court, but the refuſal to allow the public exerciſe of the reformed religion, had hitherto prevented the concluſion of a treaty. When, however, the admiral's troops began to extend their excurſions to the vicinity of the metropolis, a ſudden alteration took place, and a ſolicitous diſpoſition to peace, on the part of the court, appeared. A treaty was accordingly concluded, in the month of Auguſt, at St. Germain-en-Laye, containing forty-ſix articles. Beſides the public exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, unconfined by the reſtrictions of the edict of Rouſſillon, and an amneſty conceived in the moſt ample terms, with a declaration of the nullity and repeal of all proſcriptions, civil and criminal of the Proteſtants during the war, and a recognition of their privileges of admiſſion into all employments and dignities civil and military; the Hugonots were allowed, in proceſſes before the provincial parliaments, to except, without aſſigning any reaſon, againſt three judges in each chamber. In the parliament of Bourdeax they could object to four; and with reſpect to that of Thouloufe, on account of its moſt notorious bigotry and prejudice againſt the Proteſtants, authority was granted them to decline its juriſdiction, and carry their cauſes to any other parliament, or to the court of requeſts in Paris. But what diſtinguiſhed this edict of pacification from every pre-

ceding one, was the assignment of the four cities of Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité, to the Protestants, to be holden by them, for the security and the fulfilment of the articles of peace, for two years. It was not only published by registration in the court of parliament, but its punctual observance and execution were to be sworn to, by the lieutenants and presidial magistrates of the provinces. Such was the conclusion of the third civil war, and the tenor of the peace obtained by the Protestants in France, who having experienced, as Sully says*, several hard reverses of fortune, yet through the wise conduct of their chiefs, and the auspicious genius of Henry, king of Navarre, supported themselves with reputaion and honour till this period, at which that instructive and valuable piece of history, his memoirs begin.

Soon after this peace, Charles united himself to the archduchess Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor, Maximilian the Second; an amiable princess, who, with the hand, obtained not the heart of her royal consort, which had been long engaged to his mistress, the beautiful Mary Touchet. Foreign states and princes considered the choice of the daughter of Maximilian for his consort, as a happy presage of the termination of the natural broils about religion, by a conformity to the wise policy and pacific conduct of that prince. Among other congratulations the king received one, presented by the envoys of the princes of the Augsbourg confession, lately met at the Diet of Spiers, which was remarkable for turning chiefly on the propriety of the late edict of peace, and the benefit of religious toleration. Charles's answer was decent, and not unfavourable to act with vigour in maintaining the treaty, which he chose to call his own peace.

A. D. 1570, 1571.] The advantageous terms of this treaty, and the solemn professions which Catharine and Charles made to maintain it inviolably, did not soon throw the Protestant princes and chiefs off their guard. Experience had taught them circumspection, and they scarcely dared encourage the hope of finding sincerity where they had so often met with deceit. Willing, however, to judge of the truth of those amicable declarations from facts, they kept together in a body, and chose Rochelle for a retreat, and the place of their common consultations†. During their residence there a variety of circumstances occurred to rouze their apprehensions and prove their jealousy. It afforded them grounds for reflection, that the secret articles of the pacification were not yet registered in the parliament; that the marquis of Villars, an inveterate foe to the Protestants, was appointed to the lieutenancy of the province of Guienne, of which the prince of Navarre was governor; and that queen Jane, his mother, was excluded from the possession of one of her towns. Other complaints which presently arose on the opposition made by the Catholics in some places to the freedom of the Protestant worship, and the renewal of former insults by them, would soon have made an additional impression, that might not have been so

* Memoirs, lib. i. † Matthieu—Sully.

eaſily effaced. But the king appeared peculiarly anxious to remove every ſubject of diſcontent: he ſent the mareſchal de Coſſe and La Proutiers, maſter of requeſts, to Rochelle, with ample inſtructions to obviate conteſts about the explication of the edicts, and to conſult with the Proteſtant chiefs about the propereſt methods of enforcing its general obſervance. Such obſequious attention, which they had never before experienced, tended to blunt the edge of their complaints. De Coſſe performed his commiſſion to more advantage, from the favourable idea the Proteſtants entertained of his character: the encouragement he gave them to hope for every equitable conceſſion from the king, and the repreſentation he made of the favourable turn of the politics of the court, were credited; and that part of his meſſage, which reſpected the marriage of the king of Navarre to Margaret, Charles's ſiſter, appeared to be a confirmation of thoſe aſſurances. Having, by this introduction, ſmoothed the way to friendly intercourſe, the mareſchal returned to court, whither he was ſoon followed by Teligni, Briquemaut, and the counſellor de Cavagne, whom the princes had appointed to ſound the diſpoſitions of the miniſtry, and to proſecute the full execution of the articles of the edict.

Theſe deputies had every reaſon to be contented with the reception they experienced from the king, whom they found employed in checking the reſtleſs ſpirit which the civil war had engendered by the moſt vigorous and determined meaſures. When intelligence was received that the Proteſtants at Rouen had been attacked by the ſoldiers as they were going to the conventicle, Charles waited not for ſolicitation, but directly proceeded to do juſtice againſt the offenders. The mareſchal Montmorenci, attended by a preſident and other judges of the parliament of Paris, being diſpatched, on purpoſe to take cognizance of the riot, the ringleaders of it were puniſhed with death; others fined; and a capital ſentence was denounced againſt all who fled. On ſeveral other occaſions the ſame favourable diſpoſition appeared: De Villars's commiſſion of lieutenancy was ſuſpended, and aſſurances were given that the queen of Navarre, and the prince her ſon, ſhould be allowed the full exerciſe of all their rights and privileges.

Of the ſincerity of theſe proceedings the propoſed marriage of the king's ſiſter to Henry the young king of Navarre, and the alledged deſign of entering into a war with Spain, ſeemed to afford plain and inconteſtible evidence. De Biron grand-maſter of the artillery, whoſe conduct during the war, as well as his general character, rendered him an acceptable negociator, was commiſſioned by the king to repair to Rochelle, and make the formal propoſition of the firſt of theſe points to the queen of Navarre, and to declare his intentions about the ſecond. The arguments he was inſtructed to inſiſt upon, with reſpect to the match, were ſuch as not only tended to remove difficulties, and ſubdue ſcruples, but to produce a conviction, in the minds of the Proteſtant chiefs, that the king's aim and motive in it were entirely amicable. Charles, indeed, expreſsly declared that he beſtowed his ſiſter upon the prince of Navarre with a view to render the

connubial tye a general one, to attach all the Hugonots to his government, and to baniſh their apprehenſions concerning the immutability of his edicts of peace. The refuſal of Pius the Fifth to grant a diſpenſation for the conſanguinity, inſtead of ſlackening his intention, ſerved rather to move his ſpleen againſt the court of Rome. Even the princeſs Margaret's known inclination for the duke of Guiſe, animated Charles to a pitch of reſentment againſt the favoured lover, whoſe preſumption he thought might lead him to offer an indignity to the houſe of France*. In a fit of indignation he preſented two ſwords to baſtard of Angouléme, requiring him to take one of them and kill the duke of Guiſe, or expect his own death by the other. His rage however was calmed by the ſpeedy marriage of the duke to the widow of the prince of Porcien. The chief pretence urged for breaking with the court of Spain, was the recent death of Elizabeth, ſiſter to Charles and wife to Philip, whom that inhuman monſter, after he had cauſed his ſon, the unhappy Don Carlos, to be poiſoned, was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having ſacrificed to his jealouſy. Queen Catharine perſuaded the Proteſtant chiefs that ſhe had thus an intereſting motive to concur with them in hating the Spaniſh monarch, and revenging upon him the miſerable death of her daughter.

The articles of the contract of marriage between Henry and the princeſs Margaret were ſpeedily arranged: the dowry to be given with the princeſs was three hundred thouſand crowns, valued at fifty-four ſous each; and the queen of Navarre reſigned to her ſon the rents of the county of Armagnac, and twelve thouſand livres out of her own jointure lands. On the part of the king every thing was facilitated. A brief conceived in fuller terms, to remove the objections of the cardinal of Bourbon, was obtained from Gregory the Thirteenth, who now ſucceeded to the pontificate, upon the death of Pius the Fifth. It was even known to be the king's intention, that part of the nuptial ceremony, required by the Roman ritual, ſhould be diſpenſed with.

In conſequence of the nuptial compact, the intercourſe of the Proteſtant chiefs with the court, became more unreſerved and frequent; and even the admiral, and the more prudent leaders, who were ſtill inclined to circumſpection and reſerve, began to be moved to confidence by other conſiderations. The connection which Charles affected to enter into with the court of England, where queen Elizabeth's marriage with the duke of Anjou was ſolicited, firſt by the cardinal of Châtillon, and then by mareſchal Montmorenci; his employment of Gaſpar Schomberg in Germany, to court the alliance of duke Caſimir and ſome other princes, and to ſolicit levies for the war in the Low Contries; and ſome military preparations that ſeemed to be made both by ſea and land, for a rupture with Spain, were conſidered as unequivocal demonſtrations that the king was determined to ſhake off the fetters of the bigotted party at court, and laboured earneſtly to aſſert his own in-

* Mathieu, p. 333.

dependent authority in the government of the ſtate, and to conſult the intereſt and honour of the nation. It was upon this judgment of Charles's intentions that Count Lewis of Naſſau repaired in diſguiſe, along with ſome of the Proteſtant chiefs, to Blois, where the court then was, in order to inform the king of the ſtate of the war in the Netherlands, and to perſuade him with what advantage he might now engage in it. His reception was favourable; and the anſwer given by Charles about the war, artfully ſerved as a proof that he wanted not inclination, but encouragement and freedom to act in the manner the count and his partiſans wiſhed him to do. Charles ſignified, that however well diſpoſed he might be to adopt their political plan, not only the difficulties that might attend the enterpriſe of the Spaniſh war, but his own ſituation with reſpect to proper confidents in that buſineſs, embarraſſed him; and therefore, as a previous and neceſſary ſtep to his final reſolution, he deſired to have the aſſiſtance and counſel of the admiral Coligni. The peculiar circumſtances of this chieftain required that ſuch addreſs ſhould be uſed with him. As the pillar of his party, during the whole courſe of the cival war, more the object of reſentment, and more dreaded than any other, and one againſt whom the family of Guiſe ſtill maintained an avowed enmity, he had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to be cautious how he ventured his perſon at court and in the capital. Eſteemed and reſpected by foreign princes, he had inducements, both from ambition and intereſt, not to be precipitate in engaging himſelf with the court; but to preſerve during the public peace, a kind of independency, which while it was moſt conſiſtent with his perſonal ſafety, would ſecure the attachment of the Proteſtants to him, and ſtrengthen their party. But in circumſtances thus critical the admiral was ſwayed by his principles of patriotiſm, which rendered him ever anxious to ſerve his king and country. He yielded therefore to the concurring entreaties of his friends, the mareſchal de Coſſe and Montmorenci, who joined with count Naſſau in perſuading him to diſmiſs his remaining apprehenſions. Having taken his reſolution, he left Rochelle and repaired to the court at Blois, in the month of September; whither the queen of Navarre, ſoon after, prepared to follow him, in order to put the finiſhing hand to the marriage treaty.

The queen of Navarre, her children, and all the Proteſtant chiefs, experienced from Charles and his mother, the moſt flattering reception; the king in particular ſpoke of the noblemen of that party in the higheſt terms of commendation. The admiral he always addreſſed by the endearing appelation of father, and took upon himſelf the taſk of reconciling him with the princes of the houſe of Guiſe: nor were his actions leſs expreſſive of friendſhip than his words: a hundred thouſand livers, as an indemnification for his private loſſes in the late war, were aſſigned to Coligni, and, by a ſpecial grant, he was allowed a year's revenue of the rich benefices that belonged to his brother, the cardinal of Châtillon, who had recently died in England. The admiral's ſeat and rank at the council table was alſo reſtored to him, and the king ſeemed to depend on his

advice both with regard to the alliances to be formed and the meaſures to be taken, in conſequence of the pretended reſolution to declare war againſt Spain:" ſuch was the deep laid-ſcheme of deception now practiſed by Catharine and her ſon, that Sully juſtly calls it, "an almoſt incredible prodigy of diſſimulation:" and ſuch indeed it muſt have been to have completely impoſed on a man of Coligni's ſagacity and penetration.

A. D. 1572.] In the midſt of theſe auſpicious appearances, the queen of Navarre was ſeized (at Paris, whither ſhe had repaired to provide for the ſolemnity of her ſon's nuptials) with a diſorder, which, in the ſhort ſpace of five days, put a period to her exiſtence: her death is, by all the Proteſtant hiſtorians, aſcribed to the effects of poiſon, adminiſtered in a pair of ſcented gloves, prepared for the purpoſe, by Rene, a Florentine, perfumer to the queen mother; but this is ſtrenuouſly denied by the Catholics, and the teſtimony of De Thou and Matthieu, who mention an internal abſceſs as the cauſe of her diſſolution, appears to be concluſive.

While Charles, who had ſecretly permitted the levying ſoldiers, under Genlis, and La Noue, for the ſervice of the prince of Orange, ſtill, under various pretences, evaded an open declaration of hoſtilities with the Spaniſh monarch, accounts were brought of the entire defeat of that auxiliary band, by the duke of Alva's forces. Affected with this intelligence, and believing that, in ſuch a criſis, he might puſh the king to an abſolute determination for war, the admiral repaired to Paris, whither he had been ſolicited to come by letters from his majeſty.

But Coligni was unable to impart to many of his aſſociates the confidence he himſelf repoſed in the ſincerity of Charles; to their vague admonitions, however, conveyed both in words and writing, the gallant veteran replied, in a manner that evinced at once the fortitude and integrity of his heart. "The peace is made," ſaid he, "and I have taken my reſolution to truſt the faith of the king; and will "rather be dragged through the ſtreets of Paris than have recourſe again to a "civil war." Credulity, influenced by ſuch ſentiments, muſt command our admiration, while it encreaſes our abhorrence of the wretches who were ſo baſe as to impoſe on it. In one of the remonſtrances, ſent to the admiral by ſome of his adherents, he was called upon to reflect on that authorized maxim of the church of Rome—that faith was not to be kept with heritics. Queen Catharine was repreſented as the true progeny of Rome, and the diſciple of Machiavel: her ſon, trained up in the ſame principles, was ſaid to emulate her vindictive ſpirit, and to have ſworn never to forget the attempt of the Proteſtants at Meaux, that in ſpite of their ſubtle conduct, it was alledged, they had ſometimes betrayed their diſſimulation; of which, what was heard to paſs between Catharine and the king, upon the queen of Navarre's arrival at Blois, was a manifeſt proof. "Have I not"—ſaid Charles—"acted my part well?"—"Admirably!"—replied his mother—"you have begun, but you muſt continue it to the end."—"I will not finiſh."

—returned Charles, with horrid execrations, to the uſe of which he was greatly addicted—" until I bring them all into the toils."—Coligni, excuſing the violent ſtile of theſe remonſtrances, gave a calm reply, while the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, to whom they were alſo addreſſed, treated them with a degree of ſcorn and contempt.

The brief granted by Gregory the Thirteenth, for the marriage of the king of Navarre with Margaret of Valois, being arrived, the ceremony was performed, by the cardinal of Bourbon, and according to the agreement was neither altogether after the Popiſh nor the Proteſtant form*. A variety of magnificent entertainments which followed the marriage for ſeveral days, diffuſed the reliſh of ſocial joy and feſtivity, in the participation of which, not only all the ſparks of former diſcord ſeemed to be quenched, but a happy pledge to be given of the future union of the jarring parties, and of the tranquility of the ſtate. But the dark deſigns, for promoting which Catharine and Charles had ſo long bent the efforts of their diſſimulation, were now brought to a criſis. Their ſcheme of drawing the principal leaders of the Proteſtants to Paris, had, by means of the nuptials, and their deluſion of the admiral, ſucceeded almoſt beyond their hopes. Above ſeven hundred of the nobility and gentry of that perſuaſion, the flower of their chieftains, who followed the young king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the admiral, to the court, were now lodged in the city or ſuburbs, diſarmed, unprepared, and incapable of reſiſting the force, that might be ſuddenly raiſed againſt them.

The aſſaſſination of the admiral was the firſt ſtroke of vengeance reſolved on by the deteſtable junto of Catharine and her ſon; and the duke of Guiſe, who was known to harbour an inveterate enmity to Coligni, was the perſon appointed to conduct this infamous tranſaction. Louvriers Maurevel, who had already been employed by Guiſe on a ſimilar occaſion, willingly accepted the commiſſion, and repaired to the place appointed by his *worthy* patrons, for the perpetration of the deed. The admiral, on his return from the Louvre to his own apartments, had to paſs by the cloiſter of the church of Saint Germain L'Auxerrois. At this place, within the houſe of Ville-Mur, one of the canons, who had been preceptor to the duke of Guiſe, the aſſaſſin had fixed his ſtation; and, on the morning of the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, as the admiral paſſed the houſe, at a ſlow pace, (being employed in reading a paper that was preſented to him on the way), Maurevel fired his arquebuſs at him, loaded with two bullets, one of which tore a finger off his right hand, and the other lodged deep in his left arm. While all who attended him were ſtricken with amazement, Coligni coolly pointed to the window whence the ſhot came; and having directed Piles and Monnins to go and acquaint the king with what had happened to him, and got his arm bound up, he walked home, ſupported by his domeſtics. To ſome who expreſſed their apprehenſions that the balls might be poiſoned, he ſaid, with perfect compoſure, " Nothing will befall me but what is the pleaſure of God." The painful operations of wrenching off his ſhattered finger, with a blunt inſtrument, and of extracting the bullet from his arm, he endured with undiſturbed looks, and an admirable firmneſs.

Many of the Catholics expreſſed their utter deteſtation of this atrocious attempt; and the king being informed of it, while playing at tennis with the duke of Guiſe, evinced the ſtrongeſt emotions of rage, and throwing down his racket, exclaimed, "Shall I never have peace? Shall I always be expoſed to new troubles"? Then retiring to the Louvre, he ſwore he would find out the aſſaſſin, wherever he lurked. Maurevel, however, had eluded the ſearch of the admiral's attendants (who had inſtantly forced open the door of the houſe) and having a freſh horſe prepared for him—from the king's ſtables, as Sully aſſerts—at the gate of Saint Antoine, effected his eſcape from the city.

The Proteſtants were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, and the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, with ſeveral of their followers, repairing to the palace, implored the king's permiſſion to leave the metropolis, where they were hourly expoſed to the mercileſs fury of their unprincipled enemies. But Charles attempted, by execrable oaths, and every expreſſion of reſentment, to convince them how deeply affected he was with the commiſſion of the crime, and how reſolutely bent upon puniſhing every one that might be found acceſſary to it, as well as the perpetrator himſelf; aſſuring them, that the enquiry and acts of juſtice he would inſiſt upon, ſhould be ſuch as might be exemplary in the ſtate, and fully ſatisfy them and the admiral, who was the ſufferer; adding, that it was fit they ſhould ſtay in Paris to be witneſſes of his conduct. The queen-mother was equally loud in her expreſſions of abhorrence, and her threats of revenge. The meaſures taken for the diſcovery of the aſſaſſin, and the king's public declaration of his ſentiments, convinced the princes of his ſincerity, and, though it did not remove the grounds of their apprehenſions, left them no reaſon for inſiſting upon their reſolution of leaving Paris.

Coligni received a viſit from ſome of the Catholic chiefs, and afterwards from the king himſelf, attended by his mother and brothers, when the ſame declarations which had been made to the princes were renewed. A general conſultation of the Proteſtant leaders was holden ſoon after, on the ſubject of providing for their common ſafety; at which the vidame of Chartres and ſeveral others inſiſted on the neceſſity of their immediate removal from Paris, to ſome place of greater ſecurity*. But this reſolution was too ſucceſsfully oppoſed by Teligni, whoſe arguments prevailed with the majority. A meſſage, however, was ſent, in the admiral's name, to the king, informing him, that the temper of the Pariſians, which was always violently biaſſed againſt him and his friends, now appeared to be ſuch as to render ſome extraordinary precaution neceſſary for reſtraining them from acts of violence; and the appointment of a guard about Coligni's lodgings was propoſed as a proper expedient. This imprudent propoſal, which tended to put the admiral in the immediate power of his enemies, was chearfully acceded to by the king and the duke of Anjou. Coſſeins, captain of the royal guard, attached

* D'Aubigne.

to the duke of Guiſe, was ordered to take his ſtation, with a company of picked men, before the houſe where the admiral lodged, (at an inn in the Rue Betiſy) and, to prevent ſuſpicion, a few Swiſs belonging to the king of Navarre's body guard, were intermixed with them. A farther advantage was yet taken of this injudicious requeſt: it was deſired by the king, that for the better protection of the admiral, the Proteſtant nobility ſhould be lodged in the neighbourhood. The city officers were appointed to provide apartments for them, and public proclamation was made, prohibiting all Catholics, under pain of death, from approaching them.

A ſecond conſultation, however, was holden by the Calviniſts, and the admiral again preſſed to retire, but, ſteady to his purpoſe, Coligni rejected the ſolicitations of his friends; and to their arguments replied, "By a retreat, I muſt diſcover "either my fear or my diſtruſt. By the one my honour would ſuffer, by the "other, an injury be done to the king. I ſhould be again compelled to have "recourſe to a civil war; and my choice is, to die rather than behold the miſeries "I have witneſſed, or endure the diſtreſſes I have already ſuſtained." The conference about quitting Paris being thus reſumed, the vidame of Chartres, and many others of his opinion, having declared their fixed reſolution to retire to the ſuburbs; intelligence of the debate among them, and of the uncertainty how it might conclude, was carried to the queen-mother, by one of the Proteſtant chiefs, ſuppoſed to be Bouchvananes, on accouut of his intimacy with her.

In conſequence of this intelligence, a ſecret council was immediately holden at the palace, at which the propoſal for the horrid maſſacre which enſued, is ſaid to have been made; but being ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the count de Retz, who painted it in its proper colours, no reſolution was adopted, and the council broke up. But, after ſome private conſultation between Charles and his mother, the former called back his counſellors from the gate, and told them, that there was an end of his government, unleſs the propoſal that had been made was adopted, and that he ſhould hold all ſuch as diſapproved the meaſure, to be diſloyal.

The meaſures already taken facilitated the execution of this abominable enterprize, the accompliſhment of which was fixed for the next day, which was the feaſt of Saint Bartholomew. The duke of Guiſe, whoſe retreat from court after the admiral was wounded, together with the king's affected indignation againſt him, had been made uſe of to deceive the Proteſtants, was again called upon to act his part*. In the mean time, to irritate the populace, a report was induſtriouſly circulated through the city, that the king had ſent for the mareſchal Montmorenci from Chantilly, whither he had retired, and that he was expected in Paris with a large body of horſe to quell the citizens. Their agitation became perceptible in the ſtreets, where they aſſembled in crowds; while the loads of arms, and bands of ſoldiers that paſſed to the Louvre, provoked their commotions. The king of Navarre was told by Charles, with the utmoſt ſhew of amity and confidence, that

* De Thou—D'Aubigne.

in the preſent ſtate of affairs, it was neceſſary to be upon their guard againſt the turbulence of the people; and that it was fit he ſhould not only keep all his domeſtics about him in the Louvre, but that he ſhould call others of his moſt truſty attendants to lodge there in caſe of any tumult. Teligni, who heard various alarming reports, interpreted every thing favourably, concealed part of them from the admiral, and confirmed him in his fatal ſecurity. After Coſſein's guard was doubled, and the night was far advanced, the duke of Guiſe, having permiſſion from the king, called ſome captains of the Swiſs and French companies of guards, and informed them that the hour was come, in which the king was determined to avenge himſelf of a race of men, odious to God and his church, and offenſive to human ſociety; that a ſmall exertion of their obedience and courage was neceſſary to the accompliſhment of this object, which would atchieve what numerous battles had failed to effect*. He then ordered them to range their ſoldiers on both ſides of the palace, and to ſuffer none of the prince of Bourbon's ſervants to paſs without the gates. A command was then delivered by Guiſe to Charron, preſident of the chamber of accounts, and lately admitted to the office of provoſt of the merchants, to aſſemble the officers of the city militia in the town-hall, and, after iſſuing orders for arming their people, there to wait for farther inſtructions. The late provoſt-marſhall was employed to communicate the import of the king's orders to the aldermen and burgeſſes, who were told "That it was his majeſty's will and decree to make an utter extirpation of the rebellious Hugonots, againſt whom they had now full liberty to uſe their arms: that orders would be immediately diſpatched, for the ſame purpoſe, to the other cities of the kingdom, to which the Pariſians ought to ſet an example, by neither ſparing nor concealing any of the impious tribe: that, to avoid confuſion, and to diſtinguiſh themſelves from their adverſaries, ſleeves of white linen ſhould be worn on their left arms, and croſſes of the ſame in their hats: that torches and lanthorns ſhould be lighted in the windows of every houſe; and that they ought to proceed quietly, and avoid all noiſe, until the ſignal to begin the work ſhould be given, by ſounding the great bell at the palace." All the neceſſary orders being thus iſſued, the murderers, at the dead hour of midnight, took the ſtations aſſigned them; and the files of ſoldiers, drawn up in the different ſtreets and croſs-ways, only waited for the expected ſignal to fall with fury on the Proteſtants.

As the fatal hour drew nigh, Charles is ſaid to have been goaded by the ſtings of remorſe, and to have betrayed ſuch fear and irreſolution, that all the art of his mother was requiſite to extort from him an order of the aſſaſſins to begin their dreadful buſineſs. "Shall the occaſion"—ſaid the blaſphemous Catharine—"that *God* preſents, of avenging the obdurate enemies of your authority, be ſuffered to eſcape through want of courage? How much better is it to tear in

*D'Aubigne.

" pieces thoſe corrupt members, than to rankle the boſom of the church, the " ſpouſe of our lord?" This impious exhortation expelled from his boſom every ſentiment of humanity, and, his eyes glared with rage, he thus pronounced the horrid mandate—" Go on and let none remain to reproach me with the " deed.* Having thus obtained her aim, Catharine anticipated the fixed hour of the ſignal, which was given by ringing the bell of the church of Saint Germain de L'Auxerrois.†

The duke of Guiſe immediately iſſued forth, with a ſelect party, to perpetrate the murder of the admiral, and meeting ſome Proteſtants in the ſtreets, who had been alarmed by the ſound of the bell, a firing of piſtols enſued, which being heard in the palace, Charles's terror and irreſolution returned, and a meſſage was diſpatched by Catharine to countermand the duke of Guiſe, which ſhe well knew would arrive too late, and be totally diſregarded. Already had that princely aſſaſſin beſet the admiral's lodgings, the gate of which being ſhut and guarded would have required ſome time to force open; but Coſſeins having demanded admittance in the king's name, La Bonne, who kept the keys, having no ſuſpicion of what was going forward, admitted him, and was inſtantly ſtabbed. Some of the king of Navarre's Swiſs ſoldiers flew to the inner gate, and endeavoured to barricade it. The noiſe awakened the admiral, who, unuſed to apprehenſion, believed it to be only ſome riot of the populace, which the guard would ſoon quell. But the clamour encreaſing, and ſeveral ſhots being fired in the court, he roſe from his bed, and covered himſelf with his night-gown, when he was ſoon convinced, by his attendants, who hurried to his chamber, that the worſt was to be feared. Being few in number, and moſt of them only domeſtics, their pale looks and trembling geſtures denounced the immediate fate they expected. " This inſtant,"—exclaimed one of them—" God calls us to meet " death." " It is enough"—ſaid Coligni—" that I know it." He leaned for ſome moments againſt the wall, while the miniſter Merlin prayed. Then with a countenance undiſmayed, " Away," ſaid he, " my friends, ſave yourſelves, if " poſſible: now I have no need of your help; to that of God I have commended " my ſoul. But let not your unprofitable ſtay be mourned by your wives and " children, as a ſad infelicity, occaſioned by your attendance upon my exit." All but two of them, whoſe fidelity to their maſter roſe ſuperior to the fear of death, fled into the upper rooms of the houſe. In a few minutes the door was burſt open, and a groupe of ſeven armed ruffians entered the apartment. Beſme, a German, ſtept before the reſt, and flouriſhing his ſword, exclaimed " Art " thou Coligni?" " I am," replied the admiral, with a ſteady voice and firm countenance, " and you, young ſoldier, ought to reſpect my grey hairs. But " come on," ſaid he to Beſme, " do what thou wilt, thou canſt ſhorten my life " but little." At that inſtant he received the villain's ſword in his breaſt, which

* Mathieu. † Mezerai.

rather courted than ſhunned the blow, and a repitition of ſtabs ſoon deprived him of life, which he yielded up without uttering a groan. The aſſaſſins themſelves were ſtricken with the invincible intrepidity of his ſpirit; and one of them, whoſe name was Attin, declared, that never had a man been ſeen to brave ſuch a death, with ſo much magnanimity. His body was thrown from the window into the court-yard, where the duke of Guiſe waited to enjoy his daſtardly triumph. Having wiped the blood from the face, he exclaimed, in a tone of exultation, "We have begun well, my friends, let us proceed to complete the reſt with courage; it is the king's command, we obey." Immediately the alarm-bell of the palace was rung, and the populace were rouzed to ſpread the maſſacre. The admiral's body being found by theſe Pariſian blood-hounds, it was maimed, gored, and dragged through the kennels, and, after ſerving at intervals as the paſtime of their fury, for two days was ſuſpended on the gibbet of Montfaucon. But neither the inhuman maſſacre of Coligni, nor the horrid indignities committed on his corpſe, have, ſays Le Gendre, effected the ſmalleſt diminution of his fame, or tarniſhed in the leaſt the merit of a character, illuſtrious for thoſe qualities and virtues, which have formed the heroes and the patriots of all nations. The body of Coligni, half conſumed with fire, was, under favour of the night, conveyed to the vault of the Montmorencies at Chantilly, and from thence transferred to the family vault of Chatillon.

The maſſacre continued, with unrelenting fury, among the Proteſtant chiefs, who were aſſaulted by the aſſaſſins, when deſtitute of all means of defence, and were inhumanly butchered by a daſtardly crew who had often fled before them in the field. The count de Rochefoucaud had paſſed the early part of the night with the king at the Louvre, where the pleaſant ſallies of his wit and facetious humour had entertained the courtiers, and diſpoſed Charles to ſave him*. Believing, when the chief of the aſſaſſins knocked at the door, and ſaid he had a meſſage to deliver from the king, that it was ſome frolick intended by his majeſty, he opened it, and ſpoke in a humorous ſtrain to thoſe who anſwered him by drawing their poniards, and plunging them into his boſom. Teligni, unſuſpicious to the laſt, endeavoured now to eſcape over the roofs of the houſes; but being diſcovered, he was dragged down, when the ſweet engaging form which nature had given him, made a momentary impreſſion on the aſſaſſins, who ſtood, with looks of ſuſpence, before they gave the fatal blow. At the ſame time periſhed the counts of Revel and Quellenec, with the barons de Lavardin, Beaudiſner, and Pluviaut, and others of diſtinguiſhed valour, driven through the ſtreets by the duke of Anjou's guards, and maſſacred in the view of the windows of the Louvre.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were awakened, about two hours before day-break, by a band of ſoldiers, who ruſhed into their chamber in

* Brantome, tom. iv. p. 10.

the palace, and inſolently commanded them to dreſs themſelves, and attend the king, unarmed. They were, by Catharine's orders, led through vaults and dark paſſages, lined with troops, who ſhook their ſpears at them as they paſſed along. In the mean time, the cries from without were diſmal and terrifying; while all that party of their friends and followers, who were invited to take up their abode in the Louvre, were precipitated from the windows, or dragged forth in crowds to be aſſaſſinated in the court-yards. Here, Saint Martin, Pardaillan, Beauvois, and the gallant Piles, with many others, ſuffered death; while the indignant expreſſions of the laſt, as he caſt a look on his murdered companions, were thus uttered aloud. "Are theſe the teſtimonies of the king's faith; of the "peace he hath ſworn; and of all the gracious promiſes he hath made? But "the Almighty God will revenge ſuch monſtrous perfidy.*" Leiran, beſmeared with blood, and deſperately wounded, found his way into the queen of Navarre's chamber, and threw himſelf upon the bed of that princeſs, who ran forth ſcreaming, and met with ſuch objects in her way, as made her fall into fits, from which ſhe was with difficulty recovered, and conducted by Nanſey, captain of the guards, into the apartment of the ducheſs of Lorraine. Her huſband and the prince of Condé, after whom ſhe enquired with great eagerneſs, had been introduced into the king's chamber; when they were thus addreſſed by Charles, in a tone and accent fierce and imperious—"To day, I revenge myſelf of my "enemies, and ſuch I may juſtly reckon you to be, who have ſupported them "by the authority of your names, and your preſence among them. Nothing but "a reſpect to my blood deters me from inflicting the ſame puniſhment on you. "But this regard hath its conditions. When I pardon your paſt conduct, I re"quire and inſiſt on your immediate renunciation of that impious faith which "contradicts mine, and teaches you to affront heaven, and inſult my authority." The king of Navarre's was given in a low and embarraſſed voice, but in terms that promiſed ſubmiſſion. But the prince of Condé boldly teſtified his diſcontent at the indecent violence uſed with them; complained of the breach of honour in this treatment; and declared, that his fear of death was not ſo great as to render him an apoſtate from his religion. Charles, provoked by his reſiſtance, called him obſtinate, ſeditious, a rebel, and the ſon of a rebel; and threatened that he ſhould ſuffer the death of a traitor, if, in three days, he did not yield obedience. "Remember"—ſaid the mercileſs tyrant—"*It is Maſs, Death, or* "*Baſtile.*" Upon the apparant compliance of the king of Navarre, Charles granted him the lives of the count de Grammont, de Duras, and Bouchavannes; and a few others were ſaved at the earneſt application of his ſiſter of Navarre.

In a former part of our hiſtory we have ſhewn of what horrid acts of barbarity the Pariſians, when inſtigated by hatred, bigotry, malice, or revenge, could

* Matthieu—Sully.

be guilty. Their preſent rage and ferocity had nothing human in them. Wherever their ruffian bands were led by the municipal officers, their track was marked by violence, bloodſhed, and brutality: neither age nor ſex was ſpared: pregnant women and helpleſs infants were alike ſacrificed to their barbarous fury. Brion, the venerable preceptor of the prince of Conti, was murdered, while claſped in the arms of his infant pupil: Francis Nonpar de Caumont was maſſacred in his bed between his two ſons, one of whom was ſtabbed by his ſide, but the other, concealing himſelf under the bodies of his father and brother, fortunately eſcaped.* Briſſonet, niece to the biſhop of Meaux, a woman of examplary manners, projected an eſcape from the city in diſguiſe, with her young daughter in her hand, and followed by Epina the miniſter, in the habit of a domeſtic: but being diſcovered in the attempt, and refuſing to abjure her religion, ſhe was ſtabbed with iron rods, and thrown, half-dead, into the river, where floating on the ſurface, the watermen purſued her as their prey, and put her to a ſlow and lingering death.

Upon the firſt noiſe of the tumult, a report was carried to that party of the Proteſtant chiefs, who, by the advice of the vidame of Chartres, had fixed their quarters in the ſuburbs of Saint Germain, that the populace had taken up arms. The ſound of the bells and the ſhouts of the mob confirmed the intelligence. Anxious and doubtful what might be the ground of the inſurection, they continued long in ſuſpence, and from ſome perſuaſion that it was promoted by the Guiſes, againſt the will of the king, they were on the point of paſſing the river, to aſſiſt in ſupporting his authority and defending their friends. The morning, however, ſoon diſpelled their error, and ſhewed them the river covered with boats full of ſoldiers coming to attack them, and Charles himſelf, from the windows of the Louvre, firing his carabine upon ſome wretched fugitives; and ſcarce did time and aſtoniſhment permit them to eſcape with precipitation from their blood-thirſty purſuers.

For three days the maſſacre was continued with unabated fury: it is certain that the populace would have readily proceeded to the deſtruction of thoſe who were ſaid to favour the Hugonots, as well as of the Hugonots themſelves; and that the queen-mother might have conſummated her diabolical ſcheme, by inſtigating them to aſſult the Montmorencies, as friendly to the admiral; but intimidated from proceeding ſo far, on account of the mareſchal Montmorenci, and other obvious reaſons, ſhe allowed the popular outrage to take its courſe. From the dread of it many Catholics had to be on their guard; and de Brion who commanded in the arſenal, ordered two culverins to be placed at the gate, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence.

After various inſtances of violence and ſlaughter committed upon the Catholics, and when the carnage became noiſome, an order was publiſhed by the king,

* Sully.

requiring all the citizens to retire to their houſes, and not to ſtir from them under pain of death. What remained ſtill to be executed was intended to be performed by a more regular proceſs of the king's guard through the city. But the ſanguinary rage of ferocious people were more eaſily excited than reſtrained; and the violence and plunder on the ſecond day, nearly equalling thoſe of the firſt, it only ſubſided by degrees. The deſtruction of about ſix thouſand Proteſtants, of which five hundred were nobility, may be reckoned the fatal iſſue of this dreadful maſſacre, which called was by ſome, *The Pariſian Matins* as the maſſacre in Sicily, in 1281, had been denominated *The Sicilian Veſpers*.

That the maſſacre of the Hugonots was the reſult of premeditation will ſcarcely admit of a doubt, though the hiſtorians differ moſt eſſentially in their accounts of its origin. Some maintain that the plan of it was concerted between the queen-mother and the duke of Alva, at the conferences at Bayonne: others fix the period of its concluſion immediately previous to the laſt peace made with the Hugonots after the battle of Amai-le-duc; and the third claſs ſay that no reſolution had been taken on the ſubject till a few days before the deed was perpetrated. The different ſtatements and opinions have been carefully collected and impartially diſcuſſed by father Griffet, who thus concludes his reſearches:—"Let what will be ſaid to the contrary, men will with difficulty be brought to believe that this horrible maſſacre was not a premeditated buſineſs, and that the peace concluded with the Hugonots, the profeſſions and marks of confidence laviſhed on the admiral de Coligni, were not ſo many ſnares and artifices employed with a view to deceive and deſtroy them. It is poſſible that the laſt meaſures adopted for their extermination, may have been reſolved on only a few days before their execution; it was then that the number of victims, the choice of the aſſaſſins, and the day of the maſſacre, were fixed in the ſecret councils (holden at the Louvre); but it appears certain that the project was formed at the time of the peace and of the propoſal for marying the ſiſter of Charles the Ninth to the king of Navarre.

The king vainly hoped to retrieve his honour by the pitiful ſubterfuge of a diſavowal. In the letters patent which he ſent into the provinces he endeavoured to throw the whole of the blame upon the Guiſes, and aſcribed the maſſacre to their hatred of the admiral. The private letters he wrote on this ſubject to England, Germany, and Switzerland, and other neighbouring ſtates, were all conceived in the ſame terms. The Guiſes, however, having obtained their chief aim, began to be ſenſible of the diſhonour and danger attending ſuch an accuſation, which, at a future period, might render them obnoxious and accountable, and poſitively refuſed to acquieſce in this determination. The duke of Guiſe, indeed, after the murder of the admiral, had rather repreſſed the king's rage*, and inſtead of imitating his ferocity, had ſaved D'Acier, brother to the count de

* D'Aubgine,

Gruſſol, and ſome others of the nobility. Having exerted this political lenity, while Charles had expoſed himſelf by the natural violence of his temper, the Guiſes now left him to find what pretence he could, to extenuate the infamy of a ſcene, to which they, with the aſſiſtance of Catharine, had chiefly promoted him.

There is no doubt but the queen mother and her council made the king comprehend the bad conſequence of his diſavowal; for, at the expiration of eight days, his ſentiments and language were ſo much changed, that he held a bed of juſtice in the court of parliament, and ordered the regiſtration of other letters-patent, by which it was declared, that nothing was done on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt but by his expreſs commands, iſſued for the purpoſe of puniſhing the Hugonots, to the principal leaders of which party a capital crime was imputed, in order, if poſſible, to give the name and colour of a juſt execution to that deteſtable butchery. As Coligni's papers had been ſeized by the queen-mother's orders, hopes were entertained of finding ſome memorial on which to ground an article of impeachment againſt him; but his manuſcripts only ſerved as an honourable teſtimony of his integrity. In the brief he had drawn up on the ſubject of the Spaniſh war, he remarked to the king the evident intereſt which England had to undertake the defence of the revolted provinces of the Netherlands; and the danger that would accrue to France, by the Engliſh, her ancient enemy, gaining footing in that country. To provoke the ſpleen of queen Elizabeth, who had maintained a cloſe correſpondence with the admiral, and to incenſe the duke of Alençon at his memory, theſe private notes were communicated to them. The anſwer made by Elizabeth and by the duke was much the ſame: "It was manifeſt"—they ſaid—"whatever they might object to the admiral on account of theſe advices, that the king had no reaſon to complain, ſince they had marked his attachment and zeal for his majeſty's intereſt and ſervice." The king when requeſted by Pibrac, the attorney-general, to paſs a formal edict upon the point, only declared he would iſſue his orders about it. But the proceſs againſt the admiral and his accomplices was immediately inſtituted, and the ſentence of high-treaſon was, ſoon after, executed upon his effigy with all the appointed forms of infamy. A jubilee, or public thanksgiving for the happy diſcovery of the pretended plots of the Proteſtants, was two days after proclaimed in the city; and, by another edict, the day of St. Bartholomew was ordered to be anually ſolemnized by religious proceſſions.

The orders diſpatched into the provinces upon the eve of St. Bartholomew, produced their fatal effects in moſt of the cities and great towns in the kingdom. At Meaux, Orlains, Troyes, Lyons, Bourges, Rouen, and Thouloufe, and many other places, the cruelties of the Pariſians were emulated; and thirty thouſand people, according to the loweſt computation, were murdered in cold blood. But though the king's infamous orders were too generally obeyed by the commanders and magiſtrates in the different towns, ſome honourable exceptions muſt be made,

and the names of thoſe patriots whoſe generous exertions tended to preſerve the lives of their countrymen be recorded in the page of hiſtory. To Eleonor de Chabot, count of Charny, it was owing that only one Proteſtant was killed in the whole province of Burgundy. When the king's letters were brought, by la Mole, to Claud of Savoy, count of Tende, governor of Dauphine, he inſiſted that theſe orders, ſo contradictory to what he had received a few days before from his majeſty, could not come from him: and that he would adhere to his firſt inſtructions as moſt becoming the king. Tho' he died in a few days, his lenity and reſolution, being imitated by Bertrand de Simiance, lord of Gordes, proved almoſt an entire protection to the Calviniſts of the province. In Auvergne, St. Heran, the governor, a man trained up in the violence of civil war, declared, when he looked upon the orders, " that they were ſuch as he could not obey, unleſs " the king himſelf were preſent to give them." Tanneguy-la-Veneur exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to prevent the maſſacre at Rouen, but wanted power to reſtrain the fury of the populace; and ſeveral of the deputies in the governments of the Montmorencies acting with ſimilar moderation from a conformity to the ſentiment of their conſtituents, prevented or controuled the appointed ſlaughter. But the anſwer made by the viſcount de Ortez, governor of Bayonne, to Charles, who had written a private letter to him, is peculiarly worthy of notice: " You muſt " not, on this point, expect obedience from me. I have ſignified the orders ſent " from your majeſty to the inhabitants of the town, and the troops in the garriſon; " and I found them all ready to act like good citizens and brave ſoldiers; but not " one hangman among them". After it was known, by various expreſſes from the lieutenants in the provinces, what confuſion was occaſioned by the maſſacres, the edict to prohibit all inſurrections and violences was publiſhed. As in one clauſe of it, the king's will was ſaid to be not to derogate from the edicts of peace: and in another, that the religious aſſemblies of the proteſtants ſhould be reſtrained, ſeveral of the governors were at a loſs how to interpret its import, and proceeded differently, according to their particular diſpoſitions and attachments.

Charles, thou he occaſionally expreſſed great uneaſineſs at the ſcene he had occaſioned, and though the agitation of his mind had a viſible effect on his conſtitution, was yet incapable of feeling that deep remorſe which proceeds from a full conviction of having acted wrong. He ſtill continued to inſiſt on the immediate converſion of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, who having made the abjuration of their errors and received abſolution, appeared with their families at high maſs. The king and court rejoiced at their victory, as the ſpecial fruit of Bartholomew. The cardinal of Bourbon, obſerving that the king of Navarre had the appearance of attention while maſs was performed, ſaid to Bellievre, " Think you not that my nephew is ſincerely converted to the church?" No" re- " plied the other—" I plainly ſee that he bears, with great difficulty, his preſent " conſtraint."

When inteligence of the maſſacre was received at Madrid, the moſt extravagant ſymptoms of joy were evinced by the court of Spain. Philip wrote a congratula-

tory letter to Charles on the ſubject, and offered public thankſgivings to Heaven for the deſtruction of his enemies. The courier, who carried the diſmal tidings to Rome, was rewarded by the cardinal of Loraine (who had long reſided in that capital) with a thouſand crowns; and a decree was imediately formed in the conclave for a jubilee to be celebrated throughout Chriſtendom. After a proceſſion had been made to St. Mark's church, and all the cuſtomary demonſtrations of joy were exhibited in the city, the cardinal walked in proceſſion to the church of St. Lewis, where, performing maſs himſelf, he ſaid, "that the prayers and "vows of Gregory the Thirteenth and the members of the ſacred college might "now be ſeen to have produced ſtupendous effects."

The court now believed they had effected the total extinction of the Proteſtant party. There were only four cities in the kingdom that dared to receive ſome diſperſed bodies of the fugitive nobles and their families, who, after the deſtruction of their principal leaders, ſeemed to carry only conſternation and deſpair along with them. Of the four towns granted for the ſecurity of the articles of the pacification, Montauban and Rochelle only remained in the power of the Hugonots. When Reſnier, who had eſcaped the maſſacre, through the lenity of de Veſins, his perſonal enemy, preſented himſelf, with a ſmall troop of horſemen, at the gates of the firſt of theſe places, he found the inhabitants in ſuch confuſion and diſmay, that he could no prevail on them to ſtand on their defence; until he had defeated, by a wonderful effort of deſperate courage, a party of four hundred of Montluc's ſoldiers. Though the flight of the moſt numerous parties being directed to Rochelle, the concourſe of fifty gentlemen, as many miniſters, and about á thouſand ſoldiers, appeared to claim the protection, and animate the courage of the townſmen, yet the fleet commanded by the baron de la Garde, and Strozzi, hovering in their bay, and the land forces drawn together in their neighbourhood by de Biron, convinced them of the dangers they would incur by any act of diſobedience to the court. As la Chaſtre had alſo been ordered with ſome troops to draw near to Sancerre, it was believed by the king's miniſters that the precautions they had taken, joined to the general ſurpriſe and terror, would be ſufficient to obtain the poſſeſſion of theſe towns, from which only reſiſtance was apprehended.

A. D. 1573.] But the expectations of the court were fruſtrated, and both theſe towns prepared for a vigorous reſiſtance. Sancerre, after having ſuffered all the horrors of a famine, never equalled but in the ſiege of Jeruſalem by Veſpaſian, obtained an honourable capitulation, by which the troops were allowed to march out with their baggage, and liberty of conſcience and impunity were ſecured to the inhabitants. Rochelle reſiſted all the efforts of the duke of Anjou, who went in perſon to beſiege it, for ſeven months, during which time many eminent commanders and officers among the Catholics loſt their lives. The duke of Aumale, Coſſeins, Goa, and Vergani, a celebrated engineer, were killed, and

in the end ſixty captains were reckoned to have periſhed by wounds or diſeaſes. Though informed of his election to the crown of Poland, and adviſed of the promiſe given by the biſhop of Valence—the French envoy in that kingdom—to grant the Rochellers advantageous terms, the duke of Anjou ſtill thought of ſhewing himſelf, to the laſt, the indiſputable vanquiſher of the Hugonots. Being at laſt required by the king to conclude the military operations on any plauſible terms, and having narrowly eſcaped a mortal wound, which one of his domeſtics warded off at the expence of his own life, a treaty was concluded, in its conditions advantageous to the beſieged; while after the employment of an army of fifty thouſand men againſt them, and the diſtruction of half of them, it could only be conſidered, on the Catholic ſide, as a ſpecious cover to the king's honou and to that of the duke of Anjou. It comprehended, along with Rochelle, the two cities of Niſmes and Mountauban as her confederates. By its articles, reduced to the form of a royal edict, the free exerciſe of their religion was permitted to the Proteſtant inhabitants of theſe towns, together with the reſtoration of the Catholic worſhip in the churches where it had been ſuppreſſed. The gentry, or poſſeſſors of fiefs-nobles, who had born arms in thoſe places, were allowed to celebrate marriages and baptiſms in their houſes, in companies not exceeding ten perſons; and all abjurations forced by penalties being declared null and void, the Proteſtants every where were indulged with liberty of conſcience. The privileges of theſe towns remained ſecure and undiminiſhed; the king only claiming the power of appointing governors, without obliging them to have other garriſons than their own, or inſiſting on building citadels without their conſent. Four hoſtages from each of theſe cities were to be ſent to the king; by whom a general amneſty was granted.

From the paſſionate deſire which queen Chatharine had to ſee her favourite ſon proclaimed a ſovereign, and from the no leſs eager, though more ſecret, wiſhes of Charles to rid himſelf of one, whom he regarded as the rival of his reputation and authority in the kingdom, the conſideration of the public diſquiet was for a time ſuſpended, and all the thoughts of the court and miniſtry were engroſſed by the preparations for the reception of the Poliſh envoys, in a manner ſuitable to the honour of both nations. The biſhop of Langres was diſpatched to receive them at Metz; and, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, they arrived at the gates of Paris. The French court had not, for many centuries, beheld ſo ſplendid an embaſſy. Their whole train of cavalry amounted to near three hundred of which, more than the third part were gentlemen, beſides the twelve chief delegates. Their aſpect, dreſs, and equipage were no leſs a novelty to the Pariſians, who gazed on the large ſize of their bodies, their long beards, their grave and ſtern countenances, the rich furs on their habits, and the brilliant furniture of their arms and horſes. The chief nobility of the court and the magiſtrates of the city went forth, in proceſſion, to meet them, at the gate of St. Martin, which was decorated in the ſame manner as on the king's public



HENRY IV

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entrance into the capital; and through it they were carried in fifty chariots, painted with various devices. It was remarkable that the Poliſh gentlemen could all ſpeak Latin, many of them German and Italian, and ſeveral of them expreſs themſelves with propriety in French; while, among the whole chief nobility of the court of France, there was none who underſtood the Latin language, though, at that time, the foundation of all literature; and the baron de Millau, and Caſtelnau Mauviſſiere, were ordered to attend the court as the only two gentlemen who had this qualification, the want of which now appeared to expoſe the faſhionable ignorance of the courtiers.

After their introduction to the queen-mother, the ambaſſadors, in their moſt pompous equipage, made a proceſſion through the ſtreets, to offer their ſubmiſſion to the duke of Anjou their ſovereign. A courſe of ſumptuous feaſts and entertainments attended theſe viſits, till the grand ceremony of preſenting the decree of their king's election took place. After Henry, in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, had ſworn to the conditions enacted by the diet of Poland, it was performed, with the utmoſt magnificence, in the ſpacious hall of the palace, where Charles, being ſeated under a canopy, with his brothers and the royal family at the Marble Table, and all the nobility and officers of the ſtate placed according to their rank, while the trumpets flouriſhed, the Poliſh delegates were introduced, and advanced towards the throne, two of them bearing on their ſhoulders a ſilver cheſt, in which decree, having an hundred and ten ſeals affixed to it, was depoſited. This ſhew of ſtate was followed by another ſtill more coſtly, which was the triumphal entrance of the king of Poland by the gate of Saint Antoine. Upon this occaſion the queen-mother, who gave the entertainment in the garden of the Thuilleries, contrived to embeliſh it with a kind of theatrical repreſentation, ſuited to the taſte of thoſe times. When the tables were removed, ſuddenly, from behind a curtain, appeared, hovering in the air, a hugh rock, cruſted with ſilver. In its niches ſixteen nymphs repreſenting by their different ornaments the ſeveral provinces of France, played upon various muſical inſtuments, and recited harmonious verſes and ſongs in praiſe of the new king, and the enſuing felicity to his reign; then, deſcending to the ground, they preſented Henry with their peculiar tributes, and forming themſelves into rows, exhibited whatever was curious or graceful in the French dances. The Poles, notwithſtanding their natural gravity, ſeemed highly pleaſed with theſe gay diverſions, and had reaſon to be ſatisfied in general, with the grandeur and liberality of the court of France.

The king of Poland left Paris, on his way to his new dominions, on the twenty-firſt of September; while Charles repaired to Villers-Conterez, where he firſt perceived the ſymptoms of freſh tumults in the ſtate. Two ſets of deputies from the provinces followed him thither, and preſented their ſeveral petitions. The Proteſtant commiſſioners from Languedoc were they one, and thoſe of the nobles of Dauphiné and Provence the other. The petition of the former re-

ſpected the toleration of their religion, and the ſecurity of all who profeſſed it; and that of the latter inſiſted on the ſuppreſſion of ſome late taxes. From their conjunction at this time, in demands equally diſagreeable to the court, the prevalence of animoſity and turbulent counſels, both among the Calvaniſts and Catholics, and the confidence thoſe parties had in ſome powerful ſupport, were ſufficiently manifeſt. The import and ſtyle of the demands of the Hugonots ſhewed they were not affraid of offending the court. Though deſtitute of their former conducters, and of the authoritative names of the princes of Bourbon, by which union and good order had been preſerved in their deſigns, the had, in a great meaſure, ſupplied this defect, by the two great confederacies of Niſmes and Montauban, which divided all the power of their adherents in Languedoc into two governments; the viſcount Saint Romain being elected chief of the one, and Paulin of the other. By the communications of their counſels and reſolutions they had ſtrengthened their partiſans; ſo that all important queſtions came to be determined by them as a body. As that of conforming to the capitulation of Rochelle, and other matters conteſted between them and the Catholics, required to be diſcuſſed, the king had permitted a general meeting of their nobility and miniſters at both theſe cities. Elevated with the apparent recovery of their former vigour and importance; flattering themſelves with the reports of the interceſſion of the Poliſh ambaſſadors for them; and believing that the removal of the duke of Anjou from the kingdom would produce a change in the meaſures of the court to their advantage, they had convened at Niſmes, upon Saint Bartholomew's day, to deliberate about the general ſubmiſſion to the terms of the late edict of Rochelle. At this meeting it was not only agreed to teſtify their diſapprobation of the edict, but their remonſtrances againſt it bore all the marks of indignant and reſentful remembrance of that day of the year in which they were framed. No treaty or compoſition with the court, yet inſiſted on by the Proteſtant chiefs during the civil wars, equalled the conditions of their preſent petition. After declaring that the treacherous maſſacre at Paris had ſo far ſapped the foundation of the public faith, that they could not, without particular ſecurities, ſafely rely upon it, they demanded the general and public toleration of their religion, without diſtinction of places or perſons; the retention of the cities they held, with the addition of two more in every province, to be furniſhed with garriſons of their ſoldiers, maintained at the king's expence: the eſtabliſhment of courts, compoſed of judges of their perſuaſion; the reſervation of the tythes paid to the Catholic clergy, for the maintainance of their miniſters; the proſecution and puniſhment of the authors and contrivers of the maſſacres, with various other articles of the ſame nature and tendency; which ſo much amazed the queen-mother, that ſhe declared—"If the prince of Condé had "been alive, and maſter of half the cities in the kingdom, with an army of "twenty thouſand horſe and forty thouſand foot, he would not have preſumed "to propoſe them." This paper was ſigned and delivered to the king by Paulin,

Gourdon, Verlac, and Cavagnac Yollet, who now placed themſelves at the head of the Hugonots. Theſe men, who thought themſelves entitled to act upon principles of reſentment againſt the government, which had broken the ties of honour and faith with them, had put the affairs of their party in ſuch a ſtate, in the remote and extenſive quarters they poſſeſſed, as rendered them formidable. Inſtead therefore, of a harſh or imperious reply, as might have been expected, the king thought fit, in the preſent conjuncture, to give them a mild, though eluſive one, by referring them to the mareſchal D'Amville for redreſs in ſome grievances of which they complained. The petition of the Catholic nobles of the other provinces was anſwered much in the ſame manner, by promiſes of a future diminution of the Tailles. From this period may be dated the more general diffuſion of a ſpirit of diſaffection to the government among the Proteſtants, and ſuch a diſregard of all the ties of allegiance as exceeded all former inſtances that occured during the civil wars. Not only were the maſſacres conſidered by them as an apology and a juſtifiable motive for embracing any opportunity of revolt, but the manifeſt diſaffection of a great number of the Catholic nobility proved an inſtigation to it.

A. D. 1574.] By the election of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Poland, the important poſt of lieutenant-general of the kingdom had become vacant: and his brother, the duke of Alencon, who now exchanged his title for that of Anjou, aſpired to the poſſeſſion of it. But his views being fruſtrated by the interpoſion of his mother, that prince entered into a coreſpondence with the Proteſtant chiefs, and projected his eſcape from the court. The latter were, indeed, already in arms; ſome of their old provincial leaders, as Montbrun, Montgion, Le Caſe, and others, having begun their excurſions in the remoter diſtricts, where the truces were ſeldom mantained betwen them and the Catholics. By the confederacy of Languedoc, and La Noue's declaring himſelf convinced of the neceſſity of taking arms the commotions ſoon became more general. Rochelle made ſome ſcruples, which, however were ſpeedily removed by an attempt that was made, by certain adventurers, who were believed to act under the authority of the queen-mother, to ſurprize the town. Though the king—who was now in a very bad ſtate of health—diſavowed any concern in this breach of the peace, the ſuſpicions of the Rochellers were confirmed by the declarations of the priſoners they took. It is certain that, though Catharine could not aſſume all the royal authority, ſhe ventured ſo far, on account of the king's indiſpoſition, to act on her own plan, that the Montmorencies and their party as well as the protcſtants, had every thing to fear from her abſolute ſway in the ſtate, upon the event of the king's death. It was generally credited among the latter, from private informations ſent them from the malecontents about the court, that the maſſacres would be renewed at this juncture. In this temper, and under theſe apprehenſions* the general inſurrection of the Hugonots, cal-

* D'Aubigne.

led the rebellion of Shrove-Tuesday, took place. Besides what they held in Languedoc, it was attended with the seizure and revolt of many towns and places in Saintonge, Dauphiné, and the Vivarez, and, by the count of Montgomery's return from England into Normandy, extended into that province, and some other districts. It was La Noue's advice to fix upon that festival for the execution of the enterprise, as the pleasures in which the Catholics then indulged themselves afforded an opportunity to attack them unawares, and the event proved the advantage of it. But that part of the design, which connected with the escape of the duke of Anjou, was defeated. Though, in consequence of a determination entered into by Thore, the viscount Turenne and others, who were in habits of intimacy with the duke, to put his resolution to the test, Guitri, an experienced captain, with two hundred of the best appointed cavalry took his station in a neighbourhood of Saint Germain-en-Laye, the mutability of the duke of Anjou was such, that La Molle, either still fearing it, or desirous to augment his credit with the court, in the view of turning it afterwards into the service of his master, thought fit to reveal the circumstance of his intended flight to the queen-mother. Her surprise was great; and to encrease the king's alarm, she effected the utmost consternation. After causing a search to be made through every corner of the castle for hidden assassins, and assuring the king that the astrologèrs had bid him beware of Saint Germain, she pronounced his stay there to be unsafe, and hurried the whole court to Paris, and from thence to the Bois des Vincennes. Here the king of Navarre and the duke was detained, though not as prisoners, yet under watch, and without the liberty of leaving the castle. They were also obliged to publish their disavowal and detestation of this conspiracy, that their secret friends might believe they were deserted by them. Thore and Meru (brothers to the mareschal Montmorenci) with some others, privately withdrew; and the prince Condé, being occasionally absent at Amiens, found means of escaping with them afterwards into Germany.

The queen-mother was careful to improve this plot to her purposes. In the languishing condition of Charles's health, the quick and sensible impressions it made upon him were altogether favourable to her procedure, and she so exaggerated the informations she pretended to have received about the nature of the conspiracy, that the presidents of the parliament, Thou and Hanneguin, were commanded by the king to enquire into it, and prosecute, with the utmost deligence and severity, all that could be discovered to have any knowledge in the treasonable design. In the the mean time, the duke of Anjou, repenting of his unsteadiness and facility, which reduced him to the state of a prisoner, and the king of Navarre, justly conceiving apprehensions about Catharine's practises against him, had formed a fresh design in Easter-week of escaping in disguise. A discovery of this being also made, the queen-mother was enabled, by means of Brinon, who had become one of her spies and informers, to give a new turn to the accusations and the whole process. Being introduced as an evidence, he

accuſed La Molle, and the count de Conconnas, a Piedmonteſe, who was alſo a favourite of the duke of Anjou's, and a number of other partiſans of the malecontents, ſome of whom were immediately apprehended and brought to trial. The two noblemen above mentioned, with one or two more, after undergoing a ſevere examination, were, upon doubtful evidence, condemned, and immediately beheaded.

But the queen-mother's aims reached higher than to the impeachment and death of ſome of the inferior partiſans of the duke of Anjou and the malecontents. She had an eye to the apprehenſion of thoſe whom ſhe conſidered as the moſt formidable leaders of the faction. Though Thore, Meru, and others had eſcaped, the mareſchals de Montmorenci and Coſſe remained within the graſp of her power; and, notwithſtanding there were only ſuch vague and trivial accuſations againſt them as could not found a plauſible charge, it was enough that they were ſuſpected as abettors of the conſpiracy. Charles, the more liable to miſtruſt, and to yield to her dictates, the more his ſpirits were waſted, was eaſily prevailed on to agree to the meaſures of ſecuring their perſons. To conceal the intention,* they were only ordered to attend the king, and they obeyed without taking the alarm. The quarters aſſigned them in the innermoſt part of the caſtle created ſuſpicion, and they were adviſed by their friends to provide for their ſafety by a retreat, which they could eaſily have accompliſhed: but, reſtrained by a ſenſe of honour, and confident that his enemies could make nothing of their charge againſt him, Montmorenci would not extricate himſelf from the hazard at the expence of his reputation; and De Coſſe adhered to his ſentiments. In three days they were made priſoners by D'Auchi, captain of the king's guard, and carried to Paris, and from thence to the Baſtile, in the midſt of the exultations of the Pariſians; who from enmity to the Montmorencies, and the moderate Catholics, readily agreed to furniſh an additional guard of eight hundred men, during the time of their impriſonment. Upon the ſame day guards were placed about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou; and queen Catharine, willing to make every thing ſecure, and to loſe no part of her triumph, had taken meaſures for depriving the mareſchal D'Amville of his government, and ſeizing his perſon; but the grounds of ſuſpicion given him, by the arrival of D'Acier, now duke of Uſez, in the province, who had lately attached himſelf to the court, and was his adverſary, and by ſome packets intercepted, had ſo forwarned him of his danger, that he immediately poſſeſſed himſelf of Montpelier, and three other towns in Languedoc, without making any declarations. Saint Sulpice and the ſecretary Villeroy being ſent by the court to him, under colour of accomodating the diſſenſions of the province, he by various pretexts avoided an interview with them, till Martinengues came with the king's orders to ſeize him, and to forbid the military officers every where to obey him. But

* D'Aubgine,

being, by this time, adviſed by his friends at court of the fate of his brother, the mareſchal, he prepared to oppoſe the execution of theſe menaces, and to ſtand on his defence.

The meaſures neceſſary to be taken for quelling the inſurection of the Hugonots completed the abſolute ſway of the the queen-mother, by giving her the direction of three armies, which were immediately ordered to be formed in Normandy, Poitou, and Dauphine, and to be commanded by Matignon, the king's lieutenant in the firſt of theſe provinces, by the duke of Montpenſier, and his ſon in the others*. The count of Montgomery's attempts upon Normandy being chiefly dreaded, the attention of the court was directed to fruſtrate his deſign of ſeizing ſome of the maratime towns, the effecting of which would open a paſſage for Engliſh or other foreign ſuccours, and might expoſe the kingdom by the revolt of places ſo contiguous to the capital. Upon that ſide, therefore, the greateſt diligence was uſed to draw together the beſt troops. But Colombiere and Guitri having ſurpriſed Saint Lo and Domfront, the count landed at the former of theſe places, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of Caranten and Valognes. While they were occupied in ſtrengthening the fortifications of theſe places, Matignon, having with the utmoſt expedition aſſembled his forces, advanced into Lower Normandy; and after making a feint of turning towards Valognes, ſuddenly puſhed the van of his army to that ſide of Saint Lo which communicated by the river with the ſea, and ſoon ſhut up all paſſage from the town, either by water or land. Montgomery, unprovided with forage for his cavalry, and ſenſible that his defence of a weak town might fruſtrate all his other projects, reſolved to force one of the enemy's poſts, and to retire to ſome place where he might act with greater effect. Having encouraged Colombiere to make the beſt reſiſtance he could, he ſallied out with a hundred and fifty horſemen in the night, broke through ſeveral guards and entrenchments of the royaliſts, and, with ſcarcely the loſs of a man, reached Carentan, whence he paſſed to Domfront, to meet ſome Proteſtant gentry lately arrived there from the interior parts of the province. His departure cauſed a council of war to be holden by the Catholic commanders, in which it was deliberated whether they ought to continue the ſiege or follow him; and Matignon, whoſe inſtructions directed him to conſider the capture of Montgomery as a main object of his enterprize, procured a determination that, without raiſing the ſiege of Saint Lo, ſuch a large detachment ſhould be made from the army, as would be ſufficient to inveſt Domfront, or any of the other towns to which he might retire. This unexpected meaſure proved ſucceſsful. By the expeditious march of ſix hundred cavalry and two regiments of foot, conducted by Saint Colombe, and followed by another body of troops under Matignon himſelf, the count, having no intelligence of their approach, was ſurpriſed in Domfront, where he had ſcarce

* De Thon.

two hundred ſoldiers to form a garriſon, and among them ſeveral of the gentry, unwilling to ſhare his hazardous fate, began to parley with the Catholics, and deſert to them. In this extremity, Montgomery performed all that could be expected from his experience and valour, and, after defending the town for ſome days, made his retreat into the caſtle. Here he ſuſtained an aſſault, and repulſed the enemy with conſiderable ſlaughter, and the loſs of Saint Colombe, and ſome other officers of note.

An anecdote recorded of one of them marks the ſpirit and gallantry which prevailed among the warriors of thoſe times. Having received a ſhot in his head, which deprived him of ſpeech, he went into the neareſt tent, and made a ſign to have a pen and paper brought him, and ſitting down to write a letter to his miſtreſs with his blood, he died the moment he had finiſhed it. By this time almoſt every one of Montgomery's companions, as well as himſelf, had received wounds, and their number was daily diminiſhed by deſertion: unable, therefore, to hold out any longer, he, at length, ſurrendered to the enemy. D'Aubigné affirms, that the count had only ambiguous promiſes of life and a ſafe diſmiſſion given him, while other hiſtorians aſſert that the promiſe was abſolute. To truſt the ſmalleſt ambiguity was, in his circumſtances, improper, and unworthy of his fortitude; he had reaſon to be convinced of what he ought to have done when the Catholic forces returned to the ſiege of Saint Lo. Being prevailed on by Matignon to ſolicit Colombiere to avoid the grand aſſault, and accept of honourable conditions, this reſolute chieftain, diſdaining to be reduced to the ſame ſituation in which he ſaw the count, reproached him with not dying like a ſoldier in the breach, rather than be expoſed to ſuffer like a criminal. "It becomes you, indeed,"—ſaid he, in an ironical tone—"to propoſe your behaviour as a pattern to me, when mine "will now be of no ſervice to you. But I ſhall take care to teach my companions "how they ought to die." He, accordingly, took his ſtation in the middle of the breach—now ſeventy paces in length—with his two ſons on each ſide of him; one of them being twelve, and the other ten years old. The character of the man, as well as of the brave commander, was diſcovered in this action. "In yielding "my life to God,"—ſaid he to thoſe around him—"I at the ſame time offer to "him what I hold deareſt in the world. It is better for them to die undiſhonoured "and uncorrupted with their father, than to fall into the hands of the reprobate "tribe, who may pervert them." A ball having pierced his head, he ſoon fell, and the breach was ſpeedily abandoned by his followers. Compaſſion, however, moved the Catholic ſoldiers to ſave the lives of his forlorn offſpring. His death was lamented by his party as a general misfortune; and the reduction of Saint Lo being ſoon followed by that of Carantan and the other forts, the war was terminated in Normandy, and the count of Montgomery carried in triumph to Paris; where he was ſoon after beheaded.

It appears that the queen-mother, at this juncture, had made the ſeizure of the princes and chief lords, whoſe oppoſition ſhe feared, her principal object; and

it is alſo ſaid by D'Aubigné—though the frequency of ſuch accuſations requires that they ſhould be received with great caution—that ſhe tried to end her military operations by a recourſe to the baſe methods of aſſaſſination: for which purpoſe it was believed, that Maurevel, and one Saint Martin, were ſent into Poitou, to make an attempt on the life of La Noue, which failed. In this province the duke of Montpenſier having collected a number of Catholic chieftains, with their followers, detached Puy-Gaillard to inveſt Taillemont, while he advanced to form the ſiege of Fontenai. The firſt of theſe places being taken, the duke had the advantage of beſieging the latter with his whole force. But the brave Saint Etienne commanded in it, who, by the bold ſally he made into the Catholic camp, and the repulſe he gave to the firſt aſſault of the beſiegers, cooled their hopes of ſpeedy ſucceſs. At the ſame time La Noue, who had forces ſufficient to make a diverſion in favour of the beſieged, though not to engage the Catholic army, appeared in the neighbourhood. From the alarm taken, it was propoſed to draw off ſome cannon from the batteries againſt the town, to ſecure the camp from an attack; when Montpenſier received letters from the queen-mother, requiring his immediate attendance upon the king, whoſe life was thought every day to be in imminent danger. The ſiege, therefore, was raiſed.

In the mean time, the war was continued with little intermiſſion in Languedoc, where the ſtrength of the Proteſtants was moſt entire; and in Dauphiné, where they had poſſeſſed themſelves of many places of importance. The flight of the prince of Condé to Straſburgh, where he publicly renounced his late forced abjuration of the Proteſtant religion, contributed to maintain the civil commotions, and animate the Hugonots to truſt their fortune to the deciſion of war, rather than to the experienced treachery of the court. He gave them aſſurances that, after his father's example, he would devote himſelf to the ſupport of their cauſe, for which purpoſe he was then endeavouring to procure auxiliary troops from Germany, in hopes that the levy-money promiſed by them would be remitted. Thoré's letters to the mareſchal D'Amville were no leſs calculated to excite him to an open rupture with the court, and to revenge the treatment of their brother as a violent ſtretch of arbitrary power that denounced the intended ruin of their whole family. Though the mareſchal, naturally ſlow, and averſe from appearing in oppoſition to the authority of the government, ſtill employed the language of peace and ſubmiſſion, it was evident from the general aſpect of affairs, that, notwithſtanding all the queen-mother had done for deſtroying the party of the malecontents, and repreſſing the inſurrection of the Proteſtants, the flame of war and diſcord was too far kindled in the kingdom, to be extinguiſhed by the utmoſt exertion of her power and policy.

The moſt unequivocal ſymptoms of the king's approaching diſſolution had, by this time, appeared, and it is evident he was aware of it himſelf, by allowing letters patent to be tranſmitted to the governors of the provinces, requiring them to obey the orders of his mother, as being veſted with his authority, during his preſent

indiſpoſition. With this conceſſion, though for ſome time expected by Catharine, he had hitherto declined to gratify her; and by yielding it only in the extremity of his diſorder, he ſhewed a jealouſy and diſtruſt of her uſurpation over him, which ſhe had too long exerciſed. His nomination of her, by a formal deed, to the regency of the kingdom, in the event of his death, and during the abſence of his brother, the king of Poland, was ſtill deferred, till the thirtieth of May, when he was ſeized with the moſt violent pains. The conflict between his youthful ſtrength and the fatal power of his diſeaſe, threw him into the moſt violent convulſions, during which the blood iſſued through the pores of his ſkin, in almoſt every part of his body. He expired in the evening of the day in which the letters of regency were framed, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

Impetuous, violent, choleric, vindictive and cruel, Charles diſgraced by his actions the throne of his anceſtors; yet, when the frailty of human nature is conſidered, ſome extenuation muſt be allowed even for the *vices* of youth. No parent's foſtering hand had ſown the ſeeds of virtue in his infant mind; all thoſe generous feelings which are the ſources of true benevolence, and give dignity to man, were carefully ſuppreſſed by an unnatural mother, whoſe chief object was to render her ſon a prodigy of diſſimulation. In the execution of this deteſtable plan, ſhe, too fatally, ſucceeded; and ſhe lived to behold the dreadful effects of her own wickedneſs.

The negative virtues of ſobriety and temperance Charles certainly poſſeſſed: his apprehenſion was quick: his diſcernment acute: his elocution nervous and maſculine: and in all the martial exerciſes of the age, he is ſaid to have been eminently ſkilled. He had a taſte for the fine arts, which appeared incompatible with the moroſeneſs and cruelty of his temper: he not only rewarded the genius of the poet Ronſard, but wrote verſes in his praiſe, not inferior to thoſe of the maſter he admired. He alſo compiled a book on his favourite amuſement of the chace.

Charles cauſed a ſmith's forge to be erected in his palace, where he amuſed himſelf with the fabrication of gun-barrels, horſe-chains, and other pieces of ſmith's work. He piqued himſelf on his talent of imitating, with the greateſt nicety, the various coins in circulation, ſuch as the crown, the double ducat, and the teſtoon. When he ſhewed one of them to the cardinal of Lorraine for his approbation; "Ah, Sir,"—ſaid the prelate—"you can do whatever you pleaſe, for you always "carry your pardon in your own pocket."

For ſome time before his death he is ſaid to have expreſſed the deepeſt remorſe for the maſſacre of Saint Bartholomew, and for the other acts of violence to which he had been inſtigated by his mother. On his death-bed he diſplayed the ſentiments of a king, anxious for the welfare of his people. He ſpoke feelingly of the ſituation of princes during their minority; and ſaid, "that he was better-pleaſed to die "without an heir, than to leave the kingdom to an infant, at a time when France "ſtood in need of a man to redreſs her numerous calamities." By his queen,

Elizabeth of Auſtria, he left a daughter, who ſurvived him but a ſhort time. By his miſtreſs, Mary Toucher, daughter to a lieutenant of the police at Orleans, he had one ſon, who firſt enjoyed the title of grand prior, and afterwards that of count d'Auvergne. Charles was entombed with little ceremony; and before the funeral convoy reached Saint Denis, it was deſerted by all the followers, except Brantome, and four other gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and the guard of archers.

In the laſt year of the reign of Charles the Ninth, the revenues produced only eight millions, ſix hundred thouſand livres; the mark of ſilver being ſeventeen livres, and that of gold two hundred.

HENRY THE THIRD.

A. D. 1574.] CHARLES, by his widow Elizabeth, left only one daughter, who ſurvived him about four years, and Elizabeth herſelf retired into the dominions of her father the emperor Maximilian; while Catharine aſſuming the power which the deceaſed monarch's laſt words had conferred on her, diſplayed thoſe abilities which aroſe in proportion to the emergency of her ſituation. She cloſely guarded the king of Navarre, and the duke of Alençon, with the mareſchals de Montmorenci and de Coſſe; ſhe negociated a truce with the Hugonots, raiſed new levies among the Swiſs and Germans, diſpatched repeated meſſengers to haſten the journey of the king of Poland, and, impatient of delay, ſet out for the city of Lyons to meet him.

On receiving the welcome news of his brother's deceaſe, Henry ſecretly quitted Poland, and haſtily fled from the throne to which he had been ſo lately elected; before the tidings were publicly known, or his deſigns could be impeded, he had reached the frontiers of Germany, and was entertained at Vienna by Maximilian with magnificence; thence he directed his courſe through the territories of the Venetians, reſted a few days in Turin; and a little more than three months from the death of Charles, embraced his mother at Lyons, and received from her hands the reigns of government.

In his early youth Henry had diſplayed the promiſe of uncommon abilities; his manners were inſinuating, his perſon graceful, his countenance beautiful; and his people regarded with the moſt partial expectations the hero of Jarnac and Mont-

contour; but the meridian of his fame was ill calculated to correſpoud with the luſtre of his dawning glory, and his ſubjects ſoon diſcerned a monarch, irreſolute, inconſtant, indolent, and voluptuous; mingling devotion with ſenſuality, and alternately governed by the licentious minions of his court, or by bigoted prieſts who aſſumed the direction of his conſcience.

Though he releaſed from confinement the king of Navarre, and his brother the duke of Alençon, he ſtill continued to obſerve their ſteps with the moſt vigilant jealouſy: but the cares of government were only conſidered ſecondary to thoſe of love; his paſſion for the princeſs of Condé blazed forth with increaſe of violence. Reaſon, decency, and honour, in vain oppoſed its progreſs, and Henry was already determined to diſſolve the marriage of Mary with the prince of Condé, and to raiſe her to his bed and throne, when his deſigns were broken by the unexpected ſtroke of death; that princeſs, in the pride of beauty and youth, ſuddenly expired; while the royal lover, devoting himſelf to all the luxury of ſorrow, atteſted the ardour of his affection, by remaining ſeveral days inſenſible to the language of conſolation, and obſtinately rejecting whatever food was offered him.

From this trance he was awakened by the repreſentations of his miniſters, and the firſt act of ſovereignty was to reſtore to the duke of Savoy ſeveral places which the French ſtill retained in Piedmont. But the impolicy of this meaſure was forgotten in the ſuperior imprudence of his reſolution to proſecute the war againſt the Hugonots. The cardinal of Lorrain, whoſe fatal counſels influenced the irreſelute mind of Henry, ſurvived not to behold the ſcenes of ſlaughter which he had planned; and the mareſchal D'Amville, informed of the royal determination, boldly erected the ſtandard of oppoſition, and ſupported in Languedoc the principles of Calvaniſm. The prince of Condé previous to the death of Charles the Ninth, had eſcaped to Straſburg, and abjured the Catholic religion; he now returned to join the forces of the confederates; while the duke of Alençon, inflamed by wild ambition, deſerted the court and armed againſt his brother.

A. D. 1575.] Amidſt the ſtorms which threatened his throne on every ſide, the king was crowned at Rheims by the cardinal of Guiſe, and the next day beſtowed his hand on Louiſa, daughter to the count of Vaudemont, of the houſe of Lorrain. The war with the Proteſtants was maintained with various ſucceſs. The duke of Guiſe acquired freſh laurels by the defeat of a conſiderable body of German auxiliaries; but Leſdiguieres eſtabliſhed himſelf in Dauphinè, and the queen mother, alarmed at his progreſs, releaſed the mareſchals de Coſſe and Montmorenci, and prevailed on the latter to negociate a truce. It was concluded for ſix months only, and the towns of Niort, Saumur, la Charité, Meſieres, St. Jean d'Angeli, and Coignac, were ſurrendered to the reformed, as pledges for their ſecurity; while Henry endured a freſh mortification from abroad, by the determination of the Poliſh diet to chuſe a new ſovereign, and to place the crown on the head of the prince of Tranſylvania.

A. D. 1576.] In the late commotions, the king of Navarre had affected to remain an unconcerned ſpectator; he now ſeized the favourable moment of flight, eſcaped to his government of Guienne, and openly profeſſed again the tenets of Calviniſm; the duke of Alençon again reſumed his intrigues; the prince of Condé appeared at the head of a numerous body of Germans; and the boundleſs ambition of the duke of Guiſe, who commanded the Catholic army, was equally formidable to Henry with the daring deſigns of the confederates. Thus alike fearful of victory, or defeat, he ſubſcribed a peace, by which the reformed were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, with the reſtriction of not preaching within two miles of Paris, or any place where the court reſided; chambers of juſtice were erected in every parliament, conſiſting of equal numbers of Catholics and Proteſtants, the memory of Coligni and his aſſociates were honourably reſtored, and the ſafety of the Hugonots was confirmed by the ceſſion of eight fortified towns.

To gratify his brother, the king had ceded to him the countries of Anjou, Touraine, and Berri, with the title of duke of the former: the prince of Condé was to have the government of Picardy; Leſdiguires, and d'Amville in Dauphiné and Languedoc aſſumed an haughty independency; the Germans, raiſed by prince Caſimir, were permitted to live at free quarters in the biſhopric of Langres; and Henry beheld, with indignation, great part of his dominions parcelled out amongſt his Proteſtant ſubjects, and their formidable allies; but a more fatal blow to his authority originated in the jealouſy of the Catholics, who, irritated by the late favourable conditions granted to the Calviniſts, formed themſelves into a league, and choſe as their protectors the pope and the king of Spain. Henry, though ſenſible of the melancholy degradation, by the advice of his miniſters, declared himſelf the head of this aſſociation, and by the importunities of the leaguers was ſoon compelled to reſcind the late edict of pacification.

A. D. 1577, 1579.] While the king was immerſed in ſenſual enjoyments, his ſubjects experienced all the miſeries which attend a weak and divided adminiſtration. The religious enmity of the Catholics and Hugonots was repeatedly ſuſpended by treaties, which as they were made without faith, were broken without heſitation. But amidſt the ſcenes of dark intrigue and open violence, which for three ſucceſſive years diſhonoured and afflicted the kingdom, the virtues of the young king of Navarre attained to maturity, and burſt forth with an increaſe of luſtre which eclipſed his rivals, dazzled the eyes of the beholders, and confirmed the hopes of the Calviniſts, whoſe religious tenets he profeſſed. In the treaty of Nerac, he had baffled the artifices of the vily Catherine; and on the ſubſequent violation of that treaty, he ſurpriſed the town of Cahors; forced open the gates; and though the governor, with undaunted courage, maintained, during five days, an obſtinate and unprecedented conflict in the ſtreets, the valour of the king of Navarre triumphed over every difficulty, and planted at laſt the banners of his party on the ramparts of that city.

It was not alone in France that religious rancour had kindled the flames of civil war. The gloomy light was beheld with horror through the Netherlands; and the unrelenting Philip, ſeconded by the zeal of the duke of Alva, had involved numbers of his Flemiſh ſubjects in exile, torture, and death. The illuſtrious birth and memorable ſervices of the counts Egmont and Horn, could not preſerve them from an ignominious fate; and the prince of Orange only eſcaped the perfidy of his ſovereign, and the ſtroke of the executioner, by an haſty retreat into Germany. He ſoon returned to arouſe his countrymen to the defence of their civil and religious freedom; and the Flemings, oppreſſed by the ſuperior forces of Spain, fought new reſources in foreign alliances, and addreſſed themſelves to the duke of Anjou. The ſovereignty of the Low Countries was too ſplendid an allurement to be reſiſted by a prince vain, raſh, and ambitious; his ardour, at the ſame time, was inflamed by the hopes of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth; and the queen of England, deſirous of reſiſting the tyranny of Philip, yet cautious of committing herſelf to open hoſtilities, embraced the opportunity, by the moſt flattering declarations, of exciting the duke of Anjou to the defence of the Flemings.

A. D. 1580.] But before the duke could embark in this enterpriſe, it was firſt neceſſary that he ſhould at leaſt ſuſpend, if not extinguiſh, the flames of civil diſcord which raged through the kingdom of France. His proffered mediation was readily accepted by Henry, who by alternately profeſſing to patroniſe each, had loſt the confidence of both factions, and beheld his Catholic ſubjects range themſelves under the banners of the duke of Guiſe, while the Proteſtants avowed their open attachment to the king of Navarre. Both had exhauſted their ſtrength in various efforts, without either acquiring an aſcendancy; and a treaty was quickly concluded, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the prince of Condé, which confirmed the former edict of pacification, and left the Poteſtants in poſſeſſion of the cautionary towns for ſix years.

A. D. 1581.] The duke of Anjou had ſcarcely unfurled his ſtandard, before it was joined by the flower of French chivalry; and at the head of twelve thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, he marched to the relief of Cambray, which was inveſted by the army of Philip, commanded by the prince of Parma; that prudent general retired at the approach of this new antagoniſt, who entered Cambray in triumph, was ſaluted by the inhabitants as the protector of their freedom; and after reducing Cateau Cambreſis, embarked for England, to ſolicit the hand and ſupport of Elizabeth.

A. D. 1582, 1583.] From that queen he received the moſt gracious reception; and though her prudence afterwards retracted the promiſes which ſhe had been betrayed into by his flattery and importunity, ſhe furniſhed him with a conſiderable ſum of money, and a numerous fleet, to ſecond his enterpriſes in the Low Countries. He was reinforced from France by the duke de Montpenſier, and the mareſchal Biron, with a body of ſeven or eight thouſand men; but his own ca-

price and perfidy difappointed the ambitious hopes which he had entertained; and he refolved, by making himfelf maſter of thoſe towns into which his troops had been admitted, to oppreſs that liberty which he was ſummoned to protect. His deſigns could not eſcape the penetrating eye of the prince of Orange; his treacherous attempt on Antwerp was repulſed by the valour of the inhabitants; the gates of the other cities were ſhut againſt him; his troops were aſſailed by famine and diſeaſe; and though the prudence of the prince of Orange affected an apparent reconciliation, the duke of Anjou, with a broken conſtitution, retired to France, deſerted by his friends, and derided by his enemies.

A. D. 1584.] Though Henry ever afterwards regarded with contempt the abilities and deſigns of his brother, his own conduct was equally deſtitute of decency, policy, or judgment. He beſtowed on his favourite, the duke of Joyeuſe, the ſupreme direction of affairs, and raiſed him to an alliance with the throne, by uniting him in marriage to the ſiſter of his queen. Balls, banquets, and religious proceſſions, conſumed thoſe treaſures which might have been ſucceſsfully employed in repreſſing the riſing influence of the king of Navarre and the duke of Guiſe; the latter by his intrigues had drawn from his retirement the duke of Anjou, who, tranſported with the hopes of retrieving his loſt reputation, entered into the views, and engaged to ſecond the plans of the houſe of Lorraine; but ever fickle and capricious, he ſoon repented of this new enterpriſe; he flew to court, proſtrated himſelf at the feet of the king, and revealed the conſpiracy in which he had embarked. Henry received him with tenderneſs, and diſmiſſed him to Chateau Thierri, where a rapid decline ſoon terminated a life, ſtained by levity, perfidy, and profligacy.

The death of the duke of Anjou diſconcerted, but did not extinguiſh, the daring projects of the houſe of Lorraine. The three brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guiſe, with the duke of Mayenne, openly placed themſelves at the head of the league, and inflaming the people with the dread of an heretic ſovereign, avowed their reſolution to transfer the pretenſions of the king of Navarre to his uncle, the cardinal of Bourbon, a zealous papiſt, but who, incapable from age and weakneſs of holding the reins of government himſelf, was to deliver them into the hands of the duke of Guiſe. Henry was ſoon appriſed of the intentions of the confederates, by the duke d'Epernon, who ſhared his favour with Joyeuſe, he preſſed the kiug of Navarre to reconcile himſelf to the eſtabliſhed church, and as next prince of the blood, to remove the only objection that could be urged againſt his ſucceſſion; but the king of Navarre was deaf to the arguments of d'Epernon; and though his friend Pleſſis Mornay, by publiſhing his ſentiments, confirmed the Hugonots in their opinion of his conſtancy, he unfortunately afforded a plauſible pretence to the league, who openly reviled their ſovereign as treating with heretics, and entered into a cloſe alliance with Spain; by a treaty, ſigned at Joinville, they agreed, in return for certain pecuniary ſupplies, on the death of Henry the Third, to acknowledge the cardinal of Bourbon as king, to enforce the council of Trent through France, and to reduce Cambray to the yoke of Philip.

The court of Rome entered into the views of the confederates, and ſanctioned by her holy authority the ambition of the Guiſes. The impatience of their new ally the king of Spain, compelled them to take the field before they had aſſembled their adherents; with a feeble army, ſcarce exceeding five thouſand men, the duke of Guiſe occupied Verdun, but was repulſed from Metz by the vigilance of the duke d'Epernon. The loyalty of the mareſchal Matignon preſerved Bourdeaux; and though Marſeilles was ſurpriſed by the league, it was next day recovered by the arms of the royaliſts. Had Henry at this moment reſumed that ſpirit which he formerly diſplayed in the fields of Jarnac and Moncontour, he might have eſtabliſhed his tottering throne, and chaſed the duke of Guiſe from his dominions: but alternately the ſlave of pleaſure and ſuperſtition, he was no longer capable of any great or arduous enterpriſe; he concluded a peace on the moſt diſhonourable terms, with thoſe very rebels whoſe preſumption he might have chaſtiſed; and agreed, at the imperious voice of the duke of Guiſe, to compel the Proteſtants to reſtore the cautionary towns that they had received, to annul all edicts in their favour, and to devote his troops and treaſures to the ſervice of the league.

A. D. 1585.] With terror and aſtoniſhment the king of Navarre heard the fatal conditions, which menaced his own ſucceſſion, and placed an empty ſceptre in the hand of Henry. That monarch ſoon experienced that the moſt fatal event of war ought to have been preferred to an ignominious peace. His capital could no longer be conſidered as his own. A council of ſixteen citizens of Paris, nominated by the influence of the duke of Guiſe, inſulted their ſovereign, and filled the ſtreets with confuſion. A gleam of hope broke in from the court of Rome; Sixtus the Fifth, who had ſucceeded to the apoſtolical throne, launched the ſpiritual thunders on the heads of thoſe who had preſumed to arm againſt the crown. But governed only by a temper turbulent and aſſuming, he increaſed the public anarchy by excommunicating ſoon after the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and all their adherents. The Proteſtants weakened and oppreſſed ſought ſhelter in Guienne and Dauphiné; and the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, embraced as their only means of ſafety the calamities of war. The latter, after having in vain attempted to relieve Angiers, was forced to diſperſe his troops, and with difficulty eſcaped to England.

A. D. 1586.] Five armies levied in the name of the king threatened with their numbers to overwhelm the ſmall band of Proteſtants. The moſt numerous was entruſted to the command of the duke of Mayenne, who entered Guienne, and harraſſed his forces in the fruitleſs purſuit of the king of Navarre; three more, led by d'Epernon, Joyeuſe, and Matignon, were equally unſucceſsful. But the duke of Guiſe extended his fame and conqueſts in Champagne and Burgundy, and confirmed by his exploits the confidence of the league. Yet the people loudly murmured at the new taxes which were impoſed for the continuance of the war. The return of the prince of Condé with troops and money from England, and his ſubſequent ſucceſs in Saintonge, allowed them not to expect a ſpeedy concluſion of

it; the mareſchal Biron, indeed, recovered ſeveral places from the reformed, but he maintained at the ſame time an auſtere reſerve towards the leaguers; while d'Amville, who, by the death of his brother, was become mareſchal Montmorenci, aſſumed in Languedoc the tone of independence, declared himſelf the head of a third party attached to the ancient conſtitution in church and ſtate, and while he ſtiled the Proteſtants heretics, he treated the leaguers as rebels.

A. D. 1587.] Each day diminiſhed the remnant of authority which the king continued to poſſeſs, and encreaſed the difficulties of his ſituation; on one ſide the Germans and Swiſs prepared to pour their fources into France and join the troops of the king of Navarre; on the other Henry equally dreaded the leaders of the league, and conſidered the duke of Guiſe his moſt formidable enemy. His favourite Joyeuſe, accompanied by the flower of the French nobility, was defeated and ſlain at Coutras. In that action, which firſt crowned the Hugonots with deciſive victory, the king of Navarre diſplayed all the qualities which diſtinguiſh the ſoldier and the general; but his inability to ſupport his troops prevented him from improving his advantage; he was compelled to diſband his forces; and with the impatience of a lover, he haſtened to lay his laurels at the feet of his miſtreſs.

The prince of Condé ſoon after expired at St. Jean d'Angeli of poiſon: a crime which was imputed to his conſort, but whoſe innocence was vindicated by a public trial.

The Germans and Swiſs, hopeleſs of joining their allies, fixed and received the price of their retreat; and the inhabitants of Paris, delivered from the dread of foreign invaſion, determined to reduce Henry to the moſt mortifying inſignificance, and to veſt the ſole adminiſtration in the hands of the duke of Guiſe. In purſuance of this deſign, they preſented a memorial, in which they required the king to declare openly for the league, to revive the council of Trent, to eſtabliſh the inquiſition, and to extirpate hereſy. Though Henry could not entirely repreſs his indignation, he yet promiſed to conſider their requeſts. But alarmed at their inſolence, he obſerved with a vigilant eye their conduct, and meditated vindicating his dignity by ſurpriſing the whole council at once; from this deſign he was diſſuaded by Catharine; and his imprudence in ſeverely reproaching and boldly menacing a faction which he ſuffered to eſcape with impunity, ſerved only to inflame the enmity of the leaguers, who now ſummoned the duke of Guiſe to their ſupport.

A. D. 1588.] Contrary to the expreſs command of his ſovereign, the duke of Guiſe entered Paris amidſt the acclamations of the citizens, and demanded an audience of the king. Incapable of refuſing, yet deeply wounded by repeated inſults, Henry recalled his former reſolution, and declared that the moment of interview ſhould be the laſt of his preſumptuous ſubject. The tears and remonſtrances of Catharine again interpoſed. The indignant features of the monarch proclaimed the conflict within; he ſternly accuſed the duke of ſedition, treaſon,

and the moſt daring deſigns againſt his life and throne. The duke of Guiſe, ſenſible of his danger, endeavoured to diſarm his rage by ſubmiſſion; he was ſuffered to retire in ſecurity; but convinced of the hazard he had incurred, and hopeleſs of any ſincere reconciliation, he immediately determined on the moſt deciſive meaſures.

The angry countenances of the Pariſians betrayed the ſecret emotions of their minds, and foretold the aproaching tempeſt. Six thouſand of the troops, whoſe fidelity Henry could depend upon, had received orders to enter the capital. Their ready appearance was the ſignal of general inſurrection; the citizens by myriads quitted the inſtruments of their peaceful occupations to aſſume the weapons of war. The guards were aſtoniſhed, overwhelmed, and diſarmed; but amidſt the tumult, while Catherine engaged the duke in an artful negociation, Henry quitted his palace, eſcaped through the garden of the Thuilleries, and ſurveying his capital with the eye of offended majeſty, declared he would never enter it again but through a breach in the walls.

From Paris Henry retired to Chartres, and publicly appealed to his ſubjects from the inſolence of the duke of Guiſe, and the tyranny of the leaguers. He was anſwered by manifeſtos which breathed the ſpirit of ſedition inflamed by religious rancour. Yet while the mutual accuſations of both parties ſeemed to allow no other deciſion but that of arms, the mediation of Catherine was again accepted, and Henry was once more in appearance reconciled to a ſubject whom he hated and feared. The firmneſs of the parliament, and the levity of the Pariſians, had influenced the duke of Guiſe to liſten to terms of accomodation; while Henry was impreſſed with dread by the formidable preparations of the king of Spain. By the articles of the new treaty, the duke of Guiſe was conſtituted lieutenant of the French armies; the cardinal of Bourbon was declared firſt prince of the blood; and the ſevereſt penalties were denounced againſt the ſubjects of France who had preſumed to deviate from the ancient and eſtabliſhed church. On the concluſion of the treaty, the duke of Guiſe waited on the king at Chartres, and was received with marks of reſpect and confidence that ſeemed to proclaim the moſt ſincere reconciliation.

Yet amidſt theſe public teſtimonies of regard, Henry continued to nouriſh a latent thirſt of vengeance, and was determined to inflict on the duke the juſt but tardy puniſhment of his preſumption. Exaſperated at the ignominious conceſſions into which the counſels of his mother had betrayed him, he for ever excluded her from his confidence. He aſſembled the ſtates at Blois; and though he beheld himſelf ſurrounded by the partiſans of the league, he addreſſed them in a bold and animated ſpeech, diſplayed the diſtreſs to which he was reduced, and glanced at the ſeditious practices of the houſe of Lorraine. Language ſo unexpected ſtruck the duke of Guiſe with aſtoniſhment; he remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the inſinuations it conveyed, and Henry was compelled, before it was circulated abroad, to ſoften the moſt obnoxious paſſages.

To this mortification ſucceeded intelligence the moſt alarming: he was informed that his aſpiring ſubject held a ſecret and treaſonable correſpondence with the duke of Savoy; he perceived that the ſtates were determined to declare the king of Navarre by name incapable of the ſucceſſion; and that his own repoſe, and the tranquillity of the kingdom, could only be eſtabliſhed by the death of the duke of Guiſe. He ſummoned in this exigency the few friends in whoſe fidelity and ſecrecy he could truſt; the number and quality of them convey to us ſome idea of his forlorn ſituation; and the cabinet council of the ſovereign of France was compoſed of the mareſchal d'Aumont, Nicholas and Lewis d'Angennes, and Beauvais Nangis. The firſt adviſed the king to arreſt the princes of Lorraine; but Henry was ſenſible that ſuch an attempt would only ſerve to inflame ſubjects too powerful for reſtraint; and the reſt concurred in encouraging him to extinguiſh the ambition of the duke of Guiſe with his life.

In the execution of this deſign, Henry diſplayed the ſame calm diſſimulation as had characteriſed his brother Charles; Grillon, who commanded the royal guards, and who was celebrated for his perſonal courage, was firſt applied to to ſtrike the fatal blow; but with a dignity of mind equal to his valour, he replied that his rank and ſervices allowed him not to play the executioner. "I will chal-"lenge the duke," continued he, "and if permitted, endeavour to kill him "fairly with my ſword." The king received his refuſal with a good grace; and only recommended to him ſecrecy. He now fixed on Loignac, the firſt gentleman of his bed-chamber, who readily accepted the commiſſion, and was joined by a ſelect number of Gaſcons whom the duke d'Epernon had introduced for the immedite protection of the king's perſon.

Yet the adherents of the duke of Guiſe, ever anxious and vigilant were ſoon appriſed that ſome dark deſign was meditated, and their leader was repeatedly admoniſhed that he ſtood on the edge of a precipice. But relying on that fortune which hitherto had invariably attended him, and impreſſed with a ſtrong but miſtaken idea of Henry's timidity, he determined to attend the council he was ſummoned to. As he entered the cabinet of the king, through a long and gloomy paſſage, he was aſſailed by the daggers of Loignac and his aſſociates. Six poniards at once were plunged in his boſom; and exclaiming with a deep groan, "My God, have mercy on me!" he fell breathleſs on the floor.

Thus periſhed Henry duke of Guiſe the victim of his own inordinate ambition. Though his talents appear not to have equalled thoſe of his father, his courage, magnanimity, and inſinuating addreſs endeared him to the citizens of Paris, over whom his influence was uncontrouled. His brother the cardinal of Guiſe, more violent, but leſs enterpriſing, was involved in his deſtruction; and Henry the moment he was informed of the fate of the former, paſſed into the apartment of the queen mother, and acquainting her with the event, added, "I am now a "king, madam, and have no competitor, for the duke of Guiſe is no more." Catherine, without blaming or commending the action, only coldly aſked, if he had conſidered the conſequences.

A. D. 1589.] That princeſs had been for ſome time confined to her bed by a ſevere indiſpoſition; accuſtomed to the ſupreme direction of affairs, her haughty temper could ill brook the reſerve that for ſome time the king had maintained towards her: the pangs of diſeaſe were rendered more intolerable by the agitation of her mind: As her end approached, her eyes were opened to a juſt ſenſe of the inſidious policy which ſhe had ſo long and ſo fatally purſued; in her laſt moments ſhe exhorted Henry to reconcile himſelf to the princes of his blood, particularly the king of Navarre, whoſe ſincerity ſhe declared ſhe had conſtantly experienced; and to reſtore the tranquillity of France, by allowing the free exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion. In her ſeventieth year ſhe ſunk into the grave, and eſcaped by a timely death beholding the deſtruction of her laſt and favourite ſon.

The king was ſoon convinced how neceſſary it was for him to adopt the dying councils of Catherine. On the fate of the Guiſes, the crowd that had attended him to Blois haſtily diſperſed; the multitude abhorred him, the majority of his nobles were combined againſt him, his favourites on whom he had profuſedly laviſhed his treaſures deſerted him, and the clergy whom he had blindly reverenced publicly reviled him. All zealous Catholics were armed againſt him; the citizens of his capital rejected his authority, and choſe the duke of Aumale as their governor; the doctors of the Sarbonne openly abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance; and the council of union, compoſed of forty members, aſſuming a ſovereign power, conſtituted the duke of Mayenne, brother to the late duke of Guiſe, lieutenant-general of the ſtate royal and crown of France: a dignity pompous, abſurd, and before unknown; their zeal would even have extended to him the title of king, had not this caution induced him to decline the dangerous pre-eminence. Rouen, and the greateſt part of Normandy declared for the league; Lyons, Thouloufe, Marſeilles, Arles, and Toulon, with the provinces of Brittany and Auvergne embraced the ſame party; the Spaniſh ambaſſador repaired to Paris, and nouriſhed by his gold the factious councils of the capital; while pope Sixtus the Fifth fulminated his thunders againſt the aſſaſſins of the duke of Guiſe, and involved the king in the ſentance of excommunication.

While Henry forlorn and deſponding contemplated the gloomy and diſtracted proſpect before him, a ray of hope broke in from the honourable and diſintereſted attachment of the princes of the blood; theſe haſtened to devote to his ſervice their lives and fortunes; and their example was followed by the dukes d'Epernon and Nevers, and the mareſchal Montmorenci; a reconciliation was effected between the kings of France and Navarre; and the former inveſted in Tours by the duke of Mayenne, after defending the ſuburbs with the ſame gallantry as he had diſplayed in early life, was relieved by the latter, who preſſed forwards with his troops to his aſſiſtance, and diſdained when he joined the royal ſtandard to extort from the neceſſities of the king any conditions for his own advantage. Large

levies were diligently raiſed in Switzerland and Germany; yet the mind of Henry, amidſt the hope of returning fortune, ſeemed continually oppreſſed by the ſpiritual cenſures of the court of Rome; and it required the utmoſt addreſs of the king of Navarre to animate his drooping ſpirits: "Let us, ſire," ſaid that prince with his uſual vivacity, "march to Paris, and if we are victorious, we ſhall be "eaſily abſolved." The council was approved—their ſuperior forces, joined by the Swiſs and Germans, ſwept the revolted towns in their progreſs; and ſwelled by ſucceſs to near forty thouſand men, on the laſt of July they inveſted the capital of France.

The duke of Mayenne, with four thouſand regular ſoldiers, endeavoured to confirm the courage and conſtancy of the inhabitants; but Henry urged the ſiege with inceſſant ardour; within the walls the royaliſts were ſtill numerous; and Paris muſt ſoon have been reduced to acknowledge the authority of her ſovereign, had not the puniſhment which her ſeditious and turbulent citizens had ſo long provoked been averted by the dagger of aſſaſſination. James Clement, a Jacobin friar, and native of Sens, of ſtrong paſſions but weak intellects, had eagerly liſtened to the treaſonable and daring diſcourſes which the popular preachers of the league daily thundered from their pulpits. A diſpoſition, naturally gloomy and fanatical, was inflamed to deſperation by theſe intemperate harangues; and either impelled by that ſanguinary ſuperſtition that ſtrongly marks the times, or prompted by perſons of ſuperior rank, who viewed in the return of Henry their own deſtruction, he determined by one fatal ſtroke to extinguiſh the enemy of the pope, and of the Catholic religion. With a paſſport procured under falſe pretences from the count de Brienne, one of the king's generals then a priſoner, and a letter forged from the preſident Harlay, who at that time was confined in the Baſtile, he ſet out from Paris for St. Cloud, the royal quarters; on the road he met the attorney-general, and informing him that he had ſome important intelligence to communicate to the king in perſon, he was entertained by that officer at his houſe, who alſo engaged to procure him an audience of Henry.

The next morning he was accordingly introduced to the king, to whom he preſented his letters; but while Henry was attentively occupied in the peruſal of them, Clement ſuddenly plunged a knife, that he had concealed in his ſleeve, in the bowels of his unhappy ſovereign. The wounded monarch inſtantly drew it out, and twice ſtruck with it the aſſaſſin; the attorney-general, with a blow of his ſword, extended him on the floor; and the imprudent zeal of two of the royal guards immediately diſpatched him.

Henry at firſt had flattered himſelf that his wound was not mortal; but frequent faintings ſoon convinced him of his approaching end, and he prepared to meet it with a fortitude and compoſure worthy of his high ſituation. He ſummoned to his preſence the king of Navarre, whom he tenderly embraced and declared his lawful ſucceſſor; he exhorted the nobility to acknowledge and ſupport their new ſovereign—and expired the next morning in the ſixteenth year of his reign, and

the thirty-ninth of his age. In him was finally extinguiſhed the race of Valois; and his widow Louiſa, of the houſe of Lorrain, after lamenting the untimely fate of her conſort, whoſe tenderneſs ſhe had invarably experienced, retired, amidſt the diſtractions of her bleeding country, to linger through a life of twelve years of blameleſs obſcurity.

HENRY THE FOURTH.

BY the death of Henry the Third, the ſceptre of France was transferred from the houſe of Valois to that of Bourbon, and placed in the hand of Henry the Fourth, the firſt monarch of that family. The religious commotions which ſo long had agitated France, had afflicted alſo great part of Europe. The prudence of Elizabeth had, indeed, ſecured the internal tranquillity of England—but the tempeſt had raged with redoubled violence in Scotland—the amiable, but unfortunate Mary, who had ſought ſhelter in Britain from the fury of a rude, haughty, and turbulent people, inflamed with ſanguinary zeal for the doctrines of Calviniſm, had, after the farce of a public trial, periſhed on the ſcaffold the victim of the female jealouſy of Elizabeth. To avenge her death, the king of Spain filled his ports with naval preparations; but his fleet, which from the ſize of his ſhips, and the ample manner in which they were equipped, obtained the name of the Invincible Armada, was defeated by the lighter veſſels and ſuperior dexterity of the Engliſh; and the remnant of an armament, on which the treaſures of the Indies and America had been profuſely laviſhed, ſhattered by the winds and waves, and purſued by the triumphant navy of Elizabeth, eſcaped with difficulty into the ports of Spain.

To the vaſt continet of America, diſcovered by the daring genius of Columbus, and reduced to ſubjection by the arms of Cortez and Pizarro, Philip had ſome time ſince added the dominions of Portugal. The people of that country had firſt of all the Europeans deſpiſed the narrow and beaten tract of navigation, boldly committed themſelves to the wide expanſe of the ocean, eſtabliſhed their colonies on the coaſt of Africa, founded new cities in Aſia, and planted Brazil, in America, a valuable ſettlement of which they ſtill retain poſſeſſion. But their monarch Sebaſtian, impelled by frantic zeal and romantic valour, had periſhed waging a fruitleſs war in Africa againſt the diſciples of Mahomet; his crown paſſed to his

uncle Don Henry, a cardinal and a prieſt; and on the death of Henry, the pretenſions of Philip, ſeconded by the armies of Spain and the experience of Alva, triumphed over the feebler efforts of his competitors, and annexed the kingdom of Portugal to the dominions of Spain.

But this acceſſion of ſtrength had not enabled that monarch to ſubdue the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, and to bend to the yoke the ſtubborn minds of the Flemings. A people naturally obſtinate and perſevering, were confirmed in their oppoſition by that very cruelty which had been exerted to reduce them; their habitual phlegm was quickened by the fire and commanding genius of William prince of Orange; ſeveral years had now been conſumed in the important conflict; and Philip, exaſperated by reſiſtance, extended his enmity to the reformed beyond the limits of his own dominions; he regarded with dread a Proteſtant prince on the throne of France; and was determined cloſely to connect himſelf with the chiefs of the league; while Elizabeth, intent on extirpating the Catholic religion from every country in Europe to which her power and influence could reach, was prepared to ſupport a king whoſe religious principles were ſimilar to her own.

A. D. 1589.] Such were the ſtate and inclinations of the two moſt powerful potentates in Europe, when the ſtroke of aſſaſſination diſmiſed Henry the Third from a turbulent and ignominious reign. His ſucceſſor, Henry the Fourth, who had completed his thirty-fifth year, and was equally adorned with all the ſplendid qualities of mind and body, eloquent in council, intrepid in action, fertile in reſources; a great general, an undaunted ſoldier, and a penetrating ſtateſmen, beheld in a moment a proſpect preſented to his view, which, as it might kindle the ambition of the coldeſt, was ſufficient to damp the ardour of the moſt aſpiring ſpirit. The crown of France, his right by deſcent, was the object of his hopes; but innumerable objects ſtill oppoſed the peaceable poſſeſſion of it. He was indeed, at the head of a conſiderable army, but the greateſt part of his troops, as well as of his ſubjects, conſiſted of Catholics; his capital was in the hands of a faction formidable by their numbers, and daring in their deſigns: his coffers were empty; and the moſt fertile provinces of France acknowledged the authority of the league.

The Swiſs guards, with their colonel Sanci, firſt ſaluted Henry as their ſovereign; the mareſchal Biron aſſured him of his fidelily; the principal Catholics, Bellegarde, D'ô, Chateauvieux, d'Entragues, and Dampierre, who had attached themſelves to the fortunes of the late king, were induced to declare themſelves in favour of the preſent; but the duke d'Epernon, under pretence of reſenting the little deference that was ſhown to him, retired with the troops more immediately under his command, and firſt communicated to the camp the contagious ſpirit of diſaffection.

The duke of Mayenne, in Paris, was, on this critical occaſion, at leaſt as much embarraſſed as Henry; but in a ſituation the moſt delicate, he conducted

himſelf with dignity and judgment, and juſtified the favourable opinion which his party entertained of his abilities. He declined the dangerous title of king, which he was earneſtly ſolicited to accept; he rejected a propoſal that was made to offer the crown to Philip of Spain; but at the ſame time he exhorted the people of France to live and die in the Catholic religion, and as the king of Navarre was an heretic, to acknowledge as their ſovereign the cardinal of Bourbon.

The deſertion of the duke d'Epernon was ſoon followed by that of the moſt zealous Catholics; and Henry, ſenſible of the daily diminution of his forces, retired from the walls of Paris, and ſlowly directed his march toward Normandy. The governor of Dieppe opened the gates of that city, and readily admitted his ſovereign; the officer to whom the league had entruſted Caen, diſplayed the ſame diſintereſted loyalty; the acquiſition of two places ſtrongly fortified, and provided with numerous garriſons, which might long have reſiſted the efforts of the royal army, was highly acceptable to the king; who was now able to preſerve a free communication with England, the only power he could depend upon for effectual aſſiſtance.

The duke of Mayenne was equally conſcious of the importance of the revolted towns; the zeal of the Pariſians profuſely ſupplied him with every pecuniary aid; he drew large levies of ſoldiers from Lorrain; at the head of an army of thirty thouſand men, he advanced towards Normandy, and threatened to overwhelm the royal forces, ſcarce amounting to ſeven thouſand, and to reſtore Dieppe to the authority of the league; his ſuperior numbers in either enterpriſe muſt have inſured ſucceſs, had he rapidly preſſed forwards; but naturally cautious and ſlow in all his motions, his dilatory march afforded Henry leiſure to ſhelter himſelf under the walls of Arques. In that poſition he was attacked by the duke of Mayenne, who, after ſeveral ineffectual attempts on the intrenchments of the royaliſts, was compelled to retire with the loſs of above ſix hundred men. The ſatisfaction of Henry at having repelled ſo formidable an antagoniſt, was heightened by the welcome intelligence, that the Swiſs cantons, the republic of Venice, and the queen of England, had acknowledged him as king; and by the junction of four thouſand ſoldiers whom Elizabeth had diſpatched to his ſupport.

With this reinforcement, and with the troops which the count of Soiſſons, the dukes of Orleans and Longueville, the mareſchals Biron and Aumont, led to his aſſiſtance, Henry determined once more to appear before the gates of Paris, and endeavour to ſurpriſe the unguarded capital. By rapid marches he outſtripped the intelligence of his deſign; and the Pariſians were aſtoniſhed and intimidated by the hoſtile appearance of a monarch, whom they expected to have beheld led through the ſtreets, a captive to the victorious arms of the league. He inſulted the ſuburbs; cut in pieces above thirteen hundred of the troops of the league; and would probably have made himſelf maſter of the capital, had not the duke of Mayenne, at that critical moment, entered Paris on the oppoſite ſide; prudence allowed Henry no longer to perſiſt in beſieging a city, always formidable from the

number of its inhabitants, and now defended by an army more numerous than his own; he retired to Tours, while the duke of Mayenne, in Paris, ſolemnly proclaimed as king the captive cardinal of Bourbon, by the title of Charles the Tenth; in the name of this pageant of royalty, who was himſelf a priſoner to Henry, the duke diſſolved the council of union, whoſe intemperate meaſures and ſecret intrigues with Spain he had long diſapproved; and with the aſſiſtance of a privy council, nominated by himſelf, and devoted to his will, aſſumed the ſupreme adminiſtration of affairs.

The duke of Savoy, deſcended by his mother from Francis the Firſt, had not heſitated, on the death of Henry the Third, to urge his pretenſions to the vacant throne; ſenſible of the weakneſs of his claim, amidſt the general confuſion, he endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of Provence and Dauphiné: he was baffled by the ſkill and vigilance of Valette, elder brother to the duke d'Epernon, who ſacrificed his fortune and his life in the ſervice of his ſovereign; while the duke himſelf, without publicly acknowledging the authority of Henry, acted with ſpirit and ſucceſs againſt the league.

A. D. 1590.] The duke of Mayenne, after the retreat of Henry from Paris, had reduced Pontoiſe, twice inveſted Meulan, and twice retired on the approach of that monarch. The king, in return, with an army of twelve thouſand men, laid ſiege to Dreux; and the walls were already ſhaken by his attacks, when he was informed that the army of the league, reinforced by the prince of Parma, and conſiſting of ſixteen thouſand veteran ſoldiers, was advancing towards him. He immediately deſiſted from the hopeleſs enterpriſe, and, determined to hazard a deciſive engagement, poſted himſelf at Yvri, on the banks of Eure. The duke of Mayenne ſtill wiſhed to avoid commiting the fortune of his party to the fate of a ſingle day; but his own irreſolution was vanquiſhed by the reproaches of the citizens of Paris, and by the daring counſels and preſumptuous vaunts of count Egmont, whoſe father had periſhed the victim of the jealouſy of Philip, and of the cruelty of the duke of Alva. Yet the ſon had diſplayed undaunted zeal and unſhaken loyalty in the cauſe of the tyrant: and, inflamed with religious enmity towards the reformed, had been detached by the prince of Parma to the ſupport of the Catholic arms. He boaſted that the cavalry which he led were able alone to encounter and vanquiſh the royal army; and the duke of Mayenne reluctantly yielded to his impetuous courage. The conflict was long obſtinately maintained; but the ſuperior genius of Henry at length prevailed. Count Egmont, with the greateſt part of his detachment, periſhed on the field; two thouſand five hundred of the leaguers were involved in the ſame fate; and the duke of Mayenne, after having diſcharged the ſeveral duties of a general and a ſoldier, eſcaped with difficulty from the ſword of the conqueror. The Swiſs, who amidſt the general rout alone preſerved their ranks and reputation, conſented to enter into the ſervice of the king; but Henry was prevented from immediately improving his advantage by the diſtreſſed ſtate of his finances; he

ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by a fallacious negociation, and it was not till near two months afterwards that he marched to and blocked up the city of Paris.

About this time the cardinal of Bourbon, his competitor for the crown, ſunk into the grave, expreſſing in his laſt moments his regard for his ſucceſsful rival, and conſcious of the intereſted views of thoſe who had effected to elevate him to a throne; yet his name for ſeveral years, after his death, was uſed to ſanction the deſigns of the league, and to nouriſh the flame of rebellion. The Pariſians ſtill diſplayed the ſame implacable emnity towards their ſovereign; and the duke of Nemours, who had been appointed governor of the capital, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and conduct. Even the eccleſiaſtics on this occaſion forgot the peaceable tenets of their religion; and, emerging from the gloom of the cloyſter, formed themſelves into a regiment under the command of the legate of the court of Rome. This holy corps would have added but little real ſtrength to the cauſe in which it armed; and Paris derived more effectual advantage from the humanity of her ſovereign, whom it continued thus obſtinately to reſiſt; famine and peſtilence began already to ſtalk at large through the ſtreets; and the duke of Nemours, to avoid the inſtant conſequences of the former, commanded the aged and infirm to leave the city; had Henry refuſed a paſſage through his lines to theſe unhappy wretches, it is more than probable his capital muſt have ſurrendered; but his natural clemency prevailed over the ſuggeſtions of ambition; and he rejected the counſels of his officers, who adviſed him to drive them back with the ſword; yet even this could only for a ſhort time alleviate, but not extinguiſh their miſery; the cry of peace, or bread, reſounded through the ſtreets, and the reſolution of the duke of Nemours muſt have yielded to the clamours of a ravenous and diſorderly multitude, when the fainting ſpirits of the leaguers were again revived by the approach of the duke of Mayenne and the prince of Parma.

In the ſpace of the laſt month famine had conſumed above thirty thouſand of the inhabitants of Paris; each feeling of nature was overborne by the preſſure of immediate diſtreſs; at the imperious call of hunger, mothers are reported to have prolonged a guilty life by feeding on the diſmembered limbs of their offspring. With mingled horror and compaſſion, Henry turned from his polluted capital; and impatient, amidſt the tumult of battle, of effacing from his mind the inhuman ſcenes he had witneſſed, directed his march towards the prince of Parma; that able commander at Meaux had joined the duke of Mayenne with fourteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and their confederate forces compoſed an army of twenty-four thouſand infantry, and near twelve thouſand cavalry: but the ſole object of the prince was to relieve Paris, and he determined to accompliſh it, if poſſible, without hazarding a general engagement. To a defiance from the king of France, to put an end to the calamities of the kingdom by a deciſive action, he coolly replied, that he was accuſtomed to fight only when he thought proper himſelf, and not when it was convenient for his enemies; and by a ſeries of ſkilful operations, which commanded the admiration of Henry himſelf, he eluded the

vigilance of his adverſary; ſtormed within his very ſight the walls of Lagni, ſwept away the garriſons of St. Maur and Charenton, and once more poured plenty into the famiſhed capital.

Though Henry himſelf could not but applaud the ſkill and conduct of the prince of Parma, yet his generous ſpirit was ſeverely mortified by the diſappointment. Paris was raviſhed from his graſp, at the moment that his hand was ſtretched out to receive it; the ſuperior dexterity of his antagoniſt had wounded his reputation, and evaded his endeavours to force him to a battle—his own army was greatly weakened by ſickneſs and the fatigues of a long campaign—the ravaged country could no longer ſupply the neceſſary ſubſiſtence—his exchequer was exhauſted—the nobility and gentry, who ſerved him at their own expence, were diſcontented and impatient to depart—and he was compelled, though reluctantly, to embrace the only expedient that remained: he retired to Saint Denis, diſbanded the greateſt part of his forces, diſmiſſed his principal adherents to the protection of the provinces in which their intereſt lay, and with a flying army of his beſt troops prepared to watch the motions of the prince of Parma.

That general, after the relief of Paris, at the requeſt of the duke of Mayenne and the chiefs of the league, inveſted Corbeil; which, though defended with gallantry, was taken by aſſault. The prince, to ſound the inclinations of the Catholic leaders towards the king of Spain, propoſed to garriſon it with his Walloon, or Italian troops; but this offer was rejected with indignation by the duke of Mayenne and his confederates; and their manner of refuſal clearly diſcovered their jealouſy and ſuſpicion of Philip. The prince confirmed in his opinion, that the moment was not yet arrived of avowing the ambitious deſigns of his maſter, and influenced ſtill more by the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the ſickly ſtate of his troops, the want of money and proviſions, determined, notwithſtanding the importunities of the Catholic chiefs, to return into the Netherlands; and to leave the contending parties to exhauſt their ſtrength, in mutual animoſity, in hopes their weakneſs hereafter would deliver them an eaſy prey to Spain.

Leſt the Catholics might be overpowered in his abſence by the ſuperior genius of the king of France, the prince left for their ſupport a body of ſix thouſand men, and with the reſt of his troops began his march towards the Netherlands; but he was ſenſible that ſo enterpriſing a commander as Henry, however his weakneſs had compelled him to remain a peaceable ſpectator of his late operations, would not fail to obſerve his retreat with a vigilant eye. That he might accompliſh without loſs this arduous deſign, he drew up his army in four diviſions, and marched always in order of battle; the country through which he paſſed was diligently in the morning reconnoitred by his light cavalry, and his army each night was ſecured by ſtrong entrenchments.

The moment that Henry was informed of the intended route of his adverſary, he collected a ſmall but ſelect body of troops; and impatient to efface his

diſgrace before Paris and Lagni, continually hovered round and harraſſed the forces of Spain; his bravery and vigilance were diſplayed in inceſſant attacks; but in the paſſage of the river Ainé his ardour precipitated him amidſt the thickeſt of the enemy, and he muſt either have periſhed, or ſurrendered to the multitude that ſurrounded him, had he not been diſengaged by the active gallantry of baron Biron, ſon to the mareſchal; yet his danger, inſtead of depreſſing, ſeemed only to inflame his enterpriſing ſpirit. The length of the march, the badneſs of the roads, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, all contributed to ſecond his attempts, and to encreaſe the diſtreſs of the enemy; but every obſtacle vaniſhed before the prudence and ſkill of the prince of Parma; and, without any conſiderable loſs, he triumphantly conducted his troops into the province of Hainault.

The mortification of Henry at beholding his rival thus eſcape with impunity, was encreaſed by the ſucceſs of the duke of Savoy in Provence, and by the unſeaſonable death of pope Sixtus the Fifth. The former reduced Frejus and Antibes, and entered Aix in triumph; the latter expired at the moment that he had determined to break with the Spaniards, and to urge by arms the claim of the court of Rome to the kingdom of Naples; Urban the Seventh, his tranſient ſucceſſor, within a few months ſunk alſo into the grave; and the vacant apoſtolical chair was filled with Gregory the Fourteenth, by birth a Spaniard, and the moſt implacable enemy of Henry. He inſtantly declared that monarch an heretic, abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance, unleſs they quitted the impious party they had eſpouſed.

A. D. 1591.] But the magnanimity of Henry ſeemed to riſe in proportion to the difficulties that preſented themſelves; baffled in repeated attempts to ſurpriſe the city of Paris, he ſtill maintained his ſuperiority in the field; a ſupply of money and ammunition from England enabled him ſoon after to beſiege Chartres. In the reduction of that city Francis de Coligni, ſon to the celebrated admiral, diſplayed qualities which promiſed even to ſurpaſs thoſe of his father; and his death, ſoon after was univerſally deplored by the Calvaniſts, who were permitted to behold, and to lament the loſs of his virtues. From the acquiſition of Chartres, the king directed his attacks to Noyon, which was compelled to ſurrender even in the ſight of the duke of Mayenne.

The eſcape of the young duke of Guiſe from the caſtle of Tours, in which he had been confined ever ſince his father's death, increaſed the number of Henry's enemies; but the duke of Mayenne, on his ſide, found himſelf almoſt equally embarraſſed with thoſe who profeſſed themſelves his moſt zealous friends. The council of ſixteen had again aſſumed the government of the capital; and inflamed with religious and political fury, had cauſed, on a frivolous charge, and without the form of a trial, the preſident, and two of the counſellors, to be ſeized and executed. On information of this outrage, the duke of Mayenne, with a ſelect body of troops, haſtily returned from Picardy; ſeverely reproached the council for their inſolence and temerity; and as an example to the reſt,

commanded four of the moſt guilty to be inſtantly hung up in his hall. The ſurvivors, intimidated by the fate of their companions, gladly withdrew to their original obſcurity.

The forces of Henry had been ſwelled by ſixteen thouſand Germans, levied by the viſcount du Turenne, and were reinforced by four thouſand Engliſh commanded by the earl of Eſſex: and the king of France, with an army of nearly thirty thouſand horſe and foot, laid ſiege to Rouen, the capital of Normandy. That city was defended with the higheſt intrepidity and ſkill by the Sieur de Villars; but there was little probabilty that he would be long able to reſiſt ſo formidable a force, directed by ſo able a commander as Henry. The duke of Mayenne, alarmed at the danger of this important place, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the king of Spain; and the prince of Parma was again commanded to enter France, and endeavour to preſerve Rouen.

He began his march about the middle of December, and his army, when joined by that of the duke of Mayenne, might conſiſt of twenty-five thouſand infantry, and ſix thouſand cavalry. Henry informed of his approach, and unwilling to relinquiſh his hopes of a city which he daily expected would capitulate, left his foot to proſecute the ſiege, and with his horſe advanced to retard the progreſs of the prince. But his ardour on this occaſion precipitated him into a danger the moſt lively and imminent; having with four hundred horſe outſtripped the reſt of his ſquadrons, he fell in with the van of the Spaniards, near the town of Aumale. Theſe he charged and repulſed; and purſued his advantage till he deeply engaged himſelf with the adverſe ranks; for ſome time he continued fighting deſperately, till wounded in the reins, and the greater part of his companions killed by his ſide, he effected a retreat, which it would have been impoſſible for him to have accompliſhed, had not the prince of Parma, ſuſpicious of an ambuſcade, called off his troops.

The forces of the confederates, though inceſſantly haraſſed and repeatedly attacked, had now penetrated within two days march of Rouen, when they were ſurpriſed by the agreeable intelligence that the governor had availed himſelf of the abſence of the king, ſallied from the town, and deſtroyed the works and cut in pieces great numbers of the beſiegers; mareſchal Biron himſelf, who commanded, was wounded, and Villars, who aſpired to the glory of raiſing the ſiege without the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, added, that if his garriſon was reinforced, he expected to defend the town for ſeveral months longer. Though the prince of Parma was of opinion that he ſtill ought to purſue his march, and attack the royaliſts before they had recovered from their confuſion, yet he yielded to the counſels of the duke of Mayenne, and after detaching eight hundred choſen men to Rouen, he turned aſide into Picardy, and inveſted St. Eſprit de Rue.

A. D. 1592.] The king himſelf was no ſooner informed of this reſolution than he returned to preſs the ſiege of Rouen with redoubled vigour. The

loſs that he had ſuſtained was amply ſupplied by cannon and ammunition from the ſtates of Holland; and Villars, in a few weeks reduced to diſtreſs, was again compelled to implore the prince of Parma. That general immediately relinquiſhed the ſiege of St. Eſprit de Reu, and rapidly preſſed forwards towards Rouen. Though Henry could not conceal his mortification at being thus obliged twice to abandon a place which he had daily expected to occupy, yet conſcious of the inferior numbers of his own army, he retired from the inauſpicious walls, and waited at Pont de l'Arche the return of his nobility; who, on the former occaſion, ſeeing no immediate proſpect of a battle, had left his camp, and withdrawn to their reſpective provinces.

The prince of Parma, after entering Rouen in triumph, led his army againſt Caudbec, the reduction of which was thought neceſſary to complete the deliverance of the former city; but as he marked in perſon the ground for the batteries, he received a wound in his arm from a muſket ball. A fever attended the wound, and he ſcarce on his recovery had poſſeſſed himſelf of Caudbec, before he was ſenſible that his own army was expoſed to a greater danger than that from which he had relieved the citizens of Rouen. Caudbec is ſituated in the peninſula Caux, formed by the Seine on the weſt, and the ſea and the river d'Eu on the north and eaſt; and the king was no ſooner informed that the prince had committed his forces within the narrow limits of Caux, than he prepared to efface by a ſignal revenge the memory of his former diſappointments. The nobility at his ſummons had repaired with alacrity to his ſtandard; his army by their ready appearance was increaſed to ſeventeen thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. He already poſſeſſed the towns of Eu, Arques, and Dieppe, which commanded the eaſtern entrance into the peninſula; and after ſeveral ſharp encounters, he occupied the defiles to the ſouth, by which the Spaniards had entered. With more than uſual precaution he fortified his camp againſt the deſpair of the enemy; and the prince of Parma's health no ſooner enabled him to reconnoitre the poſition of the royaliſts, than he was convinced no other expedient remained than to tranſport his troops acroſs the Seine. To paſs the broad and rapid ſtream of that river, with ſo conſiderable an army incumbered with artillery and baggage, and in ſight of a vigilant and powerful adverſary, appeared to the duke of Mayenne and the moſt experienced officers utterly impracticable; but no difficulties could depreſs the bold and inventive genius of the prince of Parma. He collected from Rouen a number of boats and rafts; he cleared by his cannon the Seine of the Dutch ſhips which occupied it; he availed himſelf of the riſing grounds between him and the royaliſts, which ſcreened his motions from the ſight of Henry; he ſeized the favourable moment of a thick miſt, and while his cavalry threatened a ſerious attack on the works of the enemy, his infantry, with the artillery and baggage, ſafely croſſed the river; they were rapidly followed by the horſe; and the rear was ſecured from loſs or inſult by two batteries which he had judiciouſly erected.

Henry had for ſeveral days flattered himſelf with the moſt ſanguine hopes of gaining a deciſive victory, and his mortification was in proportion to the confidence of his former expectations; his rival had again eluded his efforts, and poſſeſſed himſelf in his retreat to the Netherlands of Epernai, while the duke of Mayenne with a part of his forces had entered Rouen. The exhauſted ſtate of the king's finances had compelled him to diſband the majority of his army; on the frontiers of Anjou the prince of Conti was defeated by the duke of Mercœur, a zealous leaguer, and a younger branch of the houſe of Lorrain; Epernai was indeed recovered by the royaliſts, but the acquiſition was attended with the death of the mareſchal Biron, whoſe career of military glory was terminated by a cannon ball. On the other hand, in Dauphiné, Leſdaguires, who had firmly attached himſelf to the fortunes of Henry, vanquiſhed the duke of Savoy, and purſued him to the very gates of Turin: and the duke of Joyeuſe, who commanded in Languedoc an army of ſeven thouſand men in the ſervice of the league, was routed by the royal troops under Themines, and miſerably periſhed with the greateſt part of his followers in the waters of the Tarn.

The league was induced by theſe diſaſters to ſolicit again the aſſiſtance of Spain, and the prince of Parma was once more commanded to march to the ſupport of the Catholic cauſe. But the conſtitution of that able commander was already fatally impaired by the fatigues of fourteen ſucceſſive campaigns—the wound which he had received before Caudbec had never properly healed, and while he applied with his wonted aſſiduity to haſten the neceſſary preparations for his expedition, his death deprived the king of Spain of a ſubject whoſe ſagacity and penetration had reunited to his crown great part of the Netherlands; and delivered the king of France from a rival whoſe ſplendid military talents had ſo often baffled his beſt concerted enterpriſes. On his deceaſe, the government of the Netherlands was committed to count Peter Erneſt of Manſſveldt, whoſe ſon Charles led a Spaniſh army of ſeven thouſand veteran ſoldiers to the ſupport of the league; and after, in conjunction with the duke of Mayenne, reducing Noyon, returned to Flanders.

A. D. 1593.] Philip had hitherto laviſhed his treaſures and the blood of his ſubjects to keep alive the flame of war in France, but the progreſs of his arms had yet been attended with no permanent advantage, and he now endeavoured by negociation to ſecure in his family the crown, the object of his ambition. His importunity had prevailed on the duke of Mayenne to aſſemble the ſtates at Paris, and the duke of Feria, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, endeavoured to perſuade the deputies to place Iſabella, the daughter of his royal maſter, on the throne. Though even the moſt bigoted Catholics abhorred a meaſure which muſt have rendered France, in fact, a province of Spain, yet conſcious they were unable to contend with Henry, unleſs ſupported by Philip, they ſtudiouſly concealed their averſion, and expreſſed an affected ſolicitude in regard to the perſon whom the latter prince might name for his daughter's conſort. The archduke of Auſtria they unanimouſly rejected, and declared that they never would ſubmit to her union with a foreign prince. The

young duke of Guiſe, the next object of Philip's choice, was endeared to them by the name and popularity of his father; but the duke of Mayenne beheld with ſecret diſguſt his nephew preferred before his ſon, while outwardly he profeſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at the propoſal, he privately determined to traverſe it; and inſiſted, both for the honour of the king of Spain and for the ſafety of the duke of Guiſe, that the election of Iſabella ſhould be deferred till an army was aſſembled ſufficient to overwhelm her enemies, and to firmly eſtabliſh her on the throne.

But while the king of Spain and the Catholic chiefs were bewildered in an endleſs labyrinth of negociation, both were ſurpriſed by an event as important as it was unexpected. Henry had beheld with anxiety the aſſembly of the ſtates, and dreaded the intrigues of the duke of Mayenne with the court of Spain. He perceived the religious prejudices of the Catholics were confirmed by a ſeries of long and bloody hoſtilities; thoſe who hitherto acted with him, had been deluded by the hopes of his converſion—their patience was now exhauſted, and they publicy ſuggeſted the neceſſity of transferring their allegiance to the cardinal of Bourbon, the couſin of the king; deſirous of delivering his people from the calamities of war, the humanity of Henry co-operated with his ambition; even the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Proteſtant leaders, and his favourite Roſny, afterwards better known by the title of the duke of Sully, exhorted him to conſult the happineſs of his ſubjects, and to relinquiſh a faith which he only could maintain amidſt ſcenes of blood and devaſtation. In conſequence of this advice, Henry invited the Catholic divines throughout his kingdom to come and inſtruct him in their religion; and after being preſent at ſeveral conferences, he profeſſed himſelf ſatisfied with their argument, heard maſs at St. Denis, read aloud his confeſſion of the Catholic faith, and declared his reſolution conſtantly to maintain and defend it.

A. D. 1593.] The converſion of Henry ought to have enſured the ſubmiſſion of his Catholic ſubjects—but the embers of civil commotion which had been waked into life by the breath of religion, were now fanned by that of ambition; and the voice of the pope, which might have extinguiſhed, ſtill continued to nouriſh the deſtructive flame. Gregory the Fourteenth was indeed no more, and Innocent the Ninth, who with the power ſeemed to have ſucceeded to the implacable diſpoſition of his predeceſſor, had alſo ſunk into the grave. But Clement the Eighth, who had been elected to the honours of the pontificate, ſtill refuſed to admit the ambaſſors of Henry, or to relieve him from the ſentence of excommunication which had been pronounced againſt him.

The duke of Mayenne and the Spaniſh miniſters, alarmed at the intelligence that Henry had entered the pale of the Catholic church, reſumed their intrigues with redoubled vigour. They repreſented it to the people merely as a political device to evade the election of a Catholic prince; and they perſuaded a number of their adherents to ſwear that they would not acknowledge Henry for king, unleſs his converſion was ratified by the pope—while at the ſame time they employed their influence to confirm the inflexible diſpoſition of the ſee of Rome. Philip

was now more ſenſible than ever of his error in connecting himſelf with the duke of Guiſe, a young nobleman of little weight, in preference to the duke of Mayenne; he ordered his miniſters to acquaint that powerful leader, that on mature conſideration he had changed his intentions, and was determined to beſtow the hand of his daughter Iſabel'a on his ſon.

But while Philip and the chiefs of the league endeavoured to fortify themſelves againſt the increaſing influence of the king of France, the hand of an obſcure enthuſiaſt, who earned a daily and ſlender pittance as a waterman on the Loire, was already prepared to extinguiſh their fears with the life of his ſovereign. James Barrier, for ſuch was the name of the unhappy bigot, had communicated his intentions to ſeveral of the moſt zealous eccleſiaſtics, who had eſpouſed the party of the league, and their exhortations had confirmed his reſolution; at length he revealed them to a dominican friar at Lyons, who, ſtruck with horror at the crime, contrived to tranſmit to the king, with the picture of the aſſaſſin, an account of the atrocious deed he meditated. From the reſemblance of the portrait, Barrier was diſcovered and apprehended at Meulan; and after confeſſing his guilt, and in vain endeavouring to impeach the count of Soiſſons as having ſtimulated him to the attempt, was executed as a traitor.

Though the enmity of the league was but little abated, their reſources were in a great meaſure exhauſted—they had ſolicited, and Henry had conſented to a truce for three months—it was afterwards extended to ſix more—and the ſweets of tranquillity which the people in this interval had taſted, rendered them ſtill more averſe to plunge again into the calamities of war. The deſcription of ſcenes, clouded by anarchy, and where an independent intereſt was maintained in almoſt every different province, cannot fail of fatiguing the patience of the reader. The duke of Savoy was routed again by Leſdiguieres, who alſo diſperſed an army of three thouſand Spaniards on the frontiers, and checked in Provence the arrogance of the duke d'Epernon; but Languedoc alone amidſt the general diſtraction was exempted from the miſeries which had afflicted the reſt of the kingdom, and the prudence of the mareſchal Montmorenci, which had ſecured the peace of that province, was rewarded by the king with the ſword of conſtable.

A. D. 1594.] In vain did the intrigues of the court of Spain and Rome endeavour to allay that ſatisfaction with which every honeſt Catholic in France had heard the news of their ſovereign's converſion to the faith they profeſſed. Lewis de l'Hoſpital, marquis of Vitri, had on the death of Henry the Third withdrawn himſelf from the preſent king, and was by the league entruſted with the city of Meaux. He had frequently, but in vain, importuned the duke of Mayenne to terminate by a peace the calamities of France, but no ſooner did Henry abjure the Proteſtant religion, than he determined to follow the dictates of his conſcience, and to return to his allegiance. He commanded his garriſon to evacuate the town, and when he delivered the keys to the magiſtrates, "I ſcorn," ſaid he, "to ſteal a place, or to make any fortune at other men's expence; I am going

"to pay my duty to the king, and I leave it in your power to act as you please." This short, but animated harangue, was attended by the acclamations of the inhabitants, and the air resounded with "Long life to Henry the Fourth!" The flame of loyalty once kindled, soon imparted its warmth to the most distant parts of the kingdom; and the example of Meaux was followed by the cities of Pontoise, Orleans, Bourges, and Lyons, which shook off the yoke of the league, and acknowledged the authority of Henry.

The king determined to embrace the moment of returning prosperity to celebrate his coronation; Rheims was still in the hands of his enemies, and Chartres was preferred for that important ceremony. It was performed by Nicholas de Thou, bishop of that city, and was graced by the presence of the prince of Conti, and count of Soissons, with the dukes of Montpensier, Luxemburgh, Retz, and Ventadour: it was scarce accomplished, before a new event engrossed the attention of Henry, and while it dissipated the visionary projects of his adversaries, seemed firmly to fix the crown on his head.

The presence of the duke of Mayenne, and the terror of a Spanish garrison, had hitherto restrained the fickle disposition of the Parisians, and maintained the authority of the league; but the disorders of Picardy summoned the duke to that province; he had before deprived the count of Belin, whose inclinations he perceived to lean secretly towards the king, of the government of the capital, and now conferred it on Charles de Cossé, count of Brissac. That nobleman, impressed with an high and romantic respect for the commonwealth of Rome, the history of which he had diligently studied, entertained the singular and chimerical project of forming France into a similar republic. His designs had been received with cold contempt by the chiefs of the league; and alarmed lest on Henry recovering his capital, he should he involved in the fate of his favourite system, the spirit of the stern republican evaporated, and Brissac became only anxious for his interest and safety.

To secure these, he immediately entered into a negociation with the king, and on advantageous conditions agreed to admit the royal forces into the city of Paris, While the Spaniards were amused by the arts of Brissac, the new gate was opened to Henry and his army, who instantly possessed himself of the squares and principal streets. The Parisians received their sovereign with loud acclamations; the troops maintained the most exact discipline; and amidst the revolution, the city throughout bore the appearance of peace and security. The Spaniards alone, about four thousand in number, and commanded by the duke of Feria, still occupied the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin, with the Bastile and the Temple. These they diligently fortified, and declared their resolution, if attacked, to defend themselves to the last extremity; but from this desperate design they were soon diverted by Henry, who, unwilling to pollute with blood that capital which he had just recovered, permitted them to march out with all the honours of war.

The enemies of Henry, who had reſiſted his arms, were vanquiſhed by his clemency. His generous ſpirit, ſuperior to reſentment, revolted at the idea of puniſhing thoſe who were willing to ſubmit; and he received his moſt inveterate foes with a degree of goodneſs and condeſcenſion, which for ever attached them to his ſervice. Even the ducheſs of Montpenſier, who had diſtinguiſhed herſelf by the moſt indecent and public invectives, was admitted to his preſence, and by his familiar converſation, he endeavoured to baniſh that confuſion which ſhe could not entirely conceal; Briſſac, with a liberal pecuniary reward, was raiſed to the rank of mareſchal; l'Huillier, mayor of Paris, who had diſplayed equal, and more diſintereſted zeal, was preferred to the poſt of preſident of accounts; while a general amneſty diſſipated the fears, and reſtored tranquillity to the anxious multitude.

Villars, who had defended Rouen with ſuch diſtinguiſhed ſkill and courage, ſoon after opened the gates of that city, and proclaimed Henry the Fourth. His return to his allegiance was recompenſed with the dignity of admiral, and the government of the place he had ſurrendered: Cambray, which had been wreſted from the Spaniards by the duke of Anjou, and by that prince had been bequeathed to Catherine of Medicis, was ruled with independent authority by Balagny, a French officer, whom the queen-mother had entruſted with the defence of it. The waining fortunes of the league recalled Balagny to a ſenſe of his delicate ſituation, and he was conſcious that he muſt ſeek a protector in the king of France, or of Spain; his partiality to his native country determined him to prefer the ſupport of the former, and he acknowledged his dependance on Henry, on condition that under him he ſhould be permitted to enjoy the ſovereignty, with the title of prince of Cambray.

The duke of Mayenne, embarraſſed by the rapid deſertion of his confederates, again ſolicited the ſupport of Spain, and though Philip could no longer flatter himſelf with the hopes of obtaining the crown of France, his implacable enmity to Henry, and his dread leſt that monarch, when firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne, ſhould revive the pretenſions of his houſe to Navarre, determined him ſtill to keep alive the flames of civil war. He detached Charles count of Manſveldt with an army of twelve thouſand men, to invade the province of Picardy; the count laid ſiege to the town of la Capelle, and before Henry could march to its aſſiſtance, the garriſon was compelled to capitulate.

The king of France had aſſembled an army of twelve thouſand infantry and two thouſand cavalry; and to indemnify himſelf for the loſs of la Capelle, he inveſted Laon. That city, ſtrongly fortified, and well provided, was defended by one of the braveſt officers of the league, and animated by the preſence of the count of Somerive, ſecond ſon to the duke of Mayenne. Henry carried on his operations with his wanted ardour; and the duke of Mayenne, alarmed for the fate of the town, the moſt conſiderable that remained in his poſſeſſion, advanced to the relief of it with the Spaniſh forces, the chief command of which Philip

had confered on him; but his efforts were continuely fruſtrained by the valour and activity of the mareſchal Biron, ſon to the celebrated commander who had periſhed before Epernai, and who now emulated the martial fame of his father. Mayenne, diſtreſſed for proviſions, was at lenghth compelled to retreat; but though harraſſed, and repeatedly attacked by the ſuperior forces of the royaliſts, he maintained an undaunted countenance, repulſed by his conduct and courage the attempts of his enemies, and reached La Fera in ſafety; on his retreat, Laon, hopeleſs of ſuccour, capitulated—the garriſon was permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and Henry diſplayed his magnanimity by treating the count of Somerive with every mark of reſpect. A conduct ſo truly generous, could not but impreſs the enemies of the king with the moſt favourable ſentiments; and the duke of Guiſe, mortified at the neglect of the Spaniards, and impelled by his admiration of Henry, reconciled himſelf to his ſovereign, and delivered to him the towns of Vitri, Recroix, and Rheims.

The daily return of his ſubjects to their allegiance, and the expiring ſtate of the league, inſpired Henry with more vigorous counſels. He now publicly declared war againſt Spain, and entered into a treaty of alliance with the revolted inhabitants of the Netherlands, who, by the treaty of Utrecht, had laid the foundation of a free republic under the title of the United Provinces. While the allies purſued their joint preparations with diligence, the enemies of Henry again reſolved to aſſail the life of that monarch; as the king in his apartments of the Louvre ſtooped to embrace a nobleman that was preſented to him, he received a ſtroke from a knife that cut his lip, and broke one of his teeth; the compoſure of Henry diſpelled the conſternation of his friends—the aſſaſſin was immediately diſcovered and ſeized. His name was John Chatel, a ſcholar of the college of the Jeſuits, to the influence of whoſe doctrines he attributed his atrocious attempt. Chatel was inſtantly conſigned to the puniſhment due to his crime; father John Guignard, who was accuſed of having vindicated in his writings the right of the ſubject to attempt the life of his prince, was alſo executed; and the whole order of the Jeſuits was commanded, on the penalty of death, to quit the kingdom of France.

A. D. 1595.] Henry, ſtill more determined to proſecute the war, and to ſeek in camps that ſafety which was denied him in his own palace, entered the county of Burgundy, Dijon, the capital of which had already declared for him; but he had ſcarce poſſeſſed himſelf of Troyes, before he was informed that the Spaniards, commanded by the conſtable Velaſco, and joined by the duke of Mayenne, had paſſed the Saone. At Fontain Frençoiſe, the confederates were attacked by Henry with his wanted ardour and impetuoſity. At the head of eighteen hundred horſe and foot, the king of France carried carnage and confuſion through an army of fourteen thouſand men; but had not the caution of Velaſco reſiſted the importunities of the duke of Mayenne, the courage of Henry, nor the fidelity of his companions, could have prevented him from being overpowered by the numbers of his enemies; but the Spaniard, intimidated by the boldneſs of his aſſailants,

founded a retreat, left the king in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, and early the next morning repaſſed the Saone. He thence purſued his march to the town of Gray, where, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the duke of Mayenne, he fortified his camp, and determined to remain on the defenſive. But in Picardy the campaign opened with events leſs auſpicious to France. The count of Fuentes, who had been appointed by Philip governor of the Netherlands, penetrated into that province, reduced Chatelot, and endeavoured, by treachery, to poſſeſs himſelf of Ham; his troops were admitted into the town, but the caſtle ſtill reſiſted their attacks. Baffled in this enterpriſe, he pointed his march towards Dourlens, which he immediately inveſted. Senſible of the importance of that city, admiral Villars, with a body of ſelect ſoldiers, advanced to reinforoe the garriſon. He was met, encountered, and overwhelmed, by the ſuperior forces of the Spaniards, and periſhed in the field, with fifteen hundred of his companions, gallantly fighting to the laſt. Dourlens was ſoon after carried by aſſault, and the brave defenders of its walls, diſdaining to aſk quarter, were put to the ſword.

The ſucceſs which had attended Fuentes, ſerved only to inflame him with the deſire of farther glory. The ſituation of Cambray has been already deſcribed, and the Spaniſh commander determined to ſignaliſe his arms by the ſiege of that city. Balagny had ſpared no expence or pains in ſtrengthening the fortifications of the place. The garriſon amounted to three thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, and the town was well furniſhed with military ſtores and proviſions. The principal officers of Fuentes repreſented to him the danger of waſting his forces in ſo arduous an enterpriſe, but he refuſed to liſten to their remonſtrances, and began his operations wirhout delay. They were carried on with a degree of ſkill and vigour that even vanquiſhed the reſiſtance of de Vic, whom Henry had ſent with a reinforcement to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged. The inhabitants, diſguſted with the extortion and inſolence of Balagny, co-operated with the arms of the Spaniards, and opened their gates to the aſſailants; the garriſon retired into the caſtle, but were ſoon compelled to ſurrender from the want of proviſions. Cambray was again reſtored to the dominions of Spain; and the tranſient ſovereignty of Balagny was extinguiſhed for ever.

In the mean while the king of France croſſed the Saone in purſuit of Velaſco, and unable to draw the conſtable from his entrenchments, extended his devaſtations over Franche Compté. From the conqueſt of that conntry he was diverted by the powerful mediation of the Swiſs Cantons; but the inactivity of the Spaniards awakened the jealouſy of the duke of Mayenne, who at length determined to ſeparate himſelf from allies he could no longer confide in.—His inclinations had already been intimated to Henry; but Mayenne ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution never to effect a reconciliation till that monarch had been abſolved by the pope; Henry ſecretly ſuggeſted to him to retire to Chalons, a town ſtill in his power, till Clement ſhould relent; and aſſured him that no advantage ſhould be taken in his abſence of himſelf, nor of his adherents; the duke

had ſcarce arrived at that place, when the Roman pontiff, fully convinced that Henry was firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne, abſolved him in form from the cenſures that had been pronounced againſt him by his predeceſſors.

A. D. 1596.] The duke of Mayenne immediately threw himſelf at the feet of his ſovereign, and vowed a fidelity which he ever afterwards inviolably preſerved. The duke of Guiſe in Provence equally diſplayed by actions the ſincerity of his ſubmiſſion; he ſurpriſed Marſeilles; cheked the arrogance of the duke d'Epernon, who had aſſumed the ſtyle of independence, and reduced that haughty chieftan to implore the clemency of his royal maſter. Henry himſelf, after his return from Franche Compté, had entered Picardy, and inveſted La Fere: the ſtrength of the fortifications, and the number of the garriſon, had determined him to relinquiſh his hopes of carrying it by aſſault, and to depend on the ſlow but certain effects of famine. The Spaniards, commanded by the archduke Albert, in whoſe favour Philip had ſuperſeded the count de Fuentes, abandoned the impractible deſign of preſerving La Fere, and formed the reſolution of beſieging ſome other frontier town which might compenſate for the loſs of that place. The ſieur de Loné, a native of France, and a zealous officer of the league who had been refuſed by Henry the rank of mareſchal, repreſented the defenceleſs ſtate of Calais, and urged the archduke to aſpire to that important acquſition. Albert yielded to his ſuggeſtions, and entruſted the conduct of the enterpriſe to de Roné himſelf, whoſe bold and active genuis, and diſtinguiſhed ſkill in war, eminently qualified him for the undertaking.

To deceive Henry, the archduke ſtill affected to meditate the relief of La Fere, and began his march towards that place, while de Roné ſuddenly turned to Calais with a body of ſelect troops, and poſſeſſed himſelf, after a faint reſiſtance, of the two forts which commanded the entrance of the town and the harbour. He was quickly followed by Albert and his whole army; the ſuperior numbers of the Spaniards ſoon penetrated into the ſuburbs and occupied the town; and the caſtle alone reſiſted the arms of the beſiegers. To reinforce the garriſon of that fortreſs, Matalet, governor of Foix, had opened a paſſage for himſelf and three hundred companions through the lines of the enemy. But even this additional force was not capable of withſtanding the attacks of the Spaniards; and Henry endured the mortification of beholding the banners of Spain diſplayed from the citadel of Calais, at the moment that he advanced from La Fere at the head of his cavalry to the ſupport of the beſieged.

Henry immediately returned to preſs the ſiege of La Fere, while the archduke, after repairing the fortifications of Calais, led his troops againſt the town of Ardres. The ſtrength of that place, it was reaſonahly expected, might have reſiſted the arms of the Spaniards till La Fere had ſurrendered; and the garriſon at firſt diſplayed their valour in repeated vigorous ſallies; but no ſooner had the troops of Spain poſſeſſed themſeles of the ſuburbs, than the marquis of Belin, who commanded in Ardres, baſely yielding to his fears, propoſed to his officers to

capitulate. Though the propoſal was rejected with diſdain by the majority of the council, yet the marquis availing himſelf of his ſuperior authrity, offered to open his gates on condition that the garriſon ſhould march out with the honours of war; Albert readily agreed; and the capitulation was ſigned the day that preceded the ſurrender of La Fere.

From that place the king of France had rapidly preſſed forwards with an army, ſwelled by the zeal of his nobility, and with the moſt ſanguine expectations of raiſing the ſiege of Ardres. His hopes were clouded by the mortifying intelligence of the ſhameful capitulation of the marquis of Belin; with the approbation of his principal officers, he ſtill however continued to advance to compel his enemy if poſſible to give battle; but Albert, after placing ſtrong garriſons in the towns he had taken, and unwilling to hazard a deciſive engagement with Henry, retired from the dominions of France into the province of Artois; and the king, after taking the caſtle of Imbercourt by aſſault, and making an ineffectual attempt on Arras, returned to his capital, and left mareſchal Biron, with a body of ſix thouſand troops, to ſecure the frontiers of Picardy.

That enterpriſing officer did not long confine his operations to the cautious ſyſtem which had been recommended to him. He entered the province of Artois, retaliated on that country the injuries of France, and ſpread the terror of his arms along the ſouthern frontier of the Netherlands. The archduke had for ſome time been employed in the ſiege of Hulſt, but no ſooner had he accompliſhed the reduction of that place, than he detached the marquis of Varambon, with a conſiderable body of forces, to check the deſtructive progreſs of the French. Biron informed that the marquis was on his mrach to offer battle, advanced rapidly to meet him: his ſkilful evolutions confounded and vanquiſhed his antagoniſt: the Spaniards deluded into an ambuſcade, were routed with conſiderable ſlaughter, and Varambon himſelf became a captive to the French; the duke d'Arſchot, who was appointed to ſucceed him, and reſtore the honour of the Spaniſh arms, though he avoided the fate of his predeceſſor, was reduced to remain a ſpectator of the deſtruction of the country; which the cavalry of Biron ſtill continued to inſult and ravage till the approach of winter compelled them to retire.

The ſatisfaction which Henry derived from the ſucceſs of his generals, was allayed by the factious and aſpiring diſpoſition of his nobles. The eaſy temper of the duke of Montpenſier recommended him to the nobility of France as a proper repreſentative to carry their injurious propoſals to the throne. The duke, in an audience from Henry, ſtudiouſly dwelt on the dangerous ſtate of the kingdom, and the difficulties that ſtill obſtructed the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity; he added, one meaſure ſtill remained; to reſign to the different governors the hereditary right of the provinces they preſided over, and to require of them only homage and allegiance; the zeal and gratitude of theſe dependant princes would for ever attach them to his ſervice, and the troops

they would conſtantly maintain for his ſupport, would enable him to triumph over his foreign enemies. The king remained ſome moments in ſilent indignation; but no ſooner had the emotions of anger and aſtoniſhment ſubſided, than he declared his reſolution rather to ſubmit to the moſt adverſe fortune, than conſent to a propoſal that would fix an empty ſceptre in his hand, and reduce him to the ſhadow of royalty. His reproaches awakened the duke of Montpenſier to a juſt ſenſe of his temerity; he implored the forgiveneſs of his ſovereign; and by his future fidelity diſconcerted the deſigns of thoſe who had allured him to act a part ſo unworthy a prince of the blood.

A. D. 1597.] Joyeuſe, who had quitted the habit of a monk to reſume that of a ſoldier, now with the ſame facility deſerted the decling fortunes of the league, opened the gates of Thouloufe, and returned to his allegiance to his ſovereign. The duke of Nemours had already entertained the ſame intention, when his negociations were interrupted by the ſtroke of death; his brother however continued the treaty that he had began, and reconciled himſelf to the crown; but while the king from theſe examples flattered himſelf with the hourly expectations of beholding the royal authority firmly eſtabliſhed, his fortitude was ſeverely exerciſed by an unexpected diſaſter that cooled the ardour of his newly acquired friends, and revived the fainting hopes of the league.

Amiens, the capital of Picardy, had lately ſubmitted to the king of France, and the citizens, with their ancient privileges, had obtained an exemption from being garriſoned by regular troops; their ſubſequent conduct proved how unworthy they were of the honourable truſt repoſed in them. Of fifteen thouſand inhabitants who were enrolled, only a few was employed as centinels and guards, and even thoſe performed their duty in the moſt remiſs manner. Their negligence had not eſcaped the knowledge of Portocarrero, governor of Dourlens, an officer brave and enterpriſing, and who, encouraged by the vicinity of his ſituation, planned a ſcheme for ſurpriſing Amiens. With three thouſand horſe and foot he marched from Dourlens, and, concealed by the darkneſs of the night, reached at dawn an hermitage about a quarter of a mile from the capital of Picardy. Twelve of his moſt reſolute ſoldiers, diſguiſed as peaſants, and with arms beneath their frocks, were ſent forwards as ſoon as the gates of the city were opened; ſome nuts which they carried, and affected accidently to ſpill, amuſed the guards; a waggon which they had driven, and intentionally ſtopt in the gate way, prevented the portcullis from being let down; they fell with fury on the aſtoniſhed centinels, were ſoon ſupported by Portocarrero and his troops, who ruſhed forwards to join them; and after a feeble reſiſtance, and a ſlaughter of about an hundred citizens, Amiens ſubmitted to the arms of the Spaniards.

The loſs of a city ſo ſtrong, ſo well provided, and ſo near to Paris, ſtruck Henry with conſternation. Calais, one of his principal ſea-ports, was already in the poſſeſſion of Spain, and by their preſent conqueſt the forces of Philip might ex-

tend their incurſions to the very gates of his capital. Though labouring under a ſevere indiſpoſition, the conſequence of his too licentious armours, the king renounced the care of his perſon, to provide for the defence of his kingdom; he determined to poſtpone every other conſideration to the recovery of Amiens, and immediately ordered mareſchal Biron to inveſt the town with whatever forces he could draw from the neighbouring garriſons, while he himſelf returned to Paris to provide the neceſſary ſupplies for the proſecution of this enterpriſe.

The abilities of the baron de Roſny, to whom Henry had entruſted the regulation of his finances, ſurmounted every obſtacle, and repleniſhed the exhauſted coffers of his ſovereign; the zeal of the duke of Mayenne was eminently diſplayed to ſecond the efforts of a monarch whom he had ſo long oppoſed; the friendſhip of Elizabeth had reinforced him with four thouſand troops; and the indefatigable induſtry of the mareſchal Biron, jealous of the preſence of the king, and ambitious of military fame, had already rendered the blockade complete, and rapidly advanced the ſiege, when Henry himſelf joined the army. Conſcious of the haughty ſpirit of Biron, he ſuffered him ſtill to retain the command: but though the beſiegers carried on their operations with redoubled ardour and alacrity, yet the garriſon diſputed every inch of ground with incredible obſtinacy; the death of Portocarrero, who fell in a deſperate ſally, diminiſhed not their confidence; and the defence was conducted with the ſame ſkill and ſpirit as before by the marquis de Montenegro.

Henry already had ſtuggled for five months with every difficulty that the experience or courage of the beſieged could oppoſe, when he was at length alarmed by the approach of the archduke, who, at the command of Philip, with an army of twenry-five thouſand men, preſſed forward to the relief of Amiens, and appeared in ſight of the French camp; the mareſchal Biron, tranſported by his uſual ardor, adviſed the king to accept their offer of battle: his counſel was oppoſed by the cautious remonſtrances of the duke of Mayenne: "Sire," ſaid he, "you came to take Amiens, and not to fight." Henry for once preferred the voice of prudence to that of glory; he kept within his intrenchments; the archduke, after ineffectually endeavouring to provoke him to action, retired to Arras, and reſigned Amiens to its fate, which ſoon after ſurrendered to the French.

From the reduction of Amiens and inſulting the province of Artois, Henry turned his arms againſt Dourens; the vigilance of Albert had already provided that city with every thing neceſſary to its defence, and the king had ſcarce commenced the ſiege before he repented his enterpriſe. The troops were harraſſed by the fatigues they had ſuſtained before Amiens; diſeaſes and ciſcontents began to prevail through the camp; the works were retarded by a ſeries of unfavourable weather; and the roads naturally heavy, by inceſſant rains were rendered impaſſable to the artillery; the king, convinced of his error abandomed the hopeleſs attempt; and after diſbanding the majority of his forces, and leaving the cavalry for the defence of the frontier, he returned to Paris.

A. D. 1598.] The greateſt part of the kingdom had ackwowledged the authority of Henry; but in Brittany the league ſtill nouriſhed the flames of ſedition, and the fire was ſecretly fed by the counſels and influence of Philip duke of Mercœur, of the houſe of Lorrain. For two ſucceſſive years that prince, while he profeſſed the moſt profound reſpect for the throne, had maintained a proud and dangerous independence; but the king, determined to extinguiſh theſe ſparks of civil commotion, aſſembled his forces on the return of ſpring, and had already advanced to Angers, when his further progreſs was rendered unneceſſary by the ſubmiſſion of the ſtates of Brittany, and of the duke of Mercœur. The former expelled the Spaniards from the few towns they ſtill held, and reſtored the royal authority; the latter, while he emplored the clemency of his ſovereign, intereſted in his favour the fair Gabrielle d'Eſtrees, the favourite miſtreſs of Henry. The duke offered to beſtow the hand of his daughter, the heireſs of the vaſt eſtates, on Cæſar, the natural ſon of that lady by Henry. The nuptials were celebrated with princely magnificence at Angers; the ſubmiſive proteſtations of the duke of Mercœur were accepted; and his former errors were conſigned to oblivion.

The recovery of Amiens and the extinction of the league, opened the eyes of Philip to the vanity of thoſe flattering dreams of conqueſt by which he had been ſo long deluded. His advanced age and broken health warned him of his approaching end, and he was unwilling to leave his experienced ſucceſſor involved in a bloody and dangerous war. Peace on the other hand was no leſs deſirable to Henry, and ſome reſpite was required to cloſe the wounds under which his kingdom had bled for ſo many years. The meditation of Clement, and the common father of both princes, were accepted; at the requeſt of the Roman pontiff a congreſs was held by the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain at Vervins, a town in Picardy; though the queen of England and the ſtates of Holland affered Henry the moſt effectual ſupport for the continuance of the war, he declined, with every profeſſion of gratitude, a ſyſtem which he declared muſt end in the utter ruin of the kingdom; and after ſeveral difficulties which the zeal of Clement was ſucceſsfully employed in removing, Henry ſigned a peace by which he relinquiſhed, indeed, his claims on Cambray, but obtained reſtitution of Calais, Ardres, Dourlens, and all the towns in France, that Philip had acquired at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure.

A. D. 1598.] The peace of Vervins had reſtored tranquillity to the ſubjects of France; but the amiable qualities of Henry could not enſure that happineſs in private life, that his courage and conſtancy had commanded in public. Previous to the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, he had formed a political union with Margaret, ſiſter to Charles the Ninth, and Henry the Third; a princeſs who united all the virtues and vices of the family of Valois, from whence ſhe ſprung. The beauty of her perſon inſpired paſſion and deſire in the coldeſt boſom; her genius and imagination were celebrated by all the poets of her time; ſhe ſung and played on

the lute with exquiſite ſkill; and in dancing no lady of the court was her equal; but ſo violent was her love of pleaſure, that at twelve years old ſhe had ſacrificed to it her honour; Entragues, Charry, the prince of Martigues, and the duke of Guiſe, had been ſucceſſively admitted to her moſt intimate favours, previous to her marriage with Henry; and mingling the fervours of religion with the exceſſes of diſſipation, her hours afterwards were alternately occupied by enthuſiaſtic devotion, and unreſtrained ſenſuality.

While Margaret ſtretched her dominion over the multitude that admired and adored her, ſhe had never been able to touch the heart of Henry, on whom, indeed, at the command of her brother Charles, ſhe had beſtowed her hand with extreme reluctance, and to whom her irregularies were no ſecret. That monarch, who had broken the formidable confederacy of the league, and affixed bounds to the ambition of Spain, was himſelf the captive of the fair. His character bore a ſtriking reſemblance to that of Francis the Firſt, and he was always flattered and charmed by the compariſon. Like Francis, he had early engaged in a variety of promiſcuous amours; but for ſome time paſt his unlimited homage had been paid to the fair Gabrielle d'Eſtrees, on whom he had ſucceſſively beſtowed the titles of marchioneſs of Monceaux and ducheſs of Beaufort. Two ſons and a daughter were the fruits of their illicit commerce: and Henry, deſirous of eſtabliſhing in his offspring the peaceable ſucceſſion of the crown, even entertained thoughts of legitimating his natural children, and dividing his throne with the miſtreſs of his affections.

A. D. 1599.] The queen, who for ſeveral years had reſided at Uſſon, a caſtle in Auvergne, had already conſented to the diſſolution of a marriage, the effect of conſtraint; and the Roman pontiff readily liſtened to a meaſure calculated to promote the future tranquillity of France; yet both Margaret and Clement expreſſed the moſt pointed diſapprobation, when informed that the ducheſs of Beaufort was intended to be raiſed to the vacant bed of Henry. The paſſion of the king would probably have triumphed over all oppoſition, and have placed the crown on the head of his miſtreſs, when his fame was preſerved from this degrading inſtance of weakneſs, by an event as deciſive as it was unexpected. While the ducheſs of Beaufort, in the vigour of health and pride of beauty, feaſted her imagination with the grandeur of royalty, the viſionary proſpect was diſſolved by the hand of death. In the abſence of Henry ſhe was ſuddenly ſeized with convulſions, and expired a ſpectacle too horrid for deſcription.

Henry, on the intelligence of her fate, abandoned himſelf to all the tranſports of ſorrow; but that conſolation, which was vainly proffered by the attention of his courtiers, he derived from time and the duties of his ſtation. His ancient and inveterate enemy, Philip, was no more; but the latent embers of commotion, which ſtill lurked in the boſom of France, required all the care of the monarch to extinguiſh. Previous to the peace of Vervins, he had endeavoured to ſecure the tranquillity of the Proteſtants by the celebrated edict of Nantz. It

granted to the reformed all the favours in which they had been indulged by former princes, and added a free admiſſion to all employments of truſt, profit, and honour; an eſtabliſhment of chambers of juſtice, in which the members of the two religions were equal; and permiſſion to educate their children, without reſtraint, in any of the univerſities. Yet even theſe liberal conditions could not entirely baniſh that jealouſy which the Hugonots had conceived on the king's abandoning their faith; and already their intrigues had reached the ear, and awakened the vigilance of Henry.

On the death of the ducheſs of Beaufort, Margaret had profeſſed an entire obedience to the will of her royal conſort, and Clement had pronounced her marriage, as the effect of conſtraint, illegal and void; but the king was diverted from the immediate thoughts of a ſecond union, by a paſſion for Henriette de Balzac, daughter to de Balzac Entragues, by Mary Touchet, the celebrated miſtreſs of Charles the Ninth; to this lady Henry transferred that affection which he had ſo lately vowed to the ducheſs of Beaufort; he created her marchioneſs of Verneuil, and even delivered to her a promiſe of marriage; yet the moments allotted to pleaſure, diminiſhed not his application to buſineſs, and the intrigues of the duke of Savoy ſummoned him from the embraces of his miſtreſs to the cares of a throne.

The duke of Savoy, emboldened by the late diſtracted ſtate of France, had embraced the moment of civil commotion to poſſeſs himſelf of the Marquiſate of Saluces. On the treaty of Vervins, he had agred to ſubmit his pretenſions to the arbitration of pope Clement; but had conſtantly eluded a deciſion, which he was conſcious muſt deſpoil him of the territory that he had thus daringly uſurped. Truſting to the arts of negociation, and the addreſs for which he was eminent, he embraced the reſolution of preſenting himſelf at Paris, and treating with Henry in perſon. Though the king would readily have diſpenſed with, he could not decently decline, the honour of the propoſed viſit; and in a court, gallant, profuſe, and ſplendid, the magnificence, liberality, and conciliating manners of the duke, ſoon attached to his intereſt the principal favourites and miſtreſſes of Henry. The marchioneſs of Verneuil eſpouſed his pretenſions with ardour; but the mind of Henry was ſteeled againſt the importunities of that lady, by a juſt ſenſe of the dignity of his crown, and by the remonſtrances of his miniſter, the baron de Roſny, whoſe inflexible integrity was ſuperior to all the allurements of corruption.

A. D. 1600.] After laviſhing the immenſe ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns in preſents to the rapacious minions of a court, the duke of Savoy retired from Paris, and prepared to aſſert by arms, what he had vainly hoped to have acquired by negociation. He had indeed already entered into a cloſe and ſecret connection with the mareſchal de Biron; but the military ardour and vanity of that commander could not be reſtrained by the intereſt of his new ally. The duke of Savoy in an inſtant beheld Breſſe, Savoy, and Nice,

deluged by the forces of France; Miolans ſurrendered to the king; the baron de Roſny, whom Henry had appointed grand maſter of artillery, reduced Montmelian, a fortreſs which the duke had conſidered as impregnable; and St. Catherine's, in the ſtrength of which he equally confided, was, in the depth of winter, taken by the mareſchal de Biron. Theſe ſucceſſive diſaſters humbled the haughty ſpirit of the duke; and overwhelmed in the unequal conflict and deſerted by the court of Spain, which had promiſed to ſupport him, he reſumed the thoughts of peace; and implored the mediation of the pope to extricate him from a war in which he had thus raſhly engaged.

The ardent paſſion of Henry for the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and the miſery that he had experienced in his former marriage, rendered him extremely averſe to a ſecond. The remonſtrances of his miniſters, and his concern for the public welfare, had reluctantly extorted from him permiſſion to negociate an union with Mary de Medicis, niece to the grand duke of Tuſcany. Senſible of his irreſolution, the commiſſioners on whom he had devolved this important truſt, haſtened to conclude it. Their zeal outſtripped the wiſhes and expectations of Henry; and he heard, with mingled regret and ſurpriſe, that they had ſigned a treaty of marriage with that princeſs. His own honour and the happineſs of his people allowed him not to retract; he haſtened to Lyons to receive the hand of Mary; and whatever might be his private fellings, he diſcovered to his royal conſort no emotions but thoſe of reſpect and regard.

A. D. 1601.] The marriage of Henry was followed by a treaty with the duke of Savoy; who, diſappointed in that aſſiſtance which he expected from Spain, and equally deprived of that aid with which he had flattered himſelf from the diſcontents of the factious nobles of France, found himſelf no longer able to ſupport the unequal conteſt; for the marquiſate of Saluces, which he was permitted to retain, he conſented to cede to Henry the county of Breſſe, an extenſive territory on the banks of the Rhone, and to pay one hundred thouſand crowns to defray the expences of the war.

Yet while the duke ſubmitted to the arms of France, he did not relinquiſh the intrigues that he had entered into with the aſpiring chiefs of that kingdom. The principal of theſe were the dukes de Bouillon, d'Epernon, and the mareſchal Biron. That celebrated commander, whoſe exploits eclipſed the military fame of his father, and who openly boaſted that his arm had fixed the ſceptre in the hand of Henry, had long ſecretly laboured to undermine the edifice that his valour had erected, and his blood cemented. Born for the camp, he delighted in war, and excelled in every martial exerciſe; but the reſtleſs ſoldier diſdained the calm acquiſition of ſcience; and while he aſpired to the higheſt honours of the ſtate, was almoſt as illiterate as the meaneſt ſentinal. In action he was brave, indefatigable, vigilant, and abſtemious; but with his armour he ſeemed to lay aſide every virtue, and diſplayed a diſpoſition, vain, envious, and arrogant; no revenue was ſufficient to diſplay his boundleſs extravagance; and

his fatal attachment to gaming, is reported to have ſwallowed within the compaſs of one year, the immenſe ſum of 500,000 crowns: his correſpondence with the duke of Savoy, had not entirely eſcaped the vigilant eye of Henry: and at Lyons that monarch had reproached him with his ſeditious deſigns. Biron affected frankly to confeſs the imprudence of his conduct. His profeſſions of repentance, and his proteſtations of future fidelity, diſarmed the indignation of his ſovereign, mindful of former ſervices. By a large pecuniary donative, Henry endeavoured to awaken his gratitude; and ſenſible that his active ſpirit could ill brook a life of indolence, he ſtrove to divert him from the dangerous practices that he had engaged in, by appointing him, as firſt ambaſſador to Elizabeth, and afterwards to the Swiſs Cantons.

A. D. 1601, 1602.] The birth of a ſon, while it afforded a ſource of domeſtic ſatisfaction to Henry, and opened to his people the pleaſing proſpect of a peaceable ſucceſſion, ſerved at the ſame time to quicken the deſigns of thoſe, who, impatient of tranquil rule, aſſociated in the moſt formidable cabals againſt the throne. The mareſchal Biron had no ſooner returned from executing the commiſſion that had been entructed to him, than he reſumed with redoubled ardour his ambitious projects; he entered into an alliance with the courts of Spain and Turin; he cloſely connected himſelf with the duke of Bouillon, who, by his marriage, had obtained the principality of Sedan; and united in his treaſonable enterpriſe, Charles count d'Auvergne, grand prior of France, and natural ſon to Charles the Ninth. Haughty and ſupercilious in his natural demeanour, Biron now affected the garb of courteſy, and aſſiduouſly laboured to ingratiate himſelf in the hearts of the multitude. The improper nomination to eccleſiaſtical dignities, at the influence of the miſtreſs of the king; the public neglect of the reformed, by a prince who had abjured their tenets, and who meditated their extirpation; but above all, the numerous impoſts which were daily multiplied by the ſovereign on an oppreſſed people, were the favourite topics of the mareſchal, and were induſtriouſly circulated by his adherents in factious murmurs through the provinces. The ſeditious vapour ſoon ſpread itſelf over the countries of Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Guienne, and Languedoc; the animated countenance of Henry was clouded with anxiety: gaiety and pleaſure were baniſhed from a court long diſtinguiſhed by its ſuperior gallantry and ſplendour; and the brooding tempeſt of revolt was foretold by every indication of ſuſpicion and diſcontent.

The ſplendid proſpect that Biron contemplated in the conſciouſneſs of his own military talents, and the power and influence of his confederates, were blaſted by one fatal inſtance of miſplaced confidence. La Fin, a native of Burgundy, and deſcended from a reſpectable family in that province, was diſtinguiſhed by a diſpoſition daring, indefatigable, and intriguing. He had inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the mareſchal, and had been employed both by Biron, and the duke of Bouillon, in their moſt ſecret negociations with Spain and Savoy; but he had lately regarded with jealouſy the aſcendancy which the

baron de Lux had acquired over the mind of his patron; and in a moment of diſguſt, he revealed to Henry the whole of a conſpiracy, the wheels of which he was no longer permitted to direct.

The king read with aſtoniſhment the black ſcrowl, which contained the names of the moſt illuſtrious nobles of France. Some of theſe had actually embarked in the daring projects of Biron; others, by their known diſcontent, had afforded reaſon to expect they would join the ſtandard of revolt, as ſoon as it was erected; and the remainder were probably added by the creative genius of La Fin, deſirous of magnifying the importance of his perfidy: yet the danger was great and immediate; and the king determined to viſit the different provinces of Poitiers, Limoſin, and Guienne, to awe by his preſence the ſeditious ſpirit of the people, and to obtain more perfect information of the ſchemes of the mareſchal. Each day convinced him that he tottered on the brink of a precipice; and after a ſhort reſidence at Blois, he returned to Fontainbleau, determined to cruſh the infant conſpiracy, before it was ſtrengthened by the troops and treaſures of Spain and Savoy.

On his return from Switzerland, the mareſchal Biron had retired to his government of Burgundy, and diligently applied himſelf to ſecure and ſtrengthen the moſt important cities in that province. Confiding in the affection of the inhabitants, and in the fidelity of thoſe to whom he had entruſted the command of the fortified places, he conſidered that country as an immediate retreat, ſhould his deſigns be diſcovered before his confederates were prepared to ſupport him; but of this reſource he was deprived by an artifice of the baron de Roſny; under pretence of new-caſting the cannon throughout Burgundy, that miniſter, as grand maſter, had obtained from the mareſchal the artillery which belonged to his government; but no ſooner was theſe tranſported beyond the juriſdiction of Biron, than Roſny ſtopped the new, with which he had promiſed to replace them. The rage of Biron on this occaſion broke forth in open menances, and his ſuſpicions were ſoon after awakened by intelligence of the private conference that La Fin had held with the king; but he ſuffered himſelf again to be deluded by that traitor's proteſtations that he had not betrayed him, and that Henry was by no means appriſed of his deſigns. He was alſo conſcious, that ſhould his ſovereign march againſt him, and declare him a rebel, he was no longer capable of reſiſtance; actuated by the powerful motives of hope and fear, he obeyed the royal ſummons, and with his aſſociate, the count d'Auvergne, repaired to the court at Fontainbleau.

The mind of Henry, on the arrival of the mareſchal, was ſuſpended by the conflicting paſſions of gratitude and reſentment. When he called to remembrance the former ſervices of Biron, and the dangers they had ſhared together, his feelings drowned the ſtern voice of juſtice, and he determined to pardon the ambition of a man to whoſe valour he had been ſo eminently indebted; but when the calamities of civil war, from which the kingdom had ſcarce emerged,

preſented themſelves to his view; when he conſidered the welfare of his people, and the infant ſtate of his ſon, both endangered by the reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition of Biron, the duty of a ſovereign, and the affection of a parent, loudly exhorted him to conſult the happineſs of millions, by the ſacrifice of one obnoxious perſon: yet he beheld the unhappy victim with tenderneſs and compaſſion; and while he treated him with every mark of regard, he endeavoured in converſation, to lead him to a full confeſſion of his guilt, and to juſtify the clemency that he ſtill panted to exerciſe, by his ſincerity and contrition.

Yet the friendly admonitions of the monarch could not bend a temper naturally ſtubborn and hauty; encouraged by the aſſurances of La Fin, the mareſchal retained a ſullen reſerve, and aſſumed the tone of inſulted integrity; he perſevered in declaring, that ſince the confeſſion at Lyons, he had nothing to accuſe his conſcience with; and Henry, fatigued with unavailing exhortations, at length reſolved to give way to the courſe of juſtice; mareſchal Biron and the count d'Auvergne were arreſted as they withdrew from the king's apartment, and were conveyed to the Baſtile. A commiſſion was directed to the parliament to examine into their conduct, and the proofs of their guilt were clear and poſitive; the very treaty with Spain, which Biron had ſubſcribed, and which he firmly believed that La Fin had deſtroyed, was produced againſt him. His judges unanimouſly, though reluctantly, pronounced ſentence of death. The intreaties of his friends prevailed on the king to change the place of execution; he was beheaded in the court of the Baſtile; and, in his laſt moments, diſgraced by alternate ſallies of rage, and agonies of terror, the character of Intrepid, which he had acquired amidſt the greateſt dangers of war.

The count d'Auvergne had been involved in the ſame ſentence as the mareſchal Biron; but regard for the brother of his miſtreſs, the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and reſpect for the laſt male deſcendant of the race of Valois, induced Henry to grant him not only his life, but alſo to alleviate the rigour of his confinement, and at length inſenſibly to reſtore him to freedom; a clemency which the ſubſequent intrigues of the count repaid with the blackeſt ingratitude. Of the other conſpirators, the principal threw themſelves at the feet of their ſovereign, who not only freely pardoned their imprudence, but even concealed from reproach their names; the multitude found ſhelter in their numbers and obſcurity—and the baron de Fontenelles alone, by a public and painful death, was doomed to atone for his treaſonable intention of delivering the fort of Douarnenes to the Spaniards.

It was not alone in detecting the dangerous deſigns of his foreign and domeſtic enemies, that the vigilance of Henry was exerciſed; the internal adminiſtration of his kingdom claimed and obtained his unwearied attention. Regularity was introduced into the finances, by the integrity and induſtry of his favourite miniſter, the baron de Roſny; new manufactures were eſtabliſhed, colonies planted, commerce extended, and agriculture reſtored; the rage of duelling

which had proved mortal to ſome of the moſt gallant ſpirits of France, was at the ſame time reſtrained by new edicts; but it could not be diſguiſed, that the king, educated in camps, and impreſſed with lively notions of honour, too often ſanctioned by his expreſſions that fatal practice which his laws were framed to repreſs.

1603.] The tempeſt of civil commotion, which had alarmed France, was alſo felt in England. The conſpiracy and execution of the mareſchal de Biron, were preceded by the preſumption and fate of Eſſex, the favourite of Elizabeth; but though the queen, jealous of her authority, ſigned his final doom, ſhe never could eraſe from her heart that fond partiality which ſhe had ever evinced towards him. Oppreſſed by a ſorrow which ſhe affected to conceal, but which inceſſantly preyed upon her body, her frail conſtitution at length gave way to the emotions of her mind. During the latter hours of her life, the pride of royalty was overwhelmed by the torrent of returning affection; for ſeveral days ſhe rejected all conſolation, and even refuſed food and ſuſtenance. The few words ſhe uttered were all expreſſive of ſome inward grief that ſhe cared not to reveal; and in the ſeventieth year of her age, ſhe cloſed a reign of vigour, conſtancy, vigilance, and addreſs, the victim of a romantic paſſion, ſcarce credible in a love-ſick girl.

Henry, who had ever entertained the moſt profound ſentiments of regard and reſpect for Elizabeth, and who had concerted with that princeſs the depreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, deplored the death of his old and faithful ally with a ſincerity ſeldom found in royal boſoms. His cloſe connection with England rendered it of importance to him to acquire a thorough knowledge of the diſpoſition of her ſucceſſor; and he diſpatched the marquis de Roſny to congratulate James the Firſt, who, by his ſucceſſion to the throne, united the dominions of England and Ireland to thoſe of Scotland; the feeble and temporiſing diſpoſition of that monarch, could not be concealed from the penetrating genius of Roſny; always negociating, and never daring to act, he ſuffered that power to become contemptible in his hands, which might have commanded the reſpect of the haughty Spaniard, and repreſſed the overweening arrogance of the houſe of Auſtria. Enamoured of peace, he conſidered the attainment of it as the only true object of a ſtateſman's labours; and though he agreed with Roſny ſecretly to ſupport the united ſtates, in concert with the king of France, leſt their weakneſs ſhould oblige them to ſubmit to their old maſter, yet that miniſter ſoon acquainted Henry, that he muſt not too implicitly depend on the exertions of a prince who continually expreſſed his dread leſt he ſhould be reproached as the abettor of rebels.

A. D. 1604.] Wearied by inceſſant importunities, the king of France conſented to reſtore the Jeſuits, and to demoliſh the pillar which had been erected to perpetuate the atrocious attempt of Chatel, and the dangerous principles of the order that he belonged to. But this freſh inſtance of the placable diſpoſition of the ſovereign, could not extinguiſh the embers of diſcontent which ſtill lurked in his kingdom. The duke of Bouillon had deeply engaged in the conſpiracy of the

mareſchal Biron, and to avoid the ſtorm which he beheld gathering, had retired to his principality of Sedan; he now reſumed his correſpondence with the court of Spain, and with the count d'Auvergne. That nobleman, unmindful of the clemency, which he had ſo lately experienced, involved in his intrigues his ſiſter the marchioneſs of Verneuil, the favourite miſtreſs of the king, and her father Francis d'Entragues, on whom Henry had beſtowed the rank of mareſchal, as the price of the promiſe of marriage he had imprudently given to the daughter. Their deſigns were detected and diſconcerted by the vigilance of Henry. The marchioneſs of Verneuil was for ſome days confined to her houſe; but the paſſion of the man triumphed over the juſtice of the ſovereign, and Henry ſoon flew to proſtrate himſelf at the feet of the haughty beauty whoſe chains he found it impoſſible to break —D'Entragues, who had been condemned to loſe his head, was indebted for his life to the charms of his daughter; and the protecting influence of the fair was was even extended to her brother the count d'Auvergne, whoſe ſentence of expiating his repeated guilt on a public ſcaffold, was commuted to the milder doom of perpetual impriſonment.

A. D. 1605.] But when the vigorous mind of Henry was not faſcinated by the charms of female beauty, he well knew how to render his authority reſpected by his ſubjects, and to curb the wild deſigns of ingratitude and ambition. The duke of Bouillon for four ſucceſſive years had evaded every ſummons to appear at court, and the king determined by his preſence to humble that haughty ſubject, he directed his courſe through the counties of Auvergne and Limoſin; and Bouillon, aſtoniſhed at the rapid approach of his ſovereign, and unprepared for reſiſtance, ordered the governors of the different towns that belonged to him to open their gates, and diſarmed the immediate reſentment of Henry by the apparent ſincerity of his ſubmiſſion.

A. D. 1606.] But Henry had ſcarce returned to Paris before he was juſtly incenſed by repeated inſtances of the duke's reſtleſs and diſcontented diſpoſition. It was with reluctance that he prepared to reduce by arms a man whom the Proteſtants looked up to as the chief of their religion, and from whom he himſelf had formerly received conſiderable ſervices. But the preſent tranquility of his kingdom, and the ſucceſs of the lofty deſigns that he began already to meditate, all concurred in prompting him to meaſures the moſt vigorous and deciſive. With a train of artillery, which he entruſted to the command of his miniſter Roſny, whom on this occaſion he created duke of Sully, and with a ſmall but well appointed body of veteran forces, the king of France paſſed forwards to Sedan. To the laſt moment the vanity of the duke of Bouillon had ſuggeſted to him the language of reſiſtance; but with the approach of danger, the haughty ſpirit of that nobleman began to ſubſide; the inſincerity of Spain he was too well acquainted with; and the Proteſtants, inſtead of arming in his defence, flocked to the royal ſtandard; nothing now remained but to ſubmit to a power with which it would have been madneſs to have contended; in the generous and clement diſpoſition of his ſove-

reign, he ſtill found that reſource which his obſtinacy allowed him little reaſon to expect; the inhabitants of Sedan, with the duke, took the oath of fidelity to the king of France; a royal garriſon and governor were to be maintained within the walls for four years; and Bouillon, after having ſo long defied, eſteemed himſelf happy in eſcaping the vengeance of his prince on ſuch favourable conditions.

The good fortune which attended Henry in public, preſerved him alſo in private life. An unfortunate wretch, whom inſanity had impelled againſt the life of that monarch, was diſarmed by his attendants, and by the humanity of Henry was diſmiſſed to gentle confinement, and to that care which his melancholy ſituation required. In croſſing the river Neuilly, the royal carriage, by the ſpirit of the horſes, was precipitated from the ferry-boat, and overturned in the middle of the ſtream; the king, the queen, the duke of Vendoſme, and the princeſs of Conti, were expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. They were reſcued by the zeal and alacrity of their retinue; and Henry himſelf, after ſafely gaining the ſhore, plunged again into the river to extricate his conſort.

A. D. 1607, 1608.] But while the multitude exulted at the ſafety of a ſovereign whom they loved and revered, the royal boſom was deemed to experience thoſe cares which invade with impartial miſery the peace of the peaſant and the prince. The queen, cold and reſerved in her temper and manner, received with indifference, or repreſſed with diſguſt, the amorous aſſiduities of Henry. Her imprudent partiality to her Italian attendants, was regarded with indignation by that monarch; and his own licentious amours, his open connection with the marchioneſs of Verneuil, too frequently furniſhed juſt cauſe for reproach. The inmoſt receſſes of the palace were diſturbed by their mutual and inceſſant complaints. The happineſs which Henry found not in the company and converſation of his queen, he ſought in the familiar ſociety of others; the arrogance of the marchioneſs of Verneuil had for ſome time paſt been inſufferable; and the lively wit, the amiable manners of Charlotte de Montmorancy, the daughter of the conſtable, had inſenſibly ſtolen into his heart; yet he ſuffered not his paſſion, ardent as it was, and fatal as it propably afterwards proved, wholly to engroſs his mind. He renewed his ancient alliance with the United States of Holland; he aſſiduouſly cultivated the friendſhip of England; he ſucceſsfully interpoſed his meditation between the court of Rome and the Venetians; but he declined the importunate ſolicitations of the Mooriſh inhabitants of Spain; who oppreſſed, and at length driven into exile by the miſtaken policy of Philip the Third, in vain implored an aſylum in the boſom of France.

The wiſdom of Henry has been ſeverely impeached in refuſing the proffered acceſſion of near half a million of induſtrous people, whoſe ſilent labours might have fertiliſed the baren and deſerted plains of France; and repaired the fatal ravages which had been inflicted by religious commotion. The inclination of this unhappy race to prefer the former to the Catholic church, the perſecuting ſpirit of which they had already experienced, might perhaps in ſome meaſure in-

fluence the mind of Henry, long ſince grown diſtruſtful of the intrigues of the Hugonots; perhaps he was determined by the dread of precipitating thoſe hoſtile deſigns which he ſecretly meditated againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and which were yet ſcarcely ripe for execution. A conjecture which is rather ſtrengthened by the caution with which he continued to ſooth the jealouſy of the court of Spain, and the zeal which he diſplayed in negociating a truce with the united ſtates and the archduke Albert. The tranquillity of his kingdom was reſtored; the ambition of his nobles had been ſeverely humbled; the magazines were filled with coffers repleniſhed; order was introduced into his finances; diſcipline among his troops; and he beheld the moment rapidly approaching in which he might unfold the vaſt object of thoſe immenſe preparations which alarmed or aſtoniſhed all Europe.

A. D. 1609.] But while the power, the experience, and the reputation of the monarch filled his enemies with terror, the paſſions of the man too often expoſed him to the cenſure and pity of his friends. Nor time, nor ambition could extinguiſh his fatal affection for Charlotre de Montmorency; ſecretly nouriſhing the deſtructive flame, he determined to beſtow the hand of that lady on the prince of Condé, and by introducing her into his own family, at leaſt to enjoy the ſatisfaction of her converſation. The marriage was celebrated without pomp at Chantilli, and it was the expreſſion of the marchioneſs of Verneuil, "that "the king had made this match to ſink the heart, and to raiſe the head "of the prince of Condé." The paſſion of Henry ſoon burſt the bounds that his prudence had preſcribed. His looks, his words, his actions, inceſſantly betrayed the ardent emotions of his ſoul; the fire that conſtantly conſumed him could not be concealed from the prince, jealous of his own honour, and the fidelity of his wife. He deſired leave to retire from court, and the peremptory refuſal of the king ſerved only to confirm the ſuſpicions already entertained. His reſpect for his ſovereign was overwhelmed by a lively ſenſe of the injury intended; and after giving way to his indignation by the moſt pointed reproaches, he ſecretly prepared to eſcape with the princeſs beyond the limits of the kingdom, before the ungovernable paſſion of Henry had ſealed his diſhonour.

This deſign he executed with ſucceſs; reluctantly accompanied by his wife, and attended by a few domeſtics, he eluded the vigilance of thoſe who had been directed to obſerve him, and reached in ſafety Landrecy. The king received the intelligence of his flight with a tranſport of rage and grief that he was at no pains to conceal. He inſtantly diſpatched Praſlin, the captain of his guard, to demand the fugitives from the archduke; but Albret replied with becoming dignity, "that he had never violated the laws of nations on any occaſion what-"ever; and that he would not begin with a prince of the blood-royal of France". He immediately ſupplied the neceſſities of the prince of Condé with liberality, appointed an eſcort to conduct him to Bruſſels, and aſſured him of his conſtant protection.

The perſonal ſecurity of the prince did not entirely ſhield him from the effects of Henry's reſentment. After an ineffectual attempt to carry off the princeſs by force, at the command of the king the parliament paſſed an arret againſt the firſt prince of the blood, and condemned him to undergo whatever puniſhment the ſovereign ſhould pleaſe to inflict; with this judicial proceſs the martial preparations of Henry kept pace; and the armaments which had been ſuggeſted by ambition were probably quickened by love. England, the independent princes of Germany, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, all readily aſſociated in the deſign of humbling the houſe of Auſtria; the duke of Savoy conſented to relinquiſh that country to France, on condition of receiving the duchy of Milan; while the majority of the Italian ſtates profeſſed that deſire to accede to a confederacy, on which they flattered themſelves with the hope of founding a permanent tranquillity. When to allies ſo powerful, and ſo firmly engaged by intereſt in the cauſe they had eſpouſed, are added the reſources of France in a diſciplined and veteran army of forty thouſand men, a treaſure of forty millons of livres, and the high reputation and diſtinguiſhed abilities of her king, it cannont be wondered that the aſtoniſhment of viſionary ſtateſmen have conſidered the force ſo far exceeding the object as even to have attributed to Henry the immenſe but chimerical project of forming Europe into one great republic.

At length the death of the duke of Cleves gave the ſignal for action; his dominions, which had been formed of four or five great fiefs, were claimed by the emperor, Rodolph, as ſupreme ſovereign; and he inſtantly beſtowed the inveſture of them on the archduke, Leopold of Auſtria. But this arbitrary uſurpation was diſputed by the ſiſters of the late duke and their repreſentatives; the duke of Brandenburg and Pruſſia, the count palatine of Newburg, the count palatine of Deux Ponts, and the marquis of Burgaw, were arouſed by the ſecret and friendly aſſurances of France, to aſſert their rights by arms, and to implore the protection of Henry.

A. D. 1610.] The king readily liſtened to ſolicitations which he himſelf had ſuggeſted. The conteſted territories ſtretched along the frontiers of his kingdom, and he was not inſenſible to the dangerous vicinity of the houſe of Auſtria; intereſt combined with honour in prompting him to a ſpeedy reſolution; and both, perhaps, were ſtimulated by the ſecret but ardent motives of affection; the prince of Condé ſtill boaſted the protection of the court of Spain, and the abſence of the princeſs had not allayed the flame that her charms had kindled in the boſom of Henry. That monarch declared his determination to lead an army to the ſupport of his German allies, and to vindicate with his forces and treaſures their pretenſions to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. His road lay through the provinces of Flanders, and the archduke Albert, through whoſe country he demanded permiſſion to march, unprepared for reſiſtance, diſguiſed his hereditary enmity, and anſwered in terms of reſpectful acquieſcence.



NECKER

The ſupine indifference with which the houſe of Auſtria affected to regard the combination of its moſt powerful and inveterate enemies, has given riſe to a ſuſpicion probably as deſtitute of foundation, as it is injurious to the honour of that family; and the ſubſequent fate of Henry has, by more than one contemporary hiſtorian, been aſcribed to the perfidious and ſanguinary principles which have diſgraced the councils of Spain, and which but a few years ſince involved the deſtruction of the prince of Orange. With more reaſon the deadly ſtroke may be imputed to that fanatical fury kindled by a long ſeries of religious commotion, and not extinguiſhed by the fleeting years of tranquillity which had ſucceeded the peace of Vervins. Whatever might be the ſource of an event, which has been ſo variouſly related by the immediate ſpectators, and which ſeems at the moment it happened to have eluded the reſearches of the moſt curious and intereſted, it is our duty from the maſs to ſelect thoſe circumſtances only which can inform the mind and guide the judgement of the reader.

Amidſt all his preparations, amidſt the moſt flattering proſpects of acquiring that glory which he had ſo long and ſo ardently panted after, the diſpoſition of Henry was viſibly impreſſed with a deep and ſettled melancholy. The blameable indulgence of the queen to her Italian attendants, had been often the ſubject of his open diſcontent, and he had more than once meditated the deſign of compelling the moſt obnoxious to repaſs the Alps. From this intention he was diverted by his confidential miniſter the duke of Sully; and in conformity to the advice of that ſtateſman he endeavoured to gain on the cold and reſerved temper of the queen by acts of kindneſs and attention. That princeſs had expreſſed her deſire to be crowned before the king took the field; and Henry, though he regarded with diſguſt all pageantry and oſtentaton, had conſented to gratify her wiſhes. The ceremony was performed on Thurſday the thirteenth of May with the utmoſt magnificence; the next Sunday was fixed for the public entry of the queen, and on the Wedneſday following Henry had determined to quit Paris, and to put himſelf at the head of his army.

But the final period of his life and greatneſs now rapidly approached; and while he meditated enterpriſes the moſt ſplendid and important, his own death was planned and executed by Francis Ravaillac, a native of Angouleme. From that province the unhappy wretch had directed his footſteps to the capital; and after endeavouring to obtain a miſerable ſubſiſtence as an obſcure retainer to the law, he had attempted to procure admiſſion among the order of Feuillants; but theſe rejected him as a wild and frantic viſionary; and his diſtreſs had already reduced him to ſeek ſupport by imploring alms, when he conceived the dark and deſperate deſign of mingling the miſeries of a nation with his own, by arming his hand againſt the ſovereign of France.

Though the king had acquieſced in a ceremony which he conſtantly diſapproved, and though he had endeavoured by the appearance of ſatisfaction to diffuſe

through the court that joy which he felt not, his expreſſions but too clearly announced his gloomy preſages of his impending deſtiny. From his confidential miniſters and domeſtics he concealed not the load that preſſed upon his heart; and "you will ſoon know how kind a maſter you have loſt," was the inceſſant and mournful exclamation. The morning that ſucceeded the coronation of the queen had been deſtined for a viſit to the arſenal; but the indiſpoſition of the duke of Sully induced the king to poſtpone his intention: he had already paſſed a ſleepleſs night, and with the return of light his apprehenſions and inquietude ſeemed every moment to encreaſe. He attended maſs, and prayed with unuſual fervour; the pleaſures of the table diſſipated not his chagrin; and after a vain effort to compoſe himſelf to reſt, he ordered his coach, and, accompanied by the duke of Epernon and Montbazon, the mareſchals Lavardin and Roquelaure, the marquiſſes de la Force and Mirabeau, and du Pleſſis Laincourt, his maſter of horſe, determined to proceed to the arſenal; Vitry, the captain of his guards, was by his order diſpatched to the palace to haſten the preparations for the queen's entry; and the carriage was only attended by a ſmall number of gentlemen on horſeback, and a few of the royal footmen. The curtains on every ſide were drawn up that the king might witneſs the zeal of his ſubjects in the various ornaments they had prepared. In a narrow ſtreet the coach was ſtopped by the accidental meeting of two carts; the majority of the attendants inſtantly took a nearer way, and two only were left; one went before to clear the paſſage, the other ſtaid behind to tie up his garter. At this inſtant, as the king turned to read a letter to the duke of Epernon, he received a ſtroke from a knife; he had ſcarce time to exclaim, "I am wounded," before a ſecond more violent, and more fatally directed, pierced his heart, and breathing only a deep ſigh, he ſunk back in the coach a lifeleſs corpſe.

Thus periſhed, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-firſt of his reign, Henry the Fourth, whoſe virtues and talents have juſtly entitled him to the honourable diſtinction of Great. His acceſſion preſented to our view a kingdom diſunited, and a nobility haughty and diſcontented, a commonalty clamorous and oppreſſed. The broken provinces of the ſtate were cemented by his policy, the nobles were humbled by his valour, the commons were conciliated by his addreſs, and relieved by his humanity. He firſt introduced order into the finances, and diſcipline into the armies of France; new manufactories were eſtabliſhed at his command, and new colonies planted; and while he reſtored peace and plenty at home, he rendered his kingdom great and formidable abroad. The power of Spain was checked by his courage and conduct; and at the moment of his death he meditated deſigns againſt the houſe of Auſtria, which had they been ſucceſsfully executed, would have finnally precluded her from ever diſturbing again the tranquillity of Europe. In private life he was a kind and generous maſter; a warm and tender lover, a polite and obliging huſband; but the ſincerity of the hiſtorian will not allow him to conceal thoſe faults which he

cannot but regret; the paſſion of Henry for the fair, too often induced him to forget the prudence and dignity of the monarch: his ardent and guilty affection for the princeſs of Condé in the decline of life, caſt a cloud over his meridian glory; and the warmth with which he purſued, and the indiſcretion with which he countenanced the fatal rage of gaming, has been the ſubject of ſevere and general cenſure.

Though the confuſion of the nobles who accompanied Henry allowed them not to ward the fatal blow, yet the moment their preſence of mind returned, it was diſplayed in ſeizing the aſſaſſin, who ſtill ſupported himſelf on the wheel of the coach, with the bloody inſtrument yet reeking in his hand, as if glorying in the atrocious deed. The prudence of the duke of Epernon preſerved him from the immediate fury of the royal attendants, to periſh by the moſt exquiſite torments; while the ſame caution enabled him to quiet the tumultuous apprehenſions of the populace, by declaring that the king yet lived, and that they were carrying him to the Louvre to have his wounds dreſſed. The crowd inſtantly gave way, the body conveyed to the palace, was laid upon a bed, and was ſoon deſerted by the ungrateful many who had baſked in his favour, but who haſtened to proſtrate themſelves before the riſing ſun, and loſt the recollectiou of former benefits in their eagerneſs to ſolicit new.

LEWIS THE THIRTEENTH.

WITH the life of Henry the Fourth were extinguiſhed the great deſigns that he had meditated againſt the houſe of Auſtria; and France beheld, with grief and terror, the ſceptre paſs from his vigorous graſp to the feeble hand of an infant. Of his three ſons by Mary of Medicis, the eldeſt, who now ſucceeded to the throne as Lewis the Thirteenth, was only in the ninth year of his age; and the two younger, though their birth might ſerve to ſtrengthen the ſucceſſion, could only be known by their different titles of dukes of Orleans and Anjou; but the queen, amidſt the diſmay of the court, waſted not the important moments in unavailing ſorrow; and the affliction, if any, that ſhe felt on the loſs of Henry, was ſwallowed up by the more intereſting care of obtaining the regency. Her ambition was gratified by the ready acquieſcence of the parliament; and in her perſon were united the adminiſtration of the kingdom, and the guardianſhip of her ſon.

The firſt moments had been employed in the acquiſition of power, the next were devoted to revenge. The wretched Ravaillac, whoſe guilty hand had precipitated the untimely death of Henry, was drawn from his cell, to periſh by the moſt exquiſite torments. His bones were broken by the arm of the executioner; his fleſh were torn by hot pincers; ſcalding lead and oil were poured upon his wounds; and his mangled body, ſtill ſenſible, was delivered to be diſmembered by four horſes; the ſtubborn frame reſiſted their utmoſt efforts; the indignant multitude, whoſe thirſt of vengeance could no longer be reſtrained, ruſhed through the guards—in an inſtant they put an end to his miſery, by tearing him in pieces; and with barbarous joy they dragged his limbs in frantic triumph through the ſtreets. Amidſt every mark of ingenious cruelty inflicted by public juſtice, or private hatred, he ſtill maintained, with conſtancy, the declaration, "that impreſſed "with the idea that the armaments of Henry were deſtined againſt the Catholic "church, and the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, he alone had planned, he alone was "privy to the deed, to the juſt horror of which he was now awakened—and "which he hoped in a future world, the torments he had ſuffered here, would in "ſome meaſure expiate."

On the firſt intelligence of the death of Henry, the prince of Condé quitted his retreat in the territories of Spain, and haſtened to urge his pretenſions to the regency as firſt prince of the blood. A ſplendid palace, a conſiderable ſum of money, and a penſion adequate to his dignity, were temptations that his neceſſities allowed him not to reſiſt; while the diſcontent of the count of Soiſſons was appeaſed by the important government of Normandy. The former miniſters of the crown, who had ſerved with fidelity, and who were recommended by their experience, were received with coldneſs, and liſtened to with evident diſapprobation; the queen abandoned herſelf, without reſerve, to her fond partiality for her Italian adherents; Conchini, a native of that country, and of obſcure extraction, had increaſed his influence by a marriage with Leonora Galigni, the favourite of the regent, and their united counſels ruled France and their miſtreſs with abſolute ſway. The mareſchal de la Chatre, with a detachment of twelve thouſand men, had effected a junction with prince Maurice of Naſſau, penetrated into Germany, and reſtored the duchy of Juliers to the marquis of Brandenburgh, and the count Palatine of Newburgh; but the court, as if fatigued with this inſtance of vigour, again ſunk into ſupineneſs; and the duke of Savoy, betrayed and deſerted, was happy to eſcape the chaſtiſement of Spain, by the moſt degrading and humiliating conceſſions.

A. D. 1611.] The duke of Sully, auſtere and inflexible, and who confiding in his integrity, diſdained the arts of courts, found that ſincerity, which had been eſteemed by Henry, no longer acceptable; he indignantly retired to the eſtates which he had purchaſed through the bounty of the late king, and reſigned his offices of governor of the Baſtile, and ſuperintendant of the finances; but the reformed, who ſtill confided in him, notwithſtanding the intrigues of the duke of

Bouillon, exhorted him to retain his government of Poitou, and his poſt of maſter of the ordnance. Each day revealed the aſcendancy of Conchini, who endeavoured to remove from the eyes of the people the unpopular circumſtance of foreign birth, by aſſuming the title of marquis of Ancre. The death of the duke of Orleans, whoſe title devolved on his younger brother the duke of Anjou, did not interrupt the negociations which the queen and her miniſters eagerly purſued with the court of Spain. Inſtead of attempting to repreſs the dangerous ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, the regent, to eſtabliſh her authority, determined cloſely to connect herſelf with that family; and while the young king was contracted to the Infanta, the hand of his ſiſter, the princeſs Elizabeth, was engaged to the prince of Aſturias.

A. D. 1612.] While the princes of the blood concealed not their diſguſt at the influence of the marquis of Ancre, the reformed, in the union with the court of Spain, dreaded the revival of former perſecutions. The duke of Rohan, ſon-in-law to the duke of Sully, ſeized the ſtrong town of St. Jean d'Angeli, the government of which had been promiſed to him by the deceaſed king; in excuſe for the enterpriſe he alledged, that the court, at the repreſentations of the duke of Bouillon, had removed the mayor, who was attached to his intereſt, and appointed another, wholly at their own devotion; the queen, to quench the embers of revolt, conſented to reſtore the former officer—and the death of the count of Soiſſons, which happened ſoon after, left the prince of Condé without a guide, who again reconciled himſelf to the marquis of Ancre.

The duke of Bouillon had been diſpatched to England to remove the jealouſies which James might entertain at the late union between France and Spain, and to propoſe a marriage with the princeſs Chriſtina, the ſecond daughter of Henry, and the eldeſt ſon of the king of England; but the prince of Wales unfortunately expired in the dawn of manhood, when his talents and virtues had awakened the expectations of his country; and the duke of Bouillon availed himſelf of the opportunity to negociate the nuptuals of his own nephew, the elector Palatine, with the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter to James; a marriage, which probably prompted the elector to his enterpriſe againſt the kingdom of Bohemia; and which after plunging his poſterity in a long ſeries of abject diſtreſs, by the union of the princeſs Sophia with the houſe of Hanover, finally transferred the ſceptre of England to that family.

A. D. 1613.] The death of Francis, duke of Mantua and marquis of Montferrat, without male offspring, rekindled the ambition of the duke of Savoy. He diſputed in arms, the ſucceſſion of the cardinal of Mantua, the brother of the deceaſed prince, to the marquiſate. His liberality attached to his cauſe a conſiderable number of the nobility, and his forces, like a torrent, deluged the conteſted country, and ſwept before him all oppoſition to the very gates of Montferrat. That city conſented to receive the victor; and Caſal alone, encouraged by the preſence of the duke of Nevers, held out for the cardinal. At the ſupplicating

voice of her kinſman and ally, the queen of France prepared to chaſtiſe the temerity of the invader. Spain and the Venetians, embraced, with rival ardour, the ſupport of the cardinal; the duke of Savoy, in his turn, was averwhelmed by the numbers and reſources of ſo formidable a confederacy; he was reduced to abandon his conqueſts with the ſame rapidity he had acquired them; and eſteemed himſelf happy in obtaining a peace, by acknowledging the pretenſions of the cardinal to the territories of his deceaſed brother.

A. D. 1614, 1615.] Whatever might be the ſucceſs of France abroad, at home, her annals for four ſucceſſive years, preſent a dreary proſpect of unintereſting anarchy and barren diſcord. The princes of the blood, inſatiate of power, and the nobles turbulent and diſcontented, repeatedly erected the ſtandard of revolt againſt the regal authority; as frequently, with contemptible levity, they courted the returning friendſhip of a court, whoſe timed counſels were content to ſooth without preſuming to repreſs their capricious arrogance. It was amidſt theſe inceſſant alarms and deſultory hoſtilities, that the king, who had been declared of age, concluded the double marriage with Spain, and received at Bourdeaux the hand of Anne the Infanta.

A. D. 1615, 1616. From the celebration of that ceremony, Lewis purſued his march, at the head of a ſmall, but well-diſciplined army, to reduce the prince of Condé, and to impreſs his ſubjects with favourable ſentiments of his courage and activity. The approach of the winter ſuſpended the operations of the contending parties, who, while they rejected all terms of accommodation, ſeemed ſtudious in every enterpriſe, to avoid the effuſion of blood; with the return of ſpring, the royal forces again aſſembled, and were again animated by the preſence of their ſovereign; but when his ſubjects daily expected the effects of that military ardour which had thus early tranſported him to a camp, they were ſurpriſed by the intelligence that he had ſubſcribed a peace, and had ſubmitted to the demands of thoſe princes, whom he had ſo lately declared traitors to his throne.

The fatal councils of the marquis of Ancre had influenced a meaſure ſo degrading to the royal authority; the alternate perſecutor and protector of the princes of the blood, he dreaded a war, which, if ſucceſsful, could add but little to his power, and if unſucceſsful, muſt be attended with his ruin. In the field, he well knew the king would be expoſed to the ready acceſs and ſuggeſtions of the nobility, jealous of the ſuperior fortunes of a favourite, whom they hated and deſpiſed; the partiality of the queen had inveſted him with the dignity of mareſchal; but this new rank had only increaſed the envy of his competitors, and the deteſtation of the public. He languiſhed to return to Paris, that by the aſcendancy of his wife, over the mind of Mary, he might ſecure himſelf from the hoſtile practices of his enemies.

His return to court exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations. The queen, though no longer legally inveſted with the authority of regent, ſtill appeared to maintain her influence over her feeble ſon, and was herſelf devoted to the will of

the mareſchal and his conſort. With laviſh hand he diſſipated thoſe treaſures which had been amaſſed by the ambition of Henry, and the unwearied frugality of Sully; new titles were invented, and new poſts were created to gratify the pride, or the avarice of his dependants; the ancient ſervants of the crown were diſmiſſed, and their places were ſupplied by the creatures of his pleaſure. At length, inflated with proſperity, and no longer able to endure a rival, even in the firſt prince of the blood, he prevailed on the queen to arreſt the prince of Condé, who had preſumed to menace him with his indignation.

The impriſonment of that prince in the Baſtile, awakened from their dream of ſecurity the dukes of Vendoſme, Mayenne, Nevers, and Rohan, with a ſplendid train of nobility, who haſtily retired from court, and prepared by arms to deliver themſelves from the oppreſſiou of the favourite; the public diſcontent was increaſed by the diſmiſſal of Villeroy, grown grey in the ſervice of Henry the Fourth, from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and by the promotion of the biſhop of Lucon, ſince known as the celebrated cardinal Richlieu. The vigour that the court diſplayed was moſt probably the effect of the new miniſter's counſels; three armies, levied with diligence, immediately appeared in the field to ſupport the royal authority; the firſt in Champagne, commanded by the duke of Guiſe, reduced Chateau, Porcien, and Rethel; the ſecond, which acted in the Nivernois, and was conducted by the mareſchal Montigny, defeated and took priſoner the ſecond ſon of the duke of Nevers; the third was entruſted to the count d'Auvergne, whom the queen had drawn from the long confinement to which he had been ſentenced by Henry, and now placed at the head of the royal forces in the iſle of France. Age and misfortune had not extinguiſhed the youthful vigour of that reſtleſs noble. He ſurpriſed and diſperſed the ſcattered bodies of the confederates, and inveſted in Soiſſons the duke of Maynne, ſon to the renowned chief of the league. The walls of that place could not long have reſiſted his ardour; and he had already prepared to give the ſignal for a general aſſault, when the duke of Mayenne was preſerved from the deſtruction that impended over him, by an event as unexpected as it was deciſive.

While the mareſchal of Ancre, elated at the proſpect before him, gave looſe to a temper naturally raſh and vindictive, his capricious jealouſies and unbridled arrogance precipitated on his own head the ruin that he meditated againſt his enemies. Ha had placed about the perſon of the young king a gentleman of the name of Luines, who inſinuated himſelf into the favour and confidence of Lewis, by his unwearied aſſiduities, and the ardour with which he planned and partook of his childiſh amuſements; but while the thoughts and hours of this new favourite ſeemed occupied by ſports and pleaſures the moſt frivolous, he in private nouriſhed an ambition above his rank and ſtation. The mareſchal had repulſed, with contempt, his offer of alliance by uniting his brother to the niece of Ancre; and Luines, not inſenſible of the ſuſpicious diſpoſition of the Florentine, determined to provide for his own ſafety, by the deſtruction of a man whom from that moment he ſecretly conſidered as his implacable enemy.

In the unguarded hours of familiarity, he impreſſed Lewis with a lively dread of the dangerous deſigns of the aſpiring Italian; he repreſented to him that his father, Henry the Fourth, had ever regarded, with peculiar averſion, the influence of the mereſchal, and Leonora, over the mind of the queen. That he had only been prevented by the tears of his conſort, from compelling them to repaſs the Alps; that the evils which he had foreſeen from their aſcendancy over that princeſs, were now realiſed: the firſt prince of the blood was impriſoned; the principal nobility were baniſhed from court; and the kingdom was plunged into the calamities of civil war, to ſatiate the revenge, or ſooth the arrogance of a ſupercilious foreigner. That while this inſolent minion diſpoſed at pleaſure of every employment of truſt and importance, the ſovereign himſelf was little better than a captive to the queen and the mareſchal; and the avowed preference and attachment of the former to his younger brother the duke of Orleans, ought to inſpire him with ſentiments of prudent diſtruſt.

A. D. 1617.] The tender years of Lewis were already diſtinguiſhed by that jealouſy of the royal authority which afterwards became the prominent feature of his character. He liſtened attentively to the repeated ſuggeſtions of Luines, and at length imparted his reſolution to atchieve his own deliverance, and to extinguiſh the torch of civil commotion by the death of the mareſchal. With the concurrence of Lewis, Luines exacted an oath from Vitri, the captain of the guard, to execute whatever the king ſhould command. He then diſcloſed to him the royal orders to arreſt the mareſchal D'Ancre, and Vitri having aſſociated in the enterpriſe his brother Hillier, his brother-in-law Perſan, and a few more friends, on whoſe courage and fidelity he could rely, prepared to execute the will of his ſovereign.

While the conſpirators were engaged in concerting their meaſures, the queen was confidentially admoniſhed to diſmiſs her Italian favourites, whoſe inſolence muſt involve in their ruin her own influence; and Leonora was exhorted to conſult her ſafety by a prudent and timely retreat; the natural timidity of her ſex inclined her to embrace the counſel that was offered; but the mareſchal indignantly rejected the alternative, and declared that he would never deſert that fortune which hitherto had conſtantly accompanied him. On the morning fixed for his deſtruction, he had entered the Louvre, ſurrounded by forty gentlemen who derived their ſupport from his liberality: he was earneſtly engaged in reading a letter, when the captain of the guard and his friends appeared; the retinue of Ancre, imagining they preceded their royal maſter, gave way; and Vitri, advancing to the mareſchal, arreſted him in the name of the king. In a moment of aſtoniſhment and indignation he laid his hand on his ſword; this mark of reſiſtance was the ſignal of his deſtruction. The command of Vitri to kill him was inſtantly obeyed; and three piſtols, diſcharged with unerring aim, extended the mareſchal lifeleſs on the ground.

The preſence of the king at a window which overlooked the bloody ſcene, repreſſed the ineffectual zeal of Ancre's adherents; his ſon, the marquis de Pene, and his wife, the unfortunate Leonora, were immediat ly ſecured. A judicial proceſs was commenced againſt the latter; her eſtates were confiſcated, and ſhe was condemned to expiate with her life, a crime that exiſted only in the malice, or ignorance of her perſecutors. She was charged, and pronounced guilty of having faſcinated the affection of the queen by magical arts; but the conſtancy with which in her laſt moments ſhe endured the ſevereſt tortures, commanded the admiration, though it diſarmed not the rage of her relentleſs enemies.

The deſtruction of her favourites was attended by the diſgrace of the queen-mother herſelf; that princeſs, diveſted of her guards, and the enſigns of royalty, was permitted to retire to Blois. The power which had been occupied by Ancre was transfered to Luines; the dignity of mareſchal was conferred on Vitri; his brother Hillier was raiſed to the vacant poſt of captain of the guards; and the biſhop of Lucon was compelled to reſign the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate; which he had ſo lately received.

While the duke of Mayenne, hopeleſs and deſerted, anticipated in his terrors the puniſhment of unſucceſsful rebellion, he was agreeably ſurpriſed by the intelligence that the mareſchal d'Ancre was no more, and that the king had been pleaſed to approve his conduct, as originating in zeal for the public welfare. The gates of Soiſſons were thrown open to the royal forces, and the count d'Auvergne entered as a friend, that city which he had ſo lately afflicted with all the calamities of war. The dukes of Vendoſme, Nevers, and Rohan, alſo haſtened to court to throw themſelves at the feet of a ſovereign whoſe juſtice had extinguiſhed the object of their enmity; and while they loaded with reproaches the memory of the former, they laboured to acquire, by their aſſiduities, the friendſhip of the preſent favourite; the birth of Luines rendered him deſirous of ennobling his obſcure extraction by an illuſtrious alliance; the ſiſter of the duke of Vendoſme, and the natural daughter of Henry the Fourth, firſt preſented herſelf to his aſpiring hopes; but he dreaded the revival of that envy, which had proved ſo fatal to the mareſchal d'Ancre; and contented himſelf with ſoliciting the hand of the daughter of the duke of Montbazon; who with pleaſure conſented to receive as his ſon-in-law the favourite of the king.

While the deſtructive flame of civil commotion preyed upon the vitals of France, the duke of Savoy was expoſed to the formidable arms and reſtleſs ambition of Spain. The mareſchal duke de Leſdeguieres flew to the ſuccour of that prince, whom formerly he had encountered with equal ardour. The commands of the queen-mother could not reſtrain him from an enterpriſe in which the glory and intereſt of his country were deeply concerned. The late revolution ſuſpended his operations for a moment, but on the deſtruction of the mareſchal d'Ancre he reſumed them with the ſanction of the royal authority. In ſucceſſive engagements the troops of Spain were defeated by a veteran who joined

the fire of youth to the experience of age; and at that inſtant he prepared to carry his victorious arms into Milan, and render Italy once more the theatre of war, his triumphant career was ſtopped by the intelligence of a peace, which Spain, baffled and humbled, had condeſcended to propoſe, and which the exhauſted coffers of the duke of Savoy had induced him to accept.

A. D. 1618.] The favourite, who had obtained from the partiality of his ſovereign the title of duke of Luines, endeavoured, by every method that policy could ſuggeſt, firmly to eſtabliſh his dominion over the mind of his royal patron; at the ſame time he aſſiduouſly courted the general opinion; to ingratiate himſelf with the people, he aſſembled the ſtates of Rouen, and aboliſhed the moſt burdenſome impoſts; to conciliate the princes of the blood, he appeared zealous in his ſolicitations to procure the freedom of the prince of Condé, and by a dextrous application to the intereſts of individuals, he converted the reproachful clamours of his moſt formidable opponents into profeſſions of eſteem. The duke of Mayenne was gratified with the government of Guienne, wreſted from the prince of Condé; the mareſchal Ornano was appointed to that of Normandy; and the duke of Luines reſerved to himſelf the iſle of France, the ſituation of which allowed him to exerciſe the duties of a governor, without neglecting the arts of a courtier.

Yet amidſt every precaution that prudence could dictate, amidſt the ſplendour of a fortune that was envied by millions, the reſtleſs hours of the favourite were conſtantly haunted by the dread of the returning influence of the queen-mother. Exiled and encompaſſed at Blois by hollow friends and open enemies, that princeſs was ſtill formidable. She entered into a correſpondence with the duke d'Epernon, who had quitted the court in diſguſt, and maintained in the city of Metz a ſullen independence. He readily liſtened to the advances of the queen-mother, whoſe partiality he had formerly experienced, and whoſe deliverance he engaged to atchieve. At the head of an hundred horſe, whoſe fidelity he could depend on, he ſuddenly quitted Metz, and rapidly advanced to Blois; Mary, informed of his approach, eluded by a ladder of ropes the vigilance of her guards; and deſcending from a window, eſcaped to the protection of Epernon, who conveyed her ſafely into Angouleſme, at the critical moment that the court had determined to commit her a cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Amboiſe.

A. D. 1619.] On the firſt intelligence of the flight of the queen, the king and his favourite abandoned themſelves to menaces the moſt harſh and violent. An hundred thouſand men were deſtined to chaſtiſe the temerity of the duke d'Epernon, and the royal forces were commanded to aſſemble on every ſide to recover the fugitive princeſs, and to overwhelm her preſumptuous protector; but with the return of reaſon Lewis was awakened to the infamy of arming againſt his mother; and the duke of Luines was ſenſible that the public voice would attribute to his councils a war unnatural and odious. On the other hand, the duke d'Epernon beheld himſelf diſappointed in the ſupine indifference of the nobles, from

which no exhortations either of his own or his royal ally could arcuſe them; he was ſenſible that alone and unſupported, he muſt ſoon ſink in the unequal conflict; yet though both parties ſincerely wiſhed for peace, the negociations were ſlow and indeciſive. To quicken theſe, the duke of Luines recalled the biſhop of Lucon, whom he had baniſhed from the ſide of the queen-mother, to Avignon. That prelate, whoſe commanding genius was already diſcerned amidſt the clouds of faction, was peculiarly acceptable to Mary; though the duke d'Epernon at firſt regarded him with jealouſy, the addreſs and inſinuating manners of Richlieu, ſoon diſſipated his ſuſpicions, and enſured his confidence. His influence again eſtabliſhed that tranquillity which was ſo earneſtly deſired. The queen-mother by the treaty of Angouleſme was reſtored to liberty, and indulged in the privilege of changing the ſeat of her reſidence at pleaſure; in lieu of the government of Normandy, ſhe received that of Anjou, with the caſtles of Angers, Pont de Ce, and Chinon. Her adherents were reinſtated in their poſts and appointments; but on this occaſion Richlieu himſelf diſplayed the features of honourable diſintereſtedneſs, and amidſt the various articles that he ſtipulated, ſeems alone to have neglected his private advantage.

A. D. 1619, 1620.] That diſcord which interrupted the repoſe of France, was diffuſed more widely, and with more bloody rage through the ſeveral principalities of Germany. The oppoſition to the houſe of Auſtria was inflamed by religious enthuſiaſm; the ſtates of Bohemia having taken arms againſt the emperor Mathias, continued their revolt againſt his ſucceſſor Ferdinand the Second, and claimed the obſervance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the new religion, along with the reſtoration of their ancient laws and conſtitution. The ſurrounding principalities, Sileſia, Moravia, Luſatia, Auſtria, and the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel; and each in their turn experienced the horrors and calamities of a civil war.

Ferdinand, bold and haughty, diſdained to conciliate by lenient meaſures thoſe diſaffected ſpirits he aſpired to chaſtiſe by arms. With the aſſiſtance of his own ſubjects, who profeſſed the ancient religion, and the alliance of the neighbouring Catholic princes, he beheld his armies ſwelled by the acceſſion of the Proteſtant elector of Saxony, by the rapid cavalry of Poland, and the firm and veteran infantry of Spain. To reſiſt ſo formidable a confederacy, the ſtates of Bohemia determined alſo to implore the protection of foreign powers, and they caſt their eyes on Frederic, elector palatine; who as ſon-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, whoſe authority was become almoſt abſolute in the United Provinces, might from his own ample dominions, and the greatneſs of his connections, be able to defend the Proteſtant cauſe and the liberties of Bohemia from the hoſtile enterpriſes of the houſe of Auſtria.

The elector palatine, ſtimulated by the fire and ambition of youth, accepted the crown which the diſtreſs of the ſtates had proffered, and marched into Bohemia to the ſupport of his new ſubjects. But his raſh reſolution was diſapproved by

James and Maurice; and the former reſtraining the ardour of his people in the cauſe of Frederic, and impreſſed with an exalted idea of the rights of kings, refuſed to countenance the revolted ſubjects of the houſe of Auſtria. The elector, defeated in the great and deciſive battle of Prague, fled with his family into Holland; and Spinola entering the palatinate, notwithſtanding the efforts of ſome Proteſtant princes of Germany, and a gallant band of Engliſh volunteers, commanded by the brave ſir Horace Vere, in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of that principality.

In France the power and favour of the duke of Luines ſeemed daily to increaſe; yet the queen-mother, though all her demands had been gratified by the late treaty, ſtill refuſed to appear at court, and nouriſhed in diſcontented ſecurity, at the caſtle of Angers, the ſeeds of revolt. To fortify himſelf againſt her influence, Luines had reſtored the liberty, and laboured to engage the gratitude of the prince of Condé. But the dread that union might have inſpired was balanced by the jealouſies of the reformed, by the murmurs of the people at new impoſts, and by the envy of the nobility, who could ill brook the fond partiality of the king, and the inſulting grandeur of his favourite. The duke of Mayenne retired to his government of Guienne; the count of Soiſſons, the dukes of Vendoſme, Nevers, Rohan, and Retz, haſtened to Angers, and offered their ſervices to the queen-mother; the duke d'Epernon once more declared in her favour; and Mary of Medicis, aſſuming the tone of independence, proclaimed her reſolution never to conſent to any future treaty, unleſs guaranteed by the parliament of France, or ſome foreign power.

But on this occaſion the king, tenacious of his dignity, acted with vigour and firmneſs. While his diſcontented ſubjects gave vent to their indignation in ineffectual invectives, with what force he could haſtily aſſemble, he entered the province of Normandy, confirmed by his preſence the doubtful allegiance of Rouen, reduced Caen, and compelled the duke of Longueville, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the queen, to ſeek ſhelter in Dieppe. While his ſucceſs inſpired with hope and confidence his own adherents, Mary, aſtoniſhed at an alacrity ſo little expected, felt, with the approach of danger, the natural timidity of her ſex return; rejecting the bold and deciſive counſels of the duke of Rohan, to retire to Bourdeaux, and rely on the affection of that parliament, zealouſly attached to her intereſt, ſhe was perſuaded by the biſhop of Lucon to depend on the effects of negociation; a new treaty was ſubſcribed which confirmed the former; and a general pardon was granted to thoſe who ſhould deſerve the clemency of their ſovereign by immediate ſubmiſſion. On the day after the conditions were ſigned, the king, diſſembling his knowledge of the event, attacked and carried Pont de Ce, a fortreſs which he had formerly yielded to the demands of the queen, and which was now betrayed by the artifices of the biſhop of Lucon, and the cowardice of the duke of Retz.

If in the treaty of Angouleſme, the diſintereſtedneſs of Richlieu commanded the admiration of his enemies; in the preſent, the ſincerity of his counſels and

the integrity of his conduct were univerſally ſuſpected and loudly impeached. A ſecret article of the treaty too clearly revealed his ambitious motives. While the duke of Luines ſtipulated to obtain the dignity of cardinal for the aſpiring prelate, the biſhop of Lucon conſented to beſtow the hand of his niece, with an immenſe portion, on the nephew of the favourite; and Mary of Medicis diſcerned too late that ſhe had fallen a victim to the ſpecious arts and worldly views of the ſubtle churchman.

For a ſeries of fifty years, the province of Bearn, the patrimony of Henry the Fourth, had maintained the religion of the reformed, pure and inviolate. The ſuggeſtions of the favourite, impatient of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his zeal for the ancient worſhip, prevailed on the king to enter that country with his forces, and re-eſtabliſh the Catholic church; ſurpriſed and unprepared for reſiſtance, the Bearnois bent before the ſtorm they were incapable of reſiſting; maſs was celebrated in the preſence of Lewis; and after ſuppreſſing the privileges, and uniting the principality of Bearn to the crown, the monarch returned in triumph to his capital to meditate new enterpriſes, and to extend the limits of the royal authority.

A. D. 1621.] The inhabitants of Rochelle, enthuſiaſtic in the cauſe of religion, animated by the recollection of former exploits, and confiding in the edict of Nantz, ſtill publicly convened their aſſemblies, and braved the orders of their ſovereign; who prohibited their meetings as ſeditious, and proclaimed them rebels to the crown. But the duke of Luines, ſenſible of the danger of encountering the united force of the reformed, determined to detach from their intereſt the mareſchal duke de Leſdeguires; to gratify the ambition of that powerful chieftain, who ruled Dauphiné with almoſt independent authority, the poſt of mareſchal-general of the camps was inſtituted; but the favourite at the ſame moment ſeized for himſelf the ſword of conſtable, which for ſeven ſucceſſive years, ſince the death of the duke of Montmorency, had been denied to the ſolicitations of rank and ability.

The intrigues and preparations of the court could not be concealed from the vigilant eye of the Hugonots. The duke of Rohan, ſon-in-law to the duke of Sully, with his brother the duke of Soubiſe, exhorted them to defend their religious principles at the hazard of their lives. But du Pleſſis Mornai, who, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ardour in the cauſe of Calviniſm, now avowed his reluctance to oppoſe the authority of his ſovereign, and ſurrendered the important caſtle of Saumur, which commanded the paſſage of the Loire. His example was followed by the duke of Tremouille, and the duke of Bouillon, reſpectable from his experience, and from his principality of Sedan. The king himſelf, accompanied by the new conſtable, the prince of Condé, and the mareſchal duke de Leſdeguieres, inveſted St. Jean d'Angeli; for thirty-five days the duke of Soubiſe repulſed with perſevering valour the inceſſant attacks of the royal forces; their ſuperior numbers at length compelled him to ſurrender; and ſome praiſe is due to the magnanimity of Lewis, who reſpected the gallantry of the garriſon, and permitted them to depart without moleſtation.

From the reduction of St. Jean d'Angeli, the royal army moved forwards towards Montauban; but the care of the Proteſtants had provided that place with a numerous garriſon, commanded by the marquis de la Force; and the pride and power of the monarch were ſucceſsfully oppoſed by the ſkill of that officer, and the conſtancy of his brave companions. Their ſallies from the town were equally bold and prudent; and in repelling the aſſaults of the beſiegers, they diſplayed an invincible courage; for three months Lewis and his general preſſed their attacks with incredible obſtinacy; but the loſs of the duke of Mayenne, with his braveſt officers and the flower of his army, obliged the king to abandon the hopeleſs enterpriſe, and to lead back his haraſſed forces to Paris.

With the ſiege of Montauban the reputation of the duke of Luines expired; and it is probable that a timely death preſerved him from experiencing on what a ſandy foundation he had erected the edifice of greatneſs. From the moment that he had extorted the ſword of conſtable, Lewis, profuſe to his favourites, but jealous of a maſter, had viewed him with eyes of diſtruſt; and the duke himſelf, alarmed at the ſymptoms of impending diſgrace, ſunk under the preſſure of his fears; and cloſed a life, remarkable only for the ſplendid and unmerited fortune that had attended it.

A. D. 1622.] In Spain, Philip the Third, unnoticed and unlamented, had ſunk into the grave; while Lewis, indifferent to the diſpoſition of foreign powers, reſumed his deſigns againſt his own ſubjects with redoubled ardour; he had beſtowed the ſword of conſtable on the duke of Leſdeguieres, who had abjured the Proteſtant religion, and entered the pale of the Catholic church. At the head of his councils he placed the cardinal de Retz, and the count of Schomberg; and in conſequence of their advice, he marched into the province of Poitou, with a ſmall but well-diſciplined army, to chaſtiſe the duke of Soubiſe, who, after the reduction of St. Jean d'Angeli, had collected a band of deſperate and indigent aſſociates, and ravaged the defenceleſs country. On the approach of the royal forces, he retired into the iſland of Rhe, ſeperated from the continent by a ſmall arm of the ſea, which was fordable at low water. The difficulty of the enterpriſe could not reſtrain the indignant courage of Lewis; impatient of reſiſtance, he croſſed the ſea under cover of the night, and ſtormed the intrenchments of his rebellious ſubjects; the duke of Soubiſe, with a few companions of his fortunes, eſcaped the vengeance of his ſovereign, by committing himſelf to the waves, and ſwimming to the continent.

Negrepeliſſe was ſtormed by the prince of Condé, and the lives of the inhabitants of every age and ſex were involved in one promiſcuous carnage; but this inſtance of rigid ſeverity impreſſed not with terror the enthuſiaſtic courage of the Proteſtants. The walls of Montpellier were defended by the duke of Rohan in perſon, and the prince of Condé beheld the flower of his army conſumed in ineffectual aſſaults; the citizens of Rochelle, though inveſted by ſea and land, ſtill preſerved their former conſtancy; and Lewis, liſtening to the counſels of the conſtable Leſdeguires, who revolved with concern the deſtruction of a party whoſe principles

he had formerly ſo ſucceſsfully ſupported, conſented to cloſe the bleeding wounds of his country by a treaty with the Hugonots; the edict of Nantz was again confirmed; the royal forces were withdrawn from the gates and harbour of Rochelle; and the inhabitants of Montpellier ſubmitted to acknowledge their ſovereign, and to receive him within their walls; but the king in the moment of confidence violated the article that diſmiſſed them from the dread of a royal garriſon; two regiments devoted to his ſervice were left in that city; and the Proteſtants, too weak to oppoſe, could only indulge their reſentment in empty murmurs.

A. D. 1623.] During the convulſions of Italy, and the tranſient authority of the Sforzas in Milan, the Valteline, a country ſituated on the borders of Ferol and Milan, but annexed to the dominions of the latter, had been occupied by the hardy natives of that part of Switzerland diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Griſons*; their poſſeſſion of it had been guaranteed by Francis the Firſt and Henry the Fourth; but Spain, with the acquiſition of the duchy of Milan, extended her pretenſions alſo to the Valteline; to oppoſe her ambition, a confederacy was formed by the duke of Savoy and the ſtate of Venice; and France readily agreed to a league, in which her honour and intereſt were involved. The court of Spain, alarmed at ſo formidable a junction, conſented in ſome meaſure to recede from her claim, and to ſequeſter the Valteline into the hands of the Roman pontiff, Gregory the Fifteenth, an expedient which Lewis for the preſent thought it prudent to acquieſce in.

A. D. 1624.] But the attention of the public was ſoon diverted from foreign to domeſtic concerns. The cardinal de Retz had expired amidſt the diſſenſions of his country; the partiality of the queen for the biſhop of Lucon, now known as cardinal Richelieu, was revived; and the king was prevailed upon to introduce into his councils a man deſtined to reſtore the grandeur of France, and to eſtabliſh a new epoch in the reign of Lewis.

From the tedious and unintereſting annals of a monarch whoſe perſonal courage alone faintly gilds the gloom of the political horizon, the hiſtorian with pleaſure haſtens to the vigorous counſels and aſpiring ſpirit of his miniſter, whoſe commanding genius burſt the narrow limit of the cloyſter, and awed and aſtoniſhed the nations of Europe with the blaze of its meridian luſtre. Born to ſteer the veſſel of ſtate amidſt ſtorms and quickſands, the political talents of the cardinal Richelieu, have, to the preſent moment, extorted the praiſe and admiration of poſterity; frequently ſucceſsful, and always great, in his deſigns, he roſe with accumulated ſtrength from defeat; and the ambitious prelate had no ſooner exchanged the crozier for the ſeals, than his open and ſecret enemies were overwhelmed by the torrent of his ambition. During eighteen years he maintained his aſcendency over the jealous mind of his ſovereign; the reformed, who had triumphed over the artifices of Catharine of Medicis, and the dark rage of Charles the Ninth, were broken by his invincible arm; and the houſe of Auſtria, defeated and depreſſed, was forced to yield to his ſuperior fortune, that which the valour and virtues of Francis the Firſt and Henry the Fourth had in vain attempted.

His rivals in the cabinet were the firſt victims to the arts of Richelieu; and the duke of Vieuville, to whom had been entruſted the care of the finances, was not only diſmiſſed from his poſt, but even committed to the caſtle of Amboiſe; his ſucceſſor Marillac, endeavoured to avoid a ſimilar fate, by an obſequious compliance with the will of the cardinal: who no ſooner had eſtabliſhed his authority at home, than he prepared to extend the terror of his name abroad. His admiſſion into the conclave had not ſerved to impreſs him with zeal or awe for the court of Rome; and his contempt for the ſucceſſor of St. Peter was diſplayed in his inſtructions to expel the eccleſiaſtical forces from the Valteline. The marquis of Cœuvres obeyed with alacrity orders ſo congenial to his own inclinations; Gregory the Fifteenth, ſenſible of the inefficacy of the thunders of the vatican, which had once appeared ſo formidable, contented himſelf with remonſtrances, which Richelieu received with impatience and conſigned to neglect.

James of England, wrapped in the proud and conſtant contemplation of royal dignity, conſidered every alliance below that of a king, as unworthy of the prince of Wales; and determined never to beſtow the hand of his ſon Charles, but on a daughter of France or Spain. With the latter court his ambaſſador, the earl of Briſtol, had opened a negociation. Philip the Fourth received his propoſals with pleaſure; and with the infanta offered a portion of ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and the reſtitution of the palatinate, which had been wreſted from Frederic, ſon-in-law to James, by the emperor of Germany. But when all meaſures were agreed between both parties, and nothing was wanting but the diſpenſation from Rome, this connection, ſo honourable and ſo advantageous to England, was broken by a romantic enterpriſe, originally conceived with the idea of haſtening and cementing the propoſed alliance.

George Villiers, with the ſole recommendation of perſonal accompliſhments, had rapidly advanced in the favour of James, too partial to external advantages; and from an obſcure condition, had attained the rank and title of duke of Buckingham; to ingratiate himſelf alſo with the ſon, he propoſed to the prince of Wales to break through the forms which uſually bind the heirs of royalty, and paſſing in diſguiſe to Madrid, to introduce himſelf to the infanta as an ardent and devoted lover. Charles reliſhed the gallantry of the propoſal; a reluctant conſent by the tears of his ſon, and the reproaches of his favourite, was extorted from James; and the prince of Wales, accompanied by Buckingham, privately quitted London, and croſſed over to Calais: they had even the temerity in their journey to viſit the French court in diſguiſe, and the charms of the princeſs Henrietta, the ſiſter of Lewis, made a lively and deep impreſſion on the heart of the youthful prince.

Though Charles and the duke were received at Madrid with every mark of reſpect and attention by the king of Spain, yet the volatile manners, and diſſolute pleaſures of the latter, but ill accorded with the gravity and dignity of the Spaniſh court: Influenced by motives of diſguſt or caprice, he determined to

return without accompliſhing the object of his journey; he eaſily obtained the acquieſcence of Charles; the delay of the diſpenſation from Rome afforded a decent pretence; and immediately on their arrival in England, the duke of Buckingham prevailed on the eaſy king and prince, firſt to ſuſpend, and afterwards to break off the negociation wito Spain.

A. D. 1625.] But James ſtill continued firmly fixed in his opinion, that his ſon would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princeſs of leſs than royal pedigree. After the rupture therefore with Spain, nothing remained but an alliance with France, and to that court he immediately applied himſelf. The earls of Holland and Carliſle were ſent over ambaſſadors on this occaſion; but though the portion of Henrietta equalled not that of the infanta, and the reſtitution of the palatinate could not be expected from this alliance, yet the ſuperior addreſs of Richelieu to the Engliſh miniſters, extorted the ſame terms for the Chriſtian king, as had been granted to the Catholic. To Henrietta was allowed the important privilege of educating her children till they attained the age of thirteen; and Buckingham was diſpatched to Paris to conduct the bride to her royal conſort, who, by the death of his father James, had aſcended the throne of England.

But the near alliance of France with a Proteſtant king did not deter the cardinal from nouriſhing the moſt fatal deſigns againſt the followers of the reformed religion. Pride had induced him to brave the impotent reſentment of the court of Rome; and that policy which conſidered the augmentation of the regal authority as the grand object of his adminiſtration, prompted him to meditate the extirpation of a hardy ſect, whoſe frequent revolts openly violated the dignity of the crown. Several circumſtances pointed out to him the favourable moment of enterpriſe; the duke of Bouillon, and du Pleſſis Mornai, formidable from their abilities, their experience, and their influence, had expired covered with years and glory; and though the brothers of Rohan and Soubiſe, by their martial exploits had acquired and maintained a high reputation, yet their impetuous courage too often ſlighted the voice of prudence, and precipitated their party into dangers, which hourly threatened their deſtruction.

The late treaty had been infringed by the introduction of a royal garriſon into Montpellier, and the remonſtrances of the Hugonots had been diſregarded or evaded by the court. A new ſubject of diſcontent now preſented itſelf in a royal fleet ſtationed at L'Orient, to guard and block up the harbour of Rochelle. The duke of Soubiſe offered with a few ſhips ſuddenly to attack and deſtroy the hoſtile ſquadron; and permitted the Hugonots, if he failed in the attempt, to diſown his conduct. Though his meaſures were betrayed, he happily accompliſhed the daring project: and on the firſt intelligence of his ſucceſs, his brother the duke of Rohan reſumed his arms, and again diſplayed the banner of revolt. A ſharp and deſultory war was carried on with that fire and animoſity that attends religious commotion. The Rochellers were defeated at ſea by the united ſquadrons of

France and England; but the loſs of the confederates in the action prevented them from improving their advantage. The clamours of the Engliſh compelled their ſovereign to interfere; the mediation of the conſort of Henrietta was liſtened to with reſpect, and a peace at length was concluded, which confirmed the edict of Nantz; the harbour of Rochelle was delivered from the vigilance of the royal ſquadrons; the fort of St. Lewis, which approached and inſulted that city, was to be demoliſhed within ſix months; and the king of France conſented that his brother-in-law, the king of England, ſhould guarrantee to the Proteſtants the articles of the peace.

Philip had beheld with indignation the expulſion of the eccleſiaſtical troops from the Valteline; the French, as allies to the duke of Savoy, ſtill maintained the war againſt the power of Spain. The Spaniards, in attempting to raiſe the ſiege of Verue, were defeated with conſiderable loſs: but Urban the Eighth, who had ſucceeded to the apoſtolical chair, prevented the two crowns from coming to an open rupture. His zeal to reconcile the moſt powerful princes of the Catholic church was attended with ſucceſs; a treaty was concluded at Moncon, by which the ſovereignty of the Valteline was confirmed to the Griſons, and the paſſes of that country, by the gratitude of her allies, were ſecured to France.

A. D. 1626.] The reputation of Richelieu was not increaſed by his firſt eſſays in arms; to the Hugonots he had granted the moſt favourable conditions; and in the late treaty of Moncon the duke of Savoy loudly complained that his intereſts were deſerted. But if abroad his ability and integrity were impeached, at home, he was expoſed to the envy and rage which attends ſucceſsful ambition.—Gaſton, duke of Orleans, and brother to the king, had completed his eighteenth year, and that irreſolution, which formed the predominant feature of his character, began already to diſplay itſelf. His father, Henry the Fourth, had expreſſed his wiſh that he might be united to mademoiſelle Montpenſier, one of the greateſt heireſſes of France; but the favourites of the duke of Orleans endeavoured to divert his inclinations to a marriage with ſome foreign princeſs, whoſe connections might render him independent of the power of the miniſter. Their intrigues could not elude the vigilance of the cardinal; the mareſchal Ornano, who had even concerted the aſſination of Richlieu, was committed to the Baſtile, and delivered by diſeaſe from an ignominious death; the count of Chalais expired on a ſcaffold; the duke of Vendoſme, and his brother the grand prior, were cloſely guarded, and the count of Soiſſons, by a haſty flight, ſought ſhelter from the tempeſt in the court of Rome. The deſigns of his enemies ſerved only to eſtabliſh the authority and influence of the cardinal; and the partiality of Lewis for his miniſter, was evidently diſplayed in the honourable diſtinction of guards for the protection of his perſon.

The duke of Orleans, deprived of all in whom he could repoſe confidence, returned to court; and with his natural levity conceived, or pretended, a violent paſſion for mademoiſelle Montpenſier. The nuptial ceremony was performed by

the cardinal; but though the duke himſelf obtained, from the liberality of his brother, the duchies of Orleans and Chartres, with the county of Blois, his ſolicitations for his unhappy friends were ineffectual; and the cardinal having cruſhed the enemies of his perſon, prepared to extinguiſh thoſe of his faith.

Though ardent in his deſigns of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, he was convinced, to exert the power of France, it was firſt neceſſary to extirpate the ſeeds of civil commotion; the Proteſtants, impatient of delay, had urged by arms the demolition of Fort St. Lewis; but their temerity was checked by the formidable preparations and vigorous meaſures of Richelieu; and the duke of Soubiſe, anxious for the ſafety of Rochelle, menaced on every ſide, implored and obtained the aſſiſtance of England.

A. D. 1627.] That court, embarraſſed by domeſtic factions and an unſucceſsful war with Spain, ought, perhaps, in prudence to have declined any hoſtile enterpriſe againſt the kingdom of France. Its mediation, in behalf of the reformed, had hitherto been attended with the greateſt advantages; and Richelieu himſelf, daring as he was, could not but regard, with ſome degree of dread, the martial ſpirit of a people who had ſo often proved the ſcourge of his country; but the duke of Buckingham ſtill maintained his aſcendancy over the mind of Charles; when diſpatched to receive the princeſs Henrietta, he had entertained a guilty paſſion for the queen of France; the beauty of his perſon, the elegance of his manners, and the ſplendour of his equipage, caſt round him a luſtre, which is ſuppoſed even to have dazzled the eyes of royalty; a private viſit that he paid to Anne, was received with a reproof that ſavoured more of kindneſs than anger; but his preſumption had not eſcaped the obſervation of the cardinal; the vigilance of that miniſter was exerted to preclude all future correſpondence; on the preparations of Buckingham for a ſecond embaſſy to Paris, he was informed by a meſſage from Lewis, that he muſt not think of ſuch a journey; and though he reluctantly abandoned the deſign, he ever after nouriſhed a deep reſentment againſt Richelieu, to whoſe ſuggeſtions he imputed his diſappointment.

A. D. 1627, 1628.] He had already, in a wanton inſult, diſplayed the features of his imperious diſpoſition; he prevailed on Charles to ſend back to France all the domeſtics of that nation, who had attended Henrietta to England. The mareſchal Baſſompierre was diſpatched by Lewis to the court of London, to remonſtrate againſt this infraction of the marriage articles; and though the addreſs of the ambaſſador rendered him acceptable to Charles, yet his efforts could only ſuſpend the increaſing jealouſy and enmity of Buckingham.

Implacable in his hatred, that haughty favourite now liſtened with pleaſure to the repreſentations of the duke of Soubiſe; in the naval victory over the Rochellers, the fleet of France had been reinforced by a ſquadron from England, and the ſubſequent peace had been concluded under the mediation of Charles: that monarch had aſſiſted in humbling the Hugonots, and his honour was concerned in faithfully guaranteeing a treaty, which his arms had compelled them to accept;

when to theſe arguments were added the ſolicitations of Buckingham, and the clamours of his people, zealous for their oppreſſed Proteſtant brethren, it is no wonder that the reluctance of Charles was overwhelmed by their united force.

Before the mighty preparations of Richelieu could be completed, a fleet of an hundred ſail, and an army of ſeven thouſand men, were fitted out for the invaſion of France. Both of theſe were entruſted to the command of the duke of Buckingham, who preſented himſelf with his armament before the harbour of Rochelle; but ſo ill-concerted were his meaſures, that the inhabitants refuſed to admit theſe formidable allies, of whoſe coming they had not been previouſly informed. Diſappointed in this expectation, the duke directed his operations againſt Rhé, an adjacent iſland, protected by a numerous garriſon and ſtrong fortifications; he landed his men, though with ſome loſs; and had he immediately urged his attacks, and not allowed Thoiras, the French governor, ſeveral days reſpite, he might probably have reduced St. Martin, the principal fortreſs of the iſland; but his negligence and unaccountable delay enabled the French to repleniſh the magazines, and reinforce the garriſon of that place. The Engliſh were repulſed in repeated attacks; detached and ſucceſſive bodies of troops were poured by the cardinal into the iſland; and Buckingham himſelf, after the loſs of two thirds of his original force, found it neceſſary to conſult his ſafety by a precipitate retreat. He conducted the rear in perſon, with a gallantry which, in ſome meaſure, effaced the diſgrace of defeat; but while the teſtimony of his companions eſtabliſhed the reputation of his courage, the voice of the public loudly impeached his ſkill and judgment.

The retreat of Buckingham was the ſignal for action to Richelieu. That miniſter had already ſecured, by ſeparate treaties, the alliance of Spain and the United Provinces; his addreſs had repreſented to the court of Philip his treaty with the latter, as ſolely a temporary expedient to prevent their arming in defence of the reformed—he had recalled and pardoned the count of Soiſſons—and while he reſtrained the levity, had conciliated to his deſigns the inclinations of the duke of Orleans. The army that he had aſſembled was commanded by the king in perſon, and animated by the preſence of the principal nobility. The cardinal, who accompanied his ſovereign, aſpired to the reputation of a generel as well as a ſtateſman; he planned the lines of circumvallation—deſigned the different forts, and directed the attacks. To deprive the beſieged of all ſuccour, his boundleſs genius formed the project of throwing acroſs the harbour a mole of a mile's extent in that boiſterous ocean. His diligence daily urged and inſpected the work; but before it yet could be completed, the fleet of England, commanded by the earl of Denbigh, once more appeared in view. The Rochellers crowded to their ramparts with the expectation of inſtant relief, and Richelieu trembled for the darling ſtructure which his daring ambition had ſuggeſted; but he was preſerved from diſgrace by the treachery or cowardice of the Engliſh admiral—and the earl of Denbigh, after throwing into the city a ſcanty ſupply of corn, declined an engage-

ment with the fleet of France, and retired to Portſmouth. To efface the diſhonour of the Engliſh arms, the duke of Buckingham determined, in perſon, to reſume the command—but while his preſence haſtened the preparations, he fell a victim to the national indignation, and was aſſaſſinated by the hand of a fanatic, named Felton, who avowed himſelf prompted to the deed by the remonſtrance of the commons, that declared the duke the ſource of every national grievance, and the great enemy of the public.

The unhappy fate of Buckingham ſuſpended the armaments of England—each moment was aſſiduouſly employed by the cardinal—and he at length beheld the ſtupendous work completed, and enabled to defy the efforts of the enemy. In vain did the earl of Lindſay, who ſucceeded to the command of the Engliſh fleet, endeavour to force his way to the harbour. The mole, ſtrongly and firmly fortified, reſiſted and repelled the weight of his attacks. Hopeleſs of ſucceſs, he abandoned the Rochellers to deſpair, and ſteered back his courſe to England. The laſt ſpark of enthuſiaſm, which had ſo long inſpired the miſerable inhabitants of that city, expired with the ſignal of his retreat. While yet his ſails were in ſight, they conſented to ſurrender at diſcretion—and ſome idea may be formed of the miſeries they had endured, ſince of fifteen thouſand perſons who had originally been ſhut up in Rochelle, four thouſand alone ſurvived the fatal effects of famine, fatigue, and the ſword.

The king entered the proſtrate city in triumph—and the fortune of the cardinal was ſtill more conſpicuous in the moment of ſubmiſſion, than even his genius had ſhone forth in the courſe of the ſiege. Scarce had the citizens opened their gates to implore the clemency of their ſovereign, before a tempeſt, ſo violent, agitated the ocean, as to bury in the waves the proud ſtructure that he had planned. Had the Rochellers perſevered but a few hours longer, the fury of the ſtorm had overwhelmed the pride of the cardinal, and preſerved their freedom—but the wretched inhabitants drew ſome conſolation from the pity of their monarch; their walls were, indeed, diſmantled, but their perſons and effects were ſpared—and the moderation of Lewis and his miniſter, ſatisfied with having broken the power of the Hugonots, and wreſted from them their ancient aſylum, ſtill permitted them to enjoy an open and avowed toleration.

The celebrated duke of Leſdeguieres had expired amidſt the diſſenſions of his country, without beholding the humiliation of the reformed, whoſe tenets he had formerly profeſſed, and whoſe principles he had ſucceſsfully vindicated with his ſword. On his deceaſe, the king reſolved to ſuppreſs the office of conſtable, a dignity that he thought raiſed the ſubject too near the throne; he obtained, at the ſame time, from the duke of Montmorenci, the reſignation of the poſt of admiral, and committed the mangement of the marine to the vigilance of the cardinal. The genius of that aſpiring ſtateſman, which embraced every department, had juſtified the diſcernment of his ſovereign in the ſiege of Rochelle; but though his addreſs might baffle, his abilities could not extinguiſh, the hatred

of a court; the ducheſs of Orleans had found her grave in the nuptial bed; after being delivered of a daughter, ſhe expired, lamented by her conſort, whoſe former reluctance her amiable qualities had converted into a lively affection; but the duke ſoon after reſumed his intrigues, his natural levity ſoon returned to efface the loſs of his late ducheſs, he profeſſed an ardent paſſion for Mary de Gonzagua, the duke of Nevers, and his addreſſes to that lady were alternately renewed, or ſuſpended, as his own caprice inclined, and the intereſt of his favourites dictated.

A. D. 1629.] The contempt of the cardinal for the ſee of Rome had been inſtanced in the expulſion of the eccleſiaſtical forces from the Valteline; ſuperior to the influence of religious ſuperſtition, from political motives alone, he had armed the power of the crown againſt the reformed, to exalt the glory of France and to depreſs the houſe of Auſtria, he now reſigned his own perſonal reſentments. On the death of Vincent duke of Mantua, his kinſman, the duke of Nevers, pleaded his claim as the next male in ſucceſſion to that duchy: but the emperor aſſerted his right as ſupreme prince, and beſtowed the inveſtiture on the duke of Guaſtalla; and the duke of Savoy alſo urged his pretenſions to the marquiſate of Montferrat, both were ſupported by the forces and treaſures of Philip: the banners of Spain were diſplayed from the walls of Mantua; and the duke of Nevers could only loudly accuſe an uſurpation which he was incapable of reſiſting. He had incurred the diſpleaſure of the cardinal by entering into the cabals of his avowed enemies; he was expoſed to the perſecution of the queen-mother, who regarded, with open averſion and female rage, the paſſion of the duke of Orleans for Mary de Gonzagua; but in the mind of Richelieu, the intereſt of the ſtate ſuperſeded every other conſideration, and while he abandoned the ſenſe of his own injuries, he was deaf to the implacable enmity of Mary of Medicis. He adviſed the king of France to embrace the opportunity of ſupporting his own ſubject, the duke of Nevers, againſt the injuſtice of the houſe of Auſtria. The ardent ſpirit of the miniſter communicated itſelf to the monarch: and with the veterans whoſe diſcipline had been confirmed and whoſe perſeverance had been exerciſed in the ſiege of Rochelle, Lewis, early in the enſuing ſpring, erected his ſtandard, and prepared to march to the relief of Caſal, which was beſieged by the forces of the confederates. The inclemency of the ſeaſon, the rugged tracts of the Alps in vain oppoſed his progreſs, he penetrated through the narrow paſs of Suza: and the duke of Savoy, alarmed at his approach, conſented to deſert his allies, and to negociate a treaty with France. He engaged to allow a free paſſage to, and to ſupply with proviſions the forces of Lewis: and he agreed, with his own army, to join the French ſtandard, and to chace the Spaniards from the walls of Caſal.

To the defence of that fortreſs, Lewis detached three thouſand choſen ſoldiers, under the command of Thoiras, who had already ſignaliſed his gallantry in the defence of the iſland of Rhé. The monarch himſelf, with his miniſter, ani-

mated by ſucceſs, traverſed again the Alps, and entered his kingdom to chaſtiſe the preſumption of the Hugonots. The duke of Rohan, undiſmayed by the reduction of Rochelle, ſtill diſplayed the banner of revolt in Guienne, Languedoc, and the mountains of the Cevennes. Niſmes, Montauban, Caſtres, Privas, and Alais, ſtill profeſſed the principles of the reformed, and declared their reſolution to ſeal their faith with their blood. While the cardinal, oppreſſed by a ſlow and dangerous fever, ſought a tranſient repoſe from his toils, the king aſſaulted the walls of Privas, compelled the garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion, and devoted the inhabitants, without exception of age or ſex, to the ſword. Richelieu, rejoiced at his abſence from the promiſcuous maſſacre which ſullied the victory of his ſovereign. This inſtance of ſeverity ſtruck terror indeed into the citizens of Alais, ſtrongly fortified, and amply provided, that place might long have reſiſted the attacks of the royal army; the gates were immediately opened on the approach of the king, and the duke of Rohan, too fatally convinced of the inability of the Proteſtants any longer to defend themſelves by arms, ſigned a treaty, which reſtored the reformed to their eſtates and the free exerciſe of their religion, but deprived them in their fortified towns of the means of protecting either. He himſelf immediately after withdrew into honourable exile. But the citizens of Montauban rejected terms which involved their walls in deſtruction; and refuſed admittance to the prince of Condé, whoſe ſanguinary diſpoſition they dreaded. To the extortions of Richelieu himſelf they were leſs inexorable; the cardinal with his guards were invited to enter the city, and the lenity with which he treated the inhabitants, added a milder luſtre to the glory that he had acquired by the ſucceſs of his martial enterpriſes.

A. D. 1630.] The enemies of Richelieu had again reſumed their intrigues; but their cabals proved fatal to themſelves, and ſerved to confirm the authority of the cardinal, who Lewis, by letters patent, inveſted with the title of *principal miniſter*. The duke of Savoy had availed himſelf of the late hoſtile operations againſt the Proteſtants, had violated the treaty of Suza, and had joined the Spaniards in the ſiege of Caſal. To the title of miniſter, the king of France added that of leutenant general; and the cardinal, poſſeſſed of all the military and civil power, prepared to chaſtiſe the preſumption of the Savoyard. He croſſed again the Alps in perſon; and while he affected to liſten to the terms of accommodation, continued his march with unwearied rapidity. The heads of his columns were already pointed towards Turin, and the duke was diligently occupied in preparing for the defence of his capital, when Richelieu, ſuddenly changing his direction, preſented himſelf before the gates of Pignerol; that important fortreſs, which opened a direct road from Dauphine into Italy, was taken in twelve days; and the miniſter now ſummoned Lewis to the camp to ſhare the glory of his ambitious projects. With a veteran army of twenty-five thouſand men, the king of France overran and reduced the country of Savoy; Mazarin, afterwards ſo well known in France by the dignity of cardinal and the

power of miniſter, was ſent to negociate with Lewis on behalf of the duke of Savoy; a partial ſuſpenſion of arms was all he could obtain; and that unhappy prince, who beheld his territories portioned out between his implacable enemies, and faithleſs allies, ſunk himſelf into the grave the victim of diſappointed ambition.

The death of the duke of Savoy facilitated the progreſs of the French. Revel, Ville Franche, and Poncallier, inſtantly capitulated; but their career of conqueſt was checked by a peſtilential diſorder, which thinned and debilitated the armies of France. The king himſelf indiſpoſed, and attended by the cardinal, had retired to Lyons; and the remnant of the troops under the mareſchals de le Force, Schomberg, and Marillac, were ordered to proceed to the relief of Caſal. Feeble and enervated by diſeaſe the ardour of the generals inſpired the ſoldiers—they already beheld the walls of that fortreſs, and the camp of the beſiegers—but when they hourly expected the ſignal for engaging, they were preſerved from the encounter with the freſh and vigorous troops of Spain, by intelligence of the treaty of Ratiſbon, negociated by Mazarin, and which eſtabliſhed the duke of Nevers in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the duchy of Mantua and the marquiſate of Montferrat.

The indiſpoſition of Lewis was attended by the moſt alarming ſymptoms, and in the danger of the monarch the miniſter beheld his own. His enemies, encouraged by the queen-mother, reſumed their hopes and intrigues—but when the phyſicians had even pronounced the recovery of Lewis impoſſible, a ſudden and favourable turn in his diſorder confounded the foes, and confirmed the authority of the cardinal. The moſt active of his enemies were diſgraced and arreſted—and Mary of Medicis herſelf was compelled to ſubmit to a feigned reconciliation with the haughty ſtateſman, whoſe influence over the mind of her ſon had overwhelmed his regard, and even his reſpect for his parent.

A. D. 1631.] Sweden emerging from obſcurity and animated by the heroic genius of the great Guſtavus, had already penetrated into Germany, and ſhaken by ſucceſſive victories the imperial deſpotiſm of the houſe of Auſtria; to ſecond her efforts the cardinal negociated a treaty, by which he engaged annually to ſupply Guſtavus with four hundred thouſand crowns, while he acquired with equal addreſs, by a ſecret article with the duke of Savoy, the ſtrong fortreſs of Pignerol, and prevailed on the duke of Mantua to admit a French garriſon into Caſal. Yet even theſe negociations, ſo advantageous to his country, could not exempt him from the malice of his adverſaries; the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans ſtill retained their implacable enmity. But their adherents, the princeſs of Conti, with the ducheſſes of Elbœuf and Leſdiguieres were ſentenced to exile, and the mareſchal Baſſompierre was committed to the Baſtile. Mary of Medicis eſcaped to Flanders from the ſtern juſtice of her ſon, and the inexorable reſentment of his miniſter; the duke of Orleans ſought ſhelter from the ſtorm in the court of Lorrain; and abandoning himſelf to his natural levity, eſpouſed Margaret the ſiſter of that prince.

A. D. 1632.] The pride of the king of France was wounded by the preſumption of the duke of Lorrain, in affording ſhelter to, and contracting an alliance with his fugitive brother. Twice he invaded the territories of that prince, and twice compelled him to ſue for peace on the moſt humiliating conditions. Amidſt theſe alarms the duke of Orleans had quitted a court which could no longer afford him ſecurity, and had retired to his mother Mary of Medicis, in Flanders. While Lewis purſued his career of victory in Lorrain, his brother having collected a feeble band of two thouſand followers, penetrated into Burgundy, exhorted the inhabitants to arm againſt the arrogance of the cardinal, and inſulted and deſtroyed the ſuburbs of Dijon. Chaced from thence by the mareſchal de la Force, he retreated to Auvergne; and purſued by mareſchal Schomberg, eſcaped with his miſerable train into Languedoc. The duke of Montmorency, who governed that province, received the brother of his ſovereign with open arms, and eſpouſed his deſigns with ardour. Though Thouloufe, the capital, maintained its loyalty, and proclaimed the adherents of the duke of Orleans rebels, yet the amiable qualities of Montmorency drew to Pezenas the principal nobility of the province; on theſe he beſtowed the title of ſtates of Languedoc; in an eloquent and ſpirited manifeſto he arraigned the pride, the inſolence, and the oppreſſive adminiſtration of the cardinal; and to ſupport his declarations by action, at the head of ten thouſand men, who had crowded to his ſtandard, he preſſed forwards to attack mareſchal Schomberg, who, with four thouſand infantry, had poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſtrong camp near Caſtelnaudari. The impetuous courage of Montmorency, with his cavalry alone, attacked the entrenchments of that general. His example inſpired his followers with the moſt heroic reſolution—the works of the royaliſts were pierced by their daring efforts—but while their leader diſplayed the valour of a ſoldier, he neglected the duties of a commander; his martial train, as they ruſhed on to improve their advantage, were betrayed into an ambuſcade and overwhelmed by ſuperior numbers—the duke of Montmorency, wounded in ſeveral places, and his horſe killed under him, was taken priſoner—and the duke of Orleans, informed of his fate, inſtead of endeavouring to retrieve the day, retreated with his ſcattered and diſheartened troops.

The inexorable juſtice of Lewis ſuffered not the duke of Montmorency long to languiſh in confinement—his proceſs was immediately formed before the parliament—he was ſentenced to loſe his head—and he expired on the ſcaffold with calm and undaunted courage. Inferior only to his anceſtors in fortune, in him were extinguiſhed the male deſcendants of the houſe of Montmorency—and while the jealouſy of Lewis refuſed to ſpare his life, his liberality enriched with his eſtates the prince of Condé, who had married his ſiſter.

While the fate of Montmorency was in ſuſpence, the duke of Orleans had endeavoured to obtain his pardon by profeſſions of future allegiance—but no ſooner had the deadly blow been given, than that prince retired again into Flanders. His abſence and intrigues gave but little uneaſineſs to the court of France. That king-

dom each day became more conſcious of her own ſtrength, and of her weight in the political balance of Europe. The great Guſtavus, after repeatedly defeating the veteran troops of Ferdinand, and delivering Germany from the imperial yoke, cloſed in the arms of victory a life of ſplendid atchievements and military renown. The memorable field of Lutzen, in which he triumphed and expired, raiſed again the drooping ſpirits of the houſe of Auſtria, who welcomed a defeat that was accompanied by the fate of their moſt formidable adverſary. But Richelieu, diligent to improve every event, concerted his meaſures with prudence and promptitude—he nouriſhed by continual ſubſidies the confederacy of the German princes—he ſecretly negociated with the united ſtates of Holland—and he recalled the duke of Rohan from exile, and entruſted to his abilities the command of the French forces in the Valteline.

A. D. 1633, 1634.] Though Richelieu regarded with comtempt the machinations of the duke of Orleans, he ſuffered not the authority of his ſovereign to be inſulted with impunity by the reiterated hoſtilities of the duke of Lorraine. He eaſily perſuaded Lewis to regard that prince as the abetter of the factious deſigns of his brother, and once more to invade his dominions. Luneville and Saint Mihel were rapidly reduced by the French; Nanci was inveſted; and the unfortunate duke was compelled to ſurrender his capital as the pledge of his ſincerity, to deliver his ſiſter to the king of France, and to facilitate the diſſolution of her marriage with the duke of Orleans. But Lewis had ſcarce returned to Paris, before the duke of Lorraine having accompliſhed the eſcape of his ſiſter to Flanders, endeavoured to elude his engagements, and to preſerve his people from the calamities of war, by magnanimouſly reſigning his territories to his brother Francis. This artifice could not avert the indignation of the cardinal; the mareſchal de la Force, with a numerous army, re-entered Lorrain, ſurpriſed the new duke and his conſort, and eſtabliſhed the authority of France throughout the whole duchy. The duke of Orleans, diſmayed by the deſtruction of his brother-in-law and ally, concluded a treaty of reconciliation, quitted Bruſſels alone, and threw himſelf at the feet of Lewis. But though he conſented to live at Blois ſeparate from his conſort, he perſevered, with a degree of conſtancy unuſual in his conduct, to maintain the validity of his marriage.

While the cardinal counteracted with ſucceſs his domeſtic enemies, he was alarmed by the progreſs of the foreign foes of France, and the returning proſperity of the houſe of Auſtria. At Nordlingen the victories of Guſtavus were effaced by the total defeat of the Swedes; and the Imperialiſts beheld twenty thouſand of their adverſaries lifeleſs on the field. The policy of Richelieu revived their fainting courage with liberal and conſtant pecuniary ſupplies; but at the ſame time he ſtipulated for the immediate poſſeſſion of Philipſburgh and Spires in Germany; and the ceſſion of Alſace on the frontiers of Lorraine, as ſoon as he declared war againſt Spain.

Though long averſe to plunge his country into an open conteſt with the houſe of Auſtria, the ſituation of his allies allowed Lewis no farther delay. The forces of the emperor had already occupied Philipſburgh; and the cardinal concluded a ſecret treaty with the united provinces of Holland. On the intelligence of this hoſtile negociation, the court of Spain determined by activity and vigour to anticipate the deſigns of her enemies; ſhe poured her forces into Treves, ſurpriſed the capital, and ſeized the elector, who had acceded to the league with France. This bold and ſucceſsful enterpriſe was reſented by France by an open declaration of war. The mareſchals Chatillon and Breze were commanded to march to the ſupport of the prince of Orange, then in the neighbourhood of Maeſtricht; in their progreſs they encountered and defeated with cruel ſlaughter the forces of Spain, commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy. Animated by ſucceſs, and joined by the prince of Orange, they forced open the gates of Tillemont, and inveſted Louvain; but the diſſenſions of the commanders compelled them to abandon this enterpriſe with diſgrace; and an army which threatened to ſubvert the authority of Philip throughout Flanders, was waſted in vain attempts, or conſumed by fatigue and diſeaſe.

It was not alone by arms that Richelieu endeavoured to ſupport the glory of his country. His arts detached from the court of Spain the dukes of Savoy and Parma; and mareſchal Crequi was inſtructed, in concert with thoſe princes, to aſſert the liberties of Italy. He was defeated on the banks of the Po, by the ſuperior forces of the Spaniards, and loudly impeached the envy and diſcontent of the duke of Savoy, as the ſource of his misfortunes.

The king had beheld with impatience not only his foreign conqueſts ſhaken, but even his hereditary dominions inſulted; the duke of Lorraine had eluded the vigilance of his guards, and eſcaped from confinement; his appearance in that duchy revived the zeal of his ſubjects; ſeveral important places opened their gates to him; but his career was checked by the unexpected preſence of Lewis himſelf, who, at the head of a ſmall army, haſtily aſſembled, flew to maintain his former acquiſitions, retook Saint Mihel, and returned triumphant to Paris; while the duke of Rohan emulated in the Valteline the glory of his ſovereign, and in two bloody and ſucceſſive engagements broke in that country the ſtrength of the Imperialiſts and Spaniards.

A. D. 1636.] Metz was reduced by the forces of the emperor, but the Germans were compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Colmar by the cardinal Valette; who, deſpiſing the tranquil duties of the church, in imitation of Richelieu, aſpired to military glory. The Spaniards on their ſide poſſeſſed themſelves of St. John de Luz; but in Italy they were defeated by the ſkill and valour of the duke of Savoy; yet this misfortune was ſoon repaired, and Spain, after ravaging the territories of the duke of Parma, now meditated a more important enterpriſe.

To ſupport the war in ſo many different quarters, France had ſtripped of troops the frontier of Picardy, and expoſed it to the incurſions of her enemies. The

Spaniſh army, commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy, and reinforced by the celebrated Picolomini, entered the defenceleſs province, occupied Capelle and Catelet, paſſed the Somme in defiance of the French troops under the count of Soiſſons, and in leſs than a week reduced the ſtrong town of Corbie. The Pariſians liſtened with conſternation to the rapid and unexpected approach of their foes; the capital was filled with terror and confuſion; the ſovereign involved himſelf in a ſilent and gloomy deſpondency; but the cardinal diſplayed a fortitude and magnanimity worthy of his elevated fortunes. He threw himſelf on the confidence of the public; he diſmiſſed thoſe guards which the partiality of the king had aſſigned him; and ever fruitful in expedients, called forth on this emergency the reſources of the ſtate. The horſes and domeſtics of the wealthy, the perſonal ſervice of the poor, were demanded to encounter the impending danger. The ſcattered bands of France were ſoon ſwelled to an hoſt of fifty thouſand men. Richelieu would willingly have aſſumed the command himſelf, but the count of Soiſſons refuſed to ſerve under him; and the cardinal entruſted the fate of France to that prince, and the duke of Orleans; whoſe jealouſy of each other he imagined would prevent them from combining in any intrigues dangerous to his authority.

The diſcernment of the cardinal on this occaſion deſerted him; the two generals acted with perfect unanimity, compelled the Spaniards to repaſs the Somme, and retook Corbie; but at the ſame time they concerted the deſtruction of Richelieu, and Amiens was fixed upon as the ſcene of his aſſaſſination. At the moment when the conſpirators expected the ſignal from the duke of Orleans, the reſolution of that prince forſook him, and he declared that his conſcience would not permit him to ſhed the blood of a cardinal, an archbiſhop and a prieſt. The miniſter was not appriſed of his danger till it was paſſed. The duke of Orleans haſtily retired to Blois, and the count of Soiſſons ſought ſhelter in Sedan; but the cardinal was unwilling at this critical juncture to increaſe his own enemies, and thoſe of the public. He prevailed on Lewis to treat both the princes with lenity; the duke of Orleans was ſoon reconciled, by acknowledging the validity of his marriage; and the count of Soiſſons was permitted to enjoy the income of his eſtates in exile.

A. D. 1637.] The enſuing campaign opened with events the moſt inauſpicious to France; the duke of Parma, beſieged in Placentia, was compelled to renounce the alliance of that crown. The duke of Rohan, neglected by cardinal Richelieu, who ſtill regarded him with jealouſy, after exhauſting his private credit, was conſtrained to evacuate the Valteline. But theſe diſaſters were followed by a ſeries of ſplendid ſucceſs; the count of Harcourt recovered in Provence the iſlands of St. Margaret and St. Honoret; the duke of Valette reduced ſeveral forts which the Spaniards had ſeized in Guienne; mareſchal Schomberg raiſed the ſiege of Lucat, and defeated Serbellon the Spaniſh general; cardinal de la Valette again planted the ſtandard of France on the walls of Capelle; the mareſchal de Chatillon ſucceſsfully inveſted Damvilliers in Luxembourg; and the duke of Longue-

ville extended his conqueſts in Franche-Compté. In Italy, the duke of Savoy, ſeconded by mareſchal Crequi, triumphed over the Spaniards led by the duke of Modena; and in the Netherlands, the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange compelled the garriſon of Breda to ſurrender.

A. D. 1638.] The flame of ſuperſtition was nouriſhed amidſt the devaſtations of war; and Lewis, to propitiate the favour of heaven, ſolemnly ſubmitted his kingdom to the protection of the holy virgin. The duke of Weimar, who had been trained to arms in the ſchool of Guſtavus, and who maintained an independent authority over an army of various nations, was ſupplied from the treaſures of France; he was however ſurpriſed and routed in the ſiege of Rheinfeld; the duke of Rohan, who had accompanied him from eſteem, here received his mortal wound, and cloſed a life of virtue and glory. But the duke of Weimar within a few days effaced his diſgrace by the total defeat of his enemies. Four imperial generals in chains atteſted his triumph; and the towns of Rheinfeld, Fribourg, and Briſac, acknowledged the dominion of the victor.

The death of the duke of Savoy rather increaſed than diminiſhed the influence of France; his widow, the ſiſter of Lewis, was appointed regent during the minority of her infant ſon; and Richelieu reſolved to retaliate on Spain the invaſion of Picardy by the ſiege of Fontarabia. But the prince of Condè, to whom that enterpriſe was confided, was defeated by the admiral of Caſtile, and with the remnant of his army with difficulty eſcaped to his ſhips. This miſcarriage was balanced by a domeſtic event of the higheſt importance. The queen was at length delivered of a ſon, whoſe birth, while it ſecured the peaceable ſucceſſion to the throne, contributed to check the turbulent levity of the duke of Orleans, and to eſtabliſh the power of the cardinal.

A. D. 1639.] The duke of Weimar, while his vigorous age and mature judgement promiſed him a long and ſplendid career of glory, expired after a ſhort illneſs; Richelieu had in vain endeavoured to perſuade him to part with his new acquiſition of Briſac; and his death at this critical period was not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. By whatever means it was accompliſhed, the cardinal with his uſual dexterity availed himſelf of his deceaſe; he procured from his ſucceſſors in command not only Briſac, but Fribourg alſo; and he prevailed on his army to acknowledge the authority of the duke of Longueville.

In Piedmont, the brothers of the late duke of Savoy diſputed with his widow the ſucceſſion to the regency. Supported by the marquis of Leganez, they ſurpriſed Chivas; were received into Quiers, Montcallier, and Goree; and aſſaulted Turin ſo ſuddedly, that the ducheſs had ſcarce time to retire into the citadel; from thence ſhe retreated to Grenoble, where ſhe had a perſonal interview with her brother; Lewis lamented her misfortunes, without affording her hopes of ſupport. The defeat of the marquis of Feuquieres by Picolomini encreaſed the embarraſſments of France; and though the court of Harcourt in Piedmont recovered Quiers, and eluded the ſuperior forces of the marquis of Leganez and

prince Thomas, his conduct and military ſkill were rather honourable to himſelf, than of eſſential ſervice to the ducheſs of Savoy.

In the Low Countries, the marquis of Meilleraie reduced Heſdin, and acquired the baton of mareſchal. But the continuance of the war had already oppreſſed the people with heavy impoſts, and the peaſants of Normandy tumultuouſly aſſembled, and broke out in acts of open outrage. The parliament of Rouen were ſuſpended for their neglect and lenity; and the chancellor Seguier, who was detached with ſix thouſand troops to puniſh the guilty, determined to avoid a ſimilar accuſation, and extinguiſhed the inſurrection with the lives of the inſurgents.

In Rouſſillon, Salces, which had been captured by the prince of Conde, was recovered by the Spaniards; but the count of Harcourt acquired freſh leurels in Piedmont. He relieved Caſal, beſieged by the marquis of Leganez; and retook Turin, though defended by prince Thomas of Savoy in perſon. At ſea, the French obtained a deciſive victory over the fleet of Spain; and in the Netherlands the mareſchals Chaulnes, Chatillon, and Meilleraie, inveſted Arras. The cardinal infant, brother to Philip the Fourth, who had advanced to the relief of it was repulſed at the moment that he thought himſelf ſecure of victory; and the city, after a defence of thirty-five days, was compelled to ſurrender.

A. D. 1640, 1641.] But more deep and deadly wounds were inflicted on Spain by the imprudence of her own miniſters than by the enterpriſes of Richelieu. The Catalans, indignant at the open violation of their ancient privileges, erected the ſtandard of revolt: and Portugal, diſdaiding any longer a dependant ſituation, ſhook off the yoke of Philip, and raiſed to the throne John duke of Braganza. To the ſupport of the former, Lewis detached the mareſchal de la Mothe Houdancourt, who reduced the city of Conſtantin; and with the latter he concluded a ſtrict and ſolemn alliance. In Germany the count of Guebriant, who had been educated to war under the duke of Weimar, maintained againſt the Imperialiſts the glory of the French name; and the viſcount Turenne, a pupil of the ſame ſchool, happily ſeconded in Piedmont the efforts of the count of Harcourt.

The diſcontent and flight of the count of Soiſſons have already been noticed; in his exile of Sedan he ſtill nouriſhed his enmity to the cardinal; and ſupported by the dukes of Bouillon and Guiſe, he determined openly to purſue the emotions of his reſentment. Richelieu ſenſible of his deſigns, detached mareſchal Chatillon with ten thouſand men to inveſt Sedan, and reduce him to ſubmiſſion. But the count was reinforced by a Spaniſh army under general Lamboi, and encountred the royal forces in the battle of Marfee. The troops of the mareſchal were already broken and diſperſed, when the fruits of victory were raviſhed from he conſpirators by the death of the count himſelf, who periſhed by a random ball. The circumſtances of his fate were dark and myſterious; but the policy of the cardinal prevailed on the king to conſign to

oblivion the guilt of his aſſociates; and the duke of Bouillon was again admitted to the preſence of his ſovereign, and permitted to retain the principality of Sedan.

A. D. 1641. 1642.] In the Netherlands, Aire was captured by the mareſchal Meilleraie, and recovered again by the Spaniards; but it was in Rouſillon, the poſſeſſion of which would enable him effectually to ſecure the Catalans, that the cardinal was determined to make the moſt vigorous efforts. Diſeaſe had long preyed upon his ſinking frame, but his mind ſtill roſe ſuperior to pain and laſſitude. His ardent ſpirit kindled the flame of martial ambition in Lewis; and though the declining health of the monarch threatened his ſpeedy diſſolution, yet he liſtened with pleaſure to the manly counſels of his miniſter, and prepared with Richelieu, to accompany the army into Rouſillon; but at Narbonne the indiſpoſition of the cardinal increaſed to ſuch a dangerous height, as compelled him reluctantiy to ſtop there, while the king, with the mareſchals Meilleraie and Schomberg, purſued his route, and encamped under the hoſtile walls of Perpignan.

A. D. 1642.] While Lewis in perſon preſſed the ſiege of that city, and Richelieu languiſhed on the bed of ſickneſs, a confederacy was formed, that promiſed to diſtinguiſh the power and ſhorten the fleeting moments of the latter. The lively temper, agreeable addreſs, and elegant perſon, of Cinq Mars, the ſecond ſon of mareſchal d'Effit, ſeconded by the recommendations of the cardinal, had rendered him peculiarly acceptable to the king; but the favourite, haughty and intractable, regarded with averſion the ſuperior aſcendancy of the miniſter; Richelieu had repreſſed his ambition that aſpired to the ducal honours of France; and the gratitude of Cinq Mars, for paſt favours, was overwhelmed by the refuſal of new dignities. Weak himſelf, and incapable of great deſigns, he liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of M. de Thou, the ſon of the celebrated hiſtorian; by the advice of that gentleman, he connected himſelf with the dukes of Orleans and Bouillon; and ſoon after, in conjunction with thoſe princes, formed a ſecret alliance with the court of Spain. The duke of Bouillon was to have the command of the army, and engaged, in caſe of danger, to receive the duke of Orleans into Sedan; while Philip the Fourth promiſed to furniſh the conſpirators with ample ſupplies of money and a formidable body of troops.

But theſe intrigues, however ſecretly conducted, could not eſcape the jealous vigilance of the cardinal. On the firſt intimation, he preſſed Lewis to quit the walls of Perpignan, and to repair to Narbonne. The defeat of the mareſchal Grammont, on the banks of the Scheld, diſpoſed the monarch to liſten to the ſolicitations of his miniſter, in whoſe abilities alone he could confide to retrieve the diſaſter; the cardinal, in this interview, is ſuppoſed bitterly to have reproached his ſovereign; and Lewis acknowledged that Cinq Mars had frequently urged him to the deſtruction of Richelieu. By the advice of that ſtateſman, the king proceeded to his capital, after inveſting the cardinal with diſcretionary powers for the de-

ſtruction of his enemies. The duke of Orleans made an ample confeſſion; but though he refuſed publicly to bear evidence againſt his confederates, his life, as brother to the king, was reſpected; the duke of Bouillon purchaſed his pardon by the ceſſion of his principality of Sedan; but Cinq Mars and de Thou were condemned to atone for their preſumption on the ſcaffold; the morning of their execution brought intelligence of the ſurrender of Perpignan; and Richelieu apprifed the king of both events by a ſingle and expreſſive line—"Your troops are in Perpignan, and your enemies in the grave."

Mary of Medicis at Cologne, cloſed a life, embittered by the diſcord of her ſons, and her own exile; the filial affection which Lewis had denied to her while living, was revived on the news of her death; but the attention of France was engroſſed by the approaching diſſolution of him whoſe daring councils had driven her into baniſhment, and whoſe implacable vengeance had ſhed, by the hands of the executioner, the nobleſt blood of France. The glories and life of Richelieu now drew near their end; after the reduction of Perpignan, exhauſted in body, but ſtill vigorous in mind, he had approached the capital by ſlow and triumphant journies; his laſt moments atteſted his aſcendancy over his ſovereign, and were ſtill terrible to his enemies. On his death bed he proteſted to Lewis, that his councils had ever been directed to the honour of the crown and the welfare of the kingdom; and he terminated his ſplendid career with a fortitude and ſerenity that aſtoniſhed thoſe who had beheld the ſanguinary effects of his adminiſtration.

Three mighty and ſucceſsful projects immortaliſe the period of his government. He humbled the turbulent ſpirits of the great; he ſubdued the ſtubborn zeal of the Hugonots; and he curbed the encroaching power of the houſe of Auſtria. Undaunted and implacable, prudent and active, no combinations of the powerful nobles could withſtand his vengeance, no intrigues could elude his penetration. While he exalted the throne, he controuled a ſovereign impatient of rule and jealous of his authority; and while he extinguiſhed the liberties of the people, he eſtabliſhed among them diſcipline and order, and opened to them the paths of learning and renown.

A. D. 1643.] From the death of Richelieu, Lewis aſpired to hold the reins of government himſelf. Mazarin, for whom the late miniſter had obtained a cardinal's hat, and to whom he had lately imparted his confidence, was, indeed, introduced into the council; but the ſervants of the crown were retained in their former departments, and the only change that appeared, was recalling from baniſhment, and releaſing from confinement, the moſt illuſtrious objects of the cardinal's jealouſy or reſentment. The war was ſtill proſecuted with diligence and vigour, and the ſpirit of Richelieu ſeemed ſtill to impel the machine which his genius had firſt ſet in motion. In Germany, the count of Guebriant, and the Swediſh general Tortenſon, triumphed over the Imperialiſts; in Piedmont, Lorrain, Rouſillon, and Catalonia, the mareſchals Schomberg, Meilleraie, l'Hopital,

and Houdancourt, in ſucceſſive victories, ſuſtained the glory, and increaſed the dominion of France.

But the ſucceſs of his arms could not check the progreſs of diſeaſe; and Lewis was ſenſible that the inevitable moment was rapidly approaching, when his reign and his life muſt terminate together. A ſlow fever inceſſantly hung upon him; and his body exhibited the ſymptoms of gradual but certain decay. The tender years of his ſons expoſed the kingdom once more to thoſe diſſentions which had lately been ſo happily extinguiſhed; and anxious for the welfare of his children and people, he diligently revolved in what hands to place the reigns of government. Anne of Auſtria, the partner of his bed, had never partook of his confidence; and his brother, the duke of Orleans, had forfeited his eſteem by his levity, and incurred his enmity by his ſeditious intrigues.

At length he publiſhed to the world the plan that he had ſecretly meditated; and endavoured, by diſtributing into different hands the power that he bequeathed, to counterbalance the aſpiring hopes of each, and to ſecure the tranquil minority of the dauphin. The queen, indeed, was appointed ſole regent, with the care of her children; but the duke of Orleans was declared head of the council, and lieutenant-general throughout the kingdom. In caſe of his death this truſt was firſt to be devolved on the prince of Condé and afterwards on the cardinal Mazarin. Buthillier, ſuperintendant of the finances, and his ſon Chavigni, were nominated to the council, in which all affairs were to be decided by a majority of voices. The queen and the duke of Orleans ſwore ſolemnly to preſerve inviolate the deed which they had ſubſcribed; and Lewis, to render it ſtill more authentic, commanded it to be regiſtered in parliament.

He now prepared to meet with firm compoſure, the laſt ſcene of human greatneſs; when his phyſician, at his earneſt deſire, numbered the fleeting minutes that remained, and pronounced that his life could not exceed two or three hours, he received the intelligence with avowed ſatisfaction, and looking fervently up to heaven, added, "Well! my God, I conſent with all my heart!" The prediction was verified by the event, and he expired ſoon after, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and on the very day that he had completed the thirty-third of his reign. In eſtimating his character, on ſeveral occaſions his perſonal courage ſhone forth with ſuperior luſtre; but though jealous of his authority, he reluctantly yielded to the aſcendancy of Richelieu: and the epithet of Juſt, which he attained, was frequently impeached by his ſeverity, and ſometimes by his cruelty.

LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH.

A. D. 1643.] THE will of Lewis the Thirteenth, during his life, had been continually oppoſed, and after his death it was openly violated; his reſolution of eſtabliſhing a council of regency was inſtantly rejected; and his widow, Anne of Auſtria, by an arret in the parliament of Paris, was inveſted with unlimited powers; ſhe ſoon reſigned herſelf to the influence of cardinal Mazarin, a native of the little town of Piſcina, in the Abruzzo—his political knowledge and addreſs had introduced him to the confidence of Richelieu; and he now acquired that aſcendancy over the mind of his royal miſtreſs, as Richelieu had maintained over her deceaſed conſort.

Lewis the Fourteenth, the luſtre of whoſe reign afterwards attached to his name the envied appellation of *Great*, had not yet completed his fifth year, and the kingdom was left involved in a bloody and extenſive war with the houſe of Auſtria—but the ſituation of Europe was favourable to the deſigns of France. The kingdom of Portugal had ſhaken off the Spaniſh yoke, and eſtabliſhed the duke of Braganza, as John the Fourth, on the throne—the Catalans ſtill diſplayed the banner of revolt—the united provinces had been cheriſhed and protected by Henry the Fourth and Lewis the Thirteenth—the ſceptre of Sweden was in the hands of Chriſtina, the celebrated, but eccentric daughter of the great Guſtavus, and her generals ſtill maintained in war the glory of their country—while, in England, Charles the Firſt, inheriting from his father his fatal and lofty ideas of royal prerogative, had already kindled the flame of civil war throughout that iſland.

Lewis of Bourbon, duke of Enguien, ſon to the prince of Condé, had been appointed to the command of the French forces on the frontiers of Flanders, previous to the death of Lewis the Thirteenth; on intelligence of that event, he determined to attack the army of Spain, engaged in the ſiege of Rocroi—the remonſtrances of mareſchal de l'Hopital were overborne by his ardour—and in the execution of his deſign, the fire of youth was united with ſkill and judgment, ſcarce to be found in age. The Spaniſh infantry, till then deemed invincible, was broken by his impetuous charge; the count of Fuentes, who commanded it, pe-

riſhed on the field—nine thouſand ſlaughtered enemies, and twenty pieces of cannon, atteſted the deciſive victory of France, and uſhered in the dawning glory of her general.

A. D. 1643, 1644.] Thionville, on the banks of the Moſelle, had excited the deſires, and awed the aſpiring genius of Richelieu; it now yielded to the arms of the duke of Enguien, who rapidly traverſed the Rhine, and advanced to avenge the death of the count of Guebriant, who had glorioufly fallen in the ſucceſsful ſiege of Rotwil. The Imperialiſts had availed themſelves of the fate of that general, and the diſſenſions of his ſucceſſors in command, by the total defeat of the French near Tudelingen—but this diſgrace was effaced by the valour and ſkill of the duke of Enguien, who attacked and forced the Imperial army under the walls of Fribourg; general Merci, though vanquiſhed, ſtill maintained his reputation, and, by his retreat, extorted the admiration of his adverſary; who ſwept with his victorious troops Philipſburgh and Mentz, Worms and Oppenheim, with the forts along the courſe of the Rhine.

A. D. 1645, 1646.] In Flanders, the duke of Orleans reduced Gravelines, Mardyke, and Coutrai; but the mareſchal de la Mothe Houdancourt was defeated in Catalonia; and the victory of Tortenſon, the Swediſh general, over the Imperialiſts at Tabor, was more than balanced by the ſurpriſe of mareſchal Turenne at Mariendal: this diſgrace, the greateſt that ever befel that celebrateted commander, ſummoned once more the duke of Enguien to the frontiers of Germany. The laurels which Merci had ſo lately acquired, were torn from his brow in the plains of Nordlingen; but the indignant hero ſcorned to ſurvive defeat, and he obtained a glorious death, which even the victor could not but envy; three thouſand Imperialiſts periſhed on the field with their general; two thouſand acknowledged, in captivity, the ſuperior fortune of the duke of Enguien; who, after adding Dunkirk to the dominions of France, returned to the capital to reſtore his health ſhaken by fatigues, and to meditate new triumphs.

A. D. 1647.] But his ſplendid career of glory, inſtead of exciting the gratitude, had awakened the jealouſy of the court; and, by the envy of Mazarin, he was detached into Catalonia with a feeble and ill-provided army. The death of his father had devolved on him the title of prince of Condé, and the admiration of the public had annexed to it the epithet of *Great;* but his ſlender force allowed him not on that theatre to rival his former actions; and he was compelled to retire from the walls of Lerida, which had been ſucceſſively and ineffectually aſſaulted by the mareſchal de la Mothe Houdancourt, and the count of Grammont.

A. D. 1647, 1648.] Naples had revolted againſt the authority of Spain, and was long defended by the duke of Guiſe, the laſt prince of that branch of Lorrain, and who was inferior to his anceſtors in fortune alone. In Germany the mareſchal Turenne, in conjunction with the Swedes, defeated the Imperial generals Melander and Montecuculli; his ſucceſs influenced Spain to acknowledge the united provinces as free and independent ſtates; and by a ſecond treaty ſubſcribed

at Munſter, the emperor, alarmed at the progreſs of the Swedes, who had inſulted and plundered part of Prague, conſented to purchaſe peace by ceding to France the biſhoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, with his pretenſions to Pignerol, Briſac, and Alſace; he permitted that crown alſo to retain a garriſon in Philipſburgh and Pomerania, conceſſions ſtill more liberal and important.

A. D. 1648.] Philip the Fourth, by his treaty with the Dutch, had deprived France of an important ally, and had delivered himſelf from a ſtubborn and perſevering enemy. He now renewed, with increaſe of vigour, his operations in Flanders, where the prince of Condé had reſumed the command. That general inveſted and reduced Ypres; and the archduke Leopold, to balance this acquiſition, aſſaulted and carried Coutrai, poſſeſſed himſelf of Furnes, and laid ſiege to Lens; to the relief of that place the prince of Condé advanced, and had the mortification of beholding it ſurrendered in his view. But this tranſient diſgrace was effaced by a victory the moſt ſplendid and deciſive; "My friends, remember "Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nordlingen," was his ſhort but animating addreſs; and the ſuperior numbers of the Spaniards were broken by the charge of a hero, and the enthuſiaſtic confidence of his followers; five thouſand periſhed on the field, three thouſand became priſoners, and the archduke himſelf with difficulty eſcaped the purſuit of the victors.

But while France triumphed in her own ſucceſſes and thoſe of her allies, the moment approached, doomed to ſhake her power and glory to the foundation by the rage of contending factions. Though Mazarin had affected moderation in his conduct, and baniſhed that pomp in which Richelieu had involved himſelf, yet his adminiſtration was far from acceptable to the public. As a foreigner, they regarded him with jealouſy; and the taxes that the profuſion or the neceſſities of the government compelled him to impoſe, converted that paſſion into hatred. The parliament of Paris refuſed to regiſter the edicts for the new impoſts; and the court, to enforce its authority, arreſted Blancmenil, the preſident, and the counſellor Brouſſel. This violent ſtep was the ſignal of inſtant ſedition. The barricadoes of the league were immediately revived—all Paris was in arms—and the ſafety of the queen was only to be ſecured by the releaſe of the priſoners.

A. D. 1649.] But the regent and her miniſter nouriſhed in their boſoms a lively reſentment of the inſult—from the caprice and fury of a ſeditious multitude, they eſcaped with the infant king to the royal reſidence of St. Germains—they were accompanied by the duke of Orleans—and the queen ſoon ſummoned to her defence the victor of Rocroi, Fribourg, Nordlingen and Lens. The adverſe faction, who aſſumed the name of the *Fronde*, and maintained poſſeſſion of the capital, were inſpired by the genius and intriguing ſpirit of the coadjutor, afterwards the cardinal of Retz, who, with the habit of a prieſt, diſplayed a diſpoſition ſuited to camps and courts; and licentious in his manners and profligate in his morals, acquired an aſcendancy over the minds of the people, without condeſcending to throw a veil over his vices, or employing the popular pretext of religion.

Ardent in the cauſe they had eſpouſed, the parliament ſoon eſtabliſhed a revenue for the ſupport of the war—and the citizens with pleaſure, deluded by the name of freedom, ſubmitted to taxes far more burthenſome than thoſe that had excited their clamours—the prince of Conti, envious of the fame of his brother the prince of Condé, with the dukes of Longueville, Bouillon, and Beaufort, devoted themſelves to the ſervice of the parliament. Troops were levied with diligence—and the coadjutor himſelf raiſed a regiment, which from his titular archbiſhopric was called the regiment of Corinth—the zeal of the Pariſians laviſhly ſupplied them with money, the ſinews of war—while the royaliſts experienced the ſevereſt diſtreſs, and the queen was reduced to pledge the jewels of the crown to alleviate the neceſſities of her court.

But that court was ſtill formidable from the renown and abilities of the prince of Condé; with an army of ſcarce eight thouſand ſoldiers, he blocked up a city that contained five hundred thouſand citizens; and though the mareſchal Turenne was allured by the charms of the ducheſs of Longueville to embrace the oppoſite party, yet his military talents but little availed him, when only ſeconded by an undiſciplined rabble. At length the leaders on each ſide obtained the particular objects of their avarice or ambition; the public good was buried in ſtudied ſilence; the ſtorm for a moment was huſhed; and the court returned to the deſerted capital.

The tempeſt of civil diſcord which had been felt in France, afflicted England with uncommon violence; that iſland preſented a new and ſolemn ſpectacle; a ſovereign was arraigned before the tribunal of his ſubjects; and the unhappy Charles was condemned to atone with his life for the violation of the laws of his country. He expired on a ſcaffold; his children were driven into exile; and a ſucceſsful uſurper, erecting himſelf on the ruins of the conſtitution under the title of protector, ruled England with abſolute ſway.

A. D. 1650, 1651.] But in France, the enthuſiaſtic flame of freedom, which had glowed in the boſoms of the Engliſh, was ſtill unknown; that people indeed again reſumed their arms, and turned their ſwords againſt each other; but the chiefs not unfrequently ranged themſelves under the banner of ſome celebrated beauty; and the prince of Condé, and the coadjutor de Retz, as caprice or intereſt dictated, ſupported the cardinal Mazarin. The court alternately abdicated or occupied the capital: and the princes of Condé and Conti, with the duke of Longueville, were at length the victims of their adverſaries artifices; they were ſuddenly arreſted and conveyed to the caſtle of Vincennes; the giddy populace, who had regarded their fate with indifference, in leſs than a year vented their diſcontent in loud and opprobrious clamours; and Mazarin, who had cauſed their impriſonment, was reduced to releaſe them in perſon, and to ſeek ſhelter himſelf in baniſhment from the rage of the multitude.

During theſe convulſions of the ſtate, Lewis the Fourteenth had attained the age fixed for his aſſuming the reins of government, and his majority was ſolemn-

ly declared in parliament; but he was ſtill influenced by the counſels of his mother, and ſeemed to inherit her fond partiality for Mazarin. The prince of Condé, ſenſible of the implacable reſentment of the queen, quitted Paris to arm in his ſupport the provinces of Guienne, Poitou, and Anjou; and to ally himſelf with the very Spaniards, on whoſe defeat he had founded his martial glory; while the cardinal, at the head of an army levied at his own expence and devoted to his ſervice, reſumed his former ſtation, and menaced the deſtruction of his enemies.

The parliament ſtill regarded that miniſter with peculiar deteſtation, and even publicly fixed a price on his head; but with an inconſiſtency which characteriſed their proceedings, they alſo declared the prince of Condé an enemy to the ſtate. While they exhorted the forces that the duke of Orleans had raiſed to march againſt the former, they ſtrictly prohibited any part of the public revenue from being diverted to their ſubſiſtence; their reſolutions had at length fallen into contempt, and the rival factions diſdaining their mediation, prepared to terminate their differences by the ſword. Condé, in league with the Spaniards, appeared in the field againſt the king; and the mareſchal Turenne, who had returned to his allegiance, avowed himſelf the champion of the court.

Near the banks of the Loire the hoſtile armies regarded with a jealous eye each other's motions; when the prince, who had traverſed in diſguiſe, and through the poſts of his adverſaries, the extent of country from Agen to the foreſt of Orleans, joined his forces and immediately prepared to improve the confidence and boldneſs with which his preſence had inſpired them. He attacked that diviſion of the royal army which was poſted at Bleneau, under the command of the mareſchal d'Hocquincourt, and in a moment their ranks were broken by his impetuous charge. The panic in an inſtant communicated itſelf from the camp to the court; and the miniſter propoſed to ſave the king by flight, and to convey him privately to Bourges. But this diſgraceful expedient was averted by the ſkill and conſtancy of the mareſchal Turenne. With the remnant of his army he availed himſelf of every favourable inequality of ground, reſtored the ſinking ſpirits of the great, and confirmed in their allegiance the wavering multitude; Paris indeed received the victor with loud acclamations; but his popularity was tranſient; the coadjutor, now become cardinal of Retz, no longer the idol of the people, governed with abſolute ſway the mind of the duke of Orleans, and ſtimulated that prince to offer himſelf to the citizens as the competitor of Condé. The commanding genius that diſtinguiſhed the latter in the field, could ill ſtoop to the cabals of a faction; the duke of Lorraine, who had promiſed to join his arms, was bribed to deſert his cauſe by Mazarin; his troops were already enervated by the pleaſures of the capital; and with ſecret ſatisfaction he liſtened to the approach of Turenne, whoſe appearance again ſummoned him to the proper theatre of his glory.

In the ſuburbs of Saint Antoine the martial train of the prince was encompaſſed and oppreſſed by the ſuperior numbers of the royaliſts. From a neighbouring eminence the king beheld the unequal conflict in which the blood of his nobleſt ſubjects was ſhed; but the citizens of Paris affected to maintain a perfect neutrality, and ſhut their gates againſt each party; the duke of Orleans, with the cardinal de Retz, ſecluded himſelf in his palace of Luxemburgh; when at length mademoiſelle, the daughter of that prince, taking the part of Conde, whom her father dared not aſſiſt, ordered the gates to be opened for the wounded, and had the boldneſs to fire the cannon of the Baſtile upon the king's troops. The royal army retired; but mademoiſelle ruined herſelf for ever with the king her couſin, by this imprudent violence, and the cardinal Mazarin, who knew the great deſire ſhe had to eſpouſe a crowned head, obſerved upon this occaſion that, "thoſe cannon had killed her huſband."

A. D. 1652.] Soon after this action the prince of Condé retired from a capital diſguſted by his violence and haughty demeanor. The parliament declared the duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and ſtill breathed the ſame ſpirit of animoſity towards Mazarin. The court, weary of their inceſſant labours, conſented in appearance to give up that miniſter; he was commanded to retire to Bouillon; and no ſooner was the intelligence of his exile conveyed to Paris, than the citizens of their own accord ſent deputies to invite the king to return to that city; he entered it amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants, and by the ſudden turn of popular favour beheld himſelf firmly ſeated on his throne. The firſt exerciſe of his authority was to baniſh the duke of Orleans to Blois, who there cloſed the remnant of an inglorious life. The cardinal de Retz was alſo arreſted, and conveyed from priſon to priſon: while the prince of Condé, preſſed by the mareſchal Turenne, abandoned in France by almoſt all his partiſans, and feebly ſupported by the Spaniards, waged an unſucceſsful war on the frontiers of Champagne.

A. D. 1653.] The calm which the kingdom enjoyed, had been the reſult of the baniſhment of Mazarin. Yet ſcarcely was he expelled by the general voice of the French nation, and by the royal declaration, than he was recalled by the king; and to his infinite ſurpriſe entered Paris once more in full power, and without the leaſt diſturbance. The king received him as a father, and the people as a maſter; but the cardinal, amidſt the ſatisfaction of his change, could not repreſs his contempt of the national levity. The parliament, who had before ſet a price upon his head as a public robber, now ſent deputies to compliment him; and ſoon after paſſed ſentence of death for contumacy on the prince of Condé, whom ſo lately they had honoured as their ally, and even declared general of their forces.

The miniſter applied himſelf with vigour to extinguiſh the ſparks of revolt. In Burgundy, Belegarde was defended for the prince of Condé, by the count of Bouteville, afterwards ſo celebrated as mareſchal Luxemburg. It was attacked

with rival ardour by the duke d'Epernon, at the head of a royal army; yet the governor consented not to surrender till a practible breach was made, and then obtained honourable conditions. Brouage and Oleron were purchased from the count of Oignon; the prince of Conti, and the duchess of Longueville capitulated in Bourdeaux—and the garrison under the command of the count of Marsin was permitted to march out and join the prince of Condé.

A. D. 1654.] That prince, in conjunction with the archduke on the side of the Netherlands, laid siege to Arras; but mareschal Turenne, after possessing himself of Stenai, advanced to the relief of the former town, and forced the lines of the besiegers; the Spaniards were routed with bloody slaughter; but the prince of Condé still maintained the honour of his name amidst defeat. With two regiments alone he protected the fugitives, and repulsed mareschal d'Hocqincourt; the king of Spain acknowledged his services in a short and expressive letter—"I heard that all was lost, and that you saved all."

The power of the minister each day increased; the prince of Conti sought his alliance, and obtained the hand of his niece; and the cabals of the parliament were broken by the resolution of Lewis. England, whom most he dreaded, was ruled by Cromwell, under the title of protector; and who after humbling the pride of Holland, meditated to despoil Spain of her transmarine possessions: while in Sweden, the celebrated queen Christiana resigned her throne to her cousin Charles Gustavus, and sought in the shade of private life, that happiness which her turbulent and restless disposition would never permit her to enjoy.

A. D. 1655.] Landreci and Quesnoi were reduced by the mareschal Turenne, and a road was opened by these acquisitions into the Spanish Netherlands. The king in person beheld the successful siege of Saint Guillain; and the Spaniards were compelled, by the marquis Merinville to retire from the walls of Solsonna. their fleet was defeated before Barcelona, by that of France, commanded by the duke of Vendosme. But even these successes afforded not that satisfaction to Mazarin, as the treaty he soon after concluded with the protector of England.

That great and prosperous usurper was equally courted and dreaded by all Europe; yet his political judgment has been impeached by posterity, when he preferred the alliance of France to that of Spain. But Lewis purchased the friendship of his new ally by a concession the most ignominious, which the magnanimity of his maturer years would have disdained, and which must solely be imputed to the more subtle, but less honourable policy of his Italian minister. Charles the Second, and his brother the duke of York, both sons to the late king of England, who had expired on the scaffold, and consequently the grandsons of Henry the Fourth of France, were compelled, at the imperious voice of Cromwell, to quit that kingdom, and to seek an asylum in the dominions of Spain.

A. D. 1656.] But if the honour of France suffered from diminution in thus withdrawing her protection from the unfortunate, the advantage to her arms was brilliant and important. Mareschal Turenne, with the mareschal de la Forte, had

inveſted Valenciennes, and experienced the ſame reverſe of fortune as had befallen Condé before Arras. That prince, ſeconded by don John of Auſtria, forced the mareſchal de la Forte's lines, took him priſoner, and relieved Valenciennes. Turenne performed what Condé had done before on a ſimilar defeat; he ſaved the routed army, made head every where againſt the victors, and in leſs than a month afterwards laid ſiege to and carried the town of la Capelle.

A. D. 1657.] But the treaty with England aſſured Turenne of a decided ſuperiority; Cromwell engaged to ſend ſix thouſand infantry into Flanders, on condition that the French ſhould attempt the reduction of Mardyke, Gravelines, or Dunkirk, all of which had been recovered by Spain during the late civil commotions, and deliver into his hands which ever place was ſooneſt taken; while the mareſchal awaited the arrival of this reinforcement, he endeavoured by ſurpriſe to make himſelf maſter of Cambrai; he had ſcarce encompaſſed the walls, when the prince of Condé, at the head of two thouſand horſe, penetrated through the army of the beſiegers, and having routed every thing that attempted to ſtop him, threw himſelf into the town. The mareſchal no longer perſiſted in the hopeleſs enterpriſe, but directed his march towards St. Quintin to meet the Engliſh axiliaries; ſtrengthened by this reinforcement, he ſucceſſively reduced Montmedi and St. Venant, raiſed the ſiege of Ardres, and concluded the campain with the taking of Mardyke, which, according to the late treaty, was delivered into the hands of Cromwell.

A. D. 1658.] Early in the ſpring the armies reſumed their hoſtile operations, which had been ſuſpended by the inclemency of the winter. The remonſtrances of Cromwell commanded the acquieſcence of Mazarin; and Turenne was ordered to inveſt the town of Dunkirk. The port was already blocked up by an Engliſh ſquadron, and ſix thouſand of the infantry of that nation joined the French camp. The prince of Condé and don John of Auſtria aſſembled all their forces, and preſented themſelves before the city, to raiſe the ſiege. Turenne quitted his lines to encounter the enemy; and the prince of Condé, who was not allowed the diſpoſition of that day, turned to the Engliſh duke of Glouceſter, who had accompanied him, and aſked him, if he had ever ſeen a battle loſt: the reply was in the negative: "then," ſaid the prince, "you will ſee one now." The event juſtified his diſcernment: the French and Engliſh charged with rival valour; the Spaniards were broken on every ſide; and the prince of Condé, who had diſplayed in the battle the moſt heroic courage, preſerved the ſame undaunted countenance in defeat: the troops under his immediate command were ſtill formidable, and effected their retreat in tolerable order, but the reſt of the Spaniſh army was chaced to the gates of Furnes, and above nine thouſand of the veteran ſoldiers of Spain are ſuppoſed to have fallen in the action and purſuit.

Dunkirk, though now deſtitute of the moſt diſtant hope of ſuccour, ſtill rejected the ſummons of Turenne, and ſurrendered not till ten days after the battle; the garriſon marched out with all the honours of war, and Lewis entered in triumph the proſtrate city; but he was ſoon compelled to deliver it up to Lockhart,

Cromwell's ambaſſador; and the reluctance of Mazarin was vaſiquiſhed by the reſolution and menaces of the protector of England.

This was the laſt and moſt important acquiſition of that great and ſucceſsful uſurper—who, without any eminent qualities of body, or ſhining talents of mind, without fortune or illuſtrious birth, ſubverted one of the moſt ancient and beſt eſtabliſhed monarchies in the world—brought to trial and executed his ſovereign—compelled the royal family to ſeek their ſafety in exile—and reduced to ſubjection three powerful and diſcontented nations. In the laſt moments the illuſions of fanaticiſm, which had been ſo conſpicuous in his infant grandeur, ſtill prevailed—and he rejected the fatal predictions of his phyſicians, while his chaplains buoyed up his hopes with the aſſurances of a longer exiſtence. His dying breath bequeathed his power to his eldeſt ſon, Richard, who immediately aſſumed the title of protector, and was acknowledged by the court of France.

Mareſchal Turenne, on the ſurrender of Dunkirk, turned his arms againſt Furnes and Dixmude—theſe ſoon yielded to his victorious aſſaults—the Spaniſh forces, divided in garriſon towns, would probably have been ſwept away by the torrent of his fortune, had not his career been checked by the indiſpoſition of his ſovereign—but no ſooner was the health of Lewis reſtored, than thoſe intrigues which had already agitated the court, vanquiſhed into air, and Turenne was permitted to ſwell the long liſt of his conqueſts—Oudenarde and Menin opened their gates after a faint reſiſtance—the mareſchal de la Forte was detached to inveſt Gravelines, and Turenne himſelf covered with his army the operations of the ſiege. The colours of France were ſoon diſplayed from the walls—the prince of Ligne was encountered and routed by the rival of Condé—and Ypres ſubmitted to the victor, and received a French garriſon.

In Italy the current of ſucceſs flowed, though not with equal rapidity, in favour of France. The duke of Mantua, who endeavoured to ſtem the tide as the ally of Spain, was happy in being admitted to a neutrality. Trin, in the marquiſate of Montferrat, was taken by the marquis of Villa; and Mortare, in the Milaneſe, ſurrendered to the duke of Modena, who ſurvived his conqueſt but a few days.

Ferdinand, the third emperor of Germany, had, during the various events of war, ſunk into the grave; and the ambition of Mazarin aſpired to place the Imperial crown on the head of Lewis. The mareſchal Grammont was diſpatched for this purpoſe to the diet; but the cardinal was ſoon convinced of the futility of his chimerical expectations. After an interval of above a year, the electors raiſed to the throne Leopold, the ſon of the late emperor; but the policy of France embraced the opportunity to confirm the treaty of Munſter, and to attain to her intereſt ſeveral of the independent princes of Germany.

A. D. 1659.] The rigour of winter, which had ſuſpended the hoſtile enterpriſes of the crowns of Spain and France, had revived in the breaſts of their reſpective miniſters the deſire of peace. The ſucceſs of Turenne in the Spaniſh Netherlands had alarmed the former; and Mazarin was intent on ſecuring the

tranquillity of the people by the marriage of the king. It has been aſſerted, that from the affection of Lewis to the niece of the cardinal, he had at one time raiſed his hopes to a royal alliance—but the haughty ſpirit of the queen-mother ſoon extinguiſhed the vain idea, and the daughter of the king of Spain and the princeſs of Savoy next preſented themſelves to his view; he therefore liſtened with pleaſure to the pacific overtures of Don Lewis de Haro, who governed Philip the Fourth with the ſame abſolute authority as he himſelf ruled Lewis.

A ceſſation of arms was immediately agreed upon; and in the Iſle of Pheaſants, on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro appeared as the repreſentatives of their reſpective ſovereigns. A conſiderable time was conſumed in deſputes about preſidency; but the Spaniard maintained his equality, and refuſed to yield to the dignity of the cardinal, or to the ſuperior pretenſions of France; their conferences were at length begun, and after four months, were concluded by the celebrated treaty of Pyrenees. By this treaty Lewis was to receive the hand of the infanta with five hundred thouſand gold crowns—Alſace and Rouſillon were confirmed to him—but he ſolemnly renounced every ſucceſſion that might accrue to him in right of his ſpouſe—and to Charles the Fourth he reſtored the duchy of Lorrain—to Spain the cities of St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, and Oudenarde—and he conſented to pardon the prince of Condé. Philip, on his ſide, extended alſo his clemency to the revolted Catalans—relinquiſhed Verceil to the duke of Savoy—Reggio to the duke of Modena—his whole territories to the duke of Monaco—and to the duke of Newburgh the city of Juliers, which for ſeveral years paſt had been ſequeſtered in the hands of the houſe of Auſtria.

A. D. 1659, 1660.] Charles of England had preſented himſelf at the Pyrenees to implore the aſſiſtance of the cardinal and Don Lewis de Haro—the former refuſed even to ſee him, and pleaded the alliance of France with the Engliſh commonwealth—but the latter received him with that generous civility peculiar to his nation. Even the offer of Charles to marry the niece of the cardinal was rejected with cold politeneſs. The condition of that monarch to all the world ſeemed deſperate—his friends had been baffled in every attempt for his ſervice; the ſcaffold had often ſtreamed with the blood of his moſt active adherents; their ſpirits were broken by tedious impriſonments; their eſtates were overwhelmed by fines and confiſcations. But amidſt all theſe gloomy proſpects, fortune, by a ſurpriſing revolution, brought that about which the miniſters of France and Spain might have had the honour of undertaking. Richard Cromwell, of a gentle, humane, and generous diſpoſition, was incapable of maintaining his dominion by ſanguinary meaſures; he ſigned his own diſmiſſion; and with a moderate fortune extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age. The committee of ſafety, who had uſurped the authority that he had abdicated, were hated and deſpiſed; they were reluctantly compelled to reſtore the parliament which they had diſſolved; the nation, wearied by contending factions, impatiently looked to the reſtoration of the ancient conſtitution; their wiſhes were ſeconded by the loyal declarations of

general Monk, who, with the government of Scotland, commanded an affectionate and well-disciplined army. Charles was invited to mount the throne of his ancestors; he landed at Dover, took possession of his kingdom without the effusion of blood, and entered his capital amidst the unanimous acclamations of the inhabitants.

The duke of Orleans, the uncle of Lewis, had expired at Blois, but little noticed, and not at all regretted; his death did not interrupt the preparations for the marriage of the king of France: that monarch advanced to Saint Jean de Luz to receive the hand of his bride; the royal pair returned to Paris, and in their triumphal entry into that city displayed a magnificence before unknown; but though on this occasion the cardinal indulged the national taste for splendour, in every other respect he narrowly circumscribed the expences of the king, and Lewis was often reduced to request the loan of that wealth, with which the coffers of his minister overflowed.

A. D. 1661.] In the silent acquisition of riches, the cardinal had now reached the period which permitted him no longer to enjoy them. The treaty of Vincenns with the duke of Lorrain, and which, in some measure towards that prince, softened that of Pyrenees, was the last act of his administration; nine days afterwards he expired; and his concern for his wealth was still apparent in the last moments of his life. By a deed of gift he resigned his riches to the king; and his discernment was justified by the magnanimity of Lewis, who immediately restored the instrument. Though, perhaps, that monarch but little regretted the loss of a minister, whose yoke sat heavy on his shoulders, yet early taught to dissemble, he assumed the external marks of sorrow, and even honoured his memory by the compliment of wearing mourning.

The administration and talents of Mazarin have been compared with those of Richelieu; but those commanding features which distinguished the latter, are in vain to be sought for in the former. Prudent, subtle, and avaricious, he rather endeavoured to sooth than to command; to deceive than to vanquish; and the love of glory either existed not in his bosom, or was lost in his insatiate thirst of gold. That immense hoard was soon afterwards dissipated by the follies and prodigality of the marquis of Meilleraie, who had espoused his favourite daughter Hortensia Mancini, and assumed the title of duke of Mazarin; while Hortensia herself, banished from the bed and country of her husband, long subsisted in England on a pension allowed her by the liberality of Charles the Second.

On the death of Mazarin, Lewis the Fourteenth prepared to throw off those shackles which the ascendancy of the minister had imposed, and hereafter to assume not only the ensigns of royalty, but the duties of a king. The officers of state, who little expected that a young prince only in his twenty third year, would limit the pursuit of his pleasures, to sustain the toils of government, impatiently enquired whom they were to apply to? They were equally surprised and disappointed, when Lewis answered, "to me;" their astonishment still increased



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when they found him perſevere. He had conſulted his own ſtrength, and made a trial in ſecret of his capacity for government; his reſolution once taken, he maintained it to the laſt moment of his life; he appointed bounds to the power of every miniſter; obliged him to give an account of every thing at certain hours; reſtored order to the finances, and eſtabliſhed diſcipline among the troops.

In his tranſactions with foreign ſtates, he aſſerted the dignity of his crown with jealous vigilance; the ambaſſador of Spain at the court of London, had on a public entry diſputed the way with that of France; but the firm remonſtrances of Lewis extorted from Philip ample ſatisfaction; and the Spaniſh monarch diſpatched the count of Fuentes with the important conceſſion, "that the miniſters "of Spain ſhould no longer diſpute the precedency with thoſe of France." With the court of Rome he diſplayed equal firmneſs. His ambaſſador, the duke of Crequi, had been inſulted, and even his carriage fired into by the guards of that city; the king menaced to avenge the affront by arms; and he compelled Alexander the Seventh, the Roman pontiff, to ſatisfy his honour, by erecting a pillar in Rome, expreſſing the injury and reparation.

A. D. 1661, 1667.] The ſatisfaction that he derived from theſe events was encreaſed by the birth of a ſon; and the ſecurity of his kingdom was augmented by the purchaſe of Dunkirk. Charles the Second, whoſe adverſity had not taught him œconomy, was reduced by his profuſion to part with that important place, and Lewis obtained it at the price of four hundred thouſand pounds. He immediately employed thirty thouſand men to fortify it by land and ſea; and dug a large baſon between the town and the citadel, capable of containing ſeveral men of war. He extorted ſoon after the ſtrong hold of Marſal from the duke of Lorrain. He ſecretly ſupported the crown of Portugal againſt that of Spain; but though the king of England offered to abandon to him all the Spaniſh low countries, provided he would ſuffer him to purſue his advantages over the Dutch, Lewis rejected the propoſal, which would have rendered Charles ſovereign of the ſeas; yet the aſſiſtance he could on that element afford his allies, the Hollanders, was feeble and unworthy of his greatneſs; but his ſuccours by land were more effectual and honourable; and his arms protected them from the martial and enterpriſing biſhop of Munſter, whom the gold of England had allured to invade the United Provinces.

A. D. 1667.] The peace of Breda reconciled the contending powers, but reſtored not for a moment the tranquility of Europe. The flame of war was kept alive by the pretenſions and ambition of the French monarch. In the ſilent lapſe of ſix years he had repleniſhed his coffers, created a naval force, augmented his armies, and provided large magazines and an immenſe quantity of military ſtores. The two miniſters who principally ſhared his confidence were Colbert and Louvois. The former in the finances, rivalled the fame and abli-

ties of the duke of Sully; the latter firſt diſplayed to Europe the means of ſubſiſting large armies at a diſtance by magazines. The prince of Condé, and the mareſchal Turenne were ſtill in the vigour of their life; and France might juſtly boaſt the proud ſuperiority of her ſtateſmen and her generals.

A. D. 1668.] Anne of Auſtria, the queen-mother, who no longer retained her influence over the mind of her ſon, had ſunk unnoticed into the grave; the death of Philip of Spain was an event of more importance; he left a ſon, Charles the Second; but the queen of France, the iſſue of a former marriage, laid claim to a conſiderable province of the Spaniſh monarchy, even to the excluſion of her brother. By the cuſtom of ſome parts of Brabant, a female of a firſt marriage, was preferred to a male of the ſecond; and Lewis, in open violation of his ſolemn renunciation in the treaty of Pyrenees, prepared to vindicate the claim of his conſort by arnis.

The king of France with an army of forty thouſand men, directed by Turenne, paid by Colbert, and amply ſupplied by Louvois, burſt into the defenceleſs provinces of Flanders—The towns without magazines, without fortifications, and without garriſons, ſurrendered to Lewis as ſoon as he preſented himſelf before them—The banners of France were in an inſtant diſplayed from the walls of Athe, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Charleroy, and Binche; Liſle alone maintained a reſiſtance of nine days, and the king returned to Paris from a campaign, attended by the moſt important acquiſitions, but which in its progreſs rather reſembled a party of pleaſure than an hoſtile expedition.

A. D. 1669.] The reputation which Turenne had acquired in this enterpriſe, awakened the honourable jealouſy of the prince of Condé: The inclemency of the ſeaſon could not chill his martial ardour, and in the midſt of winter he propoſed to his ſovereign the invaſion of Franche Comté. That province, ſituated on the borders of Switzerland, under the protection of the houſe of Auſtria, enjoyed its ancient privileges, and the honourable diſtinction of a parliament; the inhabitants contented, though poor were awakened from their humble tranquility by the diſcordant trumpet of war. Beſançon and Salins, the two ſtrongeſt towns, were inveſted and reduced by the prince of Condé; Lewis haſtened to join his army, and laid ſiege to Dole; in four days that city was compelled to open its gates; and in three weeks the conqueſt of the entire province was completely atchieved.

But the rapid ſucceſs of Lewis had awakened the envy and the fears of his powerful neighbours. A triple league was formed by England, Holland, and Sweden, to preſcribe bounds to his ambition. The arbitration of ſo formidable a confederacy could not be rejected. A negociation was immediately commenced, and rapidly concluded. By the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Lewis retained his acquſitions in Flanders, but reſtored Franche Compté to Spain; though even by theſe conditions he gained an extenſive territory, fruitful and populous, yet he ever after harboured a deep and implacable reſentment againſt the ſtates of

Holland, whoſe deputies had diſplayed at the congreſs the proud and inflexible ſpirit of the republicans.

A. D. 1670.] At the moment that monarch ſigned the treaty of peace, he meditated new wars, and prepared to ſatiate his revenge; his firſt attention was directed to create a naval force; and his orders were executed by the indefatigable induſtry of Colbert and Louvois. The ſea-ports, which had almoſt ſunk into ruins, again erected their heads, were fortified with works which at once ſerved for their ornament and defence, and were filled with ſixty large men of war ready equipped for ſea. The next object of his councils was to detach the king of England from his alliance with Holland. His brother the duke of Orleans had married the ſiſter of Charles, and the influence of that princeſs was exerted over the mind of the Engliſh monarch; the neceſſities of Charles ſeconded her arts; the ſums that his profuſion demanded, and his parliament denied, were ſupplied by Lewis; and the king of England was prevailed upon to relinquiſh the moſt ſettled maxims of honour and policy, and to ſign engagements for the deſtruction of Holland, with whom he had ſo lately united himſelf to repreſs the ambition of France.

A. D. 1670, 1671.] The ſudden death of the ducheſs of Orleans, who had negociated this alliance, and whoſe fate was accompanied with ſuſpicions of poiſon, threw a gloom over the courts, but did not impede the preparations of the confederate monarchs. The liberality of Lewis extended itſelf to Sweden, and Charles the Eleventh ſubſcribed the new league; while the biſhop of Munſter, greedy of war and plunder, and naturally an enemy of the Dutch, readily concurred in the meaſures concerted for their deſtruction.

A. D. 1672.] But if the alliances and armaments of Charles and Lewis were formidable, the pretences they aſſigned for their hoſtile deſigns were frivolous and contemptible. The former complained that the cuſtomary honours had been refuſed to the Engliſh flag, and that pictures injurious to the reputation of the Engliſh had been encouraged; the latter maintained greater dignity, if undiſguiſed violence and injuſtice can merit that appellation; he pretended that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been ſuch that it did not conſiſt with his glory any longer to bear.

At the moment that the United Provinces were menaced by ſuch powerful enemies, they could derive but little ſatisfaction from the review of their domeſtic ſituation. Two factions at that time agitated the republic. The one headed by John de Wit, grand penſionary, a man equally eminent for greatneſs of mind, for capacity, and for integrity, but who regarded with jealouſy the leaſt ſhadow of abſolute authority; the other leſs attached to the exterior of liberty, deſirous of reſtoring the ſtadtholderſhip, and inveſting the prince of Orange with the poſts and dignities of his anceſtors.

Into this country burſt Lewis the Fourteenth, at the head of an army formidable from its numbers and diſcipline, but ſtill more ſo from the ſkill and experi-

ence of Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, and Vauban. De Wit had expected his attack on the ſide of Maeſtricht, and provided that town accordingly; but the king of France taking advantage of his alliance with Cologne, invaded the provinces from that quarter. He paſſed the Meuſe at Niſat, poſſeſſed himſelf of Orſoi, reduced in four days Burik, Weſel, Emerik, and Rhimberg; and preſſed forwards to the Rhine. To all the other calamities of the Dutch, was added the extreme drought of the ſeaſon, which diminiſhed the greateſt rivers; the French cavalry, animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, plunged into the ſtream; a few Dutch regiments on the oppoſite bank made but a feeble reſiſtance; and the celebrated paſſage of the Rhine, the ſubject of ſo much panegyric, was atchieved without danger and almoſt without oppoſition.

Each ſucceſs added courage to the conquerors, and ſtruck the vanquiſhed with diſmay; and every hour brought intelligence of ſome freſh acquiſition. A liſt of defenceleſs cities that opened their gates on the appearance of an enemy, can afford neither inſtruction nor entertainment to the reader. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that in little more than a month three provinces, Guelderland, Overyſſel, and Utrecht, were in the hands of Lewis; Groningen was threatened; Friezland lay expoſed; and the only difficulty that preſented itſelf was in Holland and Zealand. Condé and Turenne exhorted the king to diſmantle, with a few exceptions, all the towns that he had taken, and preſs on to new conqueſts; but Lewis liſtened to the counſels of Louvois, who prevailed on him to ſtrengthen his acquiſitions with new fortifications; a project which, by weakening the main army, proved fatal to his ambitious deſigns.

But at ſea the Dutch maintained their former renown, and engaged with alacrity the combined fleets of two powerful nations—De Ruyter, their admiral, on this occaſion acquired immortal honour, and acknowledged, that of two and thirty actions which he had beheld, this combat was the moſt obſtinately diſputed. The loſs ſuſtained by the two fleets was nearly equal; the approach of night at length ſuſpended the fury of the combatants; and both retired to their reſpective harbours to repair the damages which they had ſuffered.

But the glory of de Ruyter could not inſpire his countrymen to emulate his conduct by land; the ſtates determined to implore the pity of the confederate monarchs; but the conditions that Lewis preſcribed were little better than articles of ſlavery—All the towns on the other ſide of the Rhine were to be ceded, with Nimeguen, and ſeveral in the heart of the provinces; the Roman Catholic religion was every where to be eſtabliſhed, and a medal was annually to be preſented to the French court, importing that the Hollanders retained their freedom by the moderation of Lewis.

The indignation of the people at terms ſo fatal and diſgraceful, broke out in open and violent ſeditions—Inſtead of arming to meet the haughty conqueror, they diſcharged their rage on their own unhappy miniſter. The unfortunate De Wit, and his brother Cornelius, were torn to pieces by the frenzy of the

populace; the moſt ſhocking indignities were exerciſed on their diſmembered limbs: and the united voice of the people inveſted with the ſole adminiſtration William prince of Orange.

That prince, though only in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, gave ſtrong indications of all thoſe great qualities by which his life was afterwards diſtinguiſhed. The whole tenor of his demeanour ſuited extremely the genius of the people whoſe councils he was called to direct. Silent and thoughtful, he poſſeſſed a ſound and ſteady underſtanding; was firm in his reſolution, and indefatigable in buſineſs; and never ſuffered pleaſure to allure, or danger to intimidate him—His appointment once more animated the drooping ſpirits of his countrymen; they reſolved, if unable to maintain their freedom in Europe, to fly to their ſettlements in the Indies, and erect a new republic in thoſe remote regions. While, to check the preſent progreſs of the victor, they called to their aſſiſtance that deſtructive element, againſt which they had formerly ſo diligently fortified themſelves; and opening the ſluices, laid the adjacent country under water.

Lewis had made his triumphal entry into Utrecht; but he now quitted a campaign in which the difficulties of war were encreaſed, and the hopes of conqueſt were diminiſhed. He returned to his capital to enjoy the acclamations of his ſubjects for ſucceſſes which he owed to the merit of his generals, or to the panic of his enemies. But already a confederacy was formed to ſet bounds to his aſpiring ambition. Spain privately aſſiſted, and the emperor openly ſupported, the United Provinces; Luxemburgh was diſappointed in an attempt on the Hague, and the biſhop of Munſter was repulſed from the walls of Groningen.

A. D. 1673.] The enſuing year extended more widely the flames of war. The emperor and Spain openly declared themſelves the allies of the Dutch; and the houſe of Auſtria was now engaged to protect thoſe provinces which during ſo many years ſhe had endeavoured to oppreſs. De Ruyter ſtill maintained his reputation at ſea, and encountered in a ſecond and indeciſive action the combined fleets of France and England. A third that ſoon after enſued, though equally obſtinate and bloody, ſtill left the victory doubtful. But Lewis at the head of a numerous army inveſted, and in a week reduced Maeſtricht. The prince of Orange in return laid ſiege to Naerden; and the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe confirmed the confidence of his countrymen; he immediately after directed his march to join Montecuculli, the Imperial general, who on the banks of the Rhine was oppoſed to Turenne; the artful conduct of that commander eluded the penetration of the mareſchal, and he ſuddenly ſat down before Bonne. Under the walls of that city he was joined by the prince of Orange, who with ſimilar addreſs had deceived and eſcaped the vigilance of the French generals. Bonne ſoon ſurrendered to their combined arms; ſeveral other places in the electorate of Cologne fell into their hands; the communication between France and the United Provinces was cut off; and Lewis was obliged to recal his forces, and abandon all his conqueſts with greater rapidity than he had at firſt made them.

A. D. 1674.] The firm remonſtrances of the Engliſh parliament, and the clamours of his people, compelled Charles to conclude a peace with the United Provinces. But while he reluctantly deſerted his ally Lewis, he ſtill inſiſted that ten thouſand men whom he had detached to reinforce the army of that monarch, ſhould not be recalled, though he conſented to bind himſelf by a ſecret article of the treaty never to recruit them. Even this reinforcement, ſmall as it might ſeem, was neceſſary to the various enterpriſes of the French king. The empire, Spain, and Holland, were now firmly united againſt him. The biſhop of Munſter and the elector of Cologne had been compelled to renounce his alliance; yet he continued to make head every where againſt his enemies, and even meditated new conqueſts. With a powerful army in perſon he once more invaded Franche Comté; laid ſiege to and again carried Beſançon; and in ſix weeks reduced the whole province, which has ever ſince remained annexed to the dominions of France.

In Flanders the allied army was commanded by the prince of Orange, and the French by the prince of Condé. The former, encouraged by his ſuperior numbers, endeavoured to penetrate into France, but in the attempt he raſhly expoſed at Seneffe a wing of his army, and his active adverſary failed not to ſeize and improve the advantage. But the prince of Orange amply compenſated for his error by his behaviour in the obſtinate and bloody action that enſued; he rallied his diſmayed troops, led them to the charge, and puſhed the martial veterans of France. The conflict was continued for ſome time after ſunſet, till darkneſs parted the combatants, and left the victory undecided. But the conduct of William was ſtamped by the applauſe of his generous antagoniſt; "the prince of Orange," ſaid Condé, "has acted in every thing like an old captain, except venturing his "life too like a young ſoldier."

In Alſace, Turenne diſplayed againſt a much ſuperior enemy, all that military ſkill which by long experience, profound reflection, and great genius, he had been able to acquire. By a ſudden and forced march he attacked and defeated at Sintzheim the duke of Lorrain and Caprara, the general of the Imperialiſts, and afterwards extended his bloody devaſtations over the palatinate. Seventy thouſand Germans deluged Alſace; they were ſurpriſed by the unexpected appearance of Turenne; a conſiderable detachment was cut in pieces at Mulhauſen; the elector of Brandenburg, who had been entruſted with the chief command, was routed by the active vigilance of the mareſchal near Colmar; a third body ſuffered the ſame fate near Turkheim; and this formidable hoſt, baffled and diſperſed, was happy to evacuate Alſace and repaſs the Rhine.

A. D. 1675.] To oppoſe Turenne, the Imperialiſts recalled their celebrated general Montecuculli. The object of the latter was to penetrate into Alſace, Lorrain, or Burgundy; the aim of the former was to guard the French frontiers, and diſappoint all the ſchemes of his enemy. The banks of the Rhine was the theatre on which their ſkill was diſplayed. Each encountered the other with perſever-

ance, penetration, and activity: but on the moment that they were on the point of ſtaking their reputation on the fate of a battle near the village of Saltzbach, Turenne was killed by a cannon ball as he was reconnoitering a ſituation to erect a battery. The news of his fate impreſſed the king, the court, and the people, with the deepeſt ſorrow; but it was in the camp that his loſs was moſt ſeverely felt and ſenſibly regretted. Montecuculli, who had for three months been kept on the other ſide of the Rhine by the abilities of the mareſchal, paſſed that river the moment he heard Turenne was no more; he penetrated into Alſace; and the French, who had lately aſpired to victory, eſteemed themſelves happy in eſcaping defeat, and effecting a retreat under the conduct of de Lorges, nephew to the deceaſed general.

Part of the German army, after the death of Turenne, had formed the ſiege of Treves; and mareſchal Crequi, with the troops that he could aſſemble, advanced to the relief of that place. His negligence expoſed him to a total and bloody defeat; with four attendants only he eſcaped into Treves, and endeavoured by a vigorous defence to efface his diſgrace; but the garriſon at length mutinied againſt his authority; they opened the gates to the enemy; and ſince he refuſed to ſign the capitulation they had made, they delivered him up a priſoner to the Imperialiſts.

Lewis in perſon had taken the field in Flanders, and was oppoſed by the prince of Orange with an equal army; each party was unwilling to hazard a general engagement without ſome viſible advantage. The monarch ſoon efter returned to Verſailles, and the late diſaſters in Germany induced him to recal the prince of Condé to make head againſt Montecuculli. The prince on this new field confirmed the opinion of his ſuperior genius. He compelled the Germans to raiſe the ſieges of Hageneau and Saverne; he eluded their attempts to force him to a battle; and at length conſtrained them to repaſs the Rhine. With this campaign he cloſed the long ſeries of his martial toils and glory; the remnant of his life he paſſed in honourable retirement at Chantilly; while Montecuculli, full of years and fame, withdrew at the ſame time from the ſcene of action, unwilling to expoſe that reputation in conteſts with younger adverſaries, which he had acquired as the rival of Condé and Turenne.

A. D. 1676.] Though the death of Turenne, and the retreat of Condé, deprived Lewis of two commanders, whoſe military talents have ſeldom been equalled, and never excelled, yet the vigour and diſcipline that they had infuſed into the armies, ſtill continued to open the road to victory. The Hollanders themſelves ſoon after ſuſtained a loſs which plunged them in the ſame honourable ſorrow as France had lately felt. Meſſina had revolted, and a fleet under the duke de Vivonne was diſpatched to ſupport the rebels; the Dutch ſent a ſquadron to aſſiſt the Spaniards; an engagement enſued, and de Ruyter, the Turenne of Holland, received a wound which put an end to his glorious life; the Dutch, diſmayed at his death, retired in confuſion; yet the advantage the French obtained

was but tranſient; and they were ſoon after reduced to evacuate Meſſina, at the moment that they flattered themſelves with the hope of becoming maſters of it.

In Germany, Charles the Fifth, the new duke of Lorrain, who ſucceeded his uncle Charles the Fourth, and who like him was ſtripped of his dominions, had recovered Philiſburgh; but he vainly endeavoured to penetrate into his own territories; mareſchal Crequi, ranſomed from confinement, and grown more prudent by his defeat, defended the entrance into Lorrain, and in repeated actions baffled and defeated the unfortunate duke.

In Flanders Lewis himſelf early took the field, and provided with ample magazines, began his operations, while the enemy's cavalry were unable to find forage in the open country. The Spaniſh towns ill fortified, made but a feeble reſiſtance; in the month of April he laid ſiege to Condĕ, and took it by ſtorm in four days; while the duke of Orleans inveſted Bouchain, he poſted himſelf to ſuch advantage as to hinder the confederates from relieving it, or fighting but under great difficulties; the prince of Orange, after ſurmounting a variety of obſtacles, came indeed in ſight of the French army; but his induſtry ſerved only to render him a ſpectator of the ſurrender of Bouchain; both armies ſtood in awe of each other, and were unwilling to hazard an action which might be attended with the moſt important conſequences. Satisfied with his new acquiſitions, and the glory he had gained, Lewis retired to Verſailles, and entruſted his army to the command of mareſchal Schomberg; on his departure William inveſted Maeſtricht, but Schomberg, who had taken Aire, immediately advanced to the relief of that place, and the prince was compelled reluctantly to retire.

During the various operations of the hoſtile armies, the language of peace had been reſumed, and a congreſs had been eſtabliſhed at Nimeguen under the mediation of the king of England; the Dutch loaded with debts, and haraſſed with taxes, were deſirous of putting an end to the war. But gratitude to their allies, the emperor and the king of Spain, induced them to try the conſequences of another campain; and the prince of Orange, urged by motives of honour, of ambition, and of animoſity againſt France, endeavoured to keep them ſteady to this reſolution.

Lewis was alſo ſincerely deſirous of peace; his kingdom was exhauſted by the violent efforts that ſhe had made; but the monarch was conſcious that a good treaty could only be attained by a vigorous war. In February he laid ſiege to Valenciennes, and carried it by ſtorm; he next inveſted Cambray and St. Omer. The prince of Orange advanced to the relief of the latter place, and was encountered by the French, commanded by the duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, and mareſchal Luxemburg. The former concealed beneath the effeminate manners of a woman, a courage moſt ardent, and the latter had been the conſtant friend and pupil of the great Condé. By a maſterly movement of that general, William was defeated, and compelled to ſeek ſhelter under the walls of Ypres; but Lewis, jealous of his brother's fame, who had ſought glory in the thickeſt ranks of the

enemy, liſtened to the victory with ſmall ſigns of external ſatisfaction, and never afterwards entruſted the duke with the chief command. Cambray and Saint Omer ſoon ſurrendered, and cloſed the operations of the campaign.

A. D. 1678.] Negociations for peace were ſtill continued, and Charles of England having beſtowed the hand of his niece on the prince of Orange, ſeemed ſincerely deſirous of acquieſcing in the wiſhes of his people, and of protecting the provinces. The king of France had taken the field with his uſual readineſs, and had reduced Ypres and Ghent, and the army under Luxembourg had inveſted Mons, when Van Beverning, the Dutch ambaſſador, alarmed at his progreſs, and conſcious of the unſteady councils of England, at Nimeguen ſigned the treaty of peace with the miniſters of France; by this treaty Lewis ſecured the poſſeſſion of Franche Comté, together with Cambray, Aire, Saint Omer, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchain, Caſſel, &c. and agreed to reſtore to Spain only Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Athe, Ghent, and Leonbourgh; while in the north, his ally the king of Sweden was reinſtated in thoſe dominions of which he had been ſtripped by the joint forces of Denmark and Germany.

The king of Spain and the emperor reluctantly and ſucceſſively ſubſcribed to theſe hard conditions; which were conſidered by the prince of Orange with equal diſguſt. The day after they were ſigned he attacked, near Mons, and gained ſome advantage over Luxembourg, who reſted ſecure on the faith of the treaty, and concluded the war finiſhed; William had alſo reaſon to believe the peace was ſigned, though not formally notified; and he wantonly ſacrificed the lives of many brave men on both ſides, who fell in this ſharp and well-conteſted action.

A. D. 1679, 1683.] The tempeſt of war which had ſo long agitated Europe, was ſucceeded by four years of peace. Lewis, whoſe reſtleſs ambition was ever awake, diligently employed each moment in preparations for future conqueſts; even the treaty that he had ſo lately ſigned at Nimeguen could not ſuſpend his inſatiate thirſt for dominion; by treachery he poſſeſſed himſelf of the imperial city of Straſburgh; he purchaſed Caſal of the duke of Mantua, and diſpoſſeſſed the elector Palatine and the elector of Treves of the lordſhips of Falkemburg, Germaſheim, and Valdentz. Ports and harbours were conſtructed at Breſt and Toulon; the docks were filled with ſhips of war, the army was augmented, and the magazines repleniſhed; while the people, enriched by arts and commerce, willingly ſubmitted to new impoſts, and cheerfully acquieſced under their burthens.

A. D. 1684, 1686.] The death of the queen was an event but little regarded by Lewis, who already felt that paſſion for madame de Maintenon, which accompanied him through the reſt of his life; he was doubtleſs impreſſed with more real concern at the loſs of Colbert, whoſe ſkill and integrity as a financier had greatly contributed to his conqueſts; that miniſter expired when the ambition of the king had juſt rekindled the flame of war; on pretences the moſt frivolous, Lewis had demanded Aloſt of the Spaniards, and on their refuſal had ſeized on Luxemburgh; the indignation of Spain had compelled her to an open declaration

of war againſt her haughty enemy; but her own weakneſs, and the ſituation of the other powers of Europe, compelled her to ſign at Ratiſbon a truce for twenty years, which left Lewis in the peaceable poſſeſſion of Luxemburgh.

With equal injuſtice that monarch had bombarded Genoa, and reduced the republic to ſue for peace in the moſt abject manner, for having ſtipulated to build ſome gallies for the Spaniards; but greater glory accompanied the expedition againſt Algiers, and thoſe licentious rovers, after beholding the greateſt part of their city reduced to aſhes, ſubmitted to releaſe ſeveral hundreds of chriſtian captives. Yet vanity or intereſt were the ſole motives that actuated the ſovereign of France; and while he braved the ſpiritual cenſures of the Roman pontiff, and ſtripped that ſee of Avignon, he revoked the edicts of Nantz, revived the perſecutions againſt the Proteſtants, and drove by his miſtaken policy into exile above five hundred thouſand of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious inhabitants of France.

Lewis diſcovered too late that the characters of a conquerer and perſecutor are incompitable; beſides weakening his own kingdom by the baniſhment of myriads, the melancholy fate of the refugees had inflamed againſt him all the Proteſtant nations of Europe. The prince of Orange, who well knew how to avail himſelf of the general indignation, had by his intrigues and influence formed a league at Augſburg, where the whole empire united in its defence againſt the French monarch; Spain and Holland became parties in the ſame alliance; the acceſſion of Savoy was afterwards obtained; Sweden and Denmark ſeemed to favour the ſame cauſe.

A. D. 1688.] The knowledge of this league had not eſcaped the vigilance of the king of France; and to anticipate the deſigns of the confederates, he had invaded the empire, and laid ſiege to Philipſburg; but his intention was engroſſed by the affairs of England, which every day more plainly appointed to a new revolution. Charles the Second had expired at variance with his parliament, and deſpiſed by his people. His brother the duke of York, as James the Second, ſucceeded to the throne; the misfortunes of his father ſerved not to reſtrain the raſh zeal and blind obedience of that prince for the church of Rome. He openly violated the laws of his country, he endeavoured to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed religion, and compelled his ſubjects to ſeek their ſafety in revolt, and to call to their protection the prince of Orange.

William, who had married the daughter of that monarch whom he was ſummoned to oppoſe, liſtened with pleaſure to ſolicitations which were at once enforced by policy and religion; he diligently collected a formidable fleet, levied additional troops, and raiſed conſiderable ſums of money; but Lewis's envoy at the Hague penetrated into the real obect of his preparations, and informed his maſter of his diſcovery. The king of France immediately conveyed the intelligence to James; and at the ſame time he offered to reinfore the Engliſh fleet with a French ſquadron, to ſend over any number of troops, or to march into the Netherlands and engage the Dutch in the defence of their own country; but

theſe propoſals were rejected by the king of England, who dreaded to increaſe the diſaffection of his ſubjects by ſo unpopular an alliance.

At length the prince of Orange ſet ſail, and after encountering a violant tempeſt at ſea, landed at Torbay on the coaſt of Devonſhire; he was joined by the principal nobility of the iſland, and the integrity of his enterpriſe was fortified by the appearance of the princeſs Anne, the other daughter of James; that unfortunate prince, deſerted by his ſubjects, his favourites, and his children, yielded to the torrent, abdicated the throne, and ſought ſhelter with his infant ſon and queen in France; Lewis received the royal fugitives with every mark of reſpect and aſſurance of ſupport; while the gratitude of the Engliſh placed their crown on the head of the prince of Orange; and that monarch, as William the Third, prepared to aſſert his own dignity, and to vindicate the liberties of Europe.

A. D. 1688, 1689.] England and Holland, the two great maritime powers of Europe, the empire and Spain, with the greateſt part of Italy, were now united againſt France; but her monarch ſtill confided in his former fortune, and his enemies acknowledged his preparations were worthy of the important conteſt. Philipſburg was taken; Monheim, Frankendal, Spires, Worms, and Oppenheim, ſurrendered; and the fruitful country of the palatinate was, at the unrelenting voice of Lewis, conſigned to deſtruction; her towns were reduced to aſhes, her fertile fields became a deſeret, and the wretched people, driven from their habitations by the fury of the flames and the brutality of the ſoldiers, were left to periſh by famine and the inclemency of the ſeaſon; ſuch were the means by which the king of France endeavoured to intimidate his enemies and protect his frontier; yet the former were rather exaſperated than vanquiſhed; and the imperial armies, under the duke of Lorrain, reſumed their courage, and covered the important cities of Bonn and Mentz.

A. D. 1689, 1690.] But the grand object of Lewis was to reſtore to his dominions the fugitive James; that unhappy prince had ſtill a ſtrong party in Ireland: and the friendſhip of France liberally furniſhed him with arms and ammunition of every kind; a conſiderable fleet was fitted out to ſecond his efforts, and in its courſe encountered the ſquadron of England and Holland in an indeciſive engagement; he was received into Limeric, and his firſt ſucceſs exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations; but his career was checked by the ſkill of the duke of Schomberg; and on the banks of the Boyne he was vanquiſhed by the ſuperior fortune and genius of William. James himſelf abandoned the day with a precipitation unworthy of the crown he aſpired to, and haſtily returned to France; while his ſucceſsful rival, by his valour and conduct, extorted the applauſe of his enemies, and eſtabliſhed his tottering throne; a deſultory war was maintained for ſome time after the flight of James, till Ireland gradually withdrew from the ſupport of a prince who had deſerted her, and ſubmitted to the authority of William.

In Flanders the mareſchal d'Humieres was defeated by the prince of Waldeck, and Lewis, to retrieve this diſaſter, again entruſted his forces in the Netherlands to the mareſchal duke of Luxemburg. In the plains of Fleurus, near Charleroi, that general avenged the injured glory of his country; the prince of Waldeck was defeated with the loſs of ſix thouſand killed and eight thouſand taken priſoners; yet the victor acknowledged the gallantry of the vanquiſhed—"Prince Waldeck," ſaid he, "ought always to remember the French cavalry, "and I ſhall never forget the Dutch infantry."

A. D. 1691.] In the enſuing campaign Lewis himſelf was preſent at the ſiege of Mons; and retired, after the ſurrender of that city to Verſailles; while William, who had haſtened from Ireland to oppoſe mareſchal Luxemburg, concluded the campaign finiſhed, and repaired to the Hague; the mareſchal embraced the moment of his abſence, and by a forced march ſurpriſed and routed the rear of the confederates commanded by the prince of Waldeck.

On the frontiers of Germany, and in Spain, a feeble and deſultory war was carried on with various ſucceſs; but in Piedmont, Victor Amedeus, duke of Savoy, a prince brave, penetrating, and active, was oppoſed by the mareſchal Catinat, who had relinquiſhed the early ſtudy of the law for the more glorious profeſſion of arms; and who amidſt camps cultivated the maxims of philoſophy. At Saluces he triumphed over the duke of Savoy in a bloody and obſtinate encounter; and the conqueror ſoon reduced to the authority of Lewis the greateſt part of Savoy and Piedmont.

A. D. 1692.] In two engagements the fleet of France had at leaſt maintained an equality with thoſe of England and Holland; and Lewis, ſtill anxious to reſtore the ſhattered fortunes of James, determined to hazard a general action, and, if victorious, to invade England. The hoſtile fleets met in the channel near Cape la Hogue, and Tourville, the French admiral, obeyed the orders of his ſovereign; but the ſuperior numbers of the confederates ſoon decided the fate of the day. The French admiral's own ſhip, with twenty more of the largeſt veſſels of his fleet, were deſtroyed by the fire of the victors; and James, with a ſigh of deſpair, beheld from a neighbouring eminence, the gloomy flame which for ever blaſted the fond expectations he had nouriſhed.

A. D. 1693.] But on land Lewis ſtill maintained his ſuperiority; Namur, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs of the Netherlands, was reduced even in the ſight of William—and though the activity and vigilance of that monarch ſurpriſed the French camp at Steenkirk, yet the battle was reſtored by the abilities of Luxemburg, and the kindred valour of the princes of the blood; and the king of England, after the moſt daring efforts, was indignantly compelled to give the ſignal of retreat. The next year he ſtill experienced a more deciſive defeat, at Landen the army of the confederates was broken with the loſs of eight thouſand men; Huy and Charleroi were the prey of the victors; while Lewis repaired by

induſtry his late diſaſters at ſea, and once more diſputed the ſovereignty of that element.

A. D. 1694, 1695.] Huy was recovered in the enſuing campaign by William—and Luxemburgh, who had ſo often triumphed over that monarch, ſoon after found from diſeaſe that death which he had in vain courted in fields of battle; the duke of Savoy eluded the vigilance of Catinat, penetrated into Dauphiné, and retaliated the miſeries of the palatinate—While France appeared the object of envy to neighbouring ſtates, her diſtreſs each day encreaſed with the number of her victories; her provinces were depopulated to recruit her fleet and armies; the ravages of war were attended by thoſe of famine; and amidſt his glories the monarch has been heard frequently to ſigh for peace. The king of England, animated by the death of Luxemburgh, had inveſted Namur—and though that city was obſtinately defended by the mareſchal Boufflers, it was obliged to capitulate in the ſight of the French army commanded by Villeroi, who could only gratify his reſentment by the unprofitable bombardment of Bruſſels.

A. D. 1696.] To diminiſh the numbers of his enemies, the king of France opened a negociation with the duke of Savoy—and Amadeus was eaſily induced to prefer his intereſt to the faith he had pledged his allies. He received again his dominions with four millions of livres to repair the damages they had ſuſtained; Lewis at the ſame time engaged to him his conſtant protection, and promiſed his ſecond ſon, the duke of Burgundy, to the princeſs of Savoy—Though this treaty ſecured France on the ſide of Italy, yet her coaſts were continually alarmed and afflicted by the deſcents of the Engliſh, and Lewis beheld with concern that people again reſume their naval ſuperiority.

A. D. 1697.] In Flanders the mareſchal Catinat reduced Athe—in Spain the duke of Vendoſme, grandſon to Henry the Fourth, gained a glorious victory; he inveſted Barcelona, and the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, who defended that city with a garriſon of ten thouſand men, was, after a gallant reſiſtance, compelled to capitulate; in America, Pointis, with a French ſquadron, ſurpriſed Carthagena; and the loſs ſuſtained by Spain in the plunder of that place was eſtimated at thirty millions of livres—on the other hand, Lewis in vain attempted to fix the crown of Poland on the head of the prince of Conti, who was conſtrained to abandon the field to his ſucceſsful competitor Auguſtus, elector of Saxony.

Each party at length ſincerely inclined to peace; the empire and Spain were weary of a war which had been attended only with misfortunes; the parliament of England had long murmured at the heavy and encreaſing expence; and Holland, though more devoted to the inclinations of William, regretted her trade intercepted, and her moſt fruitful provinces laid waſte. Lewis himſelf could not be entirely indifferent to the tears and miſeries of his ſubjects; the rigour of the ſeaſon had combined with the rage of the enemy, and the kingdom,

lately ſo fertile, preſented to the eye a dreary and barren proſpect. Under theſe circumſtances, the mediation of Charles the Eleventh, king of Sweden, was accepted; and the caſtle of Ryſwick, near the Hague, was fixed upon as the ſcene of negociation.

The king of France reſtored to the Spaniards all thoſe places that he had taken from them, and the conqueſts that he had made in Flanders during the laſt war, as Luxemburgh, Mons, Athe, and Courtrai. He acknowledged William the Third as lawful king of England, whom he had hitherto treated as an uſurper. To the empire he relinquiſhed Fribourg, Briſac, Kheil, and Philipſbourg; and even ſubmitted to deſtroy the fortifications of Straſburg on the Rhine; Fort Lewis, and Traerbach, works on which the great Vauban had exhauſted his art, and the king his treaſure, Lorrain, Treves, and the Palatinate, were reſigned to their reſpective princes, and France, after a long and bloody war, in which her victories can only be numbered by her campaigns, conſented to a peace, which could ſcarce have been expected from her, if humbled by repeated defeats.

The miniſters who had ſigned the treaty, on their return to the capital were purſued with reproach and ridicule; they were execrated as traitors to their country by the unthinking multitude, who had lately clamoured againſt the proſecution of the war; the policy and judgement of Lewis were generally arraigned; but that monarch, in the late negociation, harboured a deſign beyond the views of the vulgar; the health of Charles the Second of Spain daily declined; and the king of France revolved in ſecret his pretenſions to that ſucceſſion, which by the treaty of the Pyrenees he had ſolemnly renounced.

The dawning luſtre of Lewis had been obſcured by the power and aſcendancy of his imperious miniſter; on the death of Mazarin, he emerged from that abject ſtate of vaſſalage, and awed and aſtoniſhed Europe by the blaze of his meridian glory, but a dark cloud hung over his ſetting ſun; and he ſurvived to behold, in the evening of life, the deſertion of his allies and the triumph of his enemies; his cities raſed, his people ſlaughtered, and his children prematurely buried in the grave.

A. D. 1698.] The peace of Ryſwick was ſucceeded by new negociations; the pretenſions of the king of France to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion were not veiled from the penetrating eye of William the Third; Lewis, ſenſible that the emperor urged the ſame claims of conſanguinity, though priority of birth fortified the houſe of Bourbon, and conſcious from late experience that his own ſtrength was not able to contend with the united power of Europe, opened by his miniſter a new project to the king of England. William entered into it with alacrity; and the celebrated treaty of partition was concluded, which divided the dominions of Spain during the life of her ſovereign. To the young prince of Bavaria were aſſigned Spain and the Eaſt-Indies; to the dauphin, ſon of Lewis the Fourteenth, Naples, Sicily, and the province of Guipuſcoa; and to

the archduke Charles, the ſecond ſon of the emperor Leopold, only the duchy of Milan.

A. D. 1699, 1700.] Even the feeble and languid ſoul of Charles was arouſed by this daring inſult; he heard with indignation in what manner his monarchy had been diſtributed; and to preſerve it entire he ſigned his will, and bequeathed the whole of his ample dominions to the prince of Bavaria; the ſudden death of that prince not only diſconcerted the deſigns of Charles, but even thoſe of Lewis and William; the two latter monarchs ſigned, however, a new treaty of partition, by which Spain and the Eaſt-Indies were transferred to the archduke Charles, and Milan to the duke of Lorrain. To this treaty the emperor Leopold, who flattered himſelf with the hope of the whole ſucceſſion, refuſed to accede.

A. D. 1700.] But it was only the dread of alarming the united fears of Europe, which had prevailed on Lewis to ſubſcribe conditions ſo inadequate to his inſatiate ambition; he ſtill waited in anxious ſuſpence the death of Charles, and the bed of that expiring monarch was beſieged by the intrigues and factions of the rival houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon; but the intractable haughtineſs of the former had diſguſted the miniſters of Spain; and they prevailed on their monarch to ſign a new will, which blaſted the hopes of Leopold, and preſerved the Spaniſh monarchy entire; expreſſing his indignation at the late injurious conduct of Lewis, Charles bequeathed his dominions to Philip duke of Anjou, grandſon to the king of France, and ſoon after expired.

The treaty of partition augmented the power and dominions of France; the will of Charles aggrandiſed the houſe of Bourbon; Lewis preferred the elevation of his family to the intereſts of the ſtate, and accepted for his grandſon the royal fortune that was bequeathed him; at the ſame time he endeavoured to juſtify to his allies the infraction of the partition treaty, by obſerving that he had only departed from the words, and ſtill adhered to the ſpirit of it, which was to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe.

But none felt their diſappointment more deeply than the emperor Leopold, and William king of England. The former beheld Spain, and her dependencies, for ever ſeparated from the houſe of Auſtria; yet his weakneſs confined him to ineffectual remonſtrances; the latter, though ſecure of the affection of the united provinces, was regarded with jealouſy by the Engliſh parliament; and he found that people averſe to encreaſe their debt, and ſacrifice their trade, to gratify his enmity to Lewis by a new war, in which they conſidered themſelves but little intereſted.

Philip the Fifth was formally acknowledged by the king of England and the ſtates of Holland; he was ſupported by the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Savoy, and from Gibraltar to Antwerp, and from the Danube to Naples, Lewis beheld the power and influence of the houſe of Bourbon extended; he was elated with the boundleſs proſpect before him, and his preſumption precipitated him into two errors, the ſource of all his future calamities.

A. D. 1701.] While Leopold ſtill heſitated whether to acknowledge or oppoſe the elevation of Philip the Fifth, he was arouſed by a new proof of the inſatiate diſpoſition of Lewis. That monarch prevailed on the duke of Mantua to admit a garriſon into his capital, and all Italy trembled for her liberties; the emperor immediately prepared to aſſert the freedom of Europe by the ſword; his army was entruſted to the command of prince Eugene, ſon to the count of Soiſſons. This general, who afterwards became ſo dangerous an adverſary to Lewis the Fourteenth, had aſpired to military honours in his native country; but his requeſt of a regiment had been rejected by the king, and the indignant prince for ever renounced the ſervice of France, and ſought glory under the imperial ſtandard; his reſentment was the ſubject of deriſion at Paris, but he ſoon diſtinguiſhed his martial genius in ſucceſſive victories againſt the Turks, and was now ſummoned to avenge the wrongs of Italy and his own inſults. He entered that country with thirty thouſand men, and full powers to act according to his own diſcretion; he forced the poſt of Carpi; reduced mareſchal Catinat to act upon the defenſive; and overwhelmed the country between the Adige and the Adda; Villeroi, the favourite of Lewis, was ſent to aſſume the command over Catinat, and diſguſted by his arrogance the duke of Savoy; he compelled his reluctant colleagues to attack prince Eugene; in the ſtrong poſt of Chiari, on the banks of the Oglio, his temerity was chaſtiſed by a ſevere and bloody defeat; and five thouſand of the braveſt troops of France periſhed on that diſaſtrous day.

While the flames of war were kindled in Italy, James, the abdicated monarch of England, cloſed at Saint Germain's his unfortunate and inglorious life. The tears and importunities of madame de Maintenon prevailed over the counſels of his moſt experienced miniſters, and Lewis, though he had acknowledged William's title by the peace of Ryſwick, now proclaimed the ſon of the deceaſed prince as James the Third. The enmity of William was ſtimulated by this wanton inſult; England, that had hitherto regarded war with averſion, partook in the indignation of her ſovereign, and prepared to vindicate by arms her own choice. The diſcernment of William improved the honourable enthuſiaſm; he concerted the triple alliance between the empire, the united provinces, and England, and haſtened, by his preſence and diligence, their formidable preparations.

A. D. 1702.] But theſe inceſſant efforts exhauſted a frame naturally weak and delicate; a fall from his horſe quickened the progreſs of diſeaſe, and in the fifty-ſecond year of his age he yielded up his throne and life. The former was immediately filled by Anne, the daughter of the unfortunate James, and who had married the prince of Denmark; and the new queen diſpatched the earl of Marlborough to the Hague, to aſſure her allies that ſhe would adopt and ſupport the engagements of her predeceſſor.

That nobleman was ſoon after appointed to the command of the allied army, and diſplayed that military ſkill which he acquired under the mareſchal Turenne; Boufflers, to whom Lewis had entruſted his grandſon the duke of Burgundy to

train to war, was confounded by the rapid and complicated movements of his adverſary. He evacuated Guelderland, retired under the walls of Liege, and finally ſought ſhelter in Brabant; while Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, were ſucceſſively reduced by Marlborough.

In Italy, prince Eugene, by a daring and well-concerted march, had ſurpriſed Cremona, and taken mareſchal Villeroi priſoner; after an obſtinate conflict he was expelled again the town, ſuffered ſome loſs at Santa Vittoria, and in the battle of Luzara was encountered by the duke of Vendoſme; that prince, in whom martial activity and indolence were wonderfully blended, was diſtinguiſhed by talents worthy the grandſon of Henry the Fourth; and though in the battle of Luzara the loſs on both ſides was nearly equal, yet Vendoſme claimed the advantage, and maintained it by the reduction of Luzara and Guaſtalla.

On the banks of the Rhine a more deciſive victory was obtained over prince Lewis of Baden by the mareſchal Villars; and ſoon after in the plains of Hochſtet, in concert with the elector of Bavaria, he charged and routed the imperial general count Styrum; three thouſand of the imperialiſts were left dead on the field, four thouſand were taken priſoners with their cannon and baggage; while mareſchal Tallard, near Spires, engaged and defeated the prince of Heſſe.

In the midſt of this ſucceſs France was alarmed by the deſertion of the duke of Savoy, who obtained from the emperor the promiſe of Montferrat, Mantua, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the Tanaro. At the ſame time the enemies of the houſe of Bourbon were increaſed by the declaration of Peter the Second of Portugal, who acknowledged the archduke Charles as ſovereign of Spain.

A. D. 1703, 1704.] The duke of Marlborough, with increaſe of dignity and the applauſe of his country, had returned to Flanders, poſſeſſed himſelf of Bonn, the reſidence of the elector of Cologn, retaken Huy and Limbourg, and made himſelf maſter of the Lower Rhine; mareſchal Villeroi, redeemed from captivity, in vain endeavoured to check his progreſs, and was ſoon after deceived by his maſterly addreſs. To ſuccour the emperor, oppreſſed by the joint forces of France and the elector of Bavaria, Marlborough rapidly marched into the heart of Germany, and traverſing the Rhine, the Maine, and the Necker, was met at Mindelſheim by prince Eugene, who had quitted Italy, to aſſume the command of the imperialiſts on the banks of the Danube.

Villars had been recalled to wage an inglorious war in the mountains of the Cevennes againſt the unhappy Proteſtants, whom the perſecution of Lewis had forced into revolt, and the glory of France was entruſted to mareſchal Tallard: the lines of the elector of Bavaria, near Donawert, had been forced by Marlborough with conſiderable loſs; but the appearance of Tallard inſpired that prince with freſh confidence; it was determined to riſk the fate of the war on a deciſive battle, and the French and Bavarians with ſuperior numbers advanced to attack the confederates, who effected a junction with the prince of Baden; but the

plains of Hochſtet, which had ſo lately witneſſed the triumph of Villars, were rendered memorable by the defeat of Tallard. That general was vanquiſhed by the ſuperior ſkill of his adverſary; he himſelf was taken priſoner, with fourteen thouſand of the braveſt troops of France; twelve thouſand periſhed by the ſword, or were precipitated into the rapid ſtream of the Danube; and of an army of ſixty thouſand men, ſcarce twenty thouſand could be collected from its broken remains.

A. D. 1704, 1705.] The battle of Hochſtet, better known in England by the name of Blenheim, expoſed to the ravages of the victors the electorate of Bavaria; and Lewis once more ſummoned the mareſchal Villars to the ſcene of his former glory; an accommodation had reſtored the inhabitants of the Cevennes to their allegiance; and the conduct of Villars proved him an adverſary worthy of Marlborough. He occupied a ſtrong camp, remained on the defenſive, and by his prudent meaſures compelled the duke to relinquiſh his deſign of penetrating into France by the courſe of the Moſelle.

The ſtates, anxious for their frontier, ſoon prevailed on the duke of Marlborough to return to Flanders; and Villeroi, who had taken Huy, and was preparing to beſiege Liege, abandoned the enterpriſe on the intelligence of his approach. Huy was again compelled to ſurrender to the confederates; and the lines of Villeroi were immediately after forced. That general croſſed the Geete and Dyle with precipitation; but the ſtrong ground he judiciouſly occupied prevented the allies from improving their advantage, and he ſhortly after reſtored his reputation by the reduction of Dieſt.

The numerous armies of the empire on the banks of the Rhine were baffled by the ſkill of Villars; and in Italy the duke of Vendoſme inceſſantly preſſed prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, fought the bloody but indeciſive battle of Caſſano, gained that of Caſſinato, and even menaced Turin with the horrors of a ſiege. But in Spain, the allies, who had proclaimed the archduke Charles, king, obtained the moſt rapid and ſplendid advantages; the earl of Peterborough poſſeſſed himſelf of Barcelona; all Catalonia ranged itſelf under the banners of the houſe of Auſtria; while Gibraltar, which the year before had been wreſted by the Engliſh from Philip, ſecure in her native ſtrength, defied the vain and feeble efforts of the mareſchal de Teſſe.

Lewis had reaped ſome ſatisfaction from the gallantry of his natural ſon, the count of Toulouſe, who, with the French fleet, engaged, with honour and without loſs, that of England—But this was the laſt effort of marine greatneſs; the numerous enterpriſes of the king had exhauſted his treaſures, and his navy was gradually ſuffered to ſink into that ſtate of inſignificance from whence he had raiſed it. Even the death of the emperor abated not the ardour of the confederates, and his ſon Joſeph ſucceeded to his throne and deſigns.

A. D. 1706.] The campaign in Flanders opened with events the moſt diſaſtrous. The command there was ſtill entruſted to the mareſchal Villeroi; and

that general, impatient of glory, yet unendowed with talents to acquire it, rejected the advice of his officers, and determined to hazard a decisive engagement against the allies. Near the village of Ramillies, France was vanquished by the injudicious disposition of her own, and the consummate skill of the English commander. In the action and pursuit twenty thousand men were slaughtered or taken prisoners; Antwerp, Brussels, Ostend, Menin, and the greatest part of Spanish Flanders were the prey of the victor; the court of Lewis was filled with consternation; but the monarch himself still preserved his magnanimity; instead of reproaching, he endeavoured to console the unfortunate Villeroi, and to his expressions of concern, replied, "People at our time of life, monsieur "mareschal, are not fortunate."

The flattering prospect in Italy still promised to repair the disasters of Flanders; Turin there was invested by mareschal Feuillade; and the siege was covered by the duke of Orleans, the nephew of Lewis, but whose authority was controlled by the superior but secret powers of mareschal Marsin. The city was already reduced to the last distress, when the besiegers were alarmed by the rapid approach of prince Eugene. In a long and painful march that celebrated commander had pierced the most difficult defiles, had traversed the rapid streams of the Adige and the Po, and effecting a junction with the duke of Savoy, now pressed forwards to the relief of the desponding capital. The duke of Orleans would have quitted his lines to have met and encountered the enemy; this bold but prudent proposal was over-ruled by mareschal Marsin; the French awaited the attack in their entrenchments; but their confidence was extinguished by the dissensions of their generals; prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy charged with rival ardour, and in less than two hours their efforts obtained a complete victory. The duke of Orleans was wounded; mareschal Marsin killed; the scattered remnant of the vanquished troops directed their hasty and trembling steps towards Pignerol; and by the fate of one day the duchies of Milan, Mantua, and Piedmont, with the kingdom of Naples, were torn from the house of Bourbon.

An advantage obtained by the French in Mantua over the prince of Hesse, could but ill compensate the disastrous battle of Turin. The courtiers of Lewis stood aghast at the intelligence, and madame de Maintenon alone ventured to inform him that all Italy was occupied by his enemies. His grandson Philip had been compelled to abandon precipitately the siege of Barcelona; Charles had entered in triumph, and been proclaimed in Madrid. But that prince suffered the moment of enterprise to elapse; and was in his turn reduced to evacuate the capital, and fly before the arms of the duke of Berwick, natural son to James the Second of England.

A. D. 1707.] Lewis, humbled by repeated defeate, sued in vain for peace; the allies elated by their victories, determined to pursue their advantages, and rejected his proposals—Yet the war in Flanders was continued this campaign with

little effect; the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French, remained upon the defenſive; and the duke of Marlborough was diſpatched into Saxony to penetrate into the intentions, and concilitate the friendſhip of Charles the Twelfth king of Sweden. That monarch, young and warlike, and ambitious of the fame of a conqueror, had already ſpread his renown through the north. He had preſcribed laws to Denmark: he had defeated the Muſcovites, a people ſcarce known in Europe, and juſt emerging from barbariſm; and had purſued with implacable enmity, Auguſtus king of Poland into his hereditary dominions of Saxony. The confederates trembled leſt he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt the empire; but Marlborough was equally ſucceſsful in the cabinet as the field; he gained the miniſters of Charles; and that monarch ſoon after repaſſed the Oder, and directed his march towards Muſcovy in ſearch of barren laurels.

In Spain the duke of Berwick triumphed at Almanza over the forces of the confederates, and reſtored the ſinking fortunes of Philip—In Germany mareſchal Villars paſſed the Rhine, preſſed the Imperialiſts, and even penetrated to the Danube—Yet he was prevented from improving his advantage by the recall of a conſiderable part of his army to the defence of France itſelf, which was now attacked within its limits. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had forced the paſſage of the river Var, advanced along the coaſt of Provence, and encamped under the walls of Toulon—But the tardy motions of the Germans, who were to have joined them, and the activity of France, compelled them to abandon the enterpriſe; and they retired, after having bombarded the town, and convinced Lewis that his native dominions were not invulnerable.

A. D. 1708.] The tranſient ſucceſs of the laſt campaign revived the ſpirits of the king of France; he determined to make one more exertion in favour of the exiled branch of Stuart—Seventy tranſports, with ſix thouſand troops, convoyed by eight men of war, ſailed from Dunkirk; but the coaſts of Britain were protected by her numerous fleet; the vigilance of her officers were already alarmed; the adherents of James were ſecured and diſarmed; and the French, after a fruitleſs attempt to land in Scotland, eſteemed themſelves happy in ſafely regaining Dunkirk.

Flanders at firſt promiſed a fairer harveſt; and the forces of France, commanded by Vendome, were animated by the preſence of the duke of Burgundy, eldeſt ſon of the dauphin. The inhabitants of Ghent and Bruges, corrupted by the gold of Lewis, opened their gates—But the hopes of the French were blaſted by the approach of Marlborough; on the banks of the Scheld they were attacked by that general, who had effected a junction with prince Eugene; the battle of Oudenarde was long obſtinate and bloody; night parted the combatants; the French were rather preſſed than vanquiſhed; but the troops of Lewis, from ſucceſſive defeats, had loſt all confidence, and they diſperſed under cover of the darkneſs; Liſle, defended by mareſchal Boufflers in perſon, and fortified by the conſummate ſkill of Vauban, was reduced by the confederates; Ghent

and Bruges were recovered; and the elector of Bavaria was compelled to retire from the walls of Bruſſels.

A. D. 1708, 1709.] In Spain, Germany and Italy, a feeble and languid war was carried on; in the former indeed the honourable attachment of the Caſtilians to Philip became every day more evident; but in the latter the duke of Savoy eluded the vigilance of Villars, and rendered himſelf maſter of Exilles, and Feneſtrelles; the Britiſh fleet reduced the iſlands of Sardinia and Minorca; and the difficulties of Lewis increaſed on every ſide. The taking of Liſle had opened a road to the very gates of Paris, that proud city was inſulted and alarmed by the predatory incurſions of the enemy; and a prince who had carried his arms a few years ago to the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, now doubted whether he could remain in his capital with ſafety. The deſpair of the nation was completed by the ſeverity of the winter; the olive trees throughout the ſouth of France were deſtroyed, the grain was cut off, and the proſpect of impending famine threw a deeper gloom over the calamities of war. Accuſtomed to proſperity, Lewis reluctantly bowed beneath his adverſe fortune, and inſtructed his miniſter Torcy to open at the Hague a negociation for peace.

A. D. 1709.] Bat though the king of France agreed to yield the whole Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, to cede Furnes, Ypres, Tournay, Liſle, &c. as a barrier to Holland, to own the title of queen Anne to the Britiſh throne, and to remove the pretender from France, yet theſe conceſſions appeared inſufficient, and the allies demanded that the king ſhould aſſiſt in driving his grandſon from the throne of Spain; Lewis rejected the ignominious condition with indignation, and added, "ſince I muſt make war, I had rather it was againſt my ene-"mies than my children."

The internal miſery of France ſerved to ſwell her forces, and the wretched huſbandman ſought in the profeſſion of arms, that ſubſiſtence which he could no longer extort from the earth. Mareſchal Villars was recalled from Italy to aſſume the command of an army formidable from its numbers and deſpair. In the neighbourhood of Malplaquet he diligently fortified a camp naturally ſtrong; Marlborough and Eugene, animated by the capture of Tournay, ruſhed to the attack. The battle was diſputed with an obſtinacy ſcarce to be equalled even in theſe ſanguinary annals; the allies were frequently repulſed, and as frequently returned to the charge; Villars himſelf was wounded, and Boufflers, who ſucceeded to the command, at length withdrew his troops from the unavailing conflict. Yet his retreat partook in nothing of flight; it was neither confuſed nor precipitate; eight thouſand of the French were indeed left dead on the ground, but the confederates purchaſed the honour of the field of battle at the expence of twenty thouſand men.

Mons ſoon after ſurrendered to the allies, and cloſed the campaign in Flanders. The efforts of the contending powers in Spain, Germany, and Italy, were ſtill feeble and inadequate; but in the north the king of Sweden, who had endeavor-

ed to penetrate into the heart of Ruſſia, was at Pultowa defeated by the ſovereign of that country, afterwards ſo celebrated as Peter the Great; the Swediſh army was entirely deſtroyed, and Charles, who had aſpired to rival the fame of Alexander, wounded and accompanied only by a few faithful guards, croſſed the Boryſthenes in a ſmall boat, and ſought ſhelter in the Ottoman dominions.

A. D. 1710.] The negociations for peace had been reſumed with as little ſucceſs as in the enſuing year. The allies took the field, and mareſchal Villars ſtudiouſly avoided a deciſive engagement. Douay, Bethune, Saint Venant, and Aire, were ſucceſſively reduced by the confederates; but theſe towns were long and obſtinately defended, and the beſiegers loſt by the ſword, by diſeaſe, and fatigue, above twenty-ſix thouſand men; diſabled by ſucceſs, and ſatisfied with their new acquiſitions, they withdrew into winter quarters.

Germany and Italy preſented nothing worthy of attention, but in Spain, the campaign that opened with events the moſt inauſpicious to the houſe of Bourbon, was cloſed with the moſt ſplendid and deciſive ſucceſs. In the battle of Almenaſa, the rival monarchs encountered each other with mutual rage, but Philip was compelled to yield to the ſuperior fortune of Charles. In the battle of Saragoſſa he ſuffered a ſecond and more bloody defeat; Madrid was again occupied by the confederates, and the ſituation of Philip appeared deſperate to his moſt ſanguine adherents. But he was raiſed from deſpondence by the courage and conduct of the duke of Vendome. His affability, frankneſs, and generoſity, conciliated the eſteem of every claſs of men; he again kindled the enthuſiaſm of the Caſtilians, aſſembled the troops ſcattered by the defeat of Saragoſſa, allured to his ſtandard the moſt gallant ſpirits of Spain, conducted the king in triumph to his capital, and purſued with vigour the aſtoniſhed and diſmayed enemy. At Brehuega general Stanhope, with five thouſand Engliſh, ſurrendered after a brave reſiſtance; at Villa Vicioſa Staremberg was defeated with the loſs of near ſix thouſand men; and though his retreat challenged the admiration of his adverſary, yet the progreſs of Vendome was rapid and uninterrupted, and Portugal in her turn was taught by the victors to experience the calamities of war.

A. D. 1711.] The ſucceſs of Philip in Spain could not alleviate the diſtreſs of France, though it might moderate the preſumtion of her enemies; that kingdom, totally exhauſted by her inceſſant efforts, preſented a ſcence of dreary deſolation; but the peace, which ſhe had in vain emplored by the moſt humiliating conceſſions, was now facilitated by two events as favourable as they were unexpected. Amidſt a glorious and ſucceſsful war, the queen of England was prevailed on to diſmiſs thoſe miniſters who had conducted it, and admit to her councils a new deſcription of men who had ſyſtematically laboured to oppoſe it. About the ſame time, in the vigour of his age, the emperor Joſeph expired; and his brother Charles, the competitor of Philip for Spain, was raiſed to the imperial throne.—The confederates had been arouſed to action by the dread of uniting in one hand the ſceptres of France and Spain; and they could not but regard with ſimilar

jealouſy, the latter kingdom added to the hereditary dominions of Charles, and the power that he derived from the imperial crown.

Though the female paſſions of his ſovereign had exiled his friends from her confidence, yet the reputation of Marlborough preſerved him from being involved in their immediate diſgrace; he again reſumed the command in Flanders; and mareſchal Villars, who was alſo again oppoſed to him, well acquainted with the ardent deſire of Lewis for peace, and conſcious that he conducted the laſt army the ſtate could furniſh, dexterouſly eluded every effort of the confederates to force him to a deciſive engagement. He had encamped behind the river Sanſet, and had fortified his lines with ſuch ſkill and diligence, as obtained for them the character of impenetrable. But he was deceived by the maſterly addreſs of Marlborough; he was compelled to abandon the works on which ſo much coſt and labour had been laviſhed, and had the mortification of beholding the allies inveſt and reduce the ſtrong and important fortreſs of Bouchain.

A. D. 1712.] This laſt entarpriſe of Marlborough cloſed the long and ſplendid ſeries of his martial exploits; he was recalled to England, and ſoon after, diſguſted at the aſcendancy of a party whoſe implacable enmity he was no ſtranger to, reſigned his command. His place was ſupplied by the duke of Ormond, equal to him alone in perſonal courage, and whoſe attachment to the new miniſtry was his principal recommendation. But while each power prepared with vigour for a ſecond campaign, negociations for peace were ſecretly carried on between the courts of Paris and London. Lewis entruſted this important and delicate concern to the knowledge and addreſs of Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen; certain preliminaries were, by his diligence and prudence, adjuſted; but before they could be reduced to form, the operations of war had been reſumed in Flanders.

Mareſchal Villars ſtill remained upon the defenſive, and ſuſtained the cautious part that he had acted in the preceding campaign; but prince Eugene inſulted and burnt the ſuburbs of Arras; and was no ſooner joined by the duke of Ormond, than he advanced towards the French, and propoſed to the duke to give battle; but the Engliſh general had received inſtructions not to hazard an eugagement, and the prince, diſappointed in his favourite object, inveſted Queſnoi. Before that town ſurrendered, a ceſſation of arms was proclaimed between France and Great Britain; the duke of Ormond, with the Britiſh troops, withdrew from the confederates, and directed his march towards Dunkirk, which was delivered by Lewis to the Engliſh as a pledge of his intentions to fulfil the preliminaries of peace which his envoy had ſigned.

Though deſerted by ſo important an ally, the army of prince Eugene was ſtill formidable. Mareſchal Villars beheld with indignation Qeſnoi taken in his ſight; and the confederates ſoon after inveſted Landreci. But prince Eugene is accuſed of errors on this occaſion, which did not eſcape the vigilance of his veteran antagoniſt. His lines were too much extended; his magazines at Marchiennes were

at too great a diſtance, and the earl of Albemarle, who was poſted between Denain and the prince's camp, was not near enough to be ſupported in caſe of an attack. Mareſchal Villars ordered his cavalry to advance within ſight of the camp of the prince, and while that quarter of the confederates prepared for action, he rapidly preſſed forwards with his infantry towards Denain, pierced the intrenchments of Albemarle, cut in pieces thoſe who reſiſted, forced the ſurvivors to ſeek their ſafety in flight, took that general himſelf priſoner, and ſlaughtered or diſperſed a body of fourteen thouſand men. Prince Eugene had marched in haſte to their ſupport, but before he could arrive the action was over. In endeavouring to wreſt from the French a bridge over the Scheld which they had occupied, he augmented his loſs; and was at laſt obliged to withdraw to his camp, after having witneſſed the defeat of his beſt troops.

All the poſts along the Scarpe, as far as Marchiennes, were ſwept away by the victors, and Marchiennes itſelf was ſoon after inveſted by Villars; though defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, ſuch was the ardour of the aſſailants, that it was compelled to ſurrender in three days; all the ammunition and proviſions that the enemy had laid up for the whole campaign, fell into the hands of the French; the confederates retired from the walls of Landreci; while Villars reduced Douay and Queſnoi, poſſeſſed himſelf in the latter of the military ſtores of the allies, and terminated the campaign by the reduction of the important town of Bouchain.

A. D. 1713.] The preliminaries which had been ſigned between the courts of Paris and London were ſucceeded by open conferences for peace at Utrecht; theſe were quickened by the brilliant and rapid ſucceſs of Villars—the emperor and ſome of the independent princes of Germany ſtill maintained an haughty and ſullen reſerve, and refuſed to ſheath the ſword. But Great-Britain, Holland, Pruſſia, Portugal, and Savoy, acquieſced in the terms propoſed, and ſigned ſeparate treaties of peace.

By theſe Philip the Fifth was acknowledged king of Spain, but at the ſame time he ſolemnly renounced all pretenſions to the crown of France—Lewis, for the other branches of the houſe of Bourbon, diſavowed all right to the future ſucceſſion of any part of the Spaniſh territories, and every precaution was taken to ſeparate for ever thoſe kindred thrones. The king of France conſented to guarantee the crown of Britain to the Proteſtant line of the houſe of Hanover, to demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, and to yield acroſs the Atlantic, Newfoundland, Hudſon's Bay, and Acadia—he promiſed to ſequeſter into the hands of Holland, for the houſe of Auſtria, all that France, or her allies, poſſeſſed in the Spaniſh Netherlands, at the concluſion of the treaty of Ryſwick—he conſented to allow the title of king of Pruſſia to the elector of Brandenburg, and to cede to him the town of Guelders, with part of the Spaniſh Guelderland; with Portugal, all places that had been taken on either ſide were mutually reſtored; to the duke of Savoy were given the iſland of Sicily, with the title of king; he was alſo ſecured in the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, in caſe of failure in the king

of Spain and his poſterity; and in exchange for the valley of Barcelonetta and its dependencies, he obtained the reſtitution of the duchy of Savoy, the county of Nice, and all the country along the Alps towards Piedmont.

By ſuch conceſſions Lewis diſarmed the rage of his moſt formidable enemies, and reſcued his kingdom from the deſtruction that impended over it; amidſt miſfortune and defeat, he eſtabliſhed his grandſon on the throne of Spain, whoſe pretenſions had firſt excited the hoſtile confederacy of Europe; and he was now left to turn his whole force againſt the emperor, who, deſerted and alone, ſtill nouriſhed the flames of war. From the Scheld mareſchal Villars rapidly directed his ſteps towards the Rhine; he made himſelf maſter of Spires and Worms, took Landau, pierced the lines which prince Eugene had ordered to be drawn from Briſgau, defeated Vauban, and laſtly, inveſted and reduced Friburg, the capital of Upper Auſtria.

His approach awakened Charles the Sixth from the deluſive idea that he had entertained of his own ſtrength, and he now panted for that repoſe which he ſo lately indignantly rejected. At Radſtadt, mareſchal Villars and the prince of Eugene, who had been ſo often oppoſed to each other in the field, were now oppoſed in the cabinet. Both diſplayed that frankneſs of character for which they were diſtinguiſhed; and deſpiſing the intrigues of courts, they ſoon adjuſted the different pretenſions of their ſovereigns. Lewis yielded to the emperor the fort of Keil, the city of Friburg, and old Briſac, with its dependencies; but he retained Straſbourgh and Landau, the ſovereignty of Alſace, and procured his allies, the electors of Cologn and Bavaria, to be reinſtated in their ranks and dominions.

The domeſtic miſery of Lewis had kept pace with the public calamities; that court, the ſplendour and magnificent entertainments of which had excited the envy and adminiſtration of Europe, had long been impreſſed with a deep and ſettled gloom. The paſſion of the king for madame de Maintenon, and the addreſs of that lady, who ſtill kept alive his hopes, without gratifying his deſires, had induced him to conſent to a private marriage; the art of ſurgery in Europe was yet feeble and crude; a fiſtula, with which the king was attacked, ſpread a general alarm; and though the operation was ſucceſsfully performed, yet he ever after led a more ſerious and retired life, and chiefly devoted his hours to the converſation of madame de Maintenon, whoſe influence increaſed with his years.

But it was while his mind was yet oppreſſed by a long and bloody war, invariably unfortunate, that he was doomed to experience the ſevereſt pangs of domeſtic affliction. The death of the king's only ſon, which happened this year; the duke of Burgundy, the ducheſs his wife, and their eldeſt ſon, all ſwept away within a few months, and laid in the ſame tomb; the only ſurviving child at the point of death; theſe private woes added to thoſe of the public, mark the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth as an æra of calamity; and a wretched people awaited in ſilence to

behold the former greatneſs and glory of their monarch extinguiſhed by the dark cloud of miſery which obſcured his ſetting ſun.

A. D. 1714.] From theſe gloomy apprehenſions they were relieved by the ſound of peace; but one mortification ſtill remained to embitter the laſt hours of the king of France. He had enlarged the canal of Mardyke, and formed an harbour there, which was thought already equal to that of Dunkirk. The earl of Stair, ambaſſador from England, remonſtrated againſt this evaſion of the treaty of Utrecht in the ſtrongeſt terms, and Lewis reluctantly conſented to diſcontinue the works.

The Catalans ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to the authority of Philip of Spain; bold and hardy, they flattered themſelves with the hopes of erecting a republic in that fruitful country; and Lewis, who during the latter part of the war, had not been able to ſupport his grandſon, now fitted out an armament for his aſſiſtance. A ſquadron of French ſhips blocked up the harbour, and mareſchal Berwick, with a conſiderable army, inveſted Barcelona by land. The inhabitants defended themſelves with a courage that was fortified by fanaticiſm; the prieſts and monks ran to arms, and mounted the trenches as if it had been a religious war; but the queen of England, faithful to the treaty ſhe had concluded, refuſed their ſupplications for aſſiſtance; the aſſailants at length penetrated into the town; and the beſieged, after having defended ſtreet after ſtreet, were overpowered by the number of their enemies; the clemency of Philip granted to them their lives and eſtates; but their important privileges were for ever aboliſhed; and the ſpirit of that daring people, who, as Tacitus happily expreſſes himſelf, "only ſeemed to live when engaged in "war," was finally broken.

A. D. 1715.] Queen Ann had expired in England, and the life of Lewis now alſo drew near its end. At the age of ſeventy-ſeven, that vanity and ambition which had agitated the years of manhood, were nearly extinguiſhed. He coldly liſtened to the ſolicitations of the unfortunate James, who aſpired to aſcend the throne of his ſiſter, already filled by the elector of Hanover. To the importunities of that prince he granted a ſmall ſupply of money, and a veſſel fitted out in the name of an individual; but while that enterpriſe hung in ſuſpence, Lewis himſelf was ſeized with a diſeaſe that brought him to the grave.

In his laſt hours he diſplayed a greatneſs of mind worthy of his elevated ſituation. "Why do you weep," ſaid he to his domeſtics, "did you think me "immortal?" The fortitude with which he beheld his end, was diveſted of that glare of oſtentation which had tinſelled the reſt of his life; he had the courage even to acknowledge his errors; and his advice to his infant ſucceſſor was to avoid that glory which he himſelf had ſought by war, and to conſider the happineſs of his people as the principal object of his government. To madame de Maintenon he left no fixed ſtipend, and contented himſelf with recommending her to the care of the duke of Orleans; ſhe immediately retired to St. Cyr, which had been founded at her perſuaſion for the education of young ladies of quality.

and demanded only a penſion of eighty thouſand livres; this was regularly paid her to her death, an event which took place in about four years afterwards.

The character of Lewis the Fourteenth, whoſe long and various reign was alternately the glory and misfortune of his ſubjects, has exerciſed the ingenuity of the moſt celebrated hiſtorians. The maſculine beauty of his perſon was embelliſhed with a noble air; the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with the higheſt affability and politeneſs; elegant without effeminacy, addicted to pleaſure without neglecting buſineſs, decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midſt of arbitrary power. But his qualities ſeemed rather thoſe that attract a momentary regard, than command a permanent eſteem! the talents, the fire of the ſtateſman and the hero were ſtill wanting; vanity rather prompted him to inſult, than ambition to enſlave his neighbours; though he frequently took the field, and reduced in perſon Franche Comté, and ſeveral of the ſtrongeſt towns of the Netherlands, yet his perſonal courage has not eſcaped imputation; and in repeated campaigns he never expoſed his life or reputation to the hazard of a battle. A purer praiſe attends the care with which he foſtered the arts and ſciences; though his own acquiſitions in literature were few and limited, yet he patroniſed the learned with a liberal hand; and the painter, the ſculptor, and the architect, were woke into life by the genial ray of his bounty.

LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH.

THE cares of government, which the tender years of Lewis the Fifteenth rendered him unable to aſſume, were devolved by the will of the deceaſed monarch on a council of regency, at the head of which was placed the duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood: but the duke received with diſguſt a diſpoſition, which inſtead of entruſting to him the ſole power, gave him only a caſting vote. He appealed from the injurious deciſion to the parliament of Paris; that aſſembly ſet aſide the teſtament of a king whom living they had feared and obeyed, and declared the duke of Orleans ſole regent.

The unfortunate James (from his empty claim to the throne of Great Britain, better afterwards known as the Pretender) had landed in Scotland, and had ex-

perienced in his reception the hereditary attachment of that country to the Houſe of Stuart: but the ardour of his undiſciplined followers was repulſed by the veteran troops of George the Firſt, who ſwayed the ſceptre of Britain. The pretender himſelf eſcaped from the inauſpicious coaſt, to hide his diſgrace in Commercy, in Lorrain; his unhappy adherents periſhed on the ſcaffold, or were driven into exile; and his future hopes were extinguiſhed by the friendſhip which the regent of France aſſiduouſly cultivated with the Houſe of Hanover.

A. D. 1715, 1716.] The duke of Orleans poſſeſſed courage, penetration, and an underſtanding improved by ſtudy: frank and eaſy in his manners, of all the deſcendants of Henry the Fourth he reſembled him the moſt; but his extravagant thirſt after novelty and pleaſure caſt a ſhade over his more ſplendid qualities; and his exceſſive attachment to the fair, impaired his conſtitution and diminiſhed his reputation. The early meaſures of his adminiſtration afforded to the people the moſt favourable impreſſions of his judgment, his equity and moderation. His gratitude reſtored to the parliament the right of remonſtrating againſt the edicts of the crown: he compelled thoſe who during the late reign had fattened on the miſeries of the people, to diſgorge their ill-gotten wealth; he re-peopled the cities that had been deſerted, and the lands that had been laid waſte by the ravages of war; he promoted commerce, rewarded agriculture, and diſpelled the jealouſy that Europe had entertained of the turbulent diſpoſition of France, by a cloſe alliance with Great Britain and the United Provinces.

A. D. 1716, 1717.] But that tranquillity which the pacific inclinations of the regent promiſed to maintain, was ſoon interrupted by the reſtleſs and intriguing genius of cardinal Alberoni, firſt miniſter of Spain. That ſtateſman, whoſe extravagant and chimerical projects alarmed and aſtoniſhed Europe, had re-eſtabliſhed in a few years the finances and troops of the Spaniſh monarchy; he now formed the deſign of recovering Sardinia from the emperor; of wreſting Sicily from the dukes of Savoy, to whom it had been aſſigned by the treaty of Utrecht; and of eſtabliſhing the Pretender on the throne of England. He negociated with the Ottoman Porte, the Czar, Peter the Great of Ruſſia, and Charles the Twelfth, king of Sweden. The Turks were to reſume the war againſt the emperor, which the courage and conduct of prince Eugene had lately compelled them to relinquiſh with diſgrace; the Ruſſians and Swedes were to invade Great Britain, reſtore the family of Stuart, and expel the Houſe of Hanover.

But the project of Alberoni was ſtill incomplete as long as the duke of Orleans retained the regency of France. His intrigues ſoon penetrated into the very capital of that kingdom; he kindled an inſurrection in Brittany; introduced in diſguiſe ſmall parties of troops to the ſupport of the inſurgents; and excited thoſe who envied the fortune, to oppoſe the authority and ſeize the perſon of the regent. But the vigilance of the duke of Orleans detected the conſpiracy; the partiſans of Alberoni ſuffered on the ſcaffold; the king of Sweden, on whom he principally depended, loſt his life in Norway; the Czar was occupied in the in-

ternal regulation of his dominions; the Turks refuſed to enter into new wars; and the ambitious cardinal ſaw at once the emperor, the regent of France, and the king of Great Britain united againſt him.

Yet this powerful combination did not entirely baffle the extentive ſchemes of Alberoni; the fleet he had fitted out, ravaged, and reduced the iſland of Sardinia to the ſubjection of Spain: from thence it directed its courſe towards Sicily; ſucceſsfully landed the forces of Philip; and the banners of that monarch were ſoon diſplayed from ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable towns. But while the Spaniards urged the ſiege of Meſſina, they were ſurpriſed by the appearance of a Britiſh ſquadron. The fleet of Spain was defeated after a feeble reſiſtance; and the remnant that eſcaped the purſuit of the victors, abandoned the hopeleſs enterpriſe on Sicily, and ſought ſhelter in their own harbours.

The duke of Orleans had declared war againſt Spain in concert with the Engliſh; and the firſt hoſtile operations commenced by Lewis the Fifteenth were againſt his uncle, whom Lewis the Fourteenth had, at the expence of ſo much blood, eſtabliſhed on his throne. The forces of France were entruſted to the mareſchal duke of Berwick, whoſe victories had formerly contributed to place the ſceptre in the hands of Philip; he ſucceſſively inveſted and reduced Fonterabia and St. Sebaſtian in the province of Biſcay; and Spain, overwhelmed with diſaſters both by ſea and land, conſented to ſue for peace. The conditions were dictated by the regent of France: he inſiſted that Philip ſhould diſmiſs his miniſter; and Alberoni was delivered to the French troops, and conducted to the frontiers of Italy, having only obtained by his ſplendid deſigns the character of a raſh and inconſiderate projector. Fonterabia and St. Sebaſtian were reſtored to Spain; but Sicily was transferred to the emperor Charles and the dukes of Savoy, in exchange, acquired Sardinia, and with the title of king have poſſeſſed that iſland ever ſince.

To cement the kindred thrones of France and Spain, the duke of Orleans projected a double marriage. His own daughter, Mademoiſelle Montpenſier was united to Don Lewis, prince of the Auſtrias; and the infanta of Spain was betrothed to her couſin the king of France. The ties of blood but ſeldom bind ambitious princes; but the late rupture betwen the two courts had reciprocally opened their eyes to their real intereſts, and the houſe of Bourbon was convinced that by unanimity alone it could reſiſt its common enemies.

A. D. 1716, 1718.] That ſpirit of enterpriſe which could no longer be diſplayed in war, was now diverted to the internal regulations of the ſtate. A Scotchman named John Law, who had been obliged to fly from England for murder, had formed the plan of a company that might pay off the debts of a nation by notes, and reimburſe itſelf by its profits. This needy adventurer had wandered through Europe, and endeavoured to excite the attention of various courts. He firſt opened his project to victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, and who afterwards acquired the title of king of Sardinia; but that prince rejected

the propoſal, with the reply, "that he was not rich enough to ruin himſelf." It was received with more favourable prepoſſeſſions in France; every circumſtance of public affairs contributed to recommend it; a debt of two hundred millions oppreſſed the ſtate; no common reſources appeared equal to the enormous burthen; and the inclinations of the people, ever prone to novelty, were ſeconded by the diſpoſition of the regent.

The bank at firſt iſſued their notes with caution; but the credit with which they were attended, ſoon increaſed the amount; its connection with the Miſſiſippi, a trading company, from which great advantages were expected, allured the public with the hopes of extraordinary gain. It now aſpired to grander objects; was declared the bank of the king; embraced the management of the trade to Senegal; acquired the privileges which the celebrated Colbert had granted to the old Eaſt-India Company; and finally, engroſſed the farming of the national taxes.

A. D. 1719, 1720.] But this plan, which, if confined in proper bounds, might have been attended with the moſt ſalutary effects, ſoon burſt the limits that had been propoſed; and ſweeping before it the feeble barriers of policy and diſcretion, overwhelmed the nation in its rapid courſe. Thouſands daily crowded to exchange their gold for bills; and the fluctuation of the ſtock afforded an opportunity to obſcure individuals to acquire immenſe fortunes. The notes circulated exceeded fourſcore times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom. At length the deluſion was diſpelled: the baſis of the fabric was credit; and the moment a doubt prevailed, the whole edifice fell to the ground. By drawing upon it for conſiderable ſums, the late financiers and great bankers exhauſted the royal bank; every one was now as eager to convert their notes into money, as they were lately to convert their money into notes; but the diſproportion was enormous; the arrets of the regent, inſtead of reſtoring confidence to the people, extinguiſhed it; and the ſame year that gave birth to the company's actions, beheld them return to their primitive nothing.

Law himſelf, the author of this fatal project, who had been raiſed from a mere adventurer to a lord, and from a banker to a miniſter of ſtate, was the ſame year loaded with the public execration, obliged to fly the country he had attempted to enrich, and had entirely ruined. He went off in a poſt-chaiſe that was lent him by the duke of Bourbon-Condé with only two thouſand louis d'ors, the ſcanty remnant of his tranſitory opulence; ſubſiſted ſome time in London on the liberality of a French nobleman; and died at Venice in a ſtate little removed from indigence.

It was not France alone that was afflicted by the credulous avarice of her people; in London, in Amſterdam, and Rotterdam, the ſame ſpirit of ſpeculation prevailed. The Engliſh entered with ſimilar ardour into the viſionary hopes of the South Sea Company, and experienced a ſimilar diſappointment. Thoſe ſhares which had been eagerly ſought after at the price of one thouſand pounds ſterling, were in the courſe of the ſame month ſold for one hundred and fifty; and ſo extenſive had the infatuation ſpread, that Europe trembled at the proſpect of a general bankruptcy.

A. D. 1720, 1721.] The attention of the regent was engroſſed in aſſuaging the diſtraction which the project of Law had excited. An account and valuation were taken of the private fortunes of individuals; and this laborious work was planned, digeſted, and conducted by four brothers of the name of Paris, who had never before any connection with public affairs, but whoſe genius and application deſerved to be entruſted with the wealth of the nation. They eſtabliſhed a ſufficient number of offices for the maſters of requeſts and other judges; they reduced to order the huge and miſshapen chaos before them; five hundred eleven thouſand and nine perſons, moſt of them fathers of families, brought their whole fortunes in paper to this tribunal; the enormous demand was liquidated at a certain ſum, and government became reſponſible for the future payment of it.

The parliament of Paris, by their ſupport of the pretenſions of the duke of Orleans to the regency, had excited his gratitude; their oppoſition to the brilliant but fatal project of Law had arouſed his indignation: he baniſhed them to Pontoiſe; and the citizens, who in the minority of Lewis the Fourteenth had vindicated the privileges of that aſſembly by a general inſurrection, now beheld them exiled without a ſingle murmur. A dearth that depopulated Provence, was ſubmitted to with more honourable reſignation—commerce ſoon repaired the diſtreſs the late innovations had occaſioned—and the court, which on the death of Lewis had reſumed its wonted magnificence, was now diſtinguiſhed by ſuperior luxury and profuſion.

A. D. 1720, 1722.] The regent had elevated to the poſt of miniſter, cardinal Dubois; a man who, deſcended from an obſcure apothecary in a remote province, had acquired the firſt dignities of the church, and the moſt eminent ſituation in the ſtate. By the recommendation of the duke of Vendoſme, he was introduced into the family of the late duke of Orleans, and preferred to be tutor to the preſent—by adminiſtering to the pleaſures of his pupil he gained his confidence—a ſmall ſhare of wit, a ſtrong turn for debauchery, great flexibility, and above all, a taſte like his maſter's for ſingularity, raiſed his immenſe fortune: yet he ſtill remained rather the companion of the regent's exceſſes than the partner of his counſels. A court thoughtleſs, diſſipated, and unprincipled, only ridiculed that promotion they ought to have regarded with indignation; and death ſoon after interrupted the licentious career of the cardinal, who expired as he had lived, with a thorough contempt of all religious ceremonies.

A. D. 1723.] The king had now attained that age which was fixed for his majority—the regency of courſe expired—and the duke of Orleans aſſumed the title of miniſter. But his own life alſo drew near its end—his conſtitution was ſhaken by exceſs, and his intemperate paſſions allowed him not to follow that regimen his phyſicians preſcribed: he himſelf had been ſtrongly addicted to chemiſtry—and his attachment to that ſcience had awakened the jealouſy of the people. At the cloſe of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, when the ſudden deaths of the royal family opened to him a proſpect of ſucceeding to the throne, public rumour

had accuſed him of haſtening their deaths by his deadly arts. But his ſubſequent conduct effaced the injurious ſuſpicion—with paternal care he watched over the tender years of Lewis; nor is it probable that the man, whoſe ambition had fought a crown through the death of ſo many, ſhould have heſitated to complete his crimes by extinguiſhing the life of a feeble infant.

A. D. 1723, 1725.] On the death of the duke of Orleans, the reins of government were committed to the hands of the duke of Bourbon-Condé. A king young, indolent, and uninſtructed—a miniſter without talents or ambition, and a kingdom at peace, furniſh but ſlender materials for the pen of the hiſtorian. In Spain, Philip the Fifth, who in purſuit of that throne had deluged Europe with blood, gave way to a ſettled melancholy. Devotion ſerved only to inflame him with the love of retirement, and he reſigned his crown to his eldeſt ſon Don Lewis. On the death of that prince, which happened ſoon after, he was prevailed on to reſume it: but indifferent to the cares of government, he abandoned himſelf to the aſcendancy of his conſort, the daughter of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy; but who, with the iſland, had acquired the title of king of Sardinia. The late duke of Orleans had engaged the hand of the king of France to the Infanta of Spain; but though that princeſs had been received at Paris with the honours of a queen, the tender years of Lewis allowed him not to conſummate his marriage. As he advanced to maturity, the courtiers diſcovered through his natural indolence, and that politeneſs which he ever cultivated, a pointed averſion to the intended partner of his bed. The people, impatient of an union which might extinguiſh their hopes of male iſſue, and expoſe the kingdom, by a diſputed ſucceſſion, to the calamities of civil war, loudly murmured againſt the duke of Bourbon; the miniſter, though reluctantly, yielded to the general voice; he ſent back the Infanta; and the queen of Spain, daring, violent, and implacable, would probably have reſented the inſult by open hoſtilities, had not her turbulent diſpoſition already engaged her in a diſpute with the empire.

A. D. 1726.] This was the only political event that characteriſed the ſhort and languid adminiſtration of the duke of Bourbon-Condé. The reins of government ſoon after dropped from his hands into thoſe of cardinal Fleury: At the age of ſeventy-three, that prelate devoted the remains of a life which hitherto had challenged the public eſteem, to the ungrateful toils that attend miniſterial power; and at a period when the moſt ambitious ſeek repoſe, entered the liſts of fame. Yet he himſelf was diſtinguiſhed for his ſimplicity and modeſty, and with reluctance had expoſed his virtuous manners to the contagion of a court. He had been appointed in the former reign to the biſhopric of Frejus, a ſee in a diſtant and diſagreeable country; and he was ſo diſguſted with the ſituation that he ſoon after ſubſcribed a familiar letter, "Fleury, by the divine indignation, biſhop of Frejus." But in that ſtation he practiſed the ſame œconomy that he afterwards diſplayed in a more eminent condition; and though the ſee of Frejus, when he was nominated to it, was heavily burthened with debts, yet he reſigned it clear and unincumbered.

The ſtate of his health was the pretence for his reſignation; and candour will excuſe the inoffenſive deceit that enabled him to relinquiſh a dignity ſo many anxiouſly ſought after. The ſolicitations of mareſchal Villeroy prevailed on the late king to appoint Fleury, by a codicil in his will, preceptor to his infant grandſon; and if we may believe the confidential letter of that prelate to cardinal Quirini, he undertook the important truſt with regret.

But though he unwillingly accepted the envied appointment, yet he diſcharged it with unimpeached fidelity and diligence. Above the intrigues of a court, he diſdained the cabals which a minority foſter, and endeavoured to form the mind of his royal pupil to buſineſs, to ſecrecy, and to probity. The ſoil indeed but ill repaid his culture; yet the regent licentious as he was, ſaw and approved the virtues which he neglected to imitate—The eſteem of the public was mingled with the regard of the prince; and his amiable and prudent diſpoſition excited the univerſal wiſh of France to ſee him at the head of affairs.

A. D. 1726, 1729.] The gratitude of his pupil at length concurred with the voice of the people, and cardinal Fleury, while he rejected the invidious title of prime miniſter, ruled the kingdom with abſolute authority. The adminiſtration of the duke of Bourbon-Condé had expired after reſtoring the Infanta to Spain, with providing a new alliance for his ſovereign, more congenial to his inclinations.

Staniſlaus Leſcziński had been raiſed to the throne of Poland by the victorious arms of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and experienced, after the defeat of Pultowa, the viciſſitudes which mark the ſingular life of that royal adventurer. The nobility of Poland had recogniſed their former ſovereign, Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, whom the Swediſh king had compelled to relinquiſh the crown, and to retire within his electoral dominions. Staniſlaus deſcended from the throne with a mind ſuperior to fortune, and cultivated in private life the virtues which had diſtinguiſhed him in public. His daughter Mary ſtill retained the title of princeſs, and that lady was choſen by the prince to ſhare the bed of Lewis; their nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence—The new queen, deſtitute of perſonal charms, never perhaps inſpired with love the boſom of her conſort, who ſoon began to indulge his taſte for variety; but her meekneſs, piety, and ready acquieſcence to his will, extorted his eſteem; and the birth of a dauphin, the fruits of their union, eſtabliſhed the peaceable ſucceſſion of the crown, and baniſhed the fears of the people.

A. D. 1732.] The pacific diſpoſition of Fleury correſponded with the immediate welfare of France; he quietly left the kingdom to repair its loſſes, and to enrich itſelf by an advantageous and extenſive commerce, without making any innovations; and treated the ſtate in his political ſyſtem like a ſtrong and robuſt body, which recovers by the vigour of its own conſtitution.

A. D. 1733.] At length the death of Auguſtus king of Poland and elector of Saxony, rekindled throughout Europe the flames of war. The free ſuffrages

of the Poles called Staniſlaus, the father-in-law of Lewis, to that throne from which he once already had deſcended with a magnanimity ſcarce to be equalled; but his election was oppoſed by the empire and the Ruſſians, who under the invigorating genuis of Peter the Great, had lately emerged from obſcurity.—That monarch had given laws, diſcipline and knowledge, to the immenſe deſerts of Muſcovy; had broken the power of the Swedes, which ſo long had overawed the North; and aſſumed in the balance of Europe that place which they had formerly occupied. His ſucceſſor now entered into a confederacy with the emperor to ſupport the nomination of the ſon of the late king to the crown of Poland; their numerous forces deluged that unhappy country; and Staniſlaus beſieged in Dantzic, eſcaped from the tottering walls of that city in diſguiſe, eluded the vigilance of his enemies, and, after a variety of dangers and adventures, reached the dominions of his ſon-in-law in ſafety.

A. D. 1734, 1736.] A feeble attempt had been made by Fleury to ſuccour Dantzic; and fifteen hundred French, detached for that purpoſe, were overwhelmed by an hoſt of Ruſſians. Auguſtus the Third was eſtabliſhed on the throne of Poland by the united arms of Anne of Ruſſia and the emperor Charles the Sixth; the diſtance of the former was alone ſufficient to ſecure her from the reſentment of the French; but the dominions of the emperor were both acceſſible and vulnerable; and France prepared to avenge by arms the outrage that had diſpoſſeſſed Staniſlaus of Poland. Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, (for Victor Amadeus had reſigned his throne) concurred in the views of the courts of Madrid and Verſailles; the confederates poured their troops into Italy, and ſwept all reſiſtance before them; while France aſſerted her ſuperiority on the banks of the Rhine, and reduced Khiel, Trierbach, and Philipſburgh.

The emporor bent before the ſtorm, and received the conditions of peace, which the victorious arms of France impoſed. Don Carlos, ſecond ſon to the king of Spain, was acknowledged as king of Naples and Sicily, both of which were diſmembered from the houſe of Auſtria; the king of Sardinia obtained, in the duchy of Milan, the Novareſe, the Tortoneſe, and the fiefs of Langes; to Francis duke of Lorrain, was aſſigned the inheritance of the houſe of Medicis; and the duchies of Lorrain and Bar were ceded by the duke to the crown of France.

Staniſlaus, on whoſe account this war had been commenced, reſigned in the treaty his pretenſions to the kingdom of Poland, but was permitted to retain the title of king. The liberality of Lewis rendered that dignity more reſpectable by beſtowing on his father-in-law, during his life, the duchies of Bar and Lorrain, which he had juſt acquired; after the death of Staniſlaus theſe territories reverted to the crown, and were indiſſolubly united to the dominions of France.

A. D. 1737, 1739.] The diſputes of Spain and England, reſpecting the trade of America, only feebly interrupted the tranquillity of Europe; and cardinal Fleury ſtill purſued in France that pacific ſyſtem to which he was ſo ſtrongly at-

tached. Inſtead of arming the neighbouring potentates againſt each other, he inceſſantly laboured to extinguiſh their jealouſies, and reconcile their hoſtile diſpoſitions. He conciliated for a moment the Genoeſe and Corſicans, who had already plunged themſelves into the calamities of civil war; and his mediation was even accepted by the Ottoman Porte; which deſiſted from improving its advantages in Hungary, and at his powerful interceſſion granted peace to the diſtreſs of the emperor.

A. D. 1740.] But this happineſs was not of long duration; the emperor Charles the Sixth, the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria, expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and his death awakened the pretenſions of the different princes of Europe. Maria Thereſa, the emperor's eldeſt daughter, married to Francis of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuſcany, claimed by right of blood, and by the gurantee of the different powers of Europe, the whole of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. This compriſed the kingdoms of Hungaria and Bohemia, the province of Sileſia, Auſtria, Swabia, Upper and Lower Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four foreſt towns, Burgaw, Briſgaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia.

That princeſs, though ſhe was permitted peaceably to take poſſeſſion of this vaſt inheritance, was not without competitors. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, from the will of Ferdinand the Firſt, brother to the emperor Charles the Fifth, aſſerted his right to Bohemia; the king of Sardinia reſumed his claim on Milan; the kings of Spain and Poland urged their pretenſions to the whole ſucceſſion; nor was Lewis the Fifteenth deſtitute of a ſimilar claim; he was deſcended in a direct line from the eldeſt male branch of the houſe of Auſtria, by two princeſſes married to his anceſtors, Lewis the Thirteenth and Lewis the Fourteenth; but he wiſhed not to awaken the jealouſy of Europe, end entertained hopes of aggrandiſing himſelf, and of diſmembering the Auſtrian dominions, by ſupporting the pretenſions of another.

A. D. 1741.] Yet Maria Thereſa rather confided in, than was alarmed at, the number of the claimants; ſhe had ingratiated herſelf with the Hungarians, by voluntarily taking the ancient oath of their ſovereigns, by which their ſubjects are allowed, if their privileges are invaded, to defend themſelves, without being treated as rebels; and was engaged in traverſing, in favour of her conſort, the deſigns of France, that endeavoured to fix the imperial crown on the head of the elector of Bavaria, when ſhe was ſurpriſed by the invaſion of a new and unexpected pretender. The king of Pruſſia, Frederick the Third, laid claim to four duchies in Sileſia; he ſuddenly entered that country, defeated the Auſtrians near Molwitz, and occupied the whole of the duchy.

The victory of Molwitz was the ſignal for war; cardinal Fleury, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, was indeed but little inclined to relinquiſh the pacific ſyſtem that he adored; but he was overwhelmed by the impetuous eloquence and enterpriſing ſpirit of the brothers, the mareſchal and chevalier de Belleiſle. Theſe re-

preſented to Lewis that the period was now arrived of finally breaking the power of the houſe of Auſtria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins; and that ſo favourable an opportunity never again would offer of raiſing the elector of Bavaria to the imperial throne. The aſſent of a monarch, whoſe vanity was great, and diſcernment little, was eaſily obtained to this ſplendid project; and cardinal Fleury tottering on the brink of the grave, yet ſtill enamoured of power, conſented to ſanction with his name an enterpriſe he had never approved, and to preſide over a people whoſe councils he was not permitted to direct.

The count of Belleiſle negociated a treaty with the king of Pruſſia, by which the elector of Bavaria, with the imperial crown, was to poſſeſs Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, and the Tyroleſe; the king of Poland was to be gratified with Moravia and the Upper Sileſia, and Frederic was to retain Lower Sileſia, with the town of Neiſs, and the county of Glatz. To enforce theſe conditions, the French troops were immediately put in motion. Lewis appointed the elector of Bavaria, whom he meant to place in the firſt rank among Chriſtian princes, his lieutenant-general, with the mareſchals Belleiſle and Broglio to act under him.

A. D. 1741, 1742.] The ſucceſs of the French was rapid, ſplendid, and tranſient; the king of England was reduced to conclude a neutrality as elector of Hanover, for his German dominions; the confederates ſurpriſed Paſſau, poſſeſſed themſelves of Lintz, and menaced Vienna. Maria Thereſa retired from her capital to Preſburgh in Hungary; and that people vowed to conquer or die in the ſervice of their ſovereign. New and formidable armies were in an inſtant ſupplied by their enthuſiaſtic loyalty; the French declined the dangerous neighbourhood of Vienna, directed their march into Bohemia, and in conjunction with the Saxons reduced the city of Prague: from that important acquiſition the elector of Bavaria purſued his route to Frankfort, and was there elected emperor, under the title of Charles the Seventh, and inveſted with the enſigns of imperial authority.

But from the moment that he attained his envied dignity, the hours of that prince were invariably devoted to calamity: jealouſies already prevailed among the confederates; the French army was in its progreſs continually diminiſhed by ſickneſs or deſertion; George the Second, diſtinguiſhing between his capacity of king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover, reſolved as the former to ſupport the queen of Hungary; and the very day that Charles was proclaimed emperor at Frankfort, he received intelligence that Lintz had been recovered by the Auſtrian general Khevenhuller, though defended by ten thouſand veteran troops of France.

Even this diſaſter was ſoon forgotten in an event more important and more fatal. The king of Pruſſia had penetrated into Moldavia, but was compelled to retire before prince Charles of Lorrain; reinforced by the prince of Anhalt Deſſau, he ſuddenly turned on his purſuers. At Czaſlaw he engaged and defeated the Auſtrians; but with his uſual ſagacity, he ſeized the moment of victory to conclude an advantageous peace at Breſlaw, which left him in poſſeſſion of the Upper and Lower Sileſia, with the county of Glatz. At the ſame time a treaty was ſigned

between the queen of Hungary and Auguſtus the Third, king of Poland, which transferred to the latter a conſiderable extent of country in the kingdom of Bohemia.

The French received with aſtoniſhment and diſmay the intelligence of the treaty of Breſlaw. Deſerted by their two moſt powerful allies, and preſſed by the ſuperior numbers of the Auſtrians, they retreated precipitately under the walls of Prague. A ſecond army, under mareſchal Maillebois, was detached to their aſſiſtance; but prince Charles had already occupied the paſſes of the intervening mountains: Maillebois was obliged to retreat; and the French in Prague were only ſaved from the diſgrace of ſurrendering by the ſkill and courage of mareſchal Belleiſle, who eluded the vigilance of the Auſtrians, and though inceſſantly purſued by a ſuperior enemy, in the depth of winter, ſucceſsfully conducted his army through a hoſtile country above ninety miles to the friendly walls of Egra.

Italy preſented to the contending powers, a campaign equally vigorous and diffuſive with that of Germany. Philip the Fifth, who had already eſtabliſhed one ſon on the throne of the two Sicilies, was deſirous of placing a crown on the head of Philip his ſon, by a ſecond marriage with Elizabeth Farneſe, daughter to the duke of Parma. Parma, Placentia, and the Milaneſe, were the territories he aſpired to. The king of Sardinia, alarmed at the progreſs of the houſe of Bourbon, had lately renounced his alliance with the courts of Verſailles and Madrid, and entered into engagements with the queen of Hungary, and the king of England; but the king of the two Sicilies, while he profeſſed himſelf neuter, ſecretly prepared to ſupport the ambitious deſigns of his family. From this intention he was diverted by the unwelcome appearance of an Engliſh ſquadron in the Bay of Naples; commodore Martin, to whom was intruſted the proud commiſſion of humbling the enemies of Great-Britain, threatened to bombard Naples, unleſs he received a peremptory and ſatisfactory anſwer in the ſpace of an hour—and the king, to avert the deſtruction of his capital, engaged to preſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the courſe of the war.

A. D. 1743.] The hoſtile armies, by the evacuation of Prague, were tranſferred from the banks of the Danube to that of the Rhine; and cardinal Fleury, oppreſſed by increaſing years and the diſappointments of his country, cloſed a life, that would have been terminated with more glory before the commencement of war. The king on his deceaſe, determined to be his own miniſter and to put himſelf at the head of the army. The king of England had already taken the field with forty thouſand Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Auſtrians. At the village of Dettingen, near the banks of the Mayne, he was attacked by mareſchal Noailles. Had the French patiently occupied the neighbouring heights, the confederates muſt have ſurrendered at diſcretion—but their ardour precipitated them on the allies, and their temerity was chaſtiſed by a ſevere defeat. The king of England, inſtead of improving his advantage, proſecuted his march to Hanau—and the duke

of Noailles, after collecting his ſcattered forces, haſtened to join mareſchal Coigny in Upper Alſace, who was threatened by prince Charles of Lorrain.

In Italy, a bloody but indeciſive battle was fought at Campo Santo, between the Spaniards, commanded by count de Gages, and the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, under count Traun—yet though both claimed the honour of the field, the former thought it prudent ſoon after to repaſs the Pareno, and to take ſhelter in the eccleſiaſtical territories.

A. D. 1744.] To diſtract the attention of the Engliſh, Lewis the Fifteenth reſolved to eſpouſe the fortunes of the exiled houſe of Stuart. Charles Edward, eldeſt ſon to the Chevalier de St. George, the grandſon of the unforiunate James the Second, had, on the firſt ſound of war, been invited into France. It was now propoſed to prove how far the affections of England ſtood inclined to him—an army of fifteen thouſand men was aſſembled in Picardy, under count Saxe—a number of tranſports were collected at Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne; and Charles, to whom his father had delegated his pretenſions, left Rome, and arrived in the French camp. But an Engliſh ſquadron, under Sir John Norris, rode triumphant in the channel; and though the combined fleets of France and Spain maintained ſoon after, in the Mediterranean, a doubtful conflict with that of England, yet Lewis ventured not to encounter that people in their own ſeas; and the young pretender was obliged to wait a more favourable opportunity.

Lewis himſelf invaded Flanders, and ſeconded by the duke of Noailles, and count Saxe, natural ſon to Auguſtus the Second, king of Poland, and who by his military exploits revived the fame of Condé and Turenne, ſucceſſively reduced Menin, Ypres and Furnes. From this ſcene of conqueſt he was ſoon recalled to the defence of his own dominions—prince Charles of Lorrain had paſſed the Rhine at the head of ſixty thouſand Auſtrians, had taken Weiſenberg, and laid all Lower Alſace under contribution. To repel this invaſion, mareſchal Noailles was detached with forty thouſand choice troops; while mareſchal Saxe in Flanders, by his maſterly movements, baffled the deſigns of the allies, though far ſuperior in numbers.

With a conſiderable reinforcement, Lewis prepared to follow the ſteps of Noailles; but at Metz he was ſeized with a putrid fever that threatened his life, and retarded the operations of his generals. His danger diffuſed conſternation throughout the kingdom; and the uncommon tranſports of joy with which his recovery was attended, touched the heart of the monarch himſelf, nor could he help exclaiming, "What a pleaſure is it to be thus beloved! What have I done "to deſerve it!"

But the king depended not alone on his own arms for the defence of Alſace; he had already negociated a new alliance with the king of Pruſſia; and Frederic, ſenſible that if the queen of Hungary ſhould again acquire the aſcendancy, the treaty of Breſlaw would prove a feeble barrier to her ambition, once more penetrated into Bohemia, and extended his ravages as far as Moldaw. Prince Charles

repaſſed the Rhine, to check the progreſs of this formidable enemy; and Frederic, in his turn, was obliged to evacuate Bohemia with precipitation, and retire into Sileſia; while Lewis, availing himſelf of the retreat of the Auſtrians, inveſted and reduced Friburg.

The prince of Conti entered Italy, and having effected a junction with Don Philip, whoſe aggrandiſement firſt plunged Spain into the tumult of war, attacked the ſtrongeſt poſt of Chateau Dauphin, where the king of Sardinia commanded in perſon. It was carried after an obſtinate conflict, and the confederates immediately laid ſiege to Conti, the poſſeſſion of which was neceſſary to open them a paſſage into the Milaneſe. But though they obtained a ſecond victory over Charles Emanuel, diſeaſe pervaded the camp; they were compelled to retire from the inauſpicious walls, evacuate Piedmont, repaſs the Alps, and ſhelter the remnant of their way-worn followers in Dauphiné.

A. D. 1745.] Amidſt the various viciſſitudes of war, the emperor Charles the Seventh was once more reſtored to his capital; but his ſituation, on the retreat of the Pruſſians, grew more precarious every hour. His frame was exhauſted by inceſſant anxiety, and death delivered him from again exhibiting to Europe the ſpectacle of imperial miſery. His ſon Maximilian Joſeph, a youth of ſeventeen, concluded, through the mediation of the king of Great-Britain, a treaty with the queen of Hungary, which eſtabliſhed him in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the electorate of Bavaria; and rejected the alliance of France, which had proved ſo fatal to his father.

Lewis in vain tempted the ambition of Auguſtus, king of Poland, with the imperial crown; that monarch rejected the ſplendid allurement, and maintained his engagements with the queen of Hungary and the king of England; and the court of Verſailles had ſoon after the mortification of beholding Francis of Lorrain, the conſort of the former, inveſted with the imperial dignity at Frankfort. Yet France ſtill obſtinately purſued the war; and her monarch, accompanied by the dauphin, in Flanders animated his forces by his preſence: commanded by count Saxe, they laid ſiege to Tournay, one of the ſtrongeſt towns in the Auſtrian Netherlands. The Engliſh, the Dutch, and the Auſtrians, under the duke of Cumberland, ſecond ſon to the king of England, advanced to the relief of that place: The plains of Fontenoy were rendered memorable by the bloody and obſtinate conflict. At length the allies were broken by the numbers of their enemies, and the ſuperior ſkill of count Saxe; they retreated with conſiderable loſs, occupied ſoon after a ſtrong camp between Bruſſels and Antwerp, and remained inactive during the reſt of the campaign; while the French reduced by ſtratagem or force Tournay, Oudenarde, Ath, Dendermond, Ghent, Oſtend, Nieuport, and the principal fortified places through Auſtrian Flanders.

The ſucceſs of the houſe of Bourbon in Italy was equally rapid; Don Philip and mareſchal Maillebois preſſed with their ſuperior forces the king of Sardinia and Schulenberg. Charles Emanuel retired behind the Po, and even trembled for

the fate of his capital; while the kindred armies of France and Spain deluged all Italy; and Don Carlos closed the campaign with a triumphant entry into Milan.

Nor were the operations of the king of Prussia less brilliant or decisive. In Silesia and Bohemia he successively defeated prince Charles of Lorrain; and from the victories of Fridbourgh and Slandentz, poured the torrent of his arms into Saxony. He soon made himself master of Dresden; and the king of Poland, anxious for the capital of his electoral dominions, purchased peace from the victor by the payment of a million of German crowns. It was the intention of Frederick to protect, but not to aggrandise the house of Bourbon; he had no longer any thing to dread from the Austrian power, and he concluded a second treaty with the queen of Hungary, which confirmed that of Breslaw, and guaranteed to him the possession of Silesia, on acknowledging the validity of the emperor's election.

France was astonished at the repeated desertion of so powerful an ally; but Lewis was encouraged to persevere by a new enterprise, which at first promised the most decisive advantage. Though the squadrons of France could not hope to elude the vigilance of the naval commanders of Great-Britain, yet the young pretender successfully traversing the seas in a single vessel, landed with a few adherents on the coast of Scotland. The inhabitants of that kingdom had ever been attached to the family of Stuart; and no sooner was the standard of Charles erected, than it was joined by some thousands of hardy and ferocious mountaineers. He occupied Edinburgh, was solemnly proclaimed there with all the forms of legal authority, and soon after defeated the royal forces at Preston Pans. The road now lay open to London; and George, though insensible of personal fear, trembled for his capital. But the pretender was intoxicated with success; he returned to Edinburgh, to enjoy the vain parade of royalty, while the British troops were recalled from Flanders, and a new and formidable army was formed by the zeal of the royalists. It was entrusted to the duke of Cumberland, the second son of George, and who had commanded in the disastrous field of Fontenoy. The pretender, who had at length quitted the pleasures of Edinburgh and penetrated as far as Derby, within an hundred and twenty miles of London, now retired before the veteran forces of the duke. An ineffectual victory which he afterwards obtained over a detachment of the royalists at Falkirk near Stirling, served only to embitter his subsequent defeat. On Culloden Moor, at the head of his brave but disorderly followers, he presumed to encounter the superior forces of the royalists, whose valour was confirmed by discipline, and who were animated by the gallantry of the duke of Cumberland. The decision of the day was such as might have been expected; the rebels were repulsed, and pursued with cruel slaughter; and after enduring a series of incredible hardships for five months, and repeatedly eluding the active resentment of his enemies, the pretender himself escaped in a small vessel to France; but the scaffold was stained with the blood of his principal adherents, and his party in this fatal enterprise was for ever extinguished.

A. D. 1746.] To balance this diſappointment, Lewis opened the campaign in Flanders at the head of one hundred and twenty thouſand men; inveſted and reduced Bruſſels, the capital of Brabant; took Mons and Charleroy; and rendered himſelf maſter of Flanders, Brabant and Liege. He ſoon after laid ſiege to Namur; and that city, ſituated on the conflux of the Sambre and the Meuſe, and defended by a garriſon of nine thouſand men, was obliged to ſurrender. The confederates, though commanded by prince Charles of Lorrain, were diſconcerted and ſoon after defeated by the ſuperior addreſs of mareſchal Saxe; and this victory, which the advanced ſeaſon of the year prevented the mareſchal from improving, terminated the campaign in the Low Countries.

In Italy the houſe of Bourbon was leſs ſucceſsful; Aſti, though garriſoned by five thouſand French, was ſurpriſed by the king of Sardinia; Don Philip and Maillebois were repulſed in an obſtinate attack on the Auſtrian camp at St. Lazaro; and this diſaſter was ſucceeded by the intelligence that Philip the Fifth was no more. That prince, the firſt of the houſe of Bourbon who ſat upon the Spaniſh throne, was governed by two women, who ſucceſſively ſhared his bed, and ruled his kingdom with abſolute ſway: the latter maintained her aſcendancy even after the death of her conſort; and under the reign of Ferdinand the Sixth, ſtill continued to direct the councils of Madrid.

Don Philip and Maillebois, informed of the death of Philip the Fifth, and ſtill ignorant of the ſentiments of his ſucceſſor, retired before the Auſtrian army, and took ſhelter under the cannon of Genoa; they ſoon after abandoned this ſituation, and Don Philip retreated towards Savoy, while mareſchal Maillebois repoſed his harraſſed forces in Provence. The Auſtrians immediately occupied Genoa; and that proud city was ſubjected to the moſt humiliating conditions. But the arrogance and rapacity of general Botta at length excited the general indignation of the inhabitants; they roſe in arms againſt their conquerors; deſpair animated their efforts—and the veterans of Germany were obliged to yield to a crowd of undiſciplined citizens. After an ineffectual ſtruggle they evacuated the city; and the Genoeſe, conſcious that they were ſtill ſurrounded by their oppreſſors, prepared by every prudent precaution to fortify in future their freedom.

A. D. 1747.] In the Eaſt-Indies the honour of the French flag was aſſerted by La Bourdonnais, who diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of their ſettlement of Madraſs, on the coaſt of Coromandel—but it was in the Netherlands that Lewis prepared to make the moſt vigorous efforts. An army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men was aſſembled under mareſchal Saxe; and that celebrated commander detached count Lowendahl with twenty-ſeven thouſand men to invade Dutch Brabant. The French miniſter at the ſame time preſented a memorial to the States, declaring that his maſter, by thus entering the territories of the States, meant only to obviate the dangerous effects of the protection that they afforded to the

troops of the queen of Hungary and the king of England. In the mean time Lowendahl made himſelf maſter of Sluys, Sandberg, and Hulſt—and having taken poſſeſſion of Axtel and Terneuſe, was meditating a deſcent on Zealand, when a Britiſh ſquadron defeated his purpoſe, and a revolution in the government of Holland made a retreat neceſſary.

Struck with conſternation at the progreſs of the French arms, the inhabitants of the United Provinces, believing themſelves betrayed, tumultuouſly roſe againſt the miniſters of the Republic, and compelled the magiſtrates to declare the prince of Orange Stadtholder—a dignity which had been laid aſide ſince the death of William the Third. The beneficial effects of this revolution to the confederates ſoon appeared in ſeveral vigorous meaſures—and inſtant orders were given by the States for commencing hoſtilities againſt France both by ſea and land, though without any formal declaration of war.

Lewis himſelf ſoon after joined his army in Flanders, and the ſiege of Maeſtricht was reſolved on. The confederates, to preſerve that city, determined to hazard a general engagement; the village of Val or Laffeldt was the object of their mutual efforts: But though the Engliſh were compelled to abandon the field with loſs, yet the duke of Cumberland in his retreat reinforced the garriſon of Maeſtricht; and mareſchal Saxe, after amuſing the allies with a variety of complicated movements, detached count Lowendahl with thirty thouſand men to inveſt Bergen-op-Zoom, the ſtrongeſt fortification in Dutch Brabant.

The experienced general and great maſter in the art of reducing fortified places now encountered in the favourite work of Vauban, an object worthy his ſkill. The town was garriſoned with three thouſand men, and could be reinforced on the ſhorteſt notice by a conſiderable army of the allies, which took poſſeſſion of the lines belonging to the fortification—The eyes of Europe were fixed on the fate of Bergen-op-Zoom—each inſtrument of deſtruction was inceſſantly employed on both ſides; the town was reduced to aſhes; the trenches were filled with carnage; yet the out-works were in a great meaſure entire, and the event of the enterpriſe ſeemed ſtill doubtful; when count Lowendhal demonſtrated that there are occaſions when it is neceſſary to go beyond the eſtabliſhed rules of art.

That general reſolved to attempt by a coup-de-main thoſe works which ſtill reſiſted his ragular approaches—The attack was made in the middle of the night and at three places at once. The beſieged, arouſed from their ſecurity, in vain endeavoured to repel the aſſaillants; the French grenadiers were already in the town; two regiments of Swiſs, and Scotch, who had aſſembled in the market-place, ſtill diſputed the day, and were cut to pieces; the reſt, with the governor, retired to the lines: the army that had occupied thoſe, immediately retreated; and the French became maſters of the whole navigation of the Scheld.

Lewis, on the intelligence of this event, raiſed Lowendahl to the dignity of mareſchal, and returned in triumph to Verſailles. But the ſatisfaction which

attended his acquiſitions in Flanders was alloyed by a ſeries of unfortunate events—Mareſchal Belleiſle had aſſumed the command in Italy, and had detached his brother the chevalier with thirty thouſand men, to penetrate into Piedmont.—On the road to Exilles twenty-one battalions of Piedmonteſe, ſecured by ramparts of ſtone and wood, and defended by a formidable artillery, oppoſed his progreſs. Belleiſle, daring and emulous of fame, attacked the entrenchments with the greateſt intrepidity: in three ſucceſſive aſſaults he was repulſed, yet he ſtill returned to the charge; and the moment that he had planted with his own hand the colours of his king on the hoſtile battlements, he fell dead, having received the thruſt of a bayonet, and two muſquet balls in his body. The ſurvivors, diſcouraged by his death, immediately retreated; and ſo certain was the deſtructive aim of the Piedmonteſe, and the obſtinacy of the aſſailants, that the number of the ſlain more than doubled that of the wounded.

Mareſchal Belleiſle was no ſooner informed of the fate of his brother than he retreated towards the Var, to join the unfortunate army from Exilles; and the king of Sardinia was only prevented by the unfavourable ſeaſon and heavy rains, from carrying his victorious arms into Dauphine—But the moſt fatal blow to France, was the total deſtruction of her marine; the Engliſh began at length to exert themſelves on that element, on which they have ſo repeatedly triumphed—The marquis de le Jonquiere with ſix ſhips of the line and as many frigates, was intercepted by the admirals Anſon and Warren with fourten ſail of the line: the French defended themſelves with conduct and courage; but they were oppreſſed by numbers, and ten ſhips of war were taken—On the coaſt of Brittany Monſieur l'Eſtendeure diſplayed ſimilar gallantry with the ſame ill fortune; with ſeven ſhips of the line he was attacked by admiral Hawke, who commanded fourteen; and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, ſix of thoſe ſhips became the prey of the Engliſh victors.

In America the Engliſh had conquered Cape Breton and reduced Louiſburg; and the king of France, while he beheld his marine annihilated and his commerce extinguiſhed, was alarmed by the menacing countenance of a new and formidable enemy. The gold of England had influenced the councils of Peterſburg, and fifty thouſand Ruſſians prepared to add new horror to the rage of war. In the midſt of his victories the king of France had invariably expreſſed his wiſhes for peace; and the ſtorm that threatened from the north rendered him ſtill more impatient to deliver his ſubjects from the calamities of war: an ineffectual congreſs had been held at Breda, and negociations were this year reſumed at Aix-la-Chapelle with better ſucceſs.

To enforce his propoſal, Lewis commanded mareſchal Saxe, with a numerous army, to inveſt Maeſtricht. The danger of that city quickened the deliberations of the allies: the French had already affected a lodgement in the covered way with conſiderable loſs; but they were expelled by the gallantry of the beſieged, and mareſchal Saxe had reaſon to tremble for his reputation; when intelligence

arrived that preliminaries of peace were ſigned; and the French were permitted to take poſſeſſion of Maeſtricht, on condition that they reſtored it, with all its magazines and artillery, on the concluſion of the treaty.

By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, a mutual reſtitution was ſtipulated of all conqueſts made during the courſe of the war, with a releaſe of priſoners without ranſom. Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla were ceded as a ſovereignty to Don Philip; but it was provided, in caſe he or his deſcendants ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Spain, or that of the two Sicilies, that thoſe territories ſhould return to the preſent poſſeſſors, the empreſs queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia. The Engliſh acquired the privilege of ſending an annual ſhip to the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; and the contracting powers guaranteed to his Pruſſian majeſty the duchy of Sileſia and the county of Glatz, as he then poſſeſſed them.

A. D. 1748, 1749.] The war which had ſo long afflicted Europe, was ſucceeded by ſeven years peace; and that ſhort interval may be conſidered as the moſt proſperous and happy period that Europe had ever known; arts and letters were ſucceſsfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flouriſhed; and the manners of ſociety aſſumed each day a higher poliſh. But monarchs, while they aſpire to the fame of conquerors, ſeldom condeſcend to regard the felicity of their ſubjects; and Lewis, who only had conſented to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to reſtore his navy, in the arms of the marchioneſs of Pompadour meditated new wars; and prepared to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh of their principal ſettlements both in America and the Eaſt-Indies.

From theſe viſionary hopes the attention of the king was recalled by violent diſputes between the clergy and parliaments of France, which partially interrupted the tranquillity of that kingdom. The famous controverſy between the Janſeniſts and Jeſuits, concerning grace, free-will, and other abſtract points of theology, had originated in the preceding reign: the opinions of the former had been declared heretical by the court of Rome, in the celebrated bull commonly known by the name of *Unigenitus*. The reception of it was enforced by Lewis the Fourteenth, in oppoſition to the body of the people, the parliaments, the the archbiſhop of Paris, and fifteen other prelates; who proteſted againſt it as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, and of the laws of the realm, as well as an inſult on their private opinions. The duke of Orleans, while regent, extinguiſhed a perſecution which had been raiſed againſt thoſe who had rejected the bull; but at the ſame time prevailed on the biſhops, who had hitherto oppoſed, to ſubmit to it.

A. D. 1750, 1751.] Though the bull Unigenitus was held in execration by the people, it had hitherto occaſioned no public diſturbance; but on the concluſion of the peace, an attempt made by the miniſter of the finances to enquire into the wealth of the clergy, raiſed the jealouſy of that order, and they determined to divert the attention of the court by reviving the former oppoſition to the bull

Unigenitus. It was reſolved by the clergy to demand confeſſional notes of dying perſons; that thoſe notes ſhould be ſigned by prieſts adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, or extreme unction, could be obtained. The new archbiſhop of Paris engaged warmly in this ſcheme, and he was oppoſed with equal vigour by the parliament, who impriſoned ſuch of the clergy as refuſed to adminiſter the ſacraments to perſons in their laſt moments. Other parliaments followed the example of that of Paris; and a war was immediately kindled between the ſecular juriſdiction, and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

A. D. 1752, 1753.] The king, by an act of his abſolute authority, forbade the parliaments to take cognizance of eccleſiaſtical proceedings, and to ſuſpend all proſecutions relative to the refuſal of the ſacraments. Inſtead of acquieſcing, the parliament preſented new remonſtrances, refuſed to attend to any other buſineſs, and came to a reſolution that they could not obey this injunction without violating their duty and their oath. They cited the biſhop of Orleans before their tribunal, and ordered all writings, in which its juriſdiction was conteſted, to be burnt by the executioner: By military aid, they enforced the adminiſtration of the ſacraments to the ſick; and engroſſed by theſe religious differences, they entirely ceaſed, as ſupreme courts, to diſtribute that juſtice to the ſubject for which they had been erected.

A. D. 1753, 1754.] Their obſtinacy excited the indignation of their ſovereign; four of the members, who had delivered themſelves with the greateſt freedom, were arreſted and impriſoned; and the remainder were baniſhed to Bourges, to Poictiers, and Auvergne; and Lewis, to prevent their abſence from impeding the adminiſtration of juſtice, eſtabliſhed by his letters patent a *Royal Chamber*, for the proſecution of ſuits civil and criminal. But the counſellors, animated by the ſame zeal as the parliament, refuſed to plead before theſe new judges: and the people, left to themſelves, threatened to fall every day into anarchy and confuſion. The intrigues of the court had already excited hoſtilities in America and the Eaſt-Indies; and Lewis, intent on war with England, determined to conciliate the affections of his people by recalling the parliament. The members reentered Paris amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants; and the archbiſhop, who continued to encourage the prieſts in refuſing the ſacraments, was baniſhed to his ſeat at Conflans; a ſimilar exile was preſcribed to the biſhops of Orleans and Troyes; and a tranſient calm was reſtored to the kingdom.

A. D. 1748, 1753.] For the ſource of this unexpected revolution we muſt turn our eyes to the diſtant continents of Aſia and America. From the moment that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded, Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, on the coaſt of Coromandel, a man active, intelligent, and enterpriſing, conceived the deſign of advancing the intereſt of the French Eaſt-India Company, by acquiring for France large territorial poſſeſſions in the ſouth of Aſia. The feeble ſucceſſors of Aurengzebe, who had ſuffered the native governors of the different provinces to aſſume the authority of independent princes, encouraged by

their weakneſs the daring project of this aſpiring adventurer: The French troops which had been aſſembled during the late war to protect Pondicherry from the Engliſh, were now engaged in the various ſervices of the different viceroys of India; their ſuperior arms and diſcipline triumphed over a tumultuous multitude, always without ſkill, and frequently without courage; whatever ſide they inclined to, victory was ſure to follow; and the SUBAH, or viceroy of the Decan, whoſe authority they had eſtabliſhed over the immenſe tract of country that ſtretches from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, rewarded the intrepidity of his protectors by the moſt liberal conceſſions.

The progreſs of the French had awakened the jealouſy of the ſervants of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company. The attempt of M. Dupliex to impoſe a nabob or governor on Arcot, a province in which Pondicherry is ſituated, excited the Engliſh to arms. As the allies of the princes of India, the rival nations oppoſed each other with equal courage and ſkill, and ſeveral battles were fought with various ſucceſs; at length the tide of war was turned by the appearance of a great and diſtinguiſhed military character. Mr. Clive had gone out in the ſervice of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company as a writer: His aſpiring mind was but ill calculated for this calm and peaceable ſtation; he exchanged the pen for the ſword, and immortaliſed his name by a ſeries of rapid and ſucceſſive victories. With a ſmall band he occupied Arcot, the capital of the diſputed province; repelled a numerous army of the French and Indians, who threatened to overwhelm him; and triumphed, in a deciſive battle, over the hoſt that had lately beſieged him. In the neighbourhood of Tritchinopoli the French and their allies were finally defeated; the pretenſions of Chunda-ſaib, whoſe cauſe they had eſpouſed, were extinguiſhed in his blood; and his rival, Mahommed Ali, was eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh on the throne of Arcot.

A. D. 1754.] M. Dupliex was ſoon after recalled, and a ceſſation of arms was agreed upon by the hoſtile powers; but while Lewis revolved the means of reſtoring in India the aſcendancy of his ſubjects, his ambitious hopes were flattered by the inſidious and hoſtile enterpriſes of his governors in North-America. Their plan was to unite, by a chain of forts, their two extenſive colonies of Canada and Louiſiana; and to confine the Engliſh to that tract of country that lies between the ſea and the Apalachian mountains, which run from one end of North-America to another. In conſequence of this, France would have enjoyed in time of peace the whole Indian trade; and the Britiſh ſettlers, continually expoſed to the incurſions of the faithleſs and ferocious ſavages, muſt have ſoon been finally extinguiſhed. This project was purſued with ardour and judgment; forts were erected along the great lakes, which communicate with the river St. Laurence, and alſo on the Ohio, and the Miſſiſſippi; and the chain was almoſt completed, when England, alarmed at theſe rapid encroachments, after repeated and ineffectual expoſtulations, determined to unſheath the ſword.

A. D. 1755.] This meaſure was no ſooner reſolved on, than it was executed with equal vigour and promptitude; a formidable ſquadron was detached to the banks of Newfoundland, to attack the fleet of France; and though a friendly fog enabled the greateſt part to eſcape the ſuperior force of England, yet two ſhips of the line were taken; the Britiſh cruiſers ſwept the ſeas with ſuch ſucceſs, that above three hundred trading veſſels belonging to France were carried into the ports of Great-Britain; and above eight thouſand ſeamen became priſoners to that crown.

Lewis, aſtoniſhed and ſtunned by this unexpected ſtroke, filled every court in Europe with complaints and negociations. His naval ſtrength was already fatally impaired; but from the infinite ſuperiority of his land forces, he ſtill flattered himſelf with the hopes of the moſt decided advantages. General Braddock, who had been entruſted by the Engliſh with the chief command in America, had been allured by the French and Indians into an ambuſcade; and ſcorning to ſurvive a defeat, the effect of his own imprudence, had in the grave found ſhelter from the reproaches of his country. On the banks of Lake George, Dieſkau, who commanded the French forces in America, with a detachment of two thouſand men, was expoſed to a ſimilar fate. Yet France ſtill maintained on that continent her aſcendancy, and England was reduced to wage a feeble and defenſive war.

A. D. 1756.] Though George the Second, as king of Great-Britain, while he retained the ſovereignty of the ſeas, might deſpiſe the menaces of France, yet as elector of Hanover he was ſtill vulnerable in his German dominions; and Lewis, to avail himſelf of this advantage, entered into cloſe and ſecret connections with the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Dreſden. The former ſtill harboured a lively reſentment of the ceſſion of Sileſia; and the diviſion of the dominions of the houſe of Brandenburgh, and the invaſion of Hanover, were the objects of this formidable confederacy.

But the deſigns of the confederates could not elude the vigilance and penetration of Frederic; conſcious of his danger, he formed an alliance with the king of England, whoſe intereſts and apprehenſions were ſimular to his own. Before the deſigns of his enemies were ripe for execution, the Pruſſian monarch anticipated their hoſtile efforts, burſt into Saxony, defeated the Auſtrians at Lowoſitz, compelled Auguſtus with his whole army to ſurrender, occupied Dreſden, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſtate papers relative to foreign tranſactions, which diſplayed to the world the conſpiracy that had been formed againſt him.

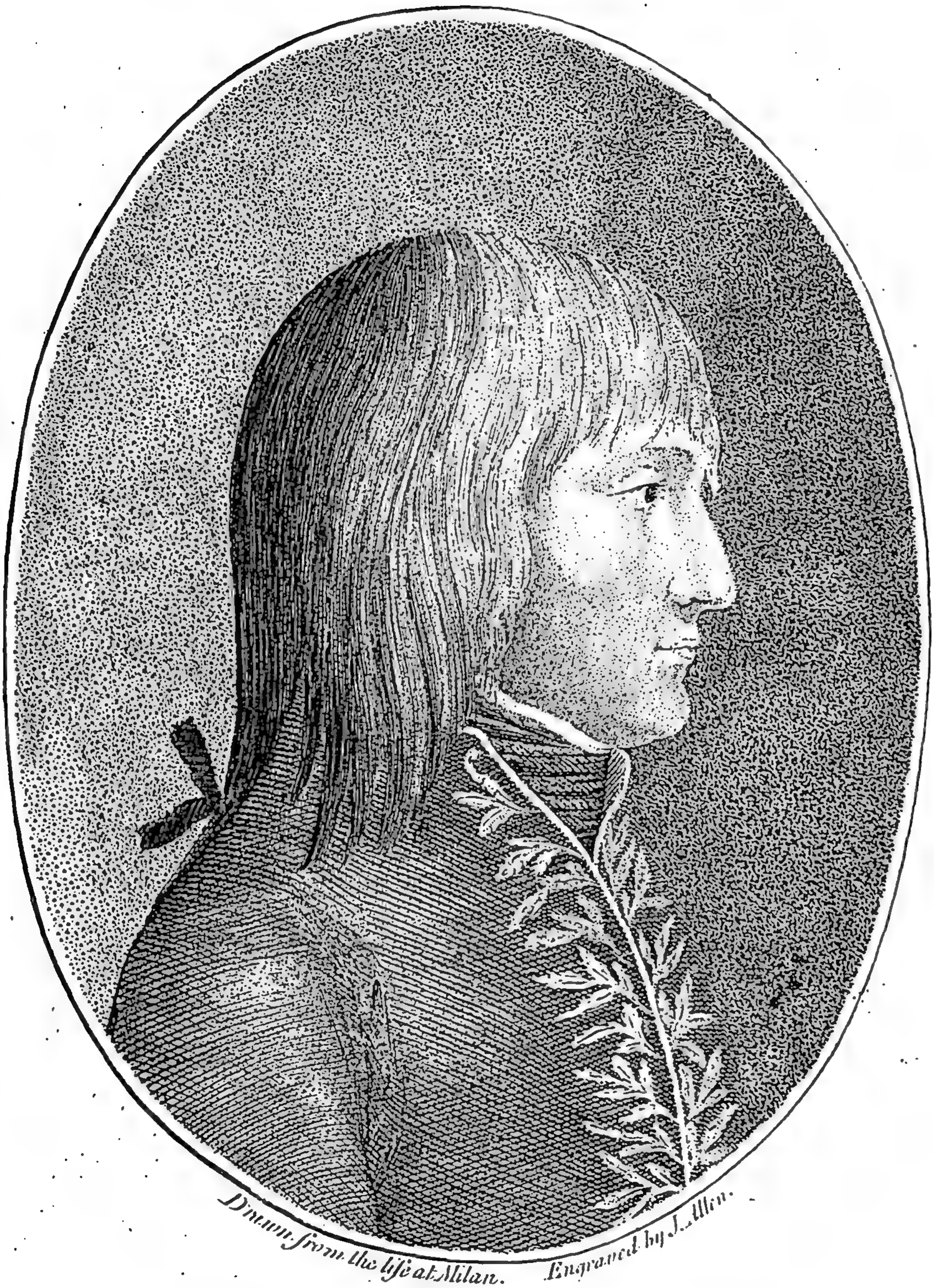
While the king of Pruſſia drained the proſtrate territories of Saxony, and Great-Britain, governed by miniſters whom ſhe hated and deſpiſed, indulged her diſhonourable fears, and called to her defence large bands of ſubſidiary Germans, Lewis aſſumed new vigour, and prepared to improve the favourable moments of enterpriſe. Numerous bodies of troops drawn towards the ſea-coaſts, continually alarmed the oppoſite ſhores of England; their hoſtile appearance ſerved to cover

the ſecret intentions of the French, who aſpired to the conqueſt of Minorca, an iſland in the Mediterranean, which the Engliſh had formerly wreſted from Spain.

The armament for that purpoſe conſiſted of fifteen thouſand land forces, commanded by the mareſchal duke of Richlieu; and twelve ſhips of the line, with five frigates, under the marquis Galiſſoniere. They reached Minorca with a proſperous wind; the troops were diſembarked, and immediately inveſted the caſtle of St. Philip's, which commands the town and harbour of Mahon. The Engliſh had detached Byng to the relief of the iſland, with a ſquadron equal to that of France; Galiſſoniere ſoon after engaged the Britiſh admiral in an indeciſive action. The former returned to block up the port of Mahon; the latter withdrew to Gibraltar; and on his recal to England, expiated with his life the ſtain which his puſillanimity had fixed on the naval glory of his country: While the garriſon of Fort St. Philip, deſtitute of hope, ſurrendered, after a ſiege of nine weeks; and the iſland of Minorca ſubmitted to the dominion of France.

A. D. 1756, 1757.] The ſatisfaction which Lewis reaped from this acquiſition was allayed by domeſtic diſſenſions. The parliament, by their imprudent perſecution of the partiſans of the bull Unigenitus, awakened again the indignation of their ſovereign: With an honourable, though perhaps injudicious zeal, they had alſo, in the midſt of a bloody war, refuſed to regiſter certain taxes, which they conſidered as oppreſſive to the people. Lewis, attended by his guards, appeared in the aſſembly; he ſuppreſſed the fourth and fifth Chambers of Inqueſts, the members of which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their firm and animated oppoſition; he commanded the bull Unigenitus to be reſpected; and prohibited the ſecular judges from ordering the adminiſtration of the ſacraments. Fifteen counſellors of the Great Chamber lodged their reſignation at the office next day: one hundred and twenty-four members of the different courts of parliament followed their example; and the people, who participated in the ſufferings of the champions of their religious freedom, diſplayed their diſcontent in loud and impatient murmurs.

A. D. 1757.] Their clamours, moſt probably, would have been little reſpected by a monarch, who, early nurſed in deſpotiſm, conſidered the will of the ſovereign as the ſole rule for the actions of his ſubjects. But Lewis was ſoon taught that the affections of his people were the beſt guards to his throne; and that in the plenitude of his power, he ſtill was expoſed to the rage of gloomy fanaticiſm. Francis Damien, an unhappy wretch, whoſe ſullen mind, naturally unſettled, was inflamed by the diſputes between the king and his parliament relative to religion, embraced the deſperate reſolution of attempting the life of his ſovereign.—In the duſk of the evening, as the king prepared to enter his coach, he was ſuddenly wounded, though ſlightly, between the ribs, in the preſence of his ſon, and in the midſt of his guards. The daring aſſaſſin had mingled with the crowd of courtiers, and was inſtantly betrayed by his diſtracted countenance. He declared it never was his intention to kill the king; but that he only meant to wound him,



Drawn from the life at Milan. Engraved by J. Allen.

BONAPARTE

Commander in Chief of the Army in Italy

that God might touch his heart, and incline him to reſtore the tranquillity of his dominions, by re-eſtabliſhing the parliament, and baniſhing the archbiſhop of Paris, whom he regarded as the ſource of the preſent commotions. In theſe frantic and incoherent declarations he perſiſted amidſt the moſt exquiſite tortures; and after human ingenuity had been exhauſted in deviſing new modes of torment, his judges, tired out with his obſtinacy, conſigned him to a death, the inhumanity of which is increaſed by the evident madneſs that ſtimulated him to the fatal attempt.

But whether the mind of Lewis was deeply impreſſed by his late danger, or that he dreaded in the midſt of a bloody and extenſive war to alienate the hearts of his people, it is certain that he a ſecond time baniſhed the archbiſhop of Paris, who had been recalled; and found it expedient to accommodate matters with the parliament, which again proceeded to buſineſs.

In reſpect to foreign engagements, the councils of France were not influenced by the late attempt on the life of the king; and Lewis ſtill perſevered in his reſolution of attacking the electoral dominions of the king of England. Mareſchal Saxe, the ſource of ſo many victories to France, was now no more; and mareſchal d'Etrees was appointed to the command of an army which conſiſted of eighty thouſand men. He paſſed the Rhine, compelled the duke of Cumberland (who at the head of about forty thouſand Heſſians, Hanoverians, and Pruſſians, watched his motions, and in feeble ſkirmiſhes endeavoured to retard his progreſs) to retire behind the Weſer; he effected the paſſage of that river, drove the duke from an advantageous poſt in the village of Haſtenbach, and amidſt his triumphant career was recalled by the imprudent partiality of his ſovereign.

The mareſchal duke of Richelieu, adorned with the laurels of Minorca, aſpired to unite with the character of an accompliſhed courtier the reputation of a conſummate general. Lewis could not long reſiſt the ſolicitations of his favourite, and Richelieu was appointed to the chief command in Germany. The duke of Cumberland puſhed from poſt to poſt, at length took refuge under the cannon of Stade. Surrounded on every ſide he was there reduced to the neceſſity of ſigning the ſingular convention of Cloſter-ſeven, by which an army of thirty-eight thouſand Hanoverians, Heſſians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannic majeſty, was diſſolved, and diſtributed into different quarters of cantonment, without being diſarmed, or conſidered as priſoners of war.—The French were left, till the definitive reconciliation of the two ſovereigns, in full poſſeſſion of the countries they had conquered; though under the expreſs condition of abſtaining from future violences, hoſtilities being immediately to ceaſe on both ſides.

With the capitulation of Cloſter-ſeven the fortune of France expired; and an event which promiſed the moſt brilliant advantages, was ſucceeded by five years of continual defeat and inceſſant calamity. To deſcribe the different actions of a war, wide, bloody, and recent, would exceed the limits preſcribed to the work before us; and the reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed, if, abandoning the order

we have hitherto purſued, we place before him a ſlight ſketch of the principal occurrences during that period in the different quarters of the world.

In Europe, the king of Pruſſia, driven out of Bohemia, and menaced by the hoſtile armies of Sweden, Ruſſia, and Auſtria, was now deſerted by the only ally on whom he could place any dependance; and beheld the forces of France ready to penetrate into Saxony.—Prince Soubiſe with twenty thouſand French had joined the Imperial ſtandard; and Frederic ſaw the neceſſity of giving battle to the combined army, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand French and Imperialiſts, with leſs than half its number; but the preſumption of prince Soubiſe decided the fate of the day; he advanced without caution or order, as to a certain victory; his temerity was chaſtiſed by a bloody defeat; and Frederic from the triumphant field of Roſbach directing his march towards Sileſia, arrived in time to join the prince of Bevern, and to renew his laurels, by a ſecond victory over the Auſtrians at Liſſa.

In Hanover, the rapacity of the duke of Richelieu exhauſted the ſubjected country. A demand from the court of France of the arms of thoſe troops who had capitulated at Cloſter-ſeven, arouſed their indignation: they conſidered this as the laſt diſgrace of ſoldiers; and ſecretly reſolving to relieve their country from oppreſſion, they aſſembled from their different cantonments under prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, whom his Britannic majeſty had inveſted with the chief command of his electoral forces. The French, diſperſed and unprepared, were ſucceſſively expelled from Otterberg, Bremen, and Verden; four thouſand were taken priſoners in the city of Minden; and the duke of Richelieu, better calculated to ſhine in courts than camps, with the wretched remnant of his once victorious army, repaſſed with difficulty the Rhine, before a body of men whom he had ſo lately vanquiſhed and trampled upon.

A. D. 1758, 1762.] While the gallant Frederic maintained the war with various ſucceſs, and alternately afflicted the dominions of his adverſaries, or beheld his own capital inſulted by their preſence, the French were doomed to number their campaigns by ſucceſſive defeats. At Crevelt, count Clermont, at the head of fifty thouſand men, was attacked and broken by prince Ferdinand, and compelled with conſiderable loſs to retire under the cannon of Cologne; Mareſchal de Contades, who ſuceeded him, ſuffered in the enſuing campaign a more deciſive defeat at Minden; and mareſchal Broglio, who ſuperceded Contades, was equally unfortunate, and on the heights of Warbourg ſunk beneath the ſuperior genius of prince Ferdinand. The death of George the Second, and the acceſſion of his grandſon George the Third, to the throne of England, changed not, at firſt, the councils of the Engliſh, nor the fortune of the French; and the court of Verſailles, preſſed on every ſide, implored the ſupport of the kindred crown of Spain. That kingdom was ruled by Charles the Third, late king of Naples and Sicily, and the ſon of Philip the Fifth. His elder brother, Ferdinand the Sixth, had invariably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his pacific diſpoſition, and reſiſted the intrigues of France: but the preſent monarch, more am-

bitious, or more attached to the houſe of Bourbon, ſigned the celebrated *family compact*; an alliance which, with the ſingle exception of the American trade, naturalizes, in the dominions of the houſe of Bourbon, the ſubjects of each crown; and ſtipulates that the kings of France and Spain ſhall look upon every power as the enemy of both, which becomes the enemy of either.

Yet the aſſiſtance of Spain was feeble and inadequate; her attempt to wound Great Britain through her ally, and to invade the neutral kingdom of Portugal, was ill-concerted and worſe executed, and the Spaniards were compelled to abandon their haſty conqueſts with diſgrace. Lewis was ſtill doomed to regret the unavailing ſlaughter of his ſubjects; and mareſchal Broglio, near the village of Kirch Denkern, was repulſed by prince Ferdinand, with the loſs of five thouſand men. France had indeed hitherto repelled the deſultory deſcents of the Engliſh on her coaſts; but her pride was deeply wounded by a loſs, leſs important in its real value than humiliating in the eyes of Europe. Belleiſle, an iſland of about twelve leagues in circumference, and ſituated between Port Lewis and the mouth of the Loire, was reduced by an armament from England; and the Britiſh banners diſplayed from Palais, inſulted and alarmed the inhabitants of the adjacent coaſts. The recal of Broglio from the German army, with the joint appointment of the Prince of Soubiſe and Marſhal d'Etrees, interrupted not the rapid and triumphant career of prince Ferdinand. The French were compelled entirely to evacuate the electorate of Hanover; and in the landgraviate of Heſſe they now occupied Ziegenhayen alone: while the king of Pruſſia, by the death of the empreſs of Ruſſia, was delivered from his moſt formidabe and implacable enemy.

A D. 1757, 1762.] In Aſia, the war, which had been ſcarce ſuſpended by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, was revived with increaſe of fury, and with the moſt diſaſterous conſequences to France; her ſettlement of Chandernagore, on the banks of the Ganges, was taken by admiral Watſon and colonel Clive; general Lally was compelled to retire from a fruitleſs attempt againſt the walls of Madras; he was afterwards defeated in ſucceſſive engagements, and reduced to ſeek ſhelter within the fortifications of Pondicherry: that ſettlement, the laſt that remained of any conſequence to the French on the coaſt of Coromandel, was inveſted by the Engliſh. After a gallant defence, Lally was obliged by famine to ſurrender: his obſtinacy and violence rejected thoſe terms of capitulation which he might have obtained; and the victors, informed ſoon after of the hoſtile confederacy of the houſe of Bourbon, turned their arms againſt the ſettlements of Spain, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Manilla, the capital of Luconia, one of the principal of the Philippine iſlands.

A. D. 1758, 1762.] In America, Louiſbourg, garriſoned by near three thouſand troops, under the command of chevalier du Drucourt, was attacked by admiral Boſcawen, and the generals Amherſt and Wolfe: for ſix weeks the governor maintained a gallant defence; he was at length compelled to ſurrender priſoner with his whole garriſon; and the iſland of Cape Breton ſhared the fate of the

capital. The conquerer next directed his attention to the continent, and ſwept away in his progreſs the forts of Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and Niagara. But in Canada the force of the French was ſtill entire; and the marquis of Montcalm, a brave and enterpriſing general, advantageouſly poſted, protected with a formidable army, Quebec, the capital of that province. His ſuperior force, and almoſt inacceſſible ſituation, could not repreſs the adventurous ſpirit of the Engliſh; animated by the example of their general, Wolfe, they climbed the rugged aſcent of the Heights of Abraham; and were formed for battle on the ſummit, before Montcalm, lulled into ſecurity by the temerity of the attempt, would give credit to the intelligence. Convinced that the report was too true, he now determined to decide the fate of Canada in a general engagement: but the adverſe fortune of France prevailed. Montcalm, after diſplaying equal ſkill and courage, periſhed on the field, with above a thouſand of his braveſt ſoldiers. The Engliſh alſo purchaſed their victory at the expence of their general, whoſe early martial genius promiſed to rank him among the firſt commanders of any age or nation; but their ſucceſs in every other point was brilliant and unalloyed; Quebec ſurrendered; and a ſubſequent attempt of M. de Levi to recover that city, was, after an ineffectual victory, baffled by the perſevering valour of the garriſon. The remnant of the French forces, deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, mouldered away; the town of New Orleans, and a few plantations on the Miſſiſſippi, alone remained to France, of all her ſettlements in North America; while in the Weſt Indies, the powerful armaments of the Engliſh wreſted from her the important and fruitful iſlands of Guadaloupe and Martinico; and ſoon after ſhook to the very baſis the grandeur and proſperity of the houſe of Bourbon, by ſtorming the Havannah, the principal ſea-port in the iſland of Cuba, the key of the Gulph of Mexico, and the centre of the Spaniſh trade and navigation in the New World.

A. D. 1758.] In Africa, France was driven from the forts and factories which ſhe had eſtabliſhed on the river Senegal. Monſ. St. Jean, the governor of Goree, an iſland which lies at the diſtance of thirty leagues on the ſame coaſt, attempted to defend it from an Engliſh armament, conducted by commodore Keppel and colonel Worge; but his ardour was ill ſeconded by his garriſon, and he was reluctantly compelled to ſubmit to the ſuperior numbers of his enemies.

A. D. 1758, 1759.] But it was on the ſea, that element ever fatal to the ambition of France, and the proud theatre of Britiſh triumph, that the houſe of Bourbon beheld its lofty hopes finally overwhelmed; that marine which the treaſures and reſources of Lewis had been devoted to create, was in a few years totally annihilated. The marquis du Queſne, with three ſhips of the line and a frigate, was intercepted between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena, by a conſiderable Engliſh ſquadron, under admiral Oſborne; the frigate eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of her ſailing, but two of the ſhips of the line were taken after an obſtinate reſiſtance and the third was driven on ſhore on the Spaniſh coaſt. M. de la Clue, in attempting to paſs the ſtreights of Gibraltar with twelve ſhips of the line, was en-

countered by admiral Boſcawen with fourteen; the French ſoon fought their ſafety in flight; de la Clue was wounded himſelf; two of his largeſt ſhips were taken, two more deſtroyed, and the remaining eight found ſhelter under the cannon of Cadiz. But the principal fleet of France, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line and four frigates, ſtill remained at Breſt, under the command of M. Conflans, and meditated a deſcent on the coaſt of Ireland. In the proſecution of this deſign, that admiral availed himſelf of a ſtorm which had driven the Britiſh ſquadron into their own harbours—but he had ſcarce put to ſea before his hopes were blaſted by the appearance of admiral Hawke, with twenty-two ſhips of the line. Conflans who dreaded the encounter, ſought ſhelter among the ſhoals and rocks of a lee-ſhore. He was purſued by his daring antagoniſt—his own ſhip the Royal Sun, was driven on ſhore, and burnt by the French themſelves—the Hero ſhared the ſame fate, by the hands of the Engliſh, the Formidable ſtruck her colours, and the Theſée, the Superbe, and the Juſte, were buried in the ocean by the Britiſh cannon, or the fury of the waves; the reſt ſought refuge in the river Vilaine. The victors themſelves did not entirely eſcape the rage of the tempeſt; two of their ſhips ſtruck on a ſand, and were totally loſt; but to the French marine, the wound, during the courſe of the war, was incurable; and thoſe ſhips which had eſcaped into the Vilaine, could never elude the vigilance of a Britiſh ſquadron conſtantly ſtationed to block up the mouth of that river.

A. D. 1762.] Such repeated diſaſters humbled the pride of Lewis; his finances were exhauſted: his commerce at a ſtand; his marine annihilated; in the four different quarters of the world his arms had proved unfortunate; and his alliance with Spain had only introduced that crown to a participation of his calamities. Happily for him, the Engliſh councils were equally diſpoſed to peace. George the Third had diſmiſſed from adminiſtration the man whoſe commanding genius had changed the fortune of his country, and raiſed the Britiſh empire to a glory that aſtoniſhed the world. The new miniſter liſtened with readineſs to the propoſals of the court of Verſailles: the great outlines of the treaty were ſoon adjuſted, as both parties agreed to withdraw themſelves totally from the German war, and to reſtore the places they had taken. France alſo ceded to Great Britain, Canada, and the greateſt part of her ſettlements in America; but retained the right of fiſhing on the coaſt of Newfoundland, with the ſmall iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. She received back Martinico, Guadaloupe, Goree, and Belle-iſle, with the neutral iſland of St. Lucia; and her Eaſt-India Company were eſtabliſhed in their former ſettlements; but in return ſhe conſented to deſtroy the harbour and demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk; reſtored Minorca; yielded Grenada and the Grenadines; and gave up all claim to the neutral iſlands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago. Her ally, Spain, obtained again the Havannah, and all that part of the iſland of Cuba which had been conquered by the Engliſh; but in return, Charles engaged to permit the Engliſh to cut logwood in the bay of Honduras, to evacuate Portugal, and to cede Florida to Great Britain. The king of Pruſſia ſoon after concluded a treaty with the empreſs-queen, by which all the

conqueſts were mutually reſtored; and after a tedious and bloody war, the tranquillity of Europe was once more happily re-eſtabliſhed.

The late treaty, which delivered Lewis from the ſtorms of foreign war, promiſed a ſeaſon of reſt and tranquillity to his declining years, his luſt of tranſatlantic dominion had expoſed the veſſel of the ſtate to imminent danger, and at length eſcaped from the fury of the tempeſt, it might naturally have been expected that his caution and vigilance would have been exerted to ſteer clear of the ſhoals of domeſtic contention. But his reign was deſtined to prove equally inimical to the happineſs of his people, and to the deſpotic power of his ſucceſſor—the political horizon began already to be darkened with thoſe clouds which afterwards burſt with accumulated violence on the head, and ſhook to the very foundation the throne, of his grandſon.

The power of the firſt monarchs of France had been bounded by the national aſſemblies, to which was frequently applied the name of Parliaments: but when the feeble ſucceſſors of Charlemagne ſuffered the reins to drop from their hands, the barons aſſumed thoſe privileges which had been formerly annexed to the crown; and while they governed their own diſtricts with independent ſway, neglected the general concerns of the ſtate, and unleſs urged by private advantage, ſeldom deigned to attend the public ſummons. The vigour of Philip, ſurnamed Auguſtus, reſtored the ſemblance of regal authority; while the juſtice and wiſdom which his edicts diſplayed, allured the concurrence rather than commanded the obedience of his ſubjects. He united to the crown ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable provinces of France; he embelliſhed the principal towns and cities of his dominions; and generally ſucceſsful in war, he was reſpected and imitated in peace.

The integrity and piety of his ſon and ſucceſſor, Lewis the Ninth, caſt the ſame luſtre on the crown as had adorned it during the proſperous reign of Philip. Though defeated and even made captive in his unfortunate expedition againſt the infidels, his juſtice and devout humility blended with that of king the holy appellation of ſaint; and his ſubjects were diſpoſed to liſten with reverence to a legiſlator, who, ſevere to himſelf, directed his whole views to the benefit of the ſtate: his patience and vigilance were continually exerciſed in alleviating the diſtreſſes of his people, and reſtoring that order which had been ſubverted by the haughty and reſtleſs ſpirits of a martial age.

The encouragement which St. Lewis gave to the code of Juſtinian, and the body of inſtitutions which in his reign were compiled from the Roman laws, eſtabliſhed a grand revolution in the maxims of juriſprudence, and in the cognizance of civil cauſes. New courts were erected by his authority or example throughout the kingdom; the feudal judges who preſided over them, brave and indolent, by genius and habit were but ill qualified patiently to inveſtigate the theory of a complicated ſcience, or to toil through volumes which daily increaſed upon their hands; the numerous charters of enfranchiſement, which had been granted to different towns and villages, required a variety of ſtipulations and exceptions; and the

opinions and judgments of canoniſts and clerks were inceſſantly demanded, either to frame new regulations, or to explain the old ones.

Hence this claſs of men, by degrees, entered into the functions of judicature, and became conſtituent members of thoſe courts of juſtice which were ſummoned by the kings, either for the determination of general feudal queſtions, or of private claims of right; and which were convened at any time, or in any part of the kingdom, according to the royal pleaſure. The ſecular peers and lords, whom they at firſt only aſſiſted with their advice, ſoon yielded to their ſuperiority in thoſe tribunals; inſtead of the ſimplicity and conciſeneſs which characteriſed the feudal forms of trial, and that martial appearance which can be compared only to the warlike ſplendour of a Poliſh diet, the judges, in peaceful dignity, devoted their attention to the nice diſcuſſion of law queſtions, and encouraged thoſe ſubtleties which at once perplex and protract, and which throughout Europe ſo univerſally diſgrace the modern courts of juſtice.

Yet thoſe who had raiſed themſelves to eminence by the knowledge of the law, were ſtill confined to deciſions which affected only the life or property of the ſubject, and remained excluded from the diſcuſſion of matters of political importance. The national aſſemblies had ſunk into diſuſe; the court of peers, which originally was compoſed of only ſix ſecular and ſix eccleſiaſtical peers, but which had inſenſibly admitted the moſt powerful barons and biſhops, and the principal officers of the crown, were reſtrained to appeals which involved the intereſts of perſons of the ſame rank, the privileges of the peerage, or the pretenſions of the throne; and Philip the Fair, the grandſon of St. Lewis, alarmed by the thunders of the Vatican, and deſirous of finding ſome ſupport in the concurrence of his people at large, convened an aſſembly of the three orders of his kingdom, the nobility, the clergy, and the commons; and for the firſt time introduced the latter into the grand council of the ſtate.

The example of Philip was imitated by his ſucceſſors; and theſe aſſemblies, which obtained indiſcriminately the names of States-General or Parliaments, were held as the neceſſities of the ſovereign ſuggeſted till the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth. But the kings of France, ever jealous of their ſpirit, endeavoured to prevent them from aſſuming a determined form or regular eſtabliſhment; the place of their meeting was frequently changed, and ſeveral provincial aſſemblies, to diminiſh the danger of their unanimity, were repeatedly held at the ſame time, and attended by commiſſioners from the crown. The later princes of the houſe of Valois even endeavoured to ſubſtitute in their place conventions of the notables, and other partial meetings of the nobles; and whenever diſtreſs impelled them, it was ſtill with reluctance they had recourſe to their laſt reſource the States-General or Parliaments.

But while the ſovereigns of France were impreſſed with evident jealouſy of theſe aſſemblies, they nouriſhed with care that court of juſtice which was compoſed of the moſt eminent among the nobility, the clergy, and the profeſſors of the law, and which, equally with the national aſſembly and the ſtates-general, had acquir ed

the denomination of Parliament. Philip the Fair fixed the permanent ſeat of it at Paris; and as one chamber was inſufficient for the arrangement and diſpatch of appeals, he formed another, which was called the Chamber of Inqueſts. Theſe chambers were appointed to meet twice in the year at the terms of All Saints and Eaſter, when their ſeſſions were continued for two months: but it is probable, that during the anarchy of the unfortunate reign of Charles the Sixth, the magiſtrates continued to ſit without intermiſſion; and the ſeſſions of the parliament have ever ſince been only legally prorogued by their own conſent, and the termination of public buſineſs.

From the moment that the Parliament of Paris was eſtabliſhed, the progreſs of it was rapid and intereſting. The principal barons preſided with their ſwords by their ſides, as the ſupreme judges; but ignorant of the juriſprudence, their deciſions were directed by the opinions of the moſt able lawyers, who, as counſellors, explained to them the edicts of the ſtate and the cuſtoms of the kingdom. The nobles, during the calamities which afflicted the æra of Charles the Sixth, deſerted their judicial ſtation; and it was immediately occupied by the moſt able profeſſors of the law. When Charles the Seventh recovered Paris from the arms of the Engliſh, it was his firſt care to re-eſtabliſh the adminiſtration of juſtice; he compoſed the grand chamber of parliament of thirty counſellors, half laity and half eccleſiaſtics; the chamber of inqueſts he augmented to forty members; and confining his appointments to thoſe only verſed in the law, delivered his people from the capricious partiality of an ignorant nobility.

The neceſſity of providing ſome permanent repoſitory for the royal edicts, induced the kings of France to enroll them in the journals of their courts of parliament; and the members of thoſe courts ſoon availed themſelves of this cuſtom, to diſpute the legality of any regulation which had not been thus regiſtered. But the right of remonſtrating, which in modern times has been aſſerted with ſo much vigour, only feebly appeared in the reign of Lewis the Eleventh; and during the minority of his ſon, Charles the Eighth, when the duke of Orleans diſputed the regency with the lady of Beaujeau, and endeavoured to allure the parliament of Paris to ſupport his pretenſions, in oppoſition to the determination of the States-General, the preſident of that court replied, "that it was the "buſineſs of the parliament ſolely to adminiſter juſtice to the people; and that "war, the management of the revenue, and the government of the king, were "not within their province:" and he ſtrongly recommended to the duke, to reſtrain himſelf within the limits of his allegiance, and not to interrupt the tranquillity of the kingdom.

But this moderation was of ſhort duration. As the influence of the States-General diminiſhed, that of the parliament daily increaſed; the court of peers, reſigning its ſeparate claim of juriſdiction, was blended with it; and the kings of France, by holding their ſupreme beds of juſtice in this court, inveſted it with the ſupreme authority of the ſtate both in civil and criminal affairs. The

encroachments of the ſee of Rome firſt engaged the attention of the parliament; and in the reign of Francis the Firſt, ſome ſtrong remonſtrances were preſented againſt the miſmanagement of the finances, and the impious rapacity which had ſtripped St. Martin of the ſilver rails that had been beſtowed on his ſhrine by Lewis the Eleventh.

In the tranſient and feeble reign of Francis the Second, when the progreſs of the reformed religion awakened the fears of the moſt zealous catholics, and afforded a pretence to the ambition of the houſe of Lorrain, the members of the parliament were ſummoned to deliver their opinions on religious toleration; and the lords of the council and the Guiſes mutually agreed to refer the deciſion of this important queſtion to that court. After long and warm debates, the majority of the parliament, by an edict, eſtabliſhed the authority of the Roman or apoſtolic church; they declared the adminiſtration of any other religious rites capital crimes, and the judgment of them was left to the provincial courts. Heretical opinions were conſigned to the eccleſiaſtical tribunals; but the power of puniſhing the culprits remained with the ſecular magiſtrates, who were reſtricted from pronouncing a ſeverer ſentence than baniſhment.

When Charles the Ninth, the brother and ſucceſſor of Francis, on the fatal eve of St Bartholomew, involved the unſuſpecting Hugonots in one promiſcuous maſſacre, and ſtained the memory of his reign with indelible infamy, the court of parliament praiſed the prudence of the king, who declared in that court, that he had only anticipated the deſigns of Coligny and the proteſtants againſt his own perſon; yet the preſident, de Thou, could not forbear adding, "That if the "conſpiracy of Coligny was real, he ought to have been proceeded againſt "legally."

In the ſubſequent reign of Henry the Third, when France was agitated by the ambition of the houſe of Lorrain, and the formidable confederacy of the League, the parliament maintained pure and unſhaken their allegiance to their ſovereign. On the aſſaſſination of the duke of Guiſe, the capital was ſubjected to the licentious caprice of the council of ſixteen; and Harlai, the preſident of the parliament, with Meſſrs. de Thou and Potier, who had incurred the diſpleaſure of the zealous leaguers, were by the triumphant faction committed to the Baſtile. A more unfortunate fate awaited the preſident Briſſon, who after the aſſaſſination of Henry the Third, had endeavoured to awake the loyalty of the Pariſians towards Henry the Fourth, and was executed, without the form of trial, by a ſentence of the council of ſixteen.

When that monarch recovered his capital, he reſtored the parliament to its dignity and freedom; and thoſe edicts which had been extorted by the power of the league, againſt himſelf and his predeceſſor, were formally annulled. But when Henry himſelf grateful for the former ſervices of the proteſtants, whoſe religious tenants he had abjured, in the edict of Nantz, which was regiſtered in parliament, granted to the reformed permiſſion to aſſemble at what place and at what

time they pleaſed, to admit foreigners into their ſynods, and at pleaſure to quit the kingdom and join foreign ſynods; the parliament heſitated not to remonſtrate againſt a conceſſion ſo dangerous to the royal authority. The ſovereign liſtened with pleaſure to the language of loyalty; but the reformed were entitled to his confidence; he wiſhed to extinguiſh the rancour between the proteſtants and catholics by a generous toleration; and he compelled the parliament reluctantly to regiſter the edict.

On the death of Henry the fourth, the parliament confirmed the title of his widow to the regency, during the minority of Lewis the Thirteenth. Even after that prince came of age to aſſume the reins of government, they vindicated their authority againſt the duke d'Epernon, who had preſumed to releaſe by force a ſoldier from the priſon of St. Germain. The king, partial to the duke, commanded the parliament to diſcontinue their proceedings; the parliament obeyed; but at the ſame time they determined to ſtop the adminiſtration of juſtice, till they ſhould have received ſatisfaction for this inſult to their body; and though the king diſapproved of their reſolution, the duke d'Epernon was at length compelled to a perſonal ſubmiſſion.

But when the commanding genius of Richelieu guided the counſels of his ſovereign, the parliament was taught to reſpect the voice of a maſter: Their mediation in favour of the queen-mother was ſeverely reproved, and they were reduced, at Metz, to implore the pardon of inſulted majeſty. By acquieſcing in the deſires of the court in diſſolving the marriage of the duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, with Margaret of Lorrain, they reconciled themſelves to the haughty cardinal; yet, unmindful of their late humiliation, they again expoſed themſelves to his reſentment, by reſiſting the eſtabliſhment of the French Academy; and though their oppoſition was ineffectual, that miniſter ever after regarded them with jealouſy and averſion.

The death of the cardinal was ſoon ſucceeded by that of Lewis the Thirteenth, and the minority of his ſon was entruſted to the care of the queen-mother, Anne of Auſtria. That princeſs called to the ſupreme direction of affairs the cardinal Mazarin, and the nation ſubmitted with reluctance to the authority of a foreigner and a prieſt. The parliament availed themſelves of the general indignation, to ſhake off the fetters which Richelieu had impoſed, and to aſſume powers unknown to them before. Some vexatious edicts which they refuſed to regiſter, was the ſignal of public revolt; the queen, to force obedience, arreſted ſeveral of the counſellors; and the people eſpouſing the cauſe of the parliament, whom they conſidered as their champions againſt an oppreſſive miniſter, tumultuouſly aſſembled in arms, and barricadoed the ſtreets. The court, alarmed at their hoſtile appearance, reſtored the members of the parliament to their freedom, and ſoon after abandoned a capital which they could no longer govern. For four ſucceſſive years the parliament alternately oppoſed the authority of the regent, and launched its edicts againſt the princes of the blood. Amidſt every ſpecies of anarchy and civil commotion, Lewis the Fourteenth attained the age fixed for his majority; he

appeared in his parliament, boldly reprimanded their preſumption, and baniſhed thoſe members whoſe activity had rendered them moſt conſpicuous. The reſt of the aſſembly ſubmitted to the mandates of their ſovereign; they cancelled the obnoxious edicts againſt Mazarin; they received that miniſter with every mark of regard and approbation; and during the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth the parliament of Paris was content to adminiſter juſtice in obſequious ſilence.

Towards the cloſe of the reign of that monarch, ſome feeble murmurs eſcaped them againſt the bull Unigenitus, which they conſidered as an infringement on the liberties of the Gallican church; but no ſooner had Lewis expired, than the parliament embraced the opportunity of eſcaping from that ſubjection in which he had held them; and, contrary to the will of the deceaſed monarch, they veſted the ſole power of the regency in the hands of the duke of Orleans. Yet the freedom of their expoſtulations with that prince, on the ruinous ſyſtem of Law, determined him to diſmiſs them to Pontoiſe; and they were compelled to purchaſe their recall by the moſt degrading conceſſions. We have ſince beheld them, on the reſumption of the bull Unigenitus, reſiſting Lewis the Fifteenth in the plenitude of his power; and though repeatedly baniſhed, yet conſtantly recalled, and gathering from each fall encreaſe of vigour.

From the time of Philip the Fair, the parliament of Paris advanced rapidly, and continually gathered ſtrength in its progreſs. In the different and moſt flouriſhing cities of France, other parliaments, on a ſimilar principle, were gradually erected; but though we have traced the counſellors of law thus elevating themſelves to the higheſt and nobleſt offices of government, and diſpenſing juſtice in the ſupreme court of the kingdom, yet the notions of honour peculiar to the Gothic nations precluded them from being ennobled by their places: they were officially aſſociated with the peers, and had ſat in judgment on princes of the blood; yet for ſeveral centuries they in vain ſtruggled to obtain admiſſion into the order of Nobility; and it was not till the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, who had humbled their power, that their vanity was gratified by the indulgence of that monarch, whoſe edict firſt entitled them to the honours and privileges of the nobles.

A. D. 1762.] While Lewis ſunk beneath the fortune and genius of his foreign enemies, the parliament of Paris were vigorouſly engaged in purſuing their triumph over their domeſtic foes. The arts and influence of the Jeſuits had obtained and enforced the bull Unigenitus; and their victory had been conſidered as a dangerous wound to the dignity of the parliament. But that order, that had obtruded itſelf into the cabinets of the moſt powerful potentates of Europe, that had attained almoſt an independent ſovereignty in America, now tottered on the brink of deſtruction. A conſpiracy which they had framed and encouraged againſt the life of the king of Portugal, excited the general deteſtation; and while they laboured under this odium, ſome fraudulent practices to which their avarice ſtimulated them in France, completed their diſgrace, and expoſed them to the ſeverity of the civil law.

La Valette, chief of their miſſionaries at Martinico, had ever ſince the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle carried on, for the benefit of his ſociety, an extenſive and advantageous commerce: by his ingenious and bold ſpeculations, he had augmented it to ſuch a degree as to excite the jealouſy of the merchants and inhabitants of the colony; he formed eſtabliſhments in the neighbouring iſlands, and had factories at Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent; he drew bills of exchange on Marſeilles, Nantz, Lyons, Paris, Cadiz, Leghorn, and Amſterdam; and his ambition aſpired to monopolize the trade of France in the Weſt-Indies, when his projects were blaſted by an event as calamitous as it was unexpected.

His veſſels laden with riches went over the ſeas in ſecurity, when the Engliſh commenced thoſe hoſtilities fatal to ſo many ſpeculators, and eſpecially to the brothers Lionay and Gouffre, merchants at Marſeilles, who, in expectation of two millions of merchandize, had accepted notes to the amount of a million and a half, drawn by the Jeſuits. Stunned by this heavy blow, they in vain implored the ſupport of the ſociety of Jeſus; that order, blind to its real intereſt, was either deaf to their intreaties, or too tardy in its aſſiſtance. Before their courier arrived, the houſe of the Lionays ſtopped payment, and throughout the principal commercial towns in France involved a multitude of unfortunate perſons in their ruin.

A. D. 1761, 1762. Thoſe who were intereſted as ſufferers in the failure of the Lionays, ſought for indemnification from the order of the Jeſuits; they aſſerted that La Valette had acted, as a monk indeed neceſſarily muſt do, for the benefit of his ſociety; and on the refuſal of the order to make good the loſſes they had ſuſtained in their connection with their agent, they carried their cauſe before the parliament of Paris.

That aſſembly eagerly ſeized the opportunity of humbling their domeſtic enemies. The Jeſuits were every where cited before their tribunals, and ordered to do juſtice to their creditors. In vain did they urge that commerce being forbidden to religious orders by the canons of the church, and by the laws, the engagements of La Valette were perſonal, and ought not to involve the ruin of a whole ſociety. But the completion of their errors was the giving into the ſnares that had been prepared for them by their adverſaries: theſe, in order to prove that the government of the Jeſuits was deſpotic; that every thing was ſubmitted to the power of the general: and that Father de la Valette neither was, nor could be, any thing elſe than the agent of the ſociety, appealed to the conſtitutions of the order. The Jeſuits imprudently accepted the challenge, and referred to the ſame authority to juſtify their aſſertion, that the ſociety had no property, and that the funds belonged to the ſeveral houſes or colleges.

The myſterious volume which had been ſo carefully ſecluded from the light, was now produced in open court: it was found to contain an admirable, but alarming picture of the order; all the members of which being united by the conformity of their morals, and the reſemblance of their doctrine and manners, ſubmitted implicitly to their chief; and formed a diſtinct body in the ſtate, ſubject

to the ſole controul of their general, who was abſolute over their actions, their fortunes, and their lives.

At the ſame time it was diſcovered, that from the period of their former expulſion they had again been admitted into the kingdom on certain conditions, which they had never fulfilled, and to which their general had obſtinately refuſed to ſubſcribe; ſo that the contract between this religious order and the ſtate had never been completed; and their exiſtence in France was the effect only of toleration, and not of adoption.

To theſe fatal diſcoveries were added the diſpoſitions of the marchioneſs de Pompadour, and her favourite miniſter. The mareſchal Belleiſle, who had entruſted the education of his only ſon to the Jeſuits, died before the concluſion of the peace: and to his influence ſucceeded the duke de Choiſeul, a nobleman who diſliked, and was honoured by the hatred of, the order. This miniſter, of an active and bold turn of mind, endeavoured to effect revolutions not only in ſtates, but alſo in the opinions of the people; ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of modern philoſophy, and an enemy to the power of religious communities, his ſentiments gave weight to the proceedings of parliament; the writings of the Jeſuits were pronounced to contain doctrines ſubverſive of all civil government, and injurious to the ſacred perſons of ſovereigns: — The attempt of Damien on the life of the king was attributed to their ſuggeſtions, and every thing ſeemed to foretel their ſpeedy diſſolution.

Yet one feeble ray of hope broke in upon the gloom from the proſpect of royal favour; and Lewis who had beheld the late proceedings with indifference, was now allured by the ſolicitations of the friends to the ſociety, faintly to interpoſe in their behalf. The royal mandate, for the ſpace of a year, averted their impending deſtiny; and during that period, all deciſions againſt the ſociety were commanded to be ſuſpended. A plan of accommodation was drawn up, and ſubmitted to the pope and the general of the order; but the latter, at this critical moment, diſplayed an ill-timed haughtineſs, and imprudent inflexibility: "*Let them exiſt as* "*they were, or not exiſt at all,*" was his injudicious anſwer. The indifference of the king returned; the activity of the parliament was rekindled; and the decree of proſcription immediately enſued.

The parliament declared the bulls, briefs, conſtitutions, and other regulations of the ſociety called of Jeſus, to be encroachments on authority, and abuſes of government; they diſſolved the ſociety; forbade the members to wear the habit of the order; and interdicted them from the poſſeſſion of any prebends, livings, or pulpits, or any other clerical or municipal offices. Their colleges were ſeized; their effects confiſcated; and the king joining in the general reſentment, ſeconded the decree of the parliament, by an edict which utterly aboliſhed the order of Jeſuits throughout his dominions.

A. D. 1763.] But the king of France, while he repoſed in the arms of beauty, little thought that in joining to ſuppreſs a religions order, he had kindled a flame which might prove fatal to deſpotic government. The French parliament, elated by their victory over eccleſiaſtical tyranny, now attempted to ſet bounds to the abſolute power of the crown, and ſeemed determined to confine it within the limits of law. An edict which Lewis iſſued for the continuance of ſome taxes which were to have ended with the war, was conſidered by the parliaments as an unwarrantable burthen; and a ſecond edict, which enabled the crown to redeem its debts at an inadequate price, was repreſented as a violation of the public faith. The flame rapidly ſpread through the kingdom; the different parliaments ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt, and ultimately refuſed to regiſter, the edicts; and thoſe of Paris and Rouen diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their firm and animated language. "The ſubject," ſaid the latter, "has a right to the eaſieſt and leaſt burthenſome "method of contributing to the wants of the ſtate. This right, which is founded "in nature, belongs to every nation in the world, whatever may be its form of "government; it is principally the right of the *Franks*, and in a more eſpecial "manner that of your province of Normandy. The Norman charter furniſhes on "this head the moſt reſpectable monuments of our national immunities, and of "the juſtice of the kings, your auguſt predeceſſors. We there find that no tax "can be laid on your ſubjects of this province, unleſs it be agreed to in the "aſſembly of *the people of the three eſtates. This charter ſubſiſts in its full force; it "makes part of your people's rights, which you ſwore to maintain before Him* BY WHOM "KING'S REIGN."

From the ſouth they echoed, without any diminution, the voice of the northern parliaments, and that of Bourdeaux, heſitated not to declare, that it was their duty in regiſtering an edict to bear witneſs to the people that the tax was juſt, and to the king, that his people are ſtill able to furniſh the ſupplies: at Thouloufe, at Grenoble, and Beſançon, they purſued the ſame meaſures, and held the ſame language.

A. D. 1763, 1764.] The court, to combat this oppoſition, ſent down the different governors of the provinces, with orders in the king's name to regiſter the edicts by force, and to cauſe them to be obeyed. The duke of Fitz-James accordingly repaired to Thouloufe, the duke of Harcourt to Rouen, and Monſ. Meſnil to Grenoble. The former in vain ſet guards upon the houſes of the principal magiſtrates, and menaced the reſt with the ſame reſtraint; the patriotic party was provoked rather than intimidated by this rigour: the neighbouring parliament of Provençe eſpouſed with ardour the cauſe of their brethren of Thouloufe; they declared, that by the outrage in the capital of Languedoc, the whole nation, and the throne itſelf, was wounded by tyrannical acts; the members of the parliament of Thouloufe, animated by the friendly aſſurances of Provençe, as ſoon as they could aſſemble, came to more effectual reſolutions, and determined to arreſt their governor, though acting with the authority and under the immediate direction of the crown, and to proceed againſt him as a criminal.

The duke of Harcourt and Monsieur Molé, in Rouen and Grenoble, imitated the conduct of the duke of Fitz-James, and were encountered by a similar opposition; their respective parliaments commanded their bodies to be seized, and to be brought to the prisons of the court; and in case they could not be apprehended, their estates and effects were to be confiscated, or put under the administration of a legal commissary.

A. D. 1765.] The fatal influence of the marchioness of Pompadour had terminated with her life; and amidst these convulsions, the dauphin of France, a prince of a pious and mild disposition, expired in the thirty-seventh year of his age. Maria Theresa, the infanta of Spain, whom he had first espoused, died in child-bed; and the daughter of which she was delivered, survived her mother but a short time. His second marriage, in 1747, with Maria Josepha, of Saxony, proved more fruitful; and he left behind him three sons, the duke of Berri, the count of Provençe, and the count of Artois, with two daughters. The king immediately conferred the title of dauphin on the duke of Berri; but with a proper attention to the memory of his deceased son, ordered that the dowager dauphiness should retain precedence of his royal highness.

A. D. 1766.] But if the heart of Lewis was on this occasion sensible of paternal emotions, the cares of sovereignty allowed him not to indulge his sorrows in retirement. The voice of freedom had been heard through the different provinces of the kingdom: the parliament of Brittany had refused to the crown a free-gift of seven thousand livres; and they were singled out to experience the weight of the royal vengeance. The old parliament was dissolved; a new commission of sixty members was appointed in its room, and a severe prosecution was at the same time carried on against the degraded members: But in the instant that sentence was to have passed, Lewis prudently stopped the process, and endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his people, by publishing a general amnesty in their favour.

The clemency of the monarch was treated with disdain; the counsellors of the parliament of Brittany refused to resume their functions; and alledged, that as they had taken an oath to their parliament, they could not plead before the commission which the king had appointed in its room. Lewis, enraged at their opposition, ordered them to be included in the list of those who were to be drafted for the militia; such as the lot fell on were immediately obliged to join their respective battalions, and the rest were employed in forming the city-guard.

The parliament of Paris had not beheld with indifference the fate of their brethren in Brittany; they had applauded their conduct, and exhorted them to persevere in their opposition. But the freedom of their remonstrances soon drew upon them the royal censure; Lewis suddenly appeared in the capital, presented himself in the public court, and severely reprimanded the temerity of the members; he added, with the dignity of offended majesty, "I will not suffer an association to be formed in my kingdom, which might grow "into a confederacy of resistance."

The deputies from the parliament of Rouen had pointedly reminded the ſovereign of his coronation oath, and inſinuated a compact between the king and the people. The anſwer of Lewis was conveyed in the ſtrongeſt terms; "The oath "that I have made, not to the nation, as you take upon you to ſay, but to God "alone." This diſtinction proclaimed his determination to ſuffer no earthly oppoſition to his will; the parliaments were for a moment awed by the imperious voice of the monarch; and a tranſient and deceitful calm ſucceeded the hollow murmurs of diſcontent.

A. D. 1767, 1768.] From curbing the free and daring ſpirits of his parliaments, Lewis directed his attention to the ſtate of foreign powers. Poland was afflicted with all the calamities that attend religious rancour and civil commotion: The diſtance of that country prevented the interference of France; and her king, with ſuperior policy, limited his views to Corſica, an iſland in the Mediterranean. Previous to this enterpriſe, the patrimony of St. Peter, defended alone by ſpiritual arms, was doomed to experience the more formidable weapons of the king of France. On the refuſal of the pope to recall a brief which he had publiſhed againſt the duke of Parma, Lewis thought proper to reclaim the territories of Avignon and the Venaiſſin, as fiefs belonging to him; and the Roman pontiff, having no troops to oppoſe him, could only denounce againſt him the penalties incurred by thoſe who ſeize on effects belonging to the church. But the thunders of the Vatican, once ſo terrible, were no longer regarded; and the marquis of Rochecouart, with the regiment of Dauphiné, expelled the feeble train of the pope; and received, in the name of the king, the homage and ſubmiſſion of the people.

A. D. 1768. 1769.] But far different preparations were neceſſary to bend the hardy and ſtubborn natives of Corſica. Theſe had reſiſted, with manly firmneſs, the oppreſſive councils of the Genoeſe, who claimed the ſovereignty of the iſland by right of conqueſt. But Genoa, unable to ſupport her pretenſions, transferred them to France, on condition that Lewis ſhould put her in full poſſeſſion of the adjacent iſland of Capraia, which the Corſicans had lately invaded and reduced. To execute his engagements, powerful armaments were fitted out by Lewis, at Antibes and Toulon; twenty battalions of French were landed in Corſica; and the natives, whoſe free ſuffrages had ſummoned Paoli, one of their principal chiefs, to the ſupreme government of the iſland, determined to defend their liberties to the utmoſt. A ſharp and bloody war, ſuch as ſuited the inferior numbers of the inhabitants and the nature of the country, was carried on in all the faſtneſſes and mountainous parts of the iſland. And it was not till after the French had fatally experienced, in two ſucceſſive campaigns, the enthuſiaſtic courage which animates the champions of freedom, that they overwhelmed by their ſuperior numbers this unfortunate people; nor had Lewis much reaſon to triumph in an acquiſition, to attain which he had ſacrificed ſeveral thouſands of his braveſt troops, and only extended his dominion over a rugged and unproductive iſland.

While France abroad was exhauſting her treaſures in a ruinous and unprofitable conflict, at home her merchants were expoſed to every ſpecies of failure and diſtreſs. Her Eaſt-India company, formerly ſo flouriſhing, became totally bankrupt; the moſt capital commercial houſes were involved in the ſame calamity; and the deſpotic manœuvre of the miniſter, the duke of Choiſeul, in reducing the intereſt of the public funds to one-half, and at the ſame time taking away the benefit of ſurvivorſhip in the tontines, increaſed the general gloom, and ſtruck at the root of all national faith and credit.

But though the arms of Lewis had extinguiſhed the flame of freedom in Corſica, in France it was revived by the breath of the parliaments, and cheriſhed with a fond regard that threatened the moſt important conſequences. An edict iſſued by the king, which transferred ſome new and extraordinary powers to the grand council, was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the parliament of Paris; ſixty-four members of that aſſembly voted for utterly aboliſhing that council; and the queſtion was only loſt by a majority of two, though all the princes of the blood attended to ſupport the court and the duke of Choiſeul endeavoured to overawe the independent ſpirit of the patriotic party by continuing in the aſſembly throughout the debate.

That miniſter, wearied with ineffectual ſtruggles, now exerted his addreſs to conciliate thoſe whom he had in vain attempted to intimidate. Though the king had hitherto reſiſted the ſolicitations of his people to reſtore the parliament of Brittany, he now aſpired to popularity by doing voluntarily, that which he had been vainly importuned to grant; and the duke de Duras was ſent into that province, to re-eſtabliſh the parliament, and to recall the members from exile.

A. D. 1770.] But a conceſſion, which a ſhort time ſince would have been aſcribed to the benignity of the monarch, was now attributed to the fears of the court; and the parliament had ſcarce aſſembled before they convinced their countrymen, that oppreſſion had confirmed and not extinguiſhed their zeal for the public welfare. The province of Brittany had long groaned beneath the iron rule of the duke d'Aiguillon, and for four years he had perſecuted with unremitting vengeance M. de Chalotais, the attorney-general to the parliament. That unfortunate gentleman, whoſe genius, learning, and integrity merited a better fate, had oppoſed, with the indignation of a virtuous magiſtrate, the oppreſſive meaſures of the duke; and a malevolent rage of the haughty governor, ſeconded by the influence of the counteſs du Barré, the new and favourite miſtreſs of the king, whoſe confidence he had acquired, drove the unhappy object of his enmity into exile; purſued him from dungeon to dungeon; and at length, by the ſubornation of falſe witneſſes and the profligacy of dependant judges, procured againſt him a ſentence which involved his life; and which his perſecutor haſtened privately to carry into execution.

But though the parliament of Brittany had received intelligence of the dark deſigns of their governor, the humanity of the duke of Choiſeul was intereſted

by their repreſentations; and an order in favour of M. de Chalotais arrived time enough to ſtop the hand of the executioner, which was already armed againſt his life. The reſcue of that gentleman laid open a ſcene of the blackeſt iniquity; and the parliament of Brittany, poſſeſſed of new proofs, commenced a proceſs againſt the duke d'Aiguillon, whoſe trial was conducted in the preſence of the king, the princes of the blood, the peers, and the parliament of Paris. Before theſe judges the written proceedings carried on againſt M. de Chalotais were produced, and diſplayed ſuch a complicated ſyſtem of guilt and cruelty, as exceeded whatever could have been ſurmiſed.

It was amidſt theſe domeſtic diſquietudes that the dauphin received the hand of Maria Antoinetta, ſiſter to the emperor of Germany. But even theſe nuptials, that promiſed to cement the alliance of France with the houſe of Auſtria, were attended with events the moſt inauſpicious: The crowd that haſtened to be ſpectators of the fireworks, tumultuouſly preſſed upon each other; thoſe who were foremoſt ſunk down by the weight of encreaſing numbers behind, and it is ſuppoſed that about a thouſand perſons periſhed in the fatal confuſion, beſides double that number grievouſly maimed and bruiſed. This diſaſter was conſidered as omenous. The dauphin in the firſt tranſport of his commiſſeration, beſtowed the amount of a months expences towards the relief of the ſurviving ſufferers, and the dauphineſs followed the noble example. The king alſo ordered that no expenſe ſhould be ſpared to alleviate their diſtreſs. But even this ſignal and mournful occurrence, could not divert the public attention from the proſecution of the duke d'Aiguillon.

At the moment that the nation awaited the deciſion of this important cauſe, Lewis thought proper, by a violent exertion of power, to put a total ſtop to the whole courſe of juſtice, and to all further enquiries into the conduct of the duke. At the ſame time, conſcious of their ſentiments, he forbade the princes of the blood from attending the parliament. A procedure ſo inconſiſtent with the rights of the peerage was openly reprobated by the prince of Conti; and the partiality which the king evidently diſplayed towards the duke d'Aiguillon, could not repreſs the determined reſolution of the parliaments againſt him. That of Paris prohibited him from exerciſing the functions of his peerage, till his character ſhould be cleared by an open trial; and though the king annulled their arret by his abſolute authority, they maintained their reſolution with incredible firmneſs, and their remonſtrances were ſeconded by the repreſentations of the princes and peers, who complained that their honour was ſacrificed, and the rights of the peerage annihilated.

The other parliaments were not behind in vigour or reſolution that of Paris; but the general deteſtation that purſued the duke d'Aiguillon, ſeemed only to encreaſe the attachment of his royal maſter; and Lewis, after having ſeverely reprimanded the parliament of Paris for their temerity, ordered two of the members to be arreſted, and ſent to the caſtle of Vincennes; yet the reſt, inſtead

of being intimidated by this ſeverity, ſtill diſplayed an aſtoniſhing magnanimity, and perſevered in repeated deputations and remonſtrances.

At length the king arrived ſuddenly at Paris, and having with his guards ſurrounded the parliament, entered the aſſembly, reproached the members in the ſevereſt terms, diſmiſſed the two chambers of Inqueſts and Requeſts, and ordered all proceedings againſt the duke d'Aiguillon to be eraſed from their regiſters. The parliament, however, ſtill continued to aſſemble, and obſerved that the late acts of arbitrary power, both againſt the letter and ſpirit of the conſtitution, left no room to doubt that a premeditated deſign was harboured to change the form of government; and that though they ſhould for a while poſtpone their deliberations, they proclaimed their reſolution ſtill to perſevere in carrying truth to the foot of the throne.

Meaſures equally violent were adopted againſt the provincial parliaments. That of Brittany was ſurprized by the intruſion of a major-general, who produced lettres de cachet for the firſt-preſident, ſolicitor-general, and regiſter, and compelled them by an armed force to eraſe from their regiſters the arrets obnoxious to the court. The members, however, aſſembled ſoon after, and iſſued a ſtrong proteſt againſt this act of power, which they pronounced in the higheſt degree to be arbitrary and illegal.

At Metz, mareſchal d'Armentieres entered the parliament-houſe at the head of eight companies of grenadiers, tore to pieces ſeveral of the arrets, and baniſhed the moſt diſtinguiſhed members; Beſançon was inſulted by ſimilar inſtances of military violence; yet Rouen ſtill perſevered in its deputation, and its complaints were echoed by the chamber of aids at Paris; who, after in vain ſeeking acceſs to the throne, to the amazement and confuſion of the court, printed its remonſtrance.

The diſcontent of the populace, who looked up with admiration to the patriotiſm and heroic firmneſs of the parliaments, was encreaſed by a dearth which prevailed this year throughout the kingdom. A ſcanty ſupply was procured by opening the ports, and permitting foreigners as well as natives to import or export corn at will, without any retroſpect to the price for which it might have been ſold during the continuance in the ports: but though this regulation might alleviate the public miſery, yet ſo fatal were the ravages of famine, that in Limoſin and Marche only, four thouſand perſons are ſuppoſed to have periſhed.

The monarch, immerſed in ſenſuality, heard with indifference the cries of his people; but he liſtened with more reſpect to the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, the counteſs du Barré, The hatred of that lady to the duke de Choiſeul, was conſtant and undiſguiſed; and her royal lover, amidſt the blandiſhments of amorous intercourſe, was inceſſantly urged to diſmiſs the obnoxious miniſter. But whatever promiſes were drawn from the eaſy king in the hours of dalliance, were repeatedly revoked on reflection; and it is probable that the duke of Choiſeul might have long continued in his poſt, had not the imprudence of his ſiſter, and his own enterprizing genius, precipitated his downfall.

The pride of the ducheſs of Grammont was ſeverely mortified by the aſcendancy of the counteſs du Barré; though neither young nor handſome, ſhe had aſpired to the royal bed, and hoped to confirm, by her influence as miſtreſs to the king, the power to which her brother had attained as miniſter. This proſpect was blaſted by the fond attachment of Lewis to his new favourite; and the ducheſs, inſtead of remaining at Verſailles, and endeavouring ſecretly to undermine her enemies, gave open vent to her indignation; ſhe inflamed the parliaments of the different provincial towns; and in a progreſs through France, aſſured them, that in their remonſtrances to the crown, they would be ſupported by the duke of Choiſeul.

But the impetuoſity of that miniſter plunged him into a more fatal error. The court of Spain had already formed deſigns againſt Port Egmont, a ſettlement on one of the Malouine iſlands, and poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. The duke of Choiſeul, who had with impatience ſubmitted to the triumphs of that people, aſſured the cabinet of Madrid that Lewis would firmly maintain the union of the houſe of Bourbon, and the engagements that he had contracted by the Family Compact. The intrigues of the duke could not long be kept ſecret from the king; he heard with aſtoniſhment the preſumption of that ſtateſman, who had hazarded an anſwer of ſuch importance without the concurrence of the crown; he trembled at the thoughts of war, and at duties which muſt obtrude upon hours which he had devoted to pleaſure; he was ſtill embaraſſed by the remonſtrances of his parliaments; and he determined to get rid of a miniſter whom he ſuſpected of too much complacency towards thoſe aſſemblies. The count de St. Florentin, lately created duke de la Vrilliere, was appointed to carry him the fatal lettre de cachet, which was couched in the following terms: "the diſſatisfaction I experience in your "ſervices, obliges me to baniſh you to Chanteloup, where you will repair in "twenty-four hours. I would have ſent you much further, if it had not been for "the particular eſteem I have for the ducheſs de Choiſeul, in whoſe welfare I am "much intereſted. Be careful that your conduct does not force me to take ſome "other ſtep; and I pray God to keep you in his holy protection."

A. D. 1771.] The duke of Choiſeul found ſome compenſation for the loſs of royal favour in the approbation of the public; and he retired with the acclamations of the people at large. But his retreat ſecured not the ſubmiſſion of the parliaments of France; and thoſe aſſemblies, though deprived of the ſupport that they had looked up to, ſtill maintained a conduct equally firm and honourable. The members long withſtood the royal edict, by which they were to acknowledge themſelves obliged in future to regiſter all the edicts of the king, even againſt their own remonſtrances. The preſence of the monarch at length compelled them to enter on their journals the fatal edict; but in their next aſſembly the parliament of Paris complained of it as an act of force, and appointed a deputation to the king to entreat him to withdraw it. Their language on this occaſion was bold, firm, and animated: "Your edict, Sire, is deſtructive of all law; your parlia-"ment is charged to maintain the law; and the law periſhing, they ſhould periſh "with it; theſe are, Sire, the laſt words of your parliament."

Lewis, enraged at their perſeverance, now yielded to the moſt violent councils, and prepared to ſupport his authority by the moſt deciſive meaſures; the members, in the dead of night, were awaked in their beds by parties of the guards, who preſented to each of them a lettre de cachet, which enjoined them to declare whether they would reſume the adminiſtration of juſtice, which they had abandoned, or perſiſt in their refuſal. Though in the moment of confuſion a few were ſurpriſed into acquieſcence, yet theſe ſoon retracted; they were commanded to attend at court, to receive their diſmiſſion; and maintaining, even in the preſence of the ſovereign, the ſame decent but inflexible firmneſs, the whole body of the parliament was baniſhed from the capital.

The chief adviſer of a conduct ſo daring and odious, was the chancellor de Maupeou; a man who had aſcended to power by the practice of every ſpecies of fraud and deceit, and who ſhared with the duke d'Aiguillon the public hatred. At his ſuggeſtion a temporary tribunal was erected, at which the lawyers of the crown were compelled to aſſiſt; but this phantom of a parliament, and the hopes of the people that the old one would be reſtored, were ſoon extinguiſhed. The king, at the laſt bed of juſtice that he held, iſſued three edicts; the firſt for the diſſolution of the preſent parliament; the ſecond for the ſuppreſſion of the Court of Aids; and the third for the transformation of the Grand Council into a new parliament. The king cloſed the aſſembly with theſe deciſive words; "You have "juſt heard my intentions; it is my will that they ſhould be executed. I com- "mand you to begin your functions next Monday; my chancellor will go to in- "ſtal you. I forbid all deliberations contrary to my will, and all repreſentations "in favour of the ancient parliament: for I will never change." Soon after the king declared that the juriſdiction of the new parliament, which reached from Lyons to Arras, was too extenſive, he now divided it into ſix different parts; each court was to have a ſimilar juriſdiction, and to be held at Arras, Lyons, Clermont, Blois, Poictiers, and Paris; a new code of laws, which had been framed by the chancellor, was alſo preſented and approved; and meaſures accordingly taken for carrying them into execution.

The parliament of Rouen had not beheld in ſilence the fate of their brethren at Paris; they declared the new parliament uſurpers, and enemies of the ſtate, and ſtrictly forbad the acknowledgment or execution of any of their arrets. The court was awed by the danger of a conteſt with the powerful and high-ſpirited duchy of Normandy, and it is ſurmiſed that the generous refuſal of the duke of Harcourt to command the troops intended to cruſh that province, induced Lewis to relinquiſh the violent meaſures that he meditated. But the ſame reſpect was not paid to the parliaments of Beſançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Thouloufe, and Brittany: theſe were totally ſuppreſſed, the members driven into exile, and new parliaments erected in the room of the old.

The public diſcontent at the ſuppreſſion of their ancient parliaments was not leſſened by the appointment of the duke d'Aiguillon to the poſt of miniſter for

foreign affairs. That nobleman, by the friendſhip of the counteſs du Barré, and the diſhonourable interpoſition of the royal authority, had eluded the ſword of Juſtice, and it was the ſtrong expreſſion of the duke of Briſſac, a nobleman of a lively and romantic diſpoſition, "that he had indeed ſaved his head, but that his "neck had been twiſted." He was now preferred to an office of the higheſt importance, and the king, by conſtant marks of favour, ſeemed deſirous on every occaſion of triumphing over the feelings of his people.

A. D. 1771, 1772.] Yet the inſenſibility of Lewis was not entirely proof againſt one inſtance of oppoſition. The princes of the blood had ſtrongly proteſted againſt the late innovations, and their firmneſs had drawn upon them the king's indignation, they were forbid to appear in the royal preſence, and ultimately baniſhed from court—but theſe illuſtrious perſons ill brooked their exile from ſcenes of gaiety and magnificence—with the life of the count of Clermont their fortitude expired, they languiſhed to return to the circle of royal pleaſures; and the king, who beheld the luſtre of his court clouded during their abſence, accepted, with pleaſure, their overtures of accommodation.

The courts of Vienna and Madrid ſaw with regret the duke d'Aiguillon, as miniſter for foreign affairs, poſſeſſed of a poſt to which their wiſhes were inceſſantly recalling the duke of Choiſeul; and the new ſecretary, though not deſtitute of capacity, yet ſuffered the partition of Poland to be concluded againſt the evident intereſt of France. Lewis himſelf was ſo ſtruck at the firſt intelligence of the event, that he could not help exclaiming, "Alas! if Choiſeul had been here, "this would not have happened." But this tranſient emotion ſoon ſubſided in the arms of the counteſs du Barré; and the revolution of Stockholm, accompliſhed under the auſpices of France, which overthrew the power of the ariſtocracy, and eſtabliſhed the authority of the ſovereign, reſtored the reputation of the duke d'Aiguillon.

Delivered from the remonſtrances of his parliament, and devoted to voluptuouſneſs, the hours of Lewis ſeemed to glide in conſtant enjoyment; the chancellor de Maupeou took care that all money edicts were regiſtered; and the inventive ſpirit of finance, by oppreſſing the people, liberally ſupplied the profuſion of the court. The holy deference of the king for the ſee of Rome was ſoothed by ceding to pope Ganganelli, Avignon and the county of Venaiſſin, which had been reclaimed in the adminiſtration of the duke of Choiſeul. The marquis of Monteynard was, by the intrigues of the duke d'Aiguillon, diſmiſſed from the war department; and the latter nobleman, by the fond partiality of the ſovereign, was inveſted with the ſpoils of the diſgraced miniſter.

A. D. 1774.] But in the moment of ſatiety, the mind of Lewis ſtill appeared impreſſed with ſettled melancholy; the ſudden death of the marquis de Chauvelin, the companion of his ſenſual exceſſes, ſtrongly affected him; and the ſubſequent fate of mareſchal d'Armentieres, who expired in a ſimilar manner, and who was nearly the ſame age as the monarch, increaſed his gloomy ſenſations. He was

ſenſible of the daily diminution of his ſtrength; and even the charms of the counteſs du Barré could no longer excite deſire; and though that lady ſtill retained her influence, new objects were requiſite to rouſe the languid powers of the king. To provide theſe was the inceſſant care of the counteſs; and her aſſiduity in this office, proved at once fatal to her own grandeur, and the life of her royal ſlave.

A new beauty who was introduced into the bed of the monarch, communicated to the deſpoiler of her innocence the fatal ſeeds of diſeaſe. The ſymptoms of the ſmall-pox already appeared on the king, and by the advice of his phyſicians he was haſtily removed from Trianon to Verſailles. The danger hourly increaſed; and Lewis, appriſed of the nature of his diſorder, found, with the approach of death, the ſenſe of religion return; he deſired that the counteſs du Barré, who had officially attended him, might be removed; he received the ſacrament; and declared his intention to exert himſelf ever after for the maintenance of religion, and the happineſs of his people.

But it was not permitted to him to evince the ſincerity of theſe declarations; the ignorance of his phyſicians co-operated with the virulence of the diſeaſe; a momentary change for the better was ſucceeded by certain indications of ſpeedy diſſolution, and eight days after the firſt attack, that monarch cloſed a reign of fifty-nine, and a life of ſixty-five years.

Such was the fate of Lewis the Fifteenth, who at length fell a victim to thoſe ſenſual appetites, in the gratification of which he had ſacrificed his own fame and the welfare of his ſubjects. The enviable appellation of *well-beloved*, which had been conferred in the moment of danger by a lively and enthuſiaſtic people, was effaced by thirty years of laſcivious exceſs, profuſion, and rapacity; his example had looſened the bands of morality, his prodigality had exhauſted the credit and reſources of his country, and his wanton pride had trampled upon the remnant of the conſtitution. His affections ſeemed to have been confined within the narrow limits of his perſonal pleaſures and ſecurity; the marchioneſs of Pompadour, who ſo long enjoyed his confidence and ſhared his embraces, expired without a ſigh of regret from the monarch, who, during her life, had obeyed and adored her; and the death of his ſon, the dauphin, was received without any mark of emotion by the royal inſenſible. It was by inceſſantly ſuggeſting to him his perſonal danger, that the counteſs du Barré ſtimulated him to the deciſive meaſure of ſuppreſſing the ancient parliaments of France: but though concealed from the public eye, the embers of freedom were ſtill carefully cheriſhed; the magnanimity of thoſe aſſemblies had awakened new ideas in the boſoms of the French; they were taught by the late remonſtrances to conſider their inherent rights; and the glorious flame, in the ſucceeding reign, burſt forth with accumulated force, and overwhelmed the throne of deſpotiſm.

LEWIS THE SIXTEENTH.

A. D. 1774.] LEWIS the Sixteenth, at the age of twenty, ſucceeded to the throne of his grandfather; and whatever ſatisfaction might ariſe from the ſplendid proſpect before him, was alloyed by the general diſtreſs that preſented itſelf throughout the kingdom. Domeſtic cares were added to thoſe of the public; the contagious diſorder of which the late king died, had been communicated to his three daughters, the princeſſes Adelaide, Sophia, and Victoire; a general conſternation took place; the people trembled for the ſafety of the king and his brothers; and it was ſcarcely deemed an improbable event, that the whole royal family might have been ſwept off by that fatal peſt, which had ſo long been its inveterate enemy.

But theſe fears were of ſhort duration; the princeſſes recovered from the natural diſorder; and the king, with the two princes his brothers, and the counteſs d'Artois, wife of the younger, were all inoculated at the ſame time, and were ſoon releaſed from any apprehenſions by the eaſe and ſafety of the operation; their example contributed to remove the prejudices againſt that important diſcovery, and to extend the practice from the court throughout the provinces of France.

The health of Lewis was no ſooner confirmed, than he diligently employed himſelf to extinguiſh the diſcontent and alleviate the calamities of his people. He immediately determined to remove thoſe perſons from office whoſe errors, or oppreſſive conduct, had rendered them diſagreeable to the nation: he recalled the count of Maurepas, who had formerly occupied the marine department, but who had been baniſhed from the court for three and twenty years; and whoſe ability and integrity had been eſteemed and recommended by the deceaſed dauphin. This ſtateſman, however, declined the reſumption of his former ſtation; and with a ſeat in the privy-council, without any particular office, influenced the moſt important concerns of government.

The counteſs du Barré, whoſe aſcendency over the paſſions of the late monarch had occaſioned ſo many evils, was permitted to ſhelter herſelf in contempt and obſcurity; ſeveral ladies who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſervile aſſiduity to her, were baniſhed from the royal circle; while the ducheſs of Grammont enjoyed at once the diſgrace of her enemy, and the favour of the preſent ſovereign; ſhe was recalled to court by a letter from the young queen herſelf, and was treated with every mark of diſtinction and honour.

At length the duke d'Aiguillon reſigned his office of prime miniſter; and the chancellor de Maupeou, who had divided with him the hatred of France, was diſmiſſed from his high and important truſt; yet, even on this occaſion, the moderation of the king was conſpicuous; the puniſhment of Maupeou was limitted to the loſs of his employment; he was permitted to retire to the noble eſtate he had acquired in Normandy, and to enjoy without reſtraint the ſpoils of an oppreſſed people. The ſeals were delivered to monſieur Miromeſnil, preſident of the parliament of Rouen; the count of Vergennes, who had filled with reputation the poſt of ambaſſador to the courts of Conſtantinople and Stockholm, was called to preſide over the foreign department; and the count of Muy, afterwards created mareſchal, was nominated ſecretary of war.

The diſmiſſal of the duke d'Aguillon had filled the partizans of the duke of Choiſeul with the higheſt exultation; their ardent fancy beheld him again inveſted with the ſupreme authority, and extending his negociations into the different courts of Europe; but whether the enterpriſing genius of that nobleman was deemed inconſiſtent with the preſent pacific ſyſtem, or that the ſubordinate miniſters dreaded his haughty ſpirit, and ſilently traverſed his return to power, the hopes of his adherents were ſuffered gradually to ſubſide: he was indeed recalled to court, and ſhared with his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Grammont, the ſmiles of his ſovereign; but theſe favours were only extended to him as a private perſon, and he was ſedulouſly excluded from all participation in public affairs.

A ſtill more popular ſtep was an edict publiſhed in the name of the king, in which he engaged to pay unremitting attention to the management of the finances; to reſtore the diſcharge of the public debt, which had been intercepted by his predeceſſor; and to make full compenſation to thoſe who had ſuffered by that injurious meaſure. At the ſame time ſeveral ſchemes of œconomy were introduced; and though theſe were more pleaſing in their appearance than beneficial in their effects, yet th· people received with tranſport, plans which promiſed ſome future attention to their happineſs, and at leaſt a deſire to deliver them from the burdens under which they groaned. The price of bread, which had alſo riſen to an exceſſive height, was reduced by the prudent management of the miniſters: and thoſe who in the confuſion of the laſt reign had treaſured up the corn in their granaries, were now perſuaded to bring it to market.

Such attentions could not fail to command the gratitude of the populace, and whenever the monarch appeared in public, he was attended by the acclamations of the multitude; yet one circumſtance was wanting to eſtabliſh the general joy, and France ſtill panted after the reſtoration of her ancient parliaments. When the ſolemn funeral ſervice for the late king was performed in the abbey church of St. Denys, the new parliament was ſummoned to attend the ceremonial; but the duke of Orleans refuſed to appear, or to act in any manner in conjunction with that body. In a letter to the king he avowed his reaſons for abſenting himſelf; and the monarch, diſguſted with this unexpected oppoſition, and uncertain what

effect it might produce upon the other princes of the blood, exiled the duke of Orleans, with his ſon the duke of Chartres, from his court.

The people, who had flattered themſelves that the diſmiſſal of the obnoxious miniſters would have been attended by the reſtoration of their idol, the parliament, were ſtunned by this ſtroke; they conſidered the two dukes as victims to the public good; the general diſcontent immediately revived; and Lewis, when next he preſented himſelf to the inhabitants of the metropolis, inſtead of the uſual marks of applauſe, was received in awful ſilence; dejection was ſtrongly painted in every countenance; and the young monarch ſoon perceived, that he could only reign in the hearts of his ſubjects by a ready compliance with their wiſhes.

Preparations were immediately made to ſoothe the anxious minds of an enthuſiaſtic people; the duke of Orleans was again invited to join the royal councils, and his preſence gave confidence to their reſolutions. The lettres de cachet which had been iſſued againſt the members of the ancient parliament were revoked; guards were poſted to ſecure the obnoxious perſons who compoſed the new from the rage of the populace; and the king, after attending divine ſervice, went to the great chamber of parliament, accompanied by his brothers, by the dukes of Orleans and Chartres, the other princes of the blood, and the great officers of ſtate, and commanded the edict to be regiſtered which re-eſtabliſhed the ancient parliaments and for ever ſuppreſſed the new.

But though the prudence of Lewis had ſuggeſted to him this compliance with the ardent deſires of his ſubjects, he endeavoured ſtill to preſerve pure and undiminiſhed the royal authority; and was equally averſe with his predeceſſor to granting to theſe popular aſſemblies any power that could poſſibly circumſcribe his own. He explained his intentions by the ſpeech in which he addreſſed that diſtinguiſhed body. The ſtep that he had taken to enſure the tranquillity and happineſs of his ſubjects, ought not, he obſerved, to invalidate his own authority; and he hoped, from the zeal and attachment of the preſent aſſembly, an example of ſubmiſſion to the reſt of his ſubject. Their repeated reſiſtance to the commands of his grandfather had compelled that monarch to maintain his prerogative by their baniſhment; and they were now recalled, in the expectation that they would quietly exerciſe their functions, and diſplay their gratitude by their obedience. He concluded with declaring, that it was his deſire to bury in oblivion all paſt grievances; that he ſhould ever behold with extreme diſapprobation whatever might tend to create diviſions and diſturb the general tranquillity; and that his chancellor would read his ordinance to the aſſembly, from which they might be aſſured he would not ſuffer the ſmalleſt deviation to be made.

That ordinance was couched in the moſt explicit terms, and was immediately regiſtered by the king's command: The articles of it limitted within very narrow bounds the pretenſions of the parliament of Paris; the members were forbidden to look upon themſelves as one body with the other parliaments of the kingdom, or to take any ſtep, or aſſume any title, that might tend towards, or imply, ſuch

an union: They were enjoined never to relinquiſh the adminiſtration of public juſtice, except in caſes of abſolute neceſſity, for which the firſt-preſident was to be reſponſible to the king; and it was added, that on their diſobedience, the grand council might replace the parliament, without any new edict for the purpoſe.

They were ſtill however permitted to enjoy the right of remonſtrating before the regiſtering of any edicts or letters-patent, which they might conceive injurious to the welfare of the people, provided they preſerved in their repreſentations the reſpect due to the throne. But theſe remonſtrances were not to be repeated; and the parliament, if they proved ineffectual, were to regiſter the edict objected to within a month at fartheſt from the firſt day of its being publiſhed: They were ſtrictly forbidden to iſſue any arrets which might excite trouble, or in any manner retard the execution of the king's ordinances; and they were aſſured by the king himſelf, at the concluſion of his code for their future conduct, that as long as they adhered to the bounds preſcribed, and attempted not to enlarge the powers granted to them, they might depend upon his protection and countenance.

Such were the terms on which Lewis contented to reſtore the ancient parliaments of his kingdom; and while he delivered himſelf from the odium that involved his predeceſſor, he reduced the authority of thoſe aſſemblies which had ſhaken the infant throne of Lewis the Fourteenth. Yet the conceſſions of the parliament may be vindicated as prudent and politic; they had to contend with a young monarch, poſſeſſed of the affections of the people, and whoſe ſhort reign had not yet allowed them an opportunity of changing their opinions. Moſt of the members had purchaſed their places at a conſiderable expence; and though their zeal amidſt the popular applauſe had triumphed over every other conſideration, yet they could not be entirely indifferent to the honours and affluence they had renounced. Each day more firmly eſtabliſhed the juriſdiction that had been erected on their ruins; and ſhould a continuance of their abſence gradually extinguiſh the regard of the Pariſians, they were ſenſible the jealouſy of the crown would ever afterwards preclude their recall from exile; but if once reinſtated in their dignities and the adminiſtration of juſtice, new opportunities might offer of reaſſerting what they had ſurrendered.

Even in the firſt moments of their return, they diſplayed a ſpirit unſubdued by adverſity; the article reſpecting remonſtrances was darkly and doubtfully worded, and they already aſpired to their former pretenſions; but their infant oppoſition was cruſhed by the deciſion of the monarch; and the anſwer to one of their repreſentations, "That he muſt be obeyed," was concluſive.

It was not only the parliament that ſilently bowed before the majeſty of the new ſovereign; the archbiſhop of Paris had renewed the commotions of the bull Unigenitus, and had oppoſed the adminiſtration of the ſacrament; but he was vanquiſhed by the ſtern juſtice of the king, who declared, that inſtead of conſigning him to that exile which the late monarch had repeatedly inflicted, on his

again diſturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom he would give him over to the utmoſt rigour of the law.

The provincial parliaments of Beſançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Thouloufe, and Brittany, that had been ſuppreſſed by the deceaſed monarch, were alſo reſtored by the preſent; and unanimity eſtabliſhed at home, France had leiſure to direct her attention to her late conqueſt of Corſica, which ſtill ſtruggled to throw off the yoke, and reſume her native independence.

To juſtify the ſeverities which were afterwards practiſed againſt thoſe brave but unfortunate iſlanders, the court of Verſailles had induſtriouſly circulated a rumour of dark and bloody conſpiracy. But as no detail of this plot had been given, the reality of it has been queſtioned; and it is more than probable, the revolt of the Corſicans originated in the oppreſſion of their governors, and was the reſult of momentary indignation, rather than the conſequence of any ſettled plan.—Whatever was the ſource of it, the effects were fatal to that unhappy people; ſome tranſient ſucceſſes in the firſt deſultory hoſtilities, were ſoon effaced by a ſeries of ſanguinary chaſtiſements. The new miniſters were deſirous of diſplaying their vigour and activity, freſh reinforcements were continually poured into the iſland; and the inmoſt receſſes of that mountainous country were penetrated by the perſeverance, and overwhelmed by the numbers of the victors: thoſe who had appeared moſt forward in oppoſing the government of France, atoned for their imprudence by the loſs of their lives; and great part of their followers, who had been excited to arms by their raſh ſuggeſtions, were tranſported to the Weſt India iſlands, and condemned to perpetual ſlavery.

In the final reduction of Corſica, France had ſeized the moment of favourable enterpriſe; and her ancient and formidable rival, England, was diverted from attending to her conduct, by her own momentous and immediate concerns. The laſt war, which had ſo deeply wounded the glory and power of the houſe of Bourbon, had eſtabliſhed the dominion of the Engliſh over North America; but with an extent of territory, that people ſeem not to have poſſeſſed, or to have cultivated the affections of their coloniſts. The idea of impoſing various taxes on the Americans had been alternately adopted and abandoned; it was now finally determined to be enforced, and the miniſters of great Britain proclaimed their reſolution of drawing a ſettled revenue from their valuable dependencies acroſs the Atlantic. A ſmall duty was laid upon tea; but even this, trifling as it ammounted to, was ſpurned at by the Americans: aſſociations were formed, and ſubſcriptions cheerfully entered into; and on the arrival of the ſhips that were freighted with the obnoxious commodity, ſeveral of them were boarded by parties of men diſguiſed as Mohawk Indians, who, without committing any other act of violence, inſtantly threw the tea overboard; the captains of the other ſhips, alarmed for the intereſt of their owners, thought it moſt prudent to avoid riſking a ſimilar loſs, and ſteered back their courſe to England.

Theſe tumultuous proceedings in America were heard with reſentment by the miniſters of Great Britain; and it was determined ſeverely to chaſtiſe the town and port of Boſton, which had been diſtinguiſhed as the ſcene of outrage. The Britiſh parliament condemned the town of Boſton to pay for the tea thus deſtroyed; and as a further puniſhment, they reſolved to deprive it of the privilege of a port, until the ſovereign ſhould be ſatisfied of the diſpoſition of the inhabitants to carry on trade quietly, obey the laws, and ſubmit to the duties impoſed; until that ſhould appear, the cuſtom houſe of Boſton, and conſequently the commerce, was to be removed to Salem, a port about ſeventeen miles diſtant.

This act of regulation was ſucceeded by another for the better government of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, the province in which Boſton is ſituated. The bill for that purpoſe, altered entirely the form of conſtitution throughout the province; it took the whole executive power out of the hands of the people, and veſted the nomination of judges, counſellors, and magiſtrates of all kinds, in the crown, and in ſome caſes in the king's governor; and to give weight to theſe innovations, general Gage, an officer who had long ſerved in America with reputation, was ſent out as governor of the province with a conſiderable military force.

But the Americans received with indignation, inſtead of ſubmiſſion, the bill that had been framed for their coercion; at Boſton they reſolved to diſcontinue the uſe of all goods imported from the Eaſt-Indies and Great Britain, until their grievances ſhould be fully redreſſed; and they ſtrongly recommended every poſſible encouragement to be given to the manufactures of their own country. The other provinces of the continent, whoſe jealouſy of the ſuperior trade of Boſton, it was ſuppoſed, would have allured them to a concurrence in meaſures calculated for its depreſſion, diſplayed a ſimilar ſpirit of reſiſtance: A general alarm was ſpread from one end of North America to the other; meetings were held in every town; and theſe numerous aſſemblies all agreed in expreſſing their dread, that their grants and charters, with all their rights and civil immunities, might be extinguiſhed by the breath of parliament. Even Salem, the town to which the government and trade of Boſton was to have been transferred, diſdained to profit by the ſpoils of her oppreſſed brethren, and joined in the general reprobation of the injuſtice of Great-Britain.

The new judges who had been appointed by the mother-country were every where rendered incapable of proceeding in their office; upon opening the courts the juries throughout the province refuſed to be ſworn, and rejected any other eſtabliſhment than what had been warranted by the ancient laws and uſages of their country; an end was put to all forms of law and government, and the province of Maſſachuſetts Bay was relinquiſhed to the ſame independent anarchy as had exiſted in the earlieſt ages. At length the twelve colonies that ſtretch from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, and are diſtinguiſhed by the names of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Providence, Connecticut, New-York, New-

Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, animated by one ſpirit, nominated deputies to repreſent them in a general congreſs. This was held at Philadelphia, the capital of Pennſylvania; and their firſt reſolution was an approbation of the conduct of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, and a determination that if force ſhould be employed to carry the acts againſt that province into execution, all America ſhould join in the defence of it. They unanimouſly concurred in diſcouraging all goods imported from Great-Britain, and they ſtrongly exhorted the inhabitants to countenance their own manufactures: to this was ſubjoined an energetic addreſs to the French inhabitants of Canada, inviting them to join the ſtandard of freedom, and to render complete the confederacy of the continent of North America.

While the diſcontents of the colonies of Great-Britain aſſumed the form of ſerious reſiſtance, the empreſs of Ruſſia was employed in terminating a long and ſucceſsful war which ſhe had maintained againſt the Ottoman Porte. The haughty ſpirits of the Moſlems had been broken by repeated defeats; their camp preſented a diſguſting ſcene of mingled terror and mutiny; and the Divan at length condeſcended to ſubſcribe a treaty which exalted the glory of one empire as much as it debaſed the other. The independency of the Crimea was eſtabliſhed; the diſtricts of Kilburn, Kerche, and Jenickala, with the extenſive country between the Bog and the Dniper, were ceded to Ruſſia; and a free navigation was granted to the Ruſſians in all the Turkiſh ſeas, in which was included the paſſage of the Dardanelles, with all the privileges and immunities which had been allowed to the moſt favoured nations. With equal ſucceſs Catharine at the ſame time extinguiſhed a rebellion which had been excited in the ancient kingdoms of Caſan and Aſtracan; the impoſtor, who had aſſumed the name and title of Peter the Third, was taken, and ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of his preſumption; a few examples in the places moſt remarkable for their diſaffection were neceſſarily made: but the clemency of the empreſs ſoon after extended a general pardon to the obſcure and miſguided multitude.

The death of pope Ganganelli, who had filled the apoſtolical chair with prudence and moderation, was an event generally regretted by the countries which yet acknowledged the dominion of the holy ſee. His pontificate had been rendered memorable by the abolition of the ſociety of Jeſus; and a vague and idle rumour pervaded Europe, that he had fallen a ſacrifice to the effects of poiſon, and to the reſentment of that order. The falſehood of this charge was proved by the united teſtimony of the different miniſters of the houſe of Bourbon: theſe were preſent at the opening of the body; and the phyſicians and ſurgeons who aſſiſted at the operation, pronounced his deceaſe to be the conſequence of a gradual and natural decay. Though the authority of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter hath long been diſregarded by the enlightened ages of Europe, yet the vacant dignity was warmly conteſted: and it was not till the enſuing year that the votes of the conclave fixed the tiara on the head of John Angelo Braſchi, a native of Ravenna in the Romagna, and who aſſumed the name of Pius the Sixth.

A. D. 1775.] Though Lewis could not behold without ſecret ſatisfaction the diſturbances in America, which menaced the grandeur of Great-Britain, yet the tranquillity and happineſs of his own kingdom were far from being eſtabliſhed; the wounds which had been inflicted by the ſupine profuſion of the late monarch, ſtill required time to heal; and the elevation of monſieur Turgot to the chief direction of the finances, afforded no ſmall ſhare of diſcontent to the powerful body of the farmers-general. That miniſter, endued with integrity and ability, had delivered the commerce of grain from many injudicious reſtrictions, both with regard to the internal traffic and to foreign exportation; but the ſcarcity of corn happened to coincide with the moment of his regulations, and thoſe effects which aroſe from dearth, were aſcribed to the innovations he had ſuggeſted. His ſecret enemies induſtriouſly circulated rumours, that the public diſtreſs was the conſequence of certain political combinations; and the people, whoſe real miſery was augmented by an idea of the incapacity and injuſtice of their rulers, tumultuouſly aſſembled in large and formidable bodies. They inſulted the magiſtrates, plundered the houſes, and in the commiſſion of theſe outrages not only deſtroyed vaſt quantities of corn and flour, which might have alleviated their wants, but increaſed the general diſtreſs by deterring the proprietors of proviſions from bringing them to market. A diſtemper which had extended its fatal ravages amongſt the cattle through the heart of the kingdom, added to the public gloom, and at Dijon, the Capital of Burgundy, the inſurrection of the populace was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. The unhappy people, ſtimulated by want, and inflamed to madneſs, had pillaged the houſe of the intendant, who with difficulty eſcaped from their fury. To check their progreſs, it was neceſſary to ſummons to the ſupport of government a body of regular troops: yet the hungry inſurgents for ſome time maintained their ground againſt the diſciplined valour of their adverſaries; and it was not till near five hundred of theſe miſerable wretches had fallen, that they relinquiſhed the ineffectual conflict.

The capital itſelf was not exempt from ſimilar diſtreſs and diſorders; and Lewis, after having in vain endeavoured to ſooth the turbulent miſery of the people by the mildeſt remonſtrances, now prepared to repreſs their outrages by the moſt deciſive meaſures. He ordered the parliament of Paris to attend him at Verſailles; and after repreſenting to them the immediate exigency which compelled him to deviate from the uſual courſe of juſtice, he expreſsly forbade them from making any repreſentations on the ſteps that he was determined to purſue: that auguſt body ſeemed indeed ſenſible of the neceſſity of adopting ſome quick and vigorous ſyſtem, and ſilently acquieſced under the mandate of their ſovereign.

The king having thus fortified the royal authority by the ſilent approbation of his parliament, commiſſioned the Marechauſſee, a military body dependant on the police, to diſperſe the ſeditious multitude, and to execute ſummary juſtice on the moſt guilty. At the ſame time a pardon was held out to thoſe who ſhould retire home, and make reſtitution for the corn they had taken away. The good effects of theſe regulations were ſoon diſcernible; numbers endeavoured to efface their

miſconduct by reimburſing the perſons whom they had plundered; a few atoned for their crimes under the hands of the executioner; and a plentiful harveſt, which enſued, baniſhed the diſtreſs of the people, and confirmed the tranquillity of France.

To divert the minds of his ſubjects from the late gloomy ſcenes of miſery, the king reſolved to celebrate his coronation with royal magnificence at Rheims. The liberality of the clergy opportunely ſupplied a gift of twenty millions of livres; and the ancient dignities of the kingdom were revived on this occaſion. The count de Provençe repreſented the duke of Burgundy the count d'Artois; the duke of Normandy; the duke of Orleans, the duke of Aquitain the duke of Chartres, the count of Thouloufe the prince of Condé, the count of Flanders, and the duke of Bourbon, the count of Champagne.

The marriage of the princeſs Clotilda, ſiſter to the king of France, to the prince of Piedmont, eldeſt ſon of the king of Sardinia, was an event but little intereſting in modern politics. The courts of Paris and Turin had long been joined in the cloſeſt connection; and the futility of theſe alliances, unleſs the mutual advantage of both parties cemented their ſubſequent union, had been too often experienced to occaſion any alarm to the other powers of Europe.

The humanity of Lewis was conſpicuouſly diſplayed in an edict which he cauſed to be regiſtered in parliament, and which in future ſentenced the deſerters from his army to work as ſlaves on the public roads, inſtead of puniſhing them as formerly with death; and with equal attention to the general welfare of his ſubjects, he ſeized the moment of peace to reduce part of his numerous forces, and to fulfil thoſe promiſes of œconomy which on his acceſſion he had given to his people. The death of the mareſchal de Muy, who filled the poſt of ſecretary at war, was ſucceeded by the appointment of the count de St. Germain to the vacant department: that nobleman, during the laſt war, had enjoyed a high command in Germany; and the prince and his ſubjects were alike impreſſed with the moſt favourable opinion of his genius and application.

While one royal branch of the houſe of Bourbon thus emerged from the clouds that had obſcured its glory, the other ſtill more eminently diſplayed the weakneſs of its government, and the deficiency of its judgment. Charles the Third, king of Spain, was rouſed from his peaceful ſlumber by the hoſtile inſults of a barbarian, who ruled over part of Africa, and who ſtiled himſelf emperor of Morocco. This Mooriſh prince, without any pretence of injury, in a letter to the king of Spain, declared himſelf enjoined by the laws of the Alcoran to expel the Chriſtians from the forts they held on the African coaſt; at the ſame time that he profeſſed his wiſh in every other reſpect to maintain the peace that he ſubſcribed to with the court of Madrid, and to preſerve inviolate the commercial intercourſe of the two nations.

This ſingular manifeſto of Mahomed Ben Abdalla was anſwered by the court of Madrid by a declaration of war; but before Spain could tranſport her forces to

this diſtant ſcene of conteſt, the Mooriſh prince, with a numerous and ill-diſciplined army, had laid ſiege to Melilla, in the kingdom of Fez, on the ſhores of the Mediterranean, and oppoſite to Almeria in Spain. Though that fortreſs was in every reſpect but badly provided, yet the conſtancy and conduct of the governor repelled the deſultory attacks of the aſſailants; and the emperor, after having continued the blockade for ſome months, retired from the inauſpicious walls.

If Spain had been tardy in affording ſuccour to her diſtreſſed ſubjects in Africa, her preparations to avenge the inſult were proportioned to the length of time that had been employed in making them. Twenty-ſix thouſand of the beſt troops of that kingdom, ſupplied with every engine for offenſive or defenſive war, were embarked onfour hundred tranſports. Theſe were eſcorted by ſeven ſhips of ſeventy-four guns, eight of forty, and thirty-two frigates. This formidable armament, which threatened to overwhelm all Africa, after a tedious voyage, caſt anchor in the bay of Algiers; and the count O'Reilly, to whom the command of the land-forces was entruſted, determined immediately to commence hi operations.

While the ſhips diverted the attention of enemy by a feigned attack on the town of Algiers, four thouſand of the Spaniſh infantry were ſucceſsfully landed; but theſe, inſtead of obeying the commands of their general, and patiently awaiting the junction of their companions, ruſhed to the encounter with the Moors, and were received with a degree of firmneſs that was little expected. The conſequence of this preſumption was what might have been eaſily foreſeen; as faſt as freſh troops were landed, they haſtened to the ſupport of their friends already engaged; and the advantages of ſkill and diſcipline were renounced, in a combat which was only diſtinguiſhed by deſparate courage and blind fury. For thirteen hours the ſenſe of national honour. ſupported the Spaniards againſt the torrent of their enemies; at length, after the loſs of near four thouſand of their beſt troops, they were obliged to retire under the ſhelter of the cannon of their ſhips: notwithſtanding the fatigues they had undergone in the courſe of the day, it was deemed prudent to avail themſelves of the night for a ſpeedy embarkation; and an armament that was conſidered ſo ſuperior to the object of its deſtination as to awaken the jealouſy of the European powers, returned to Spain, baffled and defeated by naked and undiſciplined barbarians.

Whatever concern Lewis might feel for the diſgrace of the kindred throne of Spain, was amply compenſated by the difficulties in which he obſerved the ancient and uniform rival of France rapidly involving herſelf. The language of reſiſtance adopted by America had not ſhaken the reſolution of the miniſters of Great-Britain, and the eyes of Europe were impatiently turned on the approaching conteſt. The inhabitants of Rhode-Iſland were no ſooner informed of the prohibition to export military ſtores from Great-Britain, than they ſeized on the ordnance belonging to the crown in that diſtrict, and openly avowed their intention, in this act of violence, was to defend themſelves againſt any power that ſhould preſume to moleſt them. Their example was followed by the people of New-

Hampſhire, who ſurprized a ſmall fort, called William and Mary, and ſupplied themſelves with a quantity of ammunition.

General Gage did not behold with indifference theſe acts of outrage; and on information that ſome braſs cannon were depoſited in the town of Salem, he detached a body of troops, commanded by a field-officer, to ſeize them; but the cannon had already been removed: a ſubſequent detachment of nine hundred men, for a like purpoſe, was directed to penetrate to Lexington; the march of theſe was interrupted by the provincials, who had taken the alarm, and began to aſſemble. They were diſperſed by ſome ſhots fired by the regulars, and a few of the Americans were wounded and killed. The inhabitants of the adjacent country were in a moment ſummoned to the ſupport of their friends; their numbers increaſing rapidly preſſed upon the Britiſh troops, who effected their retreat with conſiderable loſs and difficulty; it is probable indeed the whole detachment muſt have been cut off, had not the prudence of general Gage, apprehenſive of the event, directed a more conſiderable body to haſten to their relief. Strengthened by this reinforcement, they continued their retreat in better order, but harraſſed by a variety of deſultory attacks, and with ſome additional loſs, reached Boſton.

The attempt on Lexington excited the indignation of the whole province; the people immediately flew to arms, and Boſton was inveſted by twenty thouſand men, under the command of colonel Putnam, an officer who had acquired experience and reputation in the two laſt wars. But general Gage in the interval had been joined by the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, with a conſiderable body of troops from England; and it was determined to drive the Americans from ſome works which they had erected on Bunker's-Hill, an height that commanded the town of Boſton. This ſervice was committed to the generals Howe and Clinton, at the head of two thouſand ſelect ſoldiers; they were received with a firmneſs that might have ſtaggered veteran troops; and it was not until they had half their number killed and wounded, that their perſevering valour triumphed over the obſtinacy of their enemies, and drove the Americans from their entrenchments.

The general Congreſs at Philadelphia had not in the meantime been idle; the province of Georgia had acceded to the confederacy; and the different ſtates now aſſumed the appellation of *The Thirteen United Colonies*. Mr. Waſhington, a gentleman of fortune in Virginia, and who had fought at the head of ſeveral provincial bodies during the laſt war, was nominated commander in chief of all the American forces; the Congreſs alſo fixed the pay both of officers and ſoldiers, the latter of which were provided for with the utmoſt liberality.

But an expedition which was planned by the Americans againſt Quebec, the capital of Canada, was not attended with that ſucceſs which the authors of it fondly expected: They had ſurprized and ſwept before them all the important fortreſſes that commanded the entrance into that province; but in an attempt by

a coup-de-main to poſſeſs themſelves of the town, they were repulſed with cruel ſlaughter. General Montgomery, who commanded the aſſailants, an officer of a reſpectable Iriſh family who had been trained to arms in the Britiſh ſervice, fell on this occaſion, lamented not leſs for his military ſkill and valour than for the more rare domeſtic virtues; colonel Arnold, the ſecond in command, was ſeverely wounded; and the beſiegers, after this check, retired to an awful diſtance, and were content to change the ſiege into a blockade.

While Lewis anxiouſly directed his attention towards America, and watched the gradual progreſs of hoſtility, he was not indifferent to the internal regulation of his own country. The count de St. Germain juſtified the opinion that had been formed of his courage and abilities; and intent only on the advantage of the ſtate, ventured on a reform which menaced him with the reſentment of the moſt noble families of France.

The mouſquetaires, a corps inſtituted for the protection of the royal perſon, were compoſed of young men of the moſt illuſtrious extraction; and though ſuch a guard muſt have been highly flattering to the dignity of the ſovereign, yet the expence attending it was ſeverely felt, and frequently regretted. The ſuppreſſion of it had been repeatedly agitated; but no miniſter had yet been found ſufficiently hardy to encounter the odium with which it was likely to be attended. This inſtance of political fortitude was reſerved for the count de St. Germain; he enforced to Lewis the conſiderable ſavings that might be applied from the reduction of a corps, the offspring of pageantry, to the effective marching battalions; an edict was accordingly publiſhed for the ſuppreſſion of the mouſquetaires; and thoſe brave men, whoſe courage had always been celebrated, received the news of their diſmiſſion with marks of the deepeſt deſpair. Attached to each other by ſimilarity of habits, and cemented in friendſhip by common dangers and ſervice, they regarded the decree that ſeparated them with equal grief, as if had ſentenced their immediate execution. Monſieur de la Chaiſe, a veteran officer of approved reſolution, and one of their commanders, fainted away on receiving the fatal mandate; and all the reſt vented their ſorrow in the loudeſt and moſt poignant exclamations: but the king and his miniſter were inexorable; and the capital was not ſorry to be delivered from a corps, whoſe impetuous and overbearing ſpirit too frequently inſulted the more humble claſs of citizens.

A. D. 1776.] The naval department was inſpected with equal diligence and care: When the adminiſtration of the duke of Choiſeul expired, and his couſin the duke of Praſlin was diſmiſſed from ſuperintending the marine, that nobleman declared, that he left ſixty-four ſhips of the line in the ports of France, beſides thoſe that were on the ſtocks; this force had not been ſuffered to decline in the preſent reign, and the appointment of Monſieur de Sartine to the marine department did honour to the penetration of the ſovereign. That miniſter, fruitful in reſources, and unwearied in his application, was inceſſantly engaged in augmenting the naval ſtrength of his country; and the various preparations that filled the ports and docks, created no ſmall uneaſineſs to the court of London.

One appointment more was ſtill neceſſary to ſtamp the royal mind free from prejudice and open to the impreſſion of merit. Monſieur Turgot, though poſſeſſed of integrity and induſtry had not been able to command the public confidence; On his retreat, Monſieur Clugny, intendant-general of Bourdeaux, had been elevated to the vacant poſt; on his death, which happened ſoon after, M. Taboreau des Reaux was appointed his ſucceſſor; and Lewis ſoon after aſſociated with him, in the management of the finances, Monſieur Necker, by birth a Swiſs, and by religion a Proteſtant. That gentleman, in the preceding reign, had been choſen to adjuſt ſome differences between the Eaſt India Company and the crown; and had diſcharged his truſt with ſuch rare diſcretion as to challenge the approbation of both parties. Poſſeſſed of diſtinguiſhed and acknowledged probity, his appointment would have excited no ſurpriſe, had it not been contrary to the conſtant policy of France, which had carefully excluded the aliens of her country and faith from the controul of her revenue. It now ſtood forward as a new inſtance of enlargement of mind and liberality of ſentiment; and will to poſterity mark the prominent features of the reign of Lewis the Sixteenth.

With equal zeal to extend the dominion of ſcience, Lewis fitted out ſeveral veſſels on aſtronomical diſcoveries. The Chevalier de Borda was inſtructed to aſcertain the exact poſition of the Canary Iſlands and Cape de Verds; and the different degrees of the coaſt of Africa from Cape Spartel to the iſland of Goree: the Chevalier Grenier, who had traverſed the Indian ſeas to improve the charts and correct the errors which had miſled former navigators, was liberally rewarded by a monarch who aſpired to immortalize the æra of his power by expeditions beneficial to mankind.

But as often as the eyes of Lewis were recalled, ſo often did they return with increaſe of anxiety to the continent of North-America. The conteſt between Great-Britain and her colonies became each hour more important, and the humanity and intereſt of European powers were deeply concerned in the event. General Gage, as commander in chief, had been ſuperceded by general Howe; and that officer, preſſed and cloſely blockaded by the ſuperior numbers of the Americans, determined to quit the narrow limits of the town of Boſton and to retire to Halifax, until he ſhould be joined by the ſuccours that he expected from England. Though he was permitted to embark his troops without moleſtation, yet the acquiſition of Boſton reflected no ſmall luſtre on the arms of the Americans. Throughout the different provinces, the governors nominated by the king of England, had been almoſt univerſally expelled by the riſing indignation of the inhabitants; each day ſeemed to eſtabliſh more firmly the juriſdiction of the ſtates; their privateers overſpread the ſeas, and captured the rich merchant veſſels of the Engliſh; and Lewis, while he profeſſed to the court of London, a ſtrict neutrality, afforded to the veſſels of America a ſecure refuge in his harbours, where they bartered their ſpoils for arms and ammunition ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of their cauſe.

But Great-Britain, however aſtoniſhed by the unexpected reſiſtance of her colonies, determined not to reſign ſo rich a ſovereignty without a ſtruggle; a force was prepared which it was thought muſt look them into ſubmiſſion, large bodies of German troops were hired from the princes of Heſſe Caſſel and Brunſwick, ſovereigns who ſupply the ſplendour of their courts by the blood of their ſubjects. Theſe were ſtrengthened by conſiderable detachments from the electorate of Hanover, and by a number of Britiſh regiments, and when added to the troops that had been embarked from Boſton, the whole army under general Howe could not be eſtimated at leſs than thirty thouſand men.

Previous to the arrival of theſe reinforcements, general Howe had directed his courſe from the ſterile coaſt of Halifax, and landed his troops on Staten-Iſland, in the vicinity of New-York. He was there ſucceſſively joined by his brother lord Howe, and the armament from Great-Britain. All overtures of accommodation were fruitleſs; the thirteen colonies of America had already declared themſelves free and independent ſtates, and abjured all allegiance to the Britiſh crown; and the ſword alone could terminate the diſpute.

The poſſeſſion of New-York would enable Great-Britain, by its centrical poſition, either to carry on the war in Connecticut on the eaſtern ſide; or, on the weſtern quarter, to penetrate through New-Jerſey to Pennſylvania. To reduce that province was therefore the grand object of general Howe, and the operations that he immediately commenced were attended with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. Though general Waſhington with a numerous army occupied both Long-Iſland and New-York, yet his ſoldiers were raw and undiſciplined; their officers were ignorant of the art of war, and only inflamed with an enthuſiaſtic love of freedom; and they were aſtoniſhed and confounded by the rapid evolutions and ſuperior ſkill of their adverſaries. The Britiſh forces had firſt landed on Long-Iſland, from which the Americans were chaſed with the loſs of above four thouſand of their beſt troops; thence the victorious army, fluſhed with ſucceſs, paſſed over to New York; while general Waſhington, convinced by fatal experience of the inferiority of his ſoldiers, determined to avoid in future any deciſive action, and to protract the war amidſt the woods and wilds with which the countr: abounds. In purſuance of this plan he abandoned New-York without a blow; retired to the higher grounds, and with no ſmall degree of dexterity conſtantly eluded the purſuit of the victor; while general Howe, after haraſſing his troops in fruitleſs attempts to overtake him, returned to reduce the fortreſſes in the neighbourhood of New-York, and extended his poſts far into the Jerſeys.

The diſtreſs of Quebec had not eſcaped the vigilance of Great-Britain, and an important reinforcement was deſtined to its relief: but before this could arrive, general Carleton, who, as governor of Canada, commanded in that town; ſtrengthened by the marines, and a detachment from ſome ſhips of war that had entered the harbour, had atchieved his own deliverance. The ſmall band of

Americans, diſheartened by their former repulſe, and weakened by diſeaſe, was eaſily broken; they retired in diſorder, and the forces of the king of England in Canada, ſwelled by the arrival of the expected regiments to thirteen thouſand men, purſued with vigour the fugitives, and expelled them from that important province.

Hitherto the United States of America had ſuffered a ſeries of heavy and unexpected defeats. One inſtance of ſucceſs alone gleamed through the clouds which obſcured their dawning glory. An attempt had been made on Charleſton, the capital of South-Carolina, by commodore Sir Peter Parker and general Clinton, previous to their joining lord and general Howe. But the fort which commanded the paſſage to Charleſton, was gallantly defended by colonel Moultrie, an American officer; and general Lee, with a conſiderable body of forces, preſerved his communication with the fortreſs, and could at diſcretion augment the garriſon. After a ſevere and furious cannonade for ſeveral hours, the Britiſh commodore withdrew his ſhattered veſſels from the action, and relinquiſhed the hopeleſs enterpriſe.

But in the neighbourhood of New-York, the advantages of general Howe had been rapid and uninterrupted: Fort Waſhington was taken by aſſault; the garriſon of three thouſand men were made priſoners; Sir Peter Parker and general Clinton reduced Rhode-Iſland; and lord Cornwallis, with a ſeparate detatchment, penetrated through the Jerſeys, appeared on the banks of the Delaware, and threatened the ſafety of Philadelphia, the ſeat of the Congreſs.

The loſs which the Americans had ſuſtained by the ſword, by captivity, and by deſertion, though ſevere and diſcouraging, equalled not the embarraſſments that aroſe from the temporary engagements which their ſoldiers had entered into: theſe were moſtly enliſted for a year only; and unaccuſtomed to reſtraint, at the expiration of that term, they panted to return to their families, and few were prevailed upon to continue in the ſervice. Yet amidſt theſe various difficulties, the mind of general Waſhington was a ſtranger to deſpondency; he continued to obſerve with a vigilant eye the motions of his enemies: their poſts, in the moment of triumph and ſecurity, had been extended to the Delaware; and the American commander ſuddenly aſſembling a ſmall but ſelect body of men, ſilently marched to attack colonel Rall, a Heſſian officer, who with fifteen hundred Heſſians occupied Trenton, on the banks of that river. The enterprize was attended with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs; colonel Rall with a few of his ſoldiers were killed, and near a thouſand were made priſoners: the Britiſh general, taught caution by this chaſtiſement, contracted his poſts; and Philadelphia was for the preſent delivered from a dangerous and hoſtile neighbour.

A. D. 1777.] The exultation of France had been openly and conſtantly proportioned to the ſucceſs of the Americans; the princes of the blood and the chief nobility were eager to embark in the ſupport of freedom; and the prudence of the king and his moſt confidential miniſters, alone reſtrained their ardour. The fatal

events of the laſt war were ſtill impreſſed on the mind of Lewis; and he could not readily conſent to expoſe his infant marine in a conteſt with a people who had ſo frequently aſſerted the dominion of the ſeas, and ſo lately broken the united ſtrength of the houſe of Bourbon. Yet he was ſenſible that the opportunity of humbling theſe haughty iſlanders ſhould not be entirely neglected, and that ſome advantages ſhould be taken of the preſent commotions in America. Two agents from the United States, Silas Deane and doctor Benjamin Franklin, had ſucceſſively arrived at Paris; and though all audience was denied them in a public capacity, ſtill they were privately encouraged to hope that France only waited the proper opportunity to vindicate in arms the freedom and independence of America. In the mean time the military preparations of that kingdom were diligently continued; the American cruiſers were hoſpitably received into her ports; artillery and all kinds of warlike ſtores were freely ſold or liberally granted to the diſtreſs of the coloniſts; French officers and engineers, with the connivance of government, entered into their ſervice; and the marquis de la Fayette, a young nobleman of affluent fortune, and nearly allied to the illuſtrious houſe of Noailles, under pretence of viſiting ſome relations in Italy, hired a frigate; and impatient to join the ſtandard of Liberty, ſteered towards America: he was received with open arms by the United States, and ſoon after promoted to a principal command.

At this critical juncture, the death of Joſeph the Firſt, king of Portugal, was not a matter of indifference to the houſe of Bourbon. Attached by gratitude and long and intimate connections to the Engliſh, he had a ſhort time previous to his deceaſe entered into a diſpute with the court of Madrid reſpecting the limits of their different ſettlements in South-America. The influence of the king of France had prevented the deſultory hoſtilities that were commenced in that quarter of the globe from communicating to Europe; yet every appearance proclaimed a diſpoſition jealous and inimical; and it is probable that the opportune death of the king, only, deterred Portugal from engaging in an open war with Spain. His eldeſt daughter, the princeſs of Brazil, ſucceeded to the vacant throne: in compliance with the cuſtom of the court of Liſbon, ſhe had already received in marriage the hand of her own uncle, the brother of her father: and her ſon, the prince of Beira, the preſumptive heir of the crown, had united himſelf to the younger ſiſter of his mother. The new ſovereign immediately applied herſelf to terminate the differences which had originated in the former reign; a perfect good underſtanding was ſoon eſtabliſhed between the two courts; the iſland of St. Catherines, on the coaſt of Brazil, which had already been reduced by Spain, was inſtantly reſtored; the limits of the ſettlements in South-America were amicably aſcertained; and the moſt explicit treaty of peace, union, and friendſhip, was finally ratified between the two crowns; nor could France be totally unconcerned in a negociation which thus converted the ancient foe to the firm ally of the houſe of Bourbon.

The viſit of the emperor of Germany to the court of Paris was another occurrence that excited the attention of Europe. Averſe to pomp he choſe to travel under the humble title of count Falkenſtein; he was received by Lewis with that reſpect which was due to the imperial dignity, and the regard that he was impatient to teſtify to the brother of his royal conſort. During ſix weeks that the emperor remained at Paris, his hours were inceſſantly devoted to the examination of the various eſtabliſhments of that capital, and in viewing the manufactures; with the ſame ſpirit of enquiry he made a tour through the different provinces of France, and in his journey endeavoured to glean whatever might be advantageous to his own dominions.

His example was in ſome meaſure imitated by the brothers of Lewis, the counts de Provençe and d'Artois: theſe alſo reſolved to viſit the diſtant diſtricts of France; their liberality and amiable manners commanded, in their progreſs, the eſteem of all ranks of people; they were every where received with unbounded acclamations; and the French, taught to be enthuſiaſtic admirers of their king endeavoured to diſplay their loyalty by the marks of regard which they paid to theſe princes of the blood.

Some changes were about this time introduced into the different departments of ſtate; the conduct of Monſieur Necker in the finances had been attended with univerſal approbation; Monſieur Taboureau des Reaux, his colleague, had reſigned his ſituation, but ſtill retained the dignity of counſellor of ſtate. To afford full ſcope to the genius of Monſieur Necker, Lewis determined no longer to clog him with an aſſociate; but with the title of director-general of the finances, ſubmitted to him the entire management of the funds and revenue of France.

The ſpirited meaſures of the count de St. Germain in ſuppreſſing the Moſquetaires have already been remarked. Whether the conſequences were ſuch as every miniſter had dreaded, and the reſentment of the noble families of France had oppreſſed the ſecretary of war; or that ſtateſman was found, as has been hinted, too intractable in the cabinet, and too partial to his own ſyſtem, has never yet tranſpired; his official ſtation for ſome time, however, had been extremely uneaſy, and he now determined to reſign; his death, in the enſuing year, prevented that recall which probably would have taken place; and the prince de Montbarey, who had already filled an inferior ſituation in that department, was now appointed ſecretary at war.

Lewis was not leſs attentive to his negociations with foreign courts, than he was deſirous of providing the ſtate with able and induſtrious miniſters. He concluded a new treaty of alliance with Switzerland; vigilantly obſerved the motions of the different princes of Germany on the death of the elector of Bavaria; and when cloſely queſtioned by the Engliſh ambaſſador, lord Stormont, reſpecting the various warlike preparations which were diligently continued through the kingdom, he replied, That at a time when the ſeas were covered with Engliſh fleets and American cruizers, and when ſuch armies were ſent to the New World

as had never before appeared there, it became prudent for him alſo to arm for the ſecurity of the colonies, and the protection of the commerce, of France.

The king was not ignorant at the ſame time, that the remonſtrances of Great-Britain, and the importunities of the agents of the United States, would ſoon compel him to adopt ſome deciſive line of conduct. Though general Howe, after the defeat of colonel Rall, had continued in force at New-York, yet he had abandoned his former deſign of penetrating through the Jerſeys to Philadelphia. With the return of ſpring he determined to proceed againſt that city by ſea, and avail himſelf of the ſuperiority of his naval force. He embarked eighteen thouſand men; and after a tedious voyage entered Cheſapeak-Bay; ſailed up the river Elk, as far as it was capable of admitting his tranſports; and landed his troops in the higheſt health and condition.

General Waſhington had not been deceived by the preparatory movements of his military rival, but had early penetrated into his deſigns, and with an army of fifteen thouſand men, had marched to the defence of Philadelphia, and advanced to Brandywine-Creek, which, croſſing the country at ſome diſtance from that city, falls into the Delaware. As the Britiſh army moved forwards from the head of the Elk, a variety of ſkirmiſhes took place; and on general Howe paſſing the Brandywine, the American commander relinquiſhed his uſual caution, and hazarded a more deciſive action. On this occaſion, the marquis de la Fayette charged among the foremoſt; and, though wounded, continued to animate the corps that he commanded by his example: but the Americans were at length compelled to yield to the ſuperior ſkill and diſcipline of their enemies; night ſaved their army from a total defeat; and general Waſhington retiring to Cheſter, purſued next day his march to Philadelphia.

Towards that city the Britiſh forces rapidly advanced; and the Americans judged it prudent to abandon without a battle the capital of Pennſylvania, and the ſeat of Congreſs. It was immediately occupied by the Engliſh; but the major part of their army was quartered at Germantown, a conſiderable village, about ſeven miles diſtant from Philadelphia. The Congreſs, on quitting Philadelphia, transferred the ſeat of empire to York-Town; and general Waſhington encamped at Skippach-Creek, about ſixteen miles from Germantown.

Amidſt theſe various diſaſters one conſolation remained to ſupport the confidence of the United States. In Great-Britain it had been repreſented that the majority of the Americans were ſtill attached to the mother-country, and averſe to the new government; but though general Howe had traverſed a vaſt extent of country, though he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the rich and populous cities of New-York and Philadelphia, yet the active adherents of the Crown were found to be inconſiderable, both in property and numbers; while general Waſhington, after the defeat of Brandywine, had been largely reinforced by the zeal of his

party, and now meditated the ſurpriſe of the royal army in its camp at Germantown.

This enterpriſe, though planned and executed with a degree of ability and vigour that reflected honour on the character of the general, was yet unſucceſsful. The Americans indeed penetrated into the middle of Germantown; but by that time the main body of the Engliſh army had taken the alarm, and the raw troops of the States were obliged to give way before the veteran valour of their enemies. The inclemency of the ſeaſon ſoon after ſuſpended their mutual animoſity; the Britiſh forces were quartered in Philadelphia. and the villages adjacent, and general Waſhington with the army of the States, occupied a ſtrong camp on the banks of the Schuylkill, about ſixteen miles from that city.

If in the ſouth of America the events of the campaign furniſhed matter of triumph to Great-Britain, the United States received ample compenſation by an an advantage on the nothern ſide, as deciſive as it was unexpected. After the expulſion of the Americans from Canada, the miniſters of England were determined to purſue their advantages in that quarter; an army of near eight thouſand men was diligently collected, and entruſted to general Burgoyne, an officer who had acquired ſome reputation in the laſt war in Portugal: The chief object of his deſtination was to penetrate from Canada through Albany, to New-York: and ſcattering terror as he paſt, at length to effect a junction with general Howe. His ſucceſs at firſt was rapid and uninterrupted; the Americans, ſeized with panic abandoned Ticonderoga, a ſtrong fort between Lake-George and Lake-Champlain, and retired precipitately towards Fort-Edward, upon the Hudſon river.

Towards the banks of that river the Britiſh army alſo directed its march; but whether the general himſelf was too dilatory in his motions, or the roads oppoſed inſuperable obſtacles to troops incumbered with heavy baggage and a vaſt train of artillery, certain it is that their progreſs was ſlow and laborious; and the interval was aſſiduouſly employed by the United States in reſtoring the courage of their adherents, and ſummoning their ſcattered forces to their defence. General Arnold, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the attack of Quebec, advanced from Connecticut with a conſiderable corps, and ſeveral pieces of cannon; and general Gates, who had been trained to arms in the Britiſh ſervice, but who had joined the ſtandard of the Americans, ſoon collected a formidable army, to the command of which he was nominated by the Congreſs.

General Burgoyne had no ſooner prepared to paſs Hudſon's River, than he was fatally convinced of the number and ſtrength of his adverſaries. A detachment of near nine hundred men, which had marched into the country to procure a ſupply of cattle, was almoſt totally cut off; and a ſecond, that had been directed to ſupport them, effected their retreat with conſiderable loſs. Yet theſe inauſpicious events did not deter that commander from paſſing the North-River near Saratoga; and probably the ſtrict tenor of his orders allowed him not to decline a meaſure pregnant with every ſpecies of calamity. The Americans, under

general Gates, were encamped at a ſmall diſtance, at a place called Still-Water; and no ſooner did they perceive the approach of the Britiſh forces, than they quitted their lines and preſſed forward to engage them; the action was long maintained with mutual rage and obſtinacy; at length the troops of the States gave way; but the darkneſs of the night covered their retreat; the victors obtained at an irreparable loſs only the empty honours of the field; while the vanquiſhed, confiding in their numbers, prepared to renew the conflict.

In two ſucceſſive actions the hoſtile armies again encountred each other with ſimilar courage but with different ſucceſs; and the Britiſh troops in their turn were broken and overwhelmed by the ſuperior numbers of their enemies. Though they recovered their camp, and ſtill maintained ſome appearance of reſiſtance, their ſituation was deſparate: Reduced to half their original number, worn out with toil, and diſtant from all hopes of ſuccour, their general conſented to open a negociation; and an army that had threatened to carry deſtruction through the continent of America, was compelled to pile their arms before a general of the United States; who, in the name of Congreſs, ſubſcribed a treaty by which the vanquiſhed troops were to be tranſported to England on condition that they ſhould not ſerve again in America during the courſe of the war.

A. D. 1778.] The ſucceſs of the Americans in the laſt campaign was received at Paris with unbounded exultation; monſieur Sartine, who preſided over the marine department, was impatient to meaſure the naval ſtrength of France with that of Great-Britain; the queen, who had long ſeconded the applications of the agents of the United States, now eſpouſed their cauſe with leſs reſerve and with encreaſed ardour; the phlegmatic temper and the pacific diſpoſition of Lewis were overborne by the reiterated zeal, imperceptible but weighty, of the numerous body of philoſophers which pervaded every rank of life—by the ſuggeſtions of his miniſters, and the influence of his royal conſort; and it was at length determined openly to acknowledge the independence of the United States of America.

The ſituation of Europe at this juncture was peculiarly favourable to the determination of the king of France, and the ambitious views of his council. Some differences between the court of Peterſburg and the Ottoman Porte, reſpecting the Crimea, threatened a revival of theſe hoſtilities which had been ſo lately adjuſted; and had the empreſs of Ruſſia been willing, muſt have precluded her from affording any aſſiſtance to the Engliſh. The flames of war had been rekindled between the houſes of Auſtria and Brandenburg; and the claims of the former to ſome part of the ſucceſſion of the electorate of Bavaria, had ſummoned the rival monarchs to the field. Spain, by the family-compact, was bound to accede to the deſigns, and to ſtrengthen the arms of France: Portugal, by her late treaty with Spain, had formed an intimate union with the houſe of Bourbon; and if her weakneſs prevented her from joining the hoſtile confederacy of that family, her neutrality was at leaſt ſecured; while Holland purſuing thoſe pacific maxims

which the policy of commerce dictates, avoided every overture which appeared likely to involve her in the war which now extended to the principal powers of Europe, and transferred to her peaceful ports all the advantages of trade and neutrality.

Such was the ſtate of the moſt conſiderable European powers, whoſe dangerous enmity might have controlled the deſigns of the court of Verſailles; and Lewis, ſatisfied that he had nothing to apprehend from their interference, now turned his whole attention to the approaching conteſt with the ancient rival of his kingdom. For a conſiderable time his internal regulations had proclaimed a degree of wiſdom and liberality, rarely to be found in a crown that had been long characteriſed by blind ſuperſtition and jealous deſpotiſm. The tranſcendant genius of Turgot had for a ſhort term preſided over the policy of France; but although the combined reſiſtance of ſuperſtition and Gothic inſtitutions was oppoſed to the bold and comprehenſive meaſures of this philoſophical ſtateſman, and prevailed ſo far as to remove him from the helm which he had directed with the moſt beneficient effects but without a ſparkle of oſtentation, the ſpirit of the miniſter triumphed after he had retired into private life, and his plans which remained on record became the guides, as his friendſhips greatly influenced the meaſures purſued by Lewis, in the internal concerns of his own and the future deſtinies of other nations. The elevation of a Proteſtant to the direction of the finances, was one of the moſt ſignal effects of this great change, a new ſpirit ſeemed to breathe throughout the cabinet; and a royal ordinance was iſſued, that ſuppreſſed ſeveral of thoſe numerous holidays ſo injurious to the induſtry of the people and the reſources of the ſtate.

The councils of Lewis had been long ſuſpended on the manner of procedure proper to be adopted with regard to America; the conſtant declarations of the Britiſh miniſtry appeared to be corroborated by the numbers of the coloniſts which joined the royal army, and the vigorous cruelty of their enterprizes; a much more numerous body was known to have adopted a paſſive but ſuſpicious neutrality; and the progreſſive ſteps by which the coloniſts had arrived from reſiſtance to oppreſſion at a complete declaration of national independence, accompanied in every ſtage by the moſt liberal and manly offers of accommodation from the Amercans, and the moſt blind and confident rejection of every meaſure ſhort of implicit ſubmiſſion, tended to enforce an opinion which appears not to have been confined to the cabinet of Verſailles, that the great body of the Americans were not earneſtly diſpoſed to an irrevocable ſeparation from Great-Britain. The quarrel became every day more ſerious, and the private activity united with ſagicity of the principal agent of th United States removed every impreſſion which retarded the deciſive and effectual meaſures of France.

Doctor Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, who had hitherto acted as private agents, were now acknowledged as public ambaſſadors from the United States to the court of Verſailles; and a treaty of amity and commerce was ſigned between the two powers in the month of February. The principal articles of it, after

ſtipulating the mutual advantages of trade and the liberty and ſovereignty of the United States, formed a confederacy againſt Great Britain, or any other power that ſhould preſume to interrupt their commercial intercourſe: they provided alſo againſt either of the contracting powers, ſhould war break out between France and Great-Britain during the continuance of the preſent rupture between the United States and England, concluding any truce or peace without the formal conſent of the other firſt obtained; and they finiſhed with an invitation to any other powers that might have received injuries from England, to make a common cauſe with them, and to accede to the preſent alliance.

The duke of Noailles, ambaſſador to the court of London, was in the month of March inſtructed to acquaint the miniſters of Great-Britain, that his ſoverign had formally acknowledged the independence of, and ſigned a treaty of commerce with the United States of America; at the ſame time he declared, that the contracting parties had paid great attention not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of France; and that the United States had reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever on the ſame footing of equality and reciprocity: but this ſtipulation was affected to be treated by the Engliſh with contempt; and the recall of lord Stormont their ambaſſador at Verſailles, was the ſignal for the commencement of hoſtilities.

But Lewis had already prepared for this event; and in the month of April the count d'Eſtaign, who, during the courſe of the laſt war, had in the Eaſt-Indies maintained the glory of his country, ſailed from Toulon, with twelve ſhips of the line, and four frigates. On board this fleet were embarked eight hundred ſelect ſoldiers; and Silas Deane, who had been deputed by Congreſs to the court of Verſailles, and Conrad Alexander Gerard, ſecretary to the council of ſtate, and appointed miniſter plenipotentiary to the United States of America, accompanied the count on board the Languedoc.

While this armament directed its courſe to the coaſt of America, a more conſiderable fleet was aſſembled at Breſt, to vindicate the ſeas from the enterpriſes of the Engliſh, who had intercepted the trade, and captured the Licorne, a frigate belonging to France. This fleet conſiſted of thirty-two ſhips of the line; the command was entruſted to the count d'Orvilliers; the van was led by the count de Chafault, and the rear was animated by the preſence of the duke of Chartres, by the death of his father now duke of Orleans. Off Uſhant the count d'Orvilliers diſcerned and engaged the Engliſh fleet, equal in force, and commanded by admiral Keppel. The event of the action was indeciſive; the French on the approach of night, withdrew to their own coaſts; and the Engliſh, ſoon after, retired within their harbours to refit.

But though in this engagement France had acquired no advantage, and by firſt retreating ſeemed to yield the glory of the day to her rival; yet it afforded no inconſiderable triumph to that nation, that ſhe had been able to face without loſs her powerful adverſary on an element that had ſo frequently proved fatal to her.

In a letter written by his own hand, the king beſtowed the moſt liberal commendations on the count d'Orvilliers; he condoled with the count de Chafault, who had been wounded in the action; and added, that proper care ſhould be taken of the widows of thoſe who had fallen in ſupporting the honour of his flag. The fleet was once more refitted with all poſſible expedition; the duke of Chartres was raiſed to the command which before had been occupied by the count de Chafault; and count de Guichen ſucceeded to the duke of Chartres; after a cruize uninterrupted by the ſight of an enemy, it re-entered the harbour of Breſt.

In the mean time the count d'Eſtaign purſued his courſe to America; and though his voyage was tedious, yet he arrived in the middle of July in ſight of the Britiſh fleet at Sandy-Hook. Since the laſt campaign, the face of affairs in America had undergone a conſiderable change; general Howe had been recalled by the miniſters of Great-Britain, and the chief command devolved on general Clinton; that officer had deemed it prudent to evacuate Philadelphia; and general Waſhington, during his retreat towards New-York, had preſſed cloſe upon his footſteps, and even engaged him with ſome advantage; but the perſevering valour of the Britiſh troops, and the diſobedience of general Lee, an officer of high rank in the ſervice of the States, as it was alledged, fruſtrated the hopes of Waſhington; and general Clinton, after a long and toilſome march, reached Navefink, in the neighbourhood of Sandy-Hook; and by the fleet, ſtill commanded by lord Howe, was conveyed to New-York.

Count d'Eſtaign had reaſon deeply to regret the unfavourable winds which had prevented him from more ſpeedily reaching the place of his deſtination; had he arrived a few days ſooner, it is more than probable he would have intercepted the Britiſh tranſports on their paſſage from the Delaware, eſcorted only by two ſhips of the line and ſome frigates; theſe muſt have fallen an eaſy prey to his ſuperior force. From the coaſt of Virginia he now ſteered his courſe to New-York, in expectation of overwhelming lord Howe in the unequal conteſt: but that admiral, whoſe ſquadron was compoſed of only ſix ſhips of ſixty-four guns, three of fifty, with ſome frigates and ſloops, was already in poſſeſſion of the harbour that is formed by Sandy-Hook: and the French commander deemed it expedient not to hazard his own large ſhips in the paſſage of the bar.

He, therefore, immediately ſteered towards Rhode-Iſland, the invaſion of which he had planned in concert with the United States. While the French fleet occupied Newport harbour, and the ſeveral inlets to that iſland, general Sullivan, an American officer, landed on the North-point with a conſiderable army: they had ſcarce commenced their joint operations before lord Howe, reinforced by ſeveral ſhips from England, appeared in ſight; and count d'Eſtaign, unwilling to be braved by an enemy ſtill inferior to him in ſtrength, quitted his ſituation in ſearch of naval laurels. The two fleets conteſted during the firſt day, for the weather-gage with rival ſkill; but on the ſecond, when every thing indicated an immediate action, a violent tempeſt aroſe, which ſcattered both. It was not till ſeveral days

after that the French admiral was able to collect his ſhattered veſſels; and after tranſiently viſiting Rhode-Iſland, he ſailed for Boſton to repair the damages that he had ſuſtained.

General Sullivan, deprived of the aſſiſtance of his ally, ſoon after abandoned the attempt on Rhode-Iſland; and the reader, perhaps, will not be ſorry for a moment to withdraw from hoſtile fleets and armies, and attend the different negociations which were carried on during their operations. Monſieur Gerard, the plenipotentiary from France, had been received by the Congreſs with every mark of reſpect and regard: but a ſhort time previous to the appearance of that miniſter, commiſſioners from Great-Britain had arrived, impowered to treat with the Congreſs, and effect a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother-country. Theſe commiſſioners were the earl of Carliſle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnſtone, with whom was joined the commander in chief, ſir Henry Clinton. They propoſed to conſent to an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea and land; to extend every freedom to trade that the reſpective intereſts on both ſides ſhould require; to agree that no military force ſhould be kept up in the different States of North-America without the conſent of the general Congreſs, or of the particular aſſemblies; to concur in meaſures calculated to diſcharge the debts of America, and to raiſe the credit and value of the paper circulation; to perpetuate the common union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different ſtates, who ſhould have the privilege of a ſeat and voice in the parliament of Great-Britain; and in ſhort, to eſtabliſh the power of the reſpective legiſlatures in each particular ſtate, to ſettle its revenue, its civil and military eſtabliſhments, and to give to the ſtates of North-America, acting with Great-Britain under one common ſovereign, the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that was ſhort of a total ſeparation of intereſt, or conſiſtent with that union of force on which their common ſafety depended.

Though the Congreſs had been informed ſome days before of the favourable diſpoſition of the court of Verſailles, and had even received copies of the two treaties of alliance and commerce which had been concluded between France and the United States, yet the terms now offered by Great-Britain were the object of ſerious deliberation; Mr. Laurens, the preſident of that aſſembly had, with the approbation of it, refuſed indeed a paſſport to the ſecretary of the commiſſioners; but the papers with which he had been charged, were received through a different channel, and the debates on them were reſumed during ſix ſucceſſive days; if the Congreſs, however, were dilatory, they were deciſive in their anſwer. They obſerved, that the commiſſion ſuppoſed the people of thoſe ſtates to be ſubjects of Great-Britain, an idea that was totally inadmiſſable: they added, that they were ſtill inclined to peace, notwithſtanding the injuries they had ſuffered during the courſe of the war; that they were ready to enter into a treaty of commerce, not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, when the king of Great-Britain ſhould demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for that purpoſe; but the only

ſolid proof of that diſpoſition would be an explicit acknowledgement of the independence of thoſe ſtates, and the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

This peremptory language precluded all further hopes of negociation, and the diſappointment of the commiſſioners was rendered ſtill more mortifying by the reception that was immediately after given to Monſieur Gerard: but their publications afforded the marquis de la Fayette another opportunity of diſplaying his vivacity; ſome expreſſions he conceived had fallen from the pens of the commiſſioners injurious to the honour of his country, and he challenged the earl of Carliſle, as chief of the commiſſion, to anſwer for theſe reflections. That noble lord, however, conſidered the propoſal as reſulting from the fire of youth; and declined to grant, in a national concern, that ſatisfaction which has ever been confined to perſonal differences.

If the fortitude of Congreſs in their late reſolutions excited the admiration of Europe, the good faith of that aſſembly, in a previous tranſaction, had not been leſs ſeverely arraigned. The army of general Burgoyne had capitulated, on the expreſs condition that it ſhould be allowed to return to England, but not to bear arms in America during the preſent war. This ſtipulation had been long artfully eluded; it was now openly violated; and when the tranſports for the conveyance of theſe troops were aſſembled at Rhode-Iſland, the Congreſs paſſed a reſolution, that the ſoldiers not having delivered up all their accoutrements, the convention was not binding; and continued ſtill to detain them priſoners, notwithſtanding the repeated remonſtrances of the Britiſh commanders.

From the continent of America the flame of war had been rapidly communicated to the Weſt-India iſlands. The marquis of Bouille, governor-general of Martinico, was informed of the defenceleſs ſtate of the iſland of Dominica, which on the late peace had been ceded by France to England. The works had indeed been repaired and augmented by the miniſters of Great-Britain; but theſe, deſtitute of a ſufficient garriſon, only enhanced the value of the temptation. Under the cover of ſome frigates and privateers, the marquis landed unexpectedly on that iſland, at the head of two thouſand men: he ſoon overpowered a handful of regulars that had been entruſted with the defence of the forts and batteries; and in the courſe of the ſame day advanced to attack the capital of Reſeau. The garriſon, incapable of reſiſtance, ſolicited terms of capitulation; and the generoſity of the marquis, beſides allowing to the troops all the honours of war, and the liberty of retaining their arms, granted to the inhabitants the fulleſt ſecurity of their eſtates and property of every ſort; the maintenance of their rights, privileges, and immunities; and permiſſion to retain their civil and religious government until the concluſion of the war; when, if the iſland ſhould be ceded to France, they ſhould be left at liberty to adhere to their own political form of goverment, or to accept that eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands.

In the ſame quarter France was, in her turn, ſoon after taught to regret the viciſſitudes of war. General Clinton had detached from America a body of



Rollinson fecit. N York.

STEPHEN MARCEL *compelling the* **DAUPHINE**

to wear the Party Cap.

troops, under the command of general Grant; and theſe, in their attack on the French iſland of St. Lucia, were ſeconded by a Britiſh fleet under admiral Barrington. The chevalier de Michoud, the French commandant, with his ſmall band of regulars and militia, were ſucceſſively puſhed from poſt to poſt; and his fate appeared inevitable, when his hopes were revived by the unexpected appearance of the French fleet, commanded by count d'Eſtaign.

That officer had diligently occupied every moment at Boſton, ſince the tempeſt that had ſeperated him from lord Howe, in refitting and revictualling his ſhips; he had received on board a body of land forces, amounting to near eight thouſand men; and had ſailed with a lively expectation of overwhelming in his courſe all the Britiſh Leeward-iſlands. In his paſſage he received intelligence of the attempt on St. Lucia; and was not diſpleaſed at an expedition, which he flattered himſelf would be the means of throwing an eaſy prey into his hands, the whole Britiſh force by land and by ſea. His own fleet conſiſted of twelve large ſail of the line, beſides frigates: that of admiral Barrington, of one of ſeventy-four, one of ſeventy, one of ſixty-four, two of fifty, and three frigates. Yet the French admiral could not entirely conceal his chagrin at the precautions that his adverſary had taken, and the ſecurity he derived from his poſition in the harbour. He determined, however, to riſk the event, in hopes that his formidable force might ſtrike terror into the breaſt of the Engliſh commander; but that veteran had diſtinguiſhed himſelf through a ſeries of ſervice, by ſteady courage and undaunted reſolution; he received the attack of the count with calm intrepidity; and ſeconded by the batteries from the ſhore, in two ſucceſſive days repelled the fury of the aſſailants. The French convinced, under theſe unfavourable circumſtances, that no effectual impreſſion could be made on the fleet, now directed their attempts againſt the land-forces. The count d'Eſtaign landed his troops, and marched at the head of them to attack general Medows, a Britiſh officer, who occupied a ſtrong poſt on the iſland. Though his ſuperior numbers might juſtly inſpire him with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs, yet he was compelled again to endure the mortification of defeat; the advantages that the Engliſh poſſeſſed by their ſituation, they maintained by their deſparate valour; and the count d'Eſtaign, after the loſs of near five hundred of his men, thought proper to retire to his ſhips: he ſoon after hoiſted ſail fot Martinico; and the chevalier de Michoud, thus deprived of all expectations of ſuccour, abandoned the idea of further reſiſtance, and ſurrendered to the Engliſh.

In the Eaſt-Indies the ſettlements of France were ſtill more fatally expoſed to the enterprizes of her enemies: theſe, in the courſe of the laſt war had been totally ſubdued; and though reſtored on the peace, were by the conditions of it left in a ſtate of weakneſs and degradation. Before any public declaration of war, the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, appriſed of the diſpoſition of the court of Verſailles to vindicate the independence of America, diſpatched orders to their governors to anticipate all dangers in that quarter, by immediately attacking the ſettlements of the French. Though the preparations of the governor of Madras

could not eſcape the vigilance of Monſieur de Bellecombe, governor of Pondicherry, and commandant of all the French ſettlements in the Indies, yet, deſtitute of reſources, he could only aſpire to the glory of a gallant defence. Monſieur Tronjolli, the French commodore, had indeed diſputed the ſovereignty of the ſeas, in an obſtinate action with the Engliſh admiral, Sir Edward Vernon; but inſtead of returning to the road of Pondicherry, he ſteered his courſe for the Mauritius to repair the damages he had ſuſtained; and Monſieur de Bellecombe, with about three thouſand men, ſcarce one fourth of whom were Europeans, was cloſely inveſted by general Munro, at the head of fifteen hundred Britiſh and nine thouſand black troops, and ſupported by the Engliſh ſquadron under admiral Vernon.

The fortifications of Pondicherry had in ſome meaſure emerged from the ruins in which they had been left at the concluſion of the preceding war; but they were ſtill feeble and incomplete; and the gallantry of the governor and reſolution of the garriſon alone ſupplied the numerous deficiencies to which they were expoſed: for a month they nobly ſuſtained the attacks of the beſiegers, and protracted the hour of ſubmiſſion; but in that time they had loſt, in killed and wounded, one-fourth of their original number, and the reſt were worn down by inceſſant fatigue. The artillery of the enemy had already made a practicable breach; and general de Bellecombe, ſenſible that he had uſed every poſſible exertion to preſerve the ſettlement, determined not to involve the garriſon and inhabitants in total deſtruction by a fruitleſs perſeverance. On the day preceding that intended for a general aſſault, he propoſed a capitulation, which was readily liſtened to by the Britiſh commanders, who, in the terms of it, gave the moſt honourable teſtimony to the gallantry of his conduct. The regiment of Pondicherry, in honour of Monſieur de Bellecombe, and at his particular requeſt, were allowed to keep their colours; the European part of the garriſon were to be tranſported to France; and the Sepahis, or black troops, were to be diſbanded in the country.

The victors, at the ſame time, ſwept away the different factories of the French in Bengal, and on the coaſt of Coromandel; the Engliſh flag was erected on the walls of Chandernagore, Gemaun, Carical, and Maſulipatam; the fort of Mahé, in the domininions of Hyder-Ali, and protected by the name of that prince; but the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon, ſtrong in the number of their inhabitants and the advantages of their ſituation, alone defied the ſtorm.

While France was thus ſtripped of her ſettlements in the Eaſt, the attention of her people at home was in a great meaſure occupied in reſtoring the memory of a man to whoſe miſconduct the loſs of thoſe very ſettlements in the courſe of laſt war had been imputed, and who had fallen a victim to the public indignation. Count Lally, who from the original ſtation of an adventurer, had raiſed himſelf by his valour and enterpriſing genius to the command of the French forces in India, after the reduction of Pondicherry by general Coote, had returned to

France; and was there purſued by the accuſations of the governor and ſuperior council of Pondicherry. To his violence, extortion, and oppreſſion, they attributed that ruin in which they had been involved; and his impetuous temper and unbridled arrogance, unhappily furniſhed but too much advantage to the enmity of his accuſers. The parliament was authoriſed by the late king to proceed againſt him; and their report was fatal to that brave but imprudent officer. He was declared convicted of having betrayed the intereſts of the king and the Eaſt-India company; and of having oppreſſed with impartial rapacity, every deſcription of perſons that had ſought refuge or protection within the walls of Pondicherry. He was ſtripped of his croſs, the honorary reward of his former ſervices; and after having received fourteen wounds in advancing the glory and intereſts of France, was condemned to fall by the hands of the executioner. He heard his ſentence with the indignation of injured innocence; and poured forth the moſt violent imprecations againſt the malice of his accuſers, and the ſanguinary partiality of his judges; but in the laſt hour of his life he reſumed, however, his wonted firmneſs, aſcended the ſcaffold quietly, and received the fatal ſtroke without uttering a word.

But the ſentence that terminated his life, could only for a time obſcure his honour; and his natural ſon, ſince known by the title of count Lally-Tollendal, roſe to vindicate the memory and juſtify the fame of his father. Devoted to this pious care, renouncing the frivolous amuſements of his youth, and endowed with every talent of nature and art, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſeveral criminal codes of Europe; he even found acceſs to the throne; and Lewis the Fifteenth who had been inexorable to the father, ſuffered himſelf to be moved by the virtues of the ſon. He extended to him the royal favour, and honoured him with his particular eſteem; on the death of that monarch, count Tollendal deſiſted not from his unwearied aſſiduities; his conſtancy and importunities at length triumphed over the power of his opponents; the voice of juſtice was heard; and this year crowned his long labours with ſucceſs, by the reſtoration of the memory of count Lally, and the diſgrace of his accuſers.

The ſame year that beheld that officer's innocence legally eſtabliſhed, was alſo rendered remarkable by the death of one of his ableſt and moſt celebrated champions. It is the lively expreſſion of Voltaire, "That count Lally was a "man on whom every one had a right to lay his hand, except the executioner." But it was not permitted Voltaire to witneſs that juſtification for which he had combatted; and that wonderful genius, who has filled ſo diſtinguiſhed a place in the republic of letters, expired only a few days before the ſentence of the count was reverſed. His private character, ſince his death, has been attacked by thoſe who in the carreer of his genius had ſmarted under his pen; but whatever might be his faults as a man, as an author he perhaps ſtands unrivalled; and the various compoſitions to which he has given birth, all of them entertaining, and many of them inſtructive, are the beſt monuments to perpetuate his name.

Amidſt the horrors of war and the deſtruction of the human ſpecies, France received ſome ſatisfaction in the pregnancy of the queen; that princeſs, whoſe free and amiable manners had endeared her to her ſubjects, was ſafely delivered of a daughter; the royal infant was baptized by the name of Maria-Thereſa-Charlotta; and the count of Provençe, and the princeſs Elizabeth, repreſented on this occaſion, as ſponſors, the king of Spain and the empreſs-queen.

A. D. 1779.] In the mean time the war raged in the weſtern part of the world with unabated fury. Count d'Eſtaign, after his double repulſe at St. Lucia, had retired to Martinico, from whence the Britiſh fleet, now rendered equal to to him by the arrival of admiral Byron's ſquadron, in vain endeavoured to allure him. His conduct at this moment was as cautious as it had been formerly bold and enterpriſing; the junction of Monſieur de Graſſe with a conſiderable convoy made no difference in the comparative ſtrength of the hoſtile fleets, ſince the Engliſh about the ſame time received a reinforcement under admiral Rowley; and the count continued ſtill to remain inactive within the harbour; or if he ventured forth, retreated immediately on the appearance of the enemy.

At length he reaped the harveſt which his perſeverance had ſown. Admiral Byron deemed it expedient to quit his ſtation, and convoy to a certain latitude the trade of the Britiſh Weſt-India Iſlands; and the French commander was now left to turn his arms againſt whatever place he ſhould think fit. St. Vincent's, one of the neutral iſlands, and which had been ceded to England, at the concluſion of the laſt war, was the firſt object of enterpriſe. The count d'Eſtaign detached againſt it the chevalier Rumain, with near four hundred men; and though the garriſon exceeded the number of the French, and the inhabitants had long been accuſtomed to war in their domeſtic conteſts with the Charibbs, yet ſo great was their terror, that they ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, and thought themſelves happy in obtaining the ſame terms as had been granted to the inhabitants of Dominica.

During this expedition count d'Eſtaign had been joined by monſieur de la Motte Piquet from Europe, who brought with him not only a ſupply of troops, but, what was at leaſt equally neceſſary, of naval and military ſtores and proviſions. Strengthened by this reinforcement, and animated by the eaſy acquiſition of St. Vincent's, he meditated new and more important conqueſts. With twenty-five ſhips of the line, ten frigates, and near ten thouſand troops, he arrived off the iſland of Grenada, which at that time was governed by lord Macartney, and was defended only by about one hundred and fifty regulars, and three hundred armed inhabitants, who occupied a fortified hill that commanded the fort, harbour, and capital town of St. George.

The French landed between two and three thouſand regular forces, under the conduct of count Dillon; who the next day inveſted the hill, and made the neceſſary preparations for carrying it by ſtorm on the following night. Lord Macartney had placed great reliance on the natural and artificial ſtrength of

this poſt; and the inhabitants deemed it to afford ſo perfect a ſecurity, as to render it a depoſit for plate, jewels, and their moſt valuable moveables. Their reſiſtance was proportioned to the booty it contained; and though count de Eſtaign headed a body of the French troops in perſon, they were repulſed on the firſt onſet. The ſuperiority of their numbers were at length deciſive, and they entered the lines after a hard conflict that laſted about an hour and a half: without loſing a moment or even halting to recruit their waſted ſtrength, they dragged their artillery to the top of the hill that commanded the fort; and the governor, ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation, now ſolicited terms of capitulation, which he had before rejected. But the favourable moment was paſt; and count d'Eſtaign would only grant ſuch conditions, as lord Macartney and the principal inhabitants thought it better to truſt to the law and cuſtoms of nations than ſubſcribe to: they therefore ſubmitted without any ſtipulations whatſoever, and abandoned themſelves to the diſcretion of the victor.

Whatever luſtre might accrue to the count d'Eſtaign from the reduction of the iſland, was ſullied by the ſeverity and rapacity which he exerciſed over the vanquiſhed; but he was ſoon ſummoned from the ſweets of plunder to maintain his new acquiſition by arms. Admiral Byron, on his return to St. Lucia, had been acquainted with the loſs of St. Vincent's, and in conjunction with general Grant, had concerted a plan for the recovery of that Iſland. But while they were on their paſſage, they received the diſagreeable intelligence of the invaſion of Grenada, and they immediately changed their courſe in hopes of yet preſerving that valuable ſettlement.

A ſignal from a battery on the iſland firſt appriſed count d'Eſtaign of the approach of the Engliſh fleet; he immediately commanded his own to ſtand out to ſea, and though ſuperior in number to admiral Byron, deemed it more prudent to ſecure his preſent acquiſition than to hazard it in ſearch of freſh laurels. The Engliſh attacked with great ſpirit, but during the continunce of the action they were informed of the total reduction of the iſland of Grenada; the object of enterpriſe was thus at an end; their ſhips had ſuffered conſiderably in the engagement, and they determined to retreat to St. Chriſtopher's; while d'Eſtaign, ſatisfied with having protected his new conqueſt, returned during the night to Grenada.

But no ſooner had he regulated the government of that iſland than he ſteered for Martinico, and thence ſupplied with naval ſtores, proceeded towards St Chriſtopher's, and defied the Engliſh to battle; incapable of forcing them in their own harbour, and having thus retorted the inſult that had been formerly offered to him at Martinico, he directed his operations to a different quarter, and ſailed to America, to ſecond the deſigns of the United States.

The ſouthern provinces of America had, in a great meaſure been exempt from thoſe calamities which had afflicted the other parts of that continent; but towards the cloſe of the laſt campaign, general Clinton had extended his views to

the recovery of South-Carolina and Georgia. The chief command was veſted in general Prevoſt, who, after experiencing ſome viciſſitudes of fortune, gained conſiderable footing in the latter province, and had eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at the town of Savannah. The United States were not inclined patiently to ſubmit to this diſgrace; but the ſcene of action was ſo remote from the centre of force and the ſeat of council, that the war there was in a great meaſure beyond their reach; and the Britiſh marine afforded ſuch deciſive advantages to the operations of their troops, in countries every where bordered by the ſea and interſected by inland navigations, as could ſcarcely be counteracted with effect by any moderate ſuperiority at land.

Under theſe conſiderations, they implored the ſupport and aſſiſtance of France; and the court of Verſailles, deſirous of affording eſſential aid to her allies, directed count d'Eſtaign, as ſoon as he had fulfilled the objects of enterpriſe in the Weſt-Indies, to haſten to America; that commander accordingly, having ſeen the homeward bound Weſt-India trade clear of danger, proceeded with twenty-two ſhips of the line and ten frigates to that coaſt, in hopes not only of overwhelming the force under general Prevoſt, and delivering the ſouthern colonies from apprehenſion, but with the intention, in conjunction with general Waſhington, of attacking the Britiſh troops at New-York, and by one deciſive ſtroke bringing the war on that continent to a final concluſion.

No ſooner had the count arrived on the coaſt of America, than he was informed that general Lincoln, who commanded at Charleſton, was inſtructed to act in concert with him; ſome few days were naturally loſt in adjuſting the future operations of their united forces; and it was not till a week from his firſt appearance that he anchored off the bar of the Tybee, near the mouth of the river Savannah. The French troops were landed at Beaulieu, about thirteen miles from Savannah-town; the frigates were poſted ſo as to ſecure the different inlets of the river; and the French, with the American light-horſe, having driven in the outpoſts of the enemy, count d'Eſtaign ſummoned general Prevoſt, the Britiſh commander, to ſurrender.

Though that officer had diligently employed the interval in ſtrengthening the works of the town, he yet was in hourly expectation of being joined by a conſiderable detachment then abſent on an expedition againſt South-Carolina: this circumſtance obliged him to return an ambiguous anſwer: and count d'Eſtaign, in hopes of obtaining poſſeſſion of the town without bloodſhed, conſented to a truce for twenty-four hours. He had ſoon reaſon to lament the addreſs that had deceived him into this ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; in the ſhort ſpace mentioned, the expected detachment re-entered Savannah, and the anſwer of general Prevoſt announced his reſolution to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity.

The French forces conſiſted of upwards of four thouſand regular troops, and the Americans who joined their ſtandard might ſwell the army of the beſiegers to about ſeven thouſand men: the Britiſh garriſon that defended Savannah could ſcarce be eſtimated at three thouſand; every appearance promiſed count d'Eſtaign

the moſt rapid and brilliant ſucceſs; and to augment the diſtreſs of the beſieged, the allied generals refuſed a paſſage through their lines to the women and children in the town. The regular approaches that had been firſt determined on but ill ſuited the impetuoſity of the French commander; he was ſenſible of the danger that his fleet of capital ſhips was expoſed to, in lying without ſhelter upon an inhoſpitable coaſt at that critical ſeaſon of the year; he obſerved that his batteries had produced but little effect on the Britiſh works; he was impatient to proceed in queſt of new enterpriſes; and he relied with implicit confidence on the ſuperiority of his force and the goodneſs of his troops.

Theſe various motives induced a reſolution which, had it been adopted previous to the return and junction of the Britiſh detachment to general Prevoſt, might have been attended with ſucceſs; the works, then feeble and incomplete, were open to an aſſault, and would probably have been penetrated by the lively valour of the French; but they had now been ſtrengthened by the aſſiduous labour of three weeks, and were covered by a numerous artillery amounting to near one hundred pieces, and directed by captain Moncrieffe, an engineer of approved and conſummate ſkill. Yet theſe obſtacles, though they eſcaped not the obſervation, could not extinguiſh the ardour of count d'Eſtaign; before the dawn of day a heavy cannonade and bombardment uſhered in the attack; the count himſelf in perſon led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by the principal officers of each. But this enterpriſe was not attended with the ſucceſs the gallantry of it deſerved; the allies were encountered with obſtinate reſiſtance; they were entangled in their approach by ſwampy ground; though they perſevered in their attack with extraordinary courage, and for ſome hours rivalled each other with mutual acts of valour, they were at length obliged with conſiderable loſs, to retire from the field, and yield to the advantageous poſition and calm intrepidity of their ememies.

This repulſe entirely broke the deſigns of the count d'Eſtaign; ſeverely wounded himſelf, he lamented the fate of ſome of his moſt gallant officers who had fallen on the field: in about a week after he abandoned the unpropitious coaſt; and after detaching one ſquadron of his fleet to St. Domingo, a ſecond under Monſieur de la Motte Piquet to Martinico, and a third under Monſieur de Vaudrieul to the Cheſapeak, whoſe preſence prevented the invaſion of Virginia, and retarded that of Carolina, the count himſelf, with the ſhips leaſt fit for ſervice, ſailed for Europe.

Whatever diſappointments might have attended the arms of France in America, her negociations in Europe afforded her ample compenſation; and the court of Spain, arouſed from the neutrality ſhe had hitherto obſerved, and diſguſted with the miniſters of Great-Britain, who had rejected her proffered mediation, now reſolved to fulfil the conditions of the celebrated family-compact; and to efface the unfortunate and diſgraceful events of the laſt war, by uniting in this the ſtrength of the houſe of Bourbon, while vigorous and yet unimpaired. Her ambaſſador, the marquis of Almadovar, after having preſented a memorial to the

court of St. James's, in which he declared the inſults offered to his ſovereign amounted exactly to one hundred, quitted London and returned to Spain.

France immediately prepared to avail herſelf of the preſent diſpoſition of the court of Madrid; count d'Orvilliers ſailed with the grand fleet from Breſt, and joined that of Spain; and the combined fleets of the houſe of Bourbon preſented to their enemies the formidable ſight of ſixty-ſix ſhips of the line; with this prodigious force they entered the Britiſh-Channel, and ſcattered terror and diſmay throughout the coaſts of that iſland. Admiral Hardy, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, was happy to find refuge in the convenient harbours of Great-Britain; Plymouth trembled for her ſafety; and that people who had ſo often vaunted their dominion over the ſeas, in their turn were taught to dread the calamities of a menaced invaſion. The dread of the approaching equinoctial ſtorms; after the capture of the Ardent, an Engliſh ſhip of the line, induced the fleets of France and Spain to ſeparate; but the naval campaign proved more glorious than advantageous to the former; a peſtilential diſorder which the ſailors on their return communicated to their countrymen, raged for a long time throughout France with fatal fury.

To increaſe the embaraſſments of the Engliſh, and to divide their force, Spain, with a conſiderable army, formed the ſiege of Gibraltar; a fortreſs, which, ſituated on a rock, and occupied by the Engliſh, had long derided the attempts and wounded the pride of the court of Madrid. The land forces were entruſted to the command of Don Alvarez; Don Barcello blocked up the harbour with a number of xebecques and frigates; while Don Lewis de Cordova, with twelve ſhips of the line, was ſtationed near to afford ſupport to his operations.

Amidſt the fury of war Lewis diſplayed that regard for ſcience which had early formed the prominent feature of his reign; and while he poured the thunder of his arms on his enemies, two ſhips were marked by an honourable exemption from the attacks of the hoſtile fleets of France. Previous to the commencement of hoſtilities, the Engliſh had ſent two veſſels into the South Seas, commanded by captains Cook and Clerke, to explore the coaſts and iſlands of Japan and California; the return of thoſe veſſels was hourly expected in Europe; and Lewis, with a conſiderate humanity which reflects the brighteſt luſtre on his character, by a circular letter to all his naval officers, commanded them to abſtain from all hoſtilities againſt theſe ſhips, and to treat them as neutral veſſels. The letters mentioned alſo in terms of the higheſt reſpect captain Cook, who had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſucceſſive vovages of diſcovery. But death allowed not that celebrated navigator to enjoy this grateful teſtimony of his merit; and in one of the newly diſcovered iſlands he had already fallen a victim to the blind fury of the ſavage inhabitants.

Though Italy had eſcaped the deſtructive rage of war, and the ſanguinary effects of ambition, yet the fertile fields of Naples were afflicted by a calamity not leſs fatal and more tremendous. A dreadful eruption from Mount Veſuvius, which

far exceeded any that had been known in the memory of man, overwhelmed in horror and ruin the adjacent country; in the diſtrict of Ottaiano, the habitations of twelve thouſand perſons were deluged or conſumed by a ſtream of liquid fire; its fatal influence extended for above three miles; the hopes of the peaſant and the wealth of the huſbandman were in a moment blaſted and deſtroyed, and the elements ſeemed to conſpire with man in ſpreading miſery and devaſtation throughout the human ſpecies.

A. D. 1780.] The public opinion that had raiſed monſieur Necker to the obſervation and favour of his ſovereign, ſtill continued to follow him; and his talents were aſſiduouſly employed to merit applauſe. Under his direction a general reform took place throughout every department of the revenue; the people, inſtead of being burthened with new taxes, beheld the public income augmented by the œconomy and improvements that were introduced into the management of the finances; a variety of unneceſſary offices in the houſehold of the king and queen were aboliſhed, and other important regulations adopted for the eaſe of the ſubject and the general benefit of the kingdom.

The zeal and induſtry of the director-general of the finances were rivalled by the addreſs of the miniſters of France at the different courts of Europe. The emperor of Germany and the king of Pruſſia, after a ſhort trial of each others ſtrength, had agreed to ſheath the ſword; but they continued ſtill agitated with mutual jealouſy, and ſtill maintained on foot the ſame armies as if in a ſtate of actual hoſtility. But if the reciprocal ſuſpicions of theſe rival courts diverted their attention from the neighbouring belligerent powers, the ſituation of Ruſſia allowed her to contemplate at leiſure what advantages ſhe might derive from the general ſtate of affairs. That empire at no time had appeared more formidable; and the ſucceſs of her arms in the laſt war againſt the Ottoman Porte, had received additional luſtre from the acquieſcence of the divan in the conditions ſhe had dictated with reſpect to the Crimea. A long and intimate connection had ſubſiſted between the courts of Peterſburg and London; and ſhould the myriads of Ruſſia be added to the wealth of England, it was preſumed that Lewis thought the houſe of Bourbon muſt have ſunk in the unequal conteſt.

The French ambaſſador at the court of Peterſburg was therefore inſtructed at this critical juncture to conciliate the inclinations of the empreſs, by every compliance that the honour of his country would permit; and the fears of France were ſoon extinguiſhed by a manifeſto as favourable to the views of the court of Verſailles, as it was unpropitious to thoſe of St. James's. The jealouſy that had been excited by the former aſcendancy of Great-Britain, and the dominion that ſhe had attained on the ſea, had even extended to, and been nouriſhed by, the moſt diſtant powers of the north: the empreſs of Ruſſia embraced the favourable opportunity to emancipate her commerce from the controul of thoſe haughty iſlanders; and was readily perſuaded by the ambaſſador of France to place herſelf at the head of a confederacy formed of her northern neighbours. She accordingly

addreſſed a declaration to the courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid, in which, after dwelling on the juſtice and moderation of which ſhe had given ſuch convincing proofs in the courſe of her war with the Ottoman Porte, and the ſtrict regard that ſhe had always ſhewn for the rights of neutrality and of commerce in general, ſhe lamented that her example had not been permitted to influence the preſent belligerent powers, but that her ſubjects had been precluded from enjoying peaceably the fruits of their induſtry, and the advantages belonging to neutral nations: that they had been moleſted in their navigation, and retarded in their operations by the ſhips and privateers of the contending ſovereigns; and that ſhe found herſelf, with concern, under the neceſſity of removing thoſe vexations which were offered to the commerce of Ruſſia in particular, and to that of Europe in general, by all the means compatible with her dignity and with the welfare of her ſubjects.

She proceeded to demand, that neutral ſhips ſhould enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coaſts of the belligerent powers; that all effects belonging to the belligerent powers ſhould be looked upon as free on board ſuch neutral ſhips, excepting only ſuch goods as were expreſsly ſtipulated to be contraband, as arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores; that if any ſuch were found, beyond what might properly appertain to the ſhip's crew or paſſengers, they might be ſeized and confiſcated according to law; but neither the veſſels, paſſengers, or the reſt of the goods were to be detained for that reaſon, or hindered from purſuing their voyage; that theſe principles were to ſerve as rules in the judicial proceedings and ſentences upon the legality of prizes; and her imperial majeſty declared, to render them ſtill more reſpected, and to protect the honour of her flag, ſhe had given orders to fit out a conſiderable naval force. The kings of Denmark and Sweden immediately acceded to the language and declarations of the empreſs of Ruſſia; the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, after that delay that has always prevailed in the deliberations of the republic, followed their example; and this formidable confederacy aſſumed the title of the armed neutrality, and engaged to make a common cauſe of it at ſea, againſt any of the powers that ſhould violate the principles which had been laid down in the memorial of the empreſs of Ruſſia.

The anſwer of the king of France proclaimed how acceptable the nature of that memorial was to the court of Verſailles. He declared that what her imperial majeſty claimed from the belligerent powers, amounted to no more than was already preſcribed in the rules for the French navy; the execution of which was maintained with an exactneſs known and applauded by all Europe. He expreſſed his approbation of the principles and views of the empreſs; and aſſerted, that from the meaſures ſhe had now adopted, ſolid advantages would undoubtedly reſult, not only to her ſubjects but to all civilized nations.

While France by her intrigues ſecured the friendſhip of the north, ſhe ſuffered a deep and fatal wound in the calamity of her kindred ally. A Spaniſh ſquadron

of eleven ſhips of the line and two frigates, cruiſing near Cape St. Vincent, under the command of Don Juan de Langara, was ſurrounded by the Engliſh fleet under admiral Rodney, then proceeding to the relief of Gibraltar. The Spaniards for a long time maintained the conflict with great gallantry; but they were at length forced to yield to the ſuperior numbers of their enemies. The St. Domingo a Spaniſh ſhip of ſeventy guns and ſix hundred men, was blown up in the action. The admiral's ſhip, the Phœnix of eighty guns, with four more ſhips of the line, were taken; another of the ſame rate was driven on ſhore and deſtroyed; and the ſcattered remnant eſcaped with difficulty the purſuit of the victors. Admiral Rodney immediately after purſued his courſe to Gibraltar, relieved the garriſon of that fortreſs, repaſſed the ſtreights, and ſteered in triumph for the Weſt-Indies; after detaching admiral Digby with his prizes and part of his ſquadron to Great-Britain, who on his paſſage fell in with and captured the Prothée, a French man of war of ſixty-four guns.

This was not the only diſaſter that aroſe from the perſevering attachment of Spain to the ſiege of Gibraltar. The naval preparations of France had been continued during the winter at an expence that bordered on profuſion; and the united fleets of the houſe of Bourbon might have eſtabliſhed their ſovereignty in the Channel, and once more inſulted the coaſts of Great-Britain; but Spain, occupied in fruitleſs attempts on that fatal rock, ſuffered the moment for their junction to elapſe; the fleet of France was confined to her harbours by the ſuperior force of Great-Britain, whoſe naval armaments ſhe was not able to encounter ſingly. Admiral Geary, with the Engliſh fleet, continued vigilantly to obſerve their motions; and the Artois, the Capricieuſe, the Nymphe, and the Belle Poule, were ſucceſſively taken by Britiſh cruiſers. The chevalier de Kergarion, who commanded the latter, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a bloody and gallant reſiſtance. Though the ſhip that attacked him mounted ſixty-four guns, and the Belle Poule carried only thirty-two, he maintained the combat with undaunted reſolution; mortally wounded, he continued to exclaim, "Courage my children, "courage!" and expired while he yet endeavoured to animate by his expreſſion and example his faithful crew. On his death the command devolved on his firſt lieutenant M. la Motte Tabourell, who defended the Belle Poule, with ſimilar reſolution, for three quarters of an hour. He then reluctantly ſtruck his flag, as it was impoſſible any longer to keep the ſhip from ſinking, had the engagement been continued. Six feet water were in the hold, ſixteen ſhot in the body of the ſhip, the maſts and yards broken, the ſails and rigging cut to pieces, the captain and twenty-four men killed, and the ſecond captain, with fifty men wounded. The chevalier du Remain, in the Nymphe, had defended himſelf with ſimilar courage; equal in force to the Engliſh ſhip, he only yielded to her ſuperior fortune; before the colours of the Nymphe were ſtruck, two-thirds of her crew were killed and wounded, and among the former was the chevalier du Remain himſelf.

The French ſhips of war, impatient of the delay of the Spaniards, had eſcaped from Breſt in ſmall diviſions, and rendezvouſed at Cadiz. There they had joined the fleet of Spain, and once more united, were occupied in cruizing off Cape St. Vincent, when fortune ſeemed inclined to compenſate for their former diſappointments. A rich and conſiderable convoy for the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, under the protection of one ſhip of the line and two frigates, had ſailed from England,and Don Lewis de Cordova, who commanded the combined ſquadrons, was agreeably ſurpriſed with the ſight of this invaluable and defenceleſs fleet. A ſignal was made for a general chaſe; the men of war eſcaped by their ſuperior ſailing: but five Eaſt-India men, and fifty veſſels bound to the Weſt-Indies, were taken and carried into Cadiz, the former, beſides arms and ammunition, with a train of artillery, conveyed naval ſtores for the ſupply of the Britiſh ſquadron in that quarter, and the latter contained tents and camp equipage for the troops deſigned for active ſervice in the Leeward-Iſlands: but the moſt irreparable loſs to Great-Britain were fifteen hundred and twenty ſeamen, and twelve hundred and fifty-five ſoldiers, who became by that event the captives of the houſe of Bourbon.

In the Weſt-Indies Monſieur de la Motte Piquet, with four ſhips of the line, attacked a ſquadron of the Engliſh under commodore Cornwallis.—The latter, during the action, was joined by another ſhip of the line, which rendered their force more equal to the encounter, and monſieur de la Motte, having received already conſiderable damage, and impatient to join the grand fleet, bore away for Cape-Francois. The count de Guichen had ſailed from Breſt to ſupply the place of count d'Eſtaign:—the fleet under his command, when united, conſiſted of twenty-three ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, and ſoon after he fell in with admiral Rodney and twenty ſhips of the line. An engagement enſued, long, obſtinate, and indeciſive. The French retired to refit to Guadaloupe, and the Engliſh, reſolute to renew the action, cruized off the iſland of Martinico,

The count de Guichen, whoſe gallantry in the laſt engagement had extorted the admiration of his adverſaries, was not diſpoſed to ſuffer the Britiſh fleet to inſult by their preſence a ſettlement belonging to France. On intelligence of the ſtation of admiral Rodney, he quitted Guadaloupe, and ſteered to meet the rival of his glory. But the engagement did not commence till evening, and night ſoon after ſeparated the combatants. A third encounter was equally partial and indeciſive; and count de Guichen ſoon after joined a Spaniſh ſquadron, which, though it gave him a decided ſuperioity, yet refuſed to concur in any attack on the ſettlements of the Engliſh; the French commander, by the ſuperfluous caution of his colleague, thus rendered incapable of availing himſelf of his immediate ſtrength, ſeized the opportunity to eſcort the homeward-bound trade towards Europe; the ſickly ſtate of his men induced him to continue his voyage, and he conducted his wealthy convoy in ſafety to Cadiz, there he was joined by the count de Eſtaign, who aſſumed the chief command; the fleet of France by this union was ſwelled to thirty-

ſix ſhips of the line; but the ſhips themſelves were foul and out of repair, and the feeble condition of the crews has already been noticed. Under theſe circumſtances, and incumbered by the protection of his convoy, though count d'Eſtaign on his paſſage fell in with the Britiſh fleet under admiral Darby, conſiſting of only twenty-two ſhips of the line, yet he deemed it unadviſable to hazard an engagement, and purſued his courſe to the ports of France.

The repulſe of count d'Eſtaign at Savannah had revived the hopes of the Britiſh commanders in America; they now aſpired to the final reduction of the ſouthern colonies, and the inclemency of the winter was not permitted to ſuſpend their hoſtile opperations. At the cloſe of the laſt year, general Clinton ſet ſail from New-York with a conſiderable body of troops for the attack of Charleſton, the capital of South-Carolina; he was eſcorted and ſupported by a Britiſh fleet commanded by admiral Arbuthnot; after a tedious voyage they reached Savannah, and having refreſhed the troops and repaired the damages the fleet had ſuſtained, in the middle of March they arrived within ſight of the place of their deſtination.

Though the Americans were not ignorant of the intentions of the Britiſh commander, yet the forces in Charleſton, including every deſcription, ſcarce amounted to ſix thouſand men, and were by no means equal to the extent of the works; many of theſe alſo were but little accuſtomed to military ſervice, and very ill provided with clothes and other neceſſaries. This omiſſion was not to be attributed to the ſupineneſs of Congreſs, but to the nature of the military eſtabliſhment; the men in general enliſted but for a ſingle campaign, and on the approach of winter were impatient to return to their farms or families; it was this very circumſtance that probably induced general Clinton to engage in the expedition at the particular ſeaſon when he knew the United States were leaſt capable of affording ſuccour to the beſieged; but though general Lincoln was ſenſible of the difficulties that he was expoſed to, yet he rejected the terms of capitulation that were offered by the Britiſh commander, and prepared to diſcharge the truſt repoſed in him with fidelity and honour.

But perſonal courage could not alone ſupply the deficiency of every other requiſite for a ſucceſsful defence; and general Lincoln beheld with regret, while his own hopes diminiſhed, the ſtrength of the enemy increaſe. A detachment from the Britiſh ſhips poſſeſſed themſelves of Sullivan's-iſland, which, from its ſituation might greatly incommode the garriſon; a body of cavalry that had been collected in the adjacent country for the ſupport of the beſieged, was routed and totally diſperſed; in the progreſs of a month, the approaches of the beſiegers had been ſucceſsfully advanced; and general Lincoln, unwilling by a fruitleſs perſeverance to involve the town and inhabitants in certain deſtruction, reſumed the negociation that had been broken off, and ſubſcribed the terms of capitulation; theſe preſerved to the inhabitants their lives and property; the militia were per-

mitted to retire to their reſpective homes; but the regulars of the American army were to remain priſoners of war until exchanged.

The danger and loſs of Charleſton had excited conſiderable alarm throughout America; the United States had ſolicited in the ſtrongeſt terms the ſupport of France; and Lewis, attentive to the intereſts of his allies, detached in the beginning of May from Breſt the count de Rochambeau, with twelve thouſand ſelect troops, and the chevalier de Ternay, with ſeven ſhips of the line and ſeveral frigates. Theſe arrived about the middle of June at Rhode-iſland, which, during the courſe of the preceding year had been evacuated by the Britiſh, and now acknowledged the authority of the United States.

Count Rochambeau was received by the Americans with every mark of cordial eſteem; a committee from the general-aſſembly of Rhode-iſland was appointed to congratulate him on his arrival; and their ſatisfaction was not diminiſhed by the declaration of the French commander, that his ſovereign would never ſheath the ſword until the independence of America was acknowledged; that the troops he had brought over were only the vanguard of a much greater force that was deſtined to their aid; and that the king had ordered him to aſſure them, that his whole power ſhould be exerted for their ſupport; he added, that the French troops were under the ſtricteſt diſcipline; and acting under the orders of general Waſhington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

The United States allotted Rhode-iſland to their allies as a place of arms; and count Rochambeau while he waited the promiſed reinforcement, diligently employed his troops in repairing and augmenting the works on the iſland. He had ſoon after reaſon to congratulate himſelf on this precaution. General Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, returned from the reduction of Charleſton to New-York, formed a plan of attack againſt the French fleet and army; but their deſigns could not elude the penetration of general Waſhington; he rapidly croſſed the North-river with twelve thouſand men, and general Clinton perceiving the danger to which his abſence muſt expoſe New-York, relinquiſhed his attempt againſt Rhode-iſland.

The marquis de la Fayette, who had been ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the early part that he took in the American cauſe, long before the court of Verſailles had thought it prudent to avow their inclination, returned from his native country, to which he had paid a tranſient viſit, to join again the ſtandard of freedom. His early engagement, and great zeal and activity in the ſervice of the United States, rendered him peculiarly acceptable to general Waſhington, and the commendations of that commander were productive of the moſt flattering attentions from Congreſs to the marquis.

But the viſit of that nobleman to Philadelphia, where the Congreſs had again eſtabliſhed their reſidence, was principally to concert and adjuſt the plan for the reſt of the campaign. He, as well as count Rochambeau, held forth aſſurances of the moſt powerful ſupport from France, and it was expected that monſieur

de Guichén from the Weſt-India iſlands would ſteer his courſe to America, that he would join the freſh ſhips of monſieur Ternay; and that the grand army under general Waſhington, being alſo reinforced by the troops of Rochambeau, an attack by ſea and land might be made on the Britiſh troops at New-York, with ſuch a ſuperiority of force as muſt have enſured ſucceſs; the reduction of lord Cornwallis's detachment to the ſouthward muſt naturally have enſued; and the marquis de la Fayette was to have proceeded with a conſiderable army on a winter expedition againſt Canada.

In expectation of theſe events, the marquis de la Fayette publiſhed a preparatory memorial addreſſed to the French Canadians, and calling upon them by all the ancient ties of allegiance, blood, religion, and country, as well as by the natural deſire of recovering their freedom, to be ready to join and aſſiſt him; and holding out all the ſeverities of war, and all the terrors of military execution, to thoſe, if any ſuch there were, who, blindly perverſe to their own intereſts, and forgetful of all thoſe ties and duties, ſhould in any manner oppoſe the arms or impede the generous deſigns of their deliverers; but when Waſhington had recruited his army with ſuch diligence as to have ſwelled it to twenty-thouſand men, the whole project was diſconcerted by a circumſtance that has been already related; and the count de Guichen, in proceeding with his fleet to Europe, expoſed the Americans to as ſevere a diſappointment as any they had experienced during the courſe of the war.

This conduct of monſieur de Guichen, however fatal to the ſplendid proſpects of the allies of France, was ſufficiently juſtified by the bad ſtate of his ſhips when he arrived at Cadiz; and his departure from the Weſt-Indies preſerved him from the calamities in which thoſe iſlands were ſoon after involved. A hurricane, the fury of which exceeded any thing that ever was known or can be conceived, ſwept throughout that quarter of the world, the ſeas and land, with wild and undiſtinguiſhed rage. At Martinico the beautiful town of St. Pierre, built on the ſhore, was entirely overwhelmed and waſhed away; the town of Baſſeterre in Guadaloupe ſhared the ſame fate; ſixty ſail of tranſports from France, that had arrived that morning at Martinico, with ſtores, and two thouſand five-hundred troops on board, were driven out to ſea, and almoſt all ſwallowed up by that ungovernable element. The Experiment of fifty guns, with the Juno of forty, and ſeveral other French frigates, were entirely loſt. Grenada and St. Vincents equally preſented a ſcene of deſolation; and in the latter not a ſingle houſe was capable of withſtanding the fury of the tempeſt. The Britiſh ſettlements and marine ſuffered alſo proportionably; Jamaica, Barbadoes, and St. Lucia, were the principal victims of its rage; admiral Rodney, with eleven ſhips of the line, had fortunately proceeded to the coaſt of America; but the Andromeda and Laurel, Britiſh frigates, were both wrecked on the coaſt of Martinico. The humanity of the marquis de Bouille, governor-general of the French Weſt-India iſlands, on this occaſion ſhone forth with diſtinguiſhed luſtre; thirty-one Engliſh

ſailors, the ſcanty remnant that was ſaved from the crews of the Andromeda and Laurel, were ſent by that commander under a flag of truce to the Britiſh commodore at St. Lucia. The marquis declared in the letter that accompanied them, that he could not conſider in the light of enemies, men who had ſo hardly eſcaped in a contention with the force of the elements; he only lamented that their number was ſo ſmall, and that none of the officers had been ſaved.

By the expedition of admiral Rodney to America, he had eluded the deſtructive rage of that tempeſt which deſolated the Weſt-India iſlands; but his continuance on the American coaſt was of ſhort duration; and informed that the count de Guichen had proceeded for Europe, he himſelf ſoon after returned to Barbadoes. In the mean time the hoſtile armies in the neighbourhood of New-York continued vigilantly to obſerve each other's motions. But while the Britiſh commander appeared ſunk in ſupineneſs, he meditated a deep and dark ſcheme, which could it have taken effect in its full extent, would probably have brought the war to a final concluſion, and for ever extinguiſhed the independence of America.

In the courſe of the war we have already noticed the early attack on Quebec, in which the courage and conduct of general Arnold had been diſplayed to the higheſt advantage; the reputation he had acquired there, he continued to maintain by a ſeries of bold and enterpriſing exertions: and the final capture of the Britiſh army under general Burgoyne, was in a great meaſure attributed to his counſels and gallant example. As a reward, congreſs had beſtowed on him the government of Philadelphia; but the affections of his countrymen accompanied him not in that peaceful occupation; his profuſion had plunged him into diſtreſſes from which he endevoured to extricate himſelf by the oppreſſion of the inhabitants of Philadelphia; their complaints expoſed him to the judgment of a court-martial; that court declared his conduct highly reprehenſible, and ordered that he ſhould be reprimanded by general Waſhington. This cenſure firſt alienated his mind from the United States; and though ſoon after he was taken into actual ſervice, and appointed to a principal command under general Waſhington, his pecuniary embarraſſments, or reſentments, triumphed over his fidelity, and he entered into a cloſe correſpondence with the enemies of his country.

The American commander had ſtationed his army for the winter on both ſides of the North-River; and the important poſt of Weſt-Point, with its neighbouring dependencies, and a conſiderable diviſion of the army, were entruſted to general Arnold. That officer had agreed to make ſuch a diviſion of the wing under his command, as would enable general Clinton completely to ſurpriſe them; and the Engliſh troops once admitted within the lines, might have availed themſelves of the rout and confuſion, to the total deſtruction of the whole army. The loſs of their only diſciplined force, with moſt, if not all, of their experienced officers, muſt have blaſted for ever the infant greatneſs of the United States.

From this melancholy cataſtrophe they were preſerved by the fidelity of three young men, educated in the humbleſt walks of life, and who nobly diſdained to

betray their truſt, though tempted by the moſt faſcinating offers. To adjuſt the plan of attack with general Arnold, major André, adjutant-general to the Britiſh army, had accepted the perilous commiſſion of entering the American lines. When there, he had been perſuaded by the caution of Arnold to lay aſide his regimentals, aſſume a private dreſs, and return with a paſſport under the feigned name of Anderſon; under that name he had already eluded the different guards and poſts of the camps, when, at a ſmall diſtance from the Britiſh lines, he was ſtopped by three young volunteers; theſe, notwithſtanding his paſſport, inſiſted on examining him more ſtrictly; and the major, whoſe ingenuous diſpoſition but ill fitted him for deception, increaſed their ſuſpicions by endeavouring to purchaſe his freedom with his purſe and watch; to theſe he added offers of permanent proviſion and future promotion, on condition of their accompanying him to New-York; but the Americans were proof to the allurements of affluence and ambition, and they inſiſted on conducting him to their commanding officer.

Some delay in his examination allowed general Arnold to be appriſed of his misfortune before his own connection with the priſoner was diſcovered. He immediately abandoned his quarters, and eſcaped to the protection of the Britiſh lines; but the unhappy major André fell the victim of the fatal project. Fourteen general officers were appointed by the American commander to determine on his caſe, and the puniſhment that ought to be inflicted; among theſe was the marquis de la Fayette; and the board, with the regret that was excited by the frank and noble demeanour of the priſoner, pronounced that he ought to be conſidered as a ſpy from the enemy, and agreeable to the laws of nations ought to ſuffer death. The repeated applications of general Clinton, to avert the ſtroke of juſtice, were in vain; but the laſt hours of the unfortunate victim were ſoothed by every mark of reſpect and even of regard; and the execution of the ſentence was accompanied by the tears of the very judges who had pronounced it.

But though the vigilance of general Waſhington guarded againſt the dangerous effects which were to be apprehended from Arnold's treachery, he found ſtill greater difficulties to encounter in the univerſal diſtreſs that reigned throughout the provinces. The troops under his command, deſtitute of clothing of every kind, could not be reſtrained from giving open vent to their diſcontents; they were again ſoothed into obedience by the addreſs of their commander, and by the promiſes that were held out of liberal ſupport from France.

The events of the campaign, though by no means adverſe, had not anſwered the ſanguine expectations of the court of Verſailles, and thoſe advantages which the miniſters of France expected to derive from the united force of the houſe of Bourbon. But that confederacy acquired new ſtrength by the preſumption of their enemy; and Great-Britain having, by the capture of an American packet, obtained poſſeſſion of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republics of Holland and the United States of America, gave looſe to her indignation, and at the cloſe of the year commenced hoſtilities againſt the Dutch; a meaſure which

was received at Paris with open exultation, and which neceſſarily threw that republic into the arms of France.

During the operations of the contending fleets and armies, ſome changes had taken place among the miniſters of France. Monſieur Bertin had reſigned the office of ſecretary of ſtate. The prince de Montbarey had retired from the poſt of ſecretary at war, and was ſucceeded by the marquis de Segur; but the moſt important removal was that of monſieur Sartine, who had for five years preſided over the marine-department; and whoſe unwearied application and ability had raiſed the naval power of France to a height that aſtoniſhed Europe; but his colleagues in the cabinet loudly accuſed him of a profuſion, which would have diverted into one channel the whole reſources of the kingdom; the extent of his projects, and the expence of the armaments he ſuggeſted, were by no means conſiſtent with the ſevere œconomy that characteriſed the comptroller-general of the finances; and his retreat opened a road to the ambition of the marquis de Caſtries, who was appointed in his place to the department of marine.

Whatever alteration Lewis might make in his miniſters, his own diſpoſition remained the ſame, and his mind was inceſſantly employed in augmenting the happineſs of his ſubjects. He fixed on the anniverſary of his birth-day to render it memorable by a new inſtance of humanity; and he aboliſhed for ever the inhuman practice of putting the queſtion, as it was called, by torture; a cuſtom which had been ſo eſtabliſhed by the practice and concurrence of ages, that it ſeemed to be an indiviſible part of the conſtitution of the courts of juſtice of France. At the ſame time, to defray the expences of war, he continued to diminiſh his own expenditure; and ſacrificing his magnificence to the eaſe of his ſubjects, diſmiſſed at once no leſs than four hundred and ſix officers belonging to his court.

A. D. 1781.] It was indeed alone by the moſt rigid economy that France was able to ſupply the demands for the diſtant and various warfare in which ſhe had engaged. The councils of Spain were ſtill marked by that imbecility which for near a century had characteriſed them; and Holland ſyſtematically ſlow in her deliberations, long diſuſed to war, and ſurprized into hoſtilities, at firſt required, rather than imparted ſupport to her allies; in Europe, in America, the Weſt-Indies, and the Eaſt, the burthen was to be borne by France; and though ſhe could not but ſeverely feel the inceſſant weight, yet her preparations ſtill kept pace with the extent of the ſervice.

In the commencement of the campaign the baron de Rullecourt, with a ſmall band of adventurers, had meditated an attack on the iſland of Jerſey; he embraced the opportunity of a favourable wind, and in the night traverſed the ſea which ſeparates that iſland from France; he landed his men at dawn of day, and his firſt ſucceſs ſeemed to ſanction the temerity of the enterprize. The lieutenant-governor, with the principal inhabitants, were ſurprized, and in the moment of aſtoniſhment ſigned a capitulation; but the major part of the garriſon refuſed to

accede to the conditions; their numbers were ſwelled by the natives, who had recovered from their firſt panic; and the detachment of the baron de Rullecourt was encompaſſed and aſſailed on every ſide. The baron himſelf fell, gallantly fighting at the head of his faithful adherents, the greater part of the French were either cut to pieces or taken priſoners, and a few only with better fortune regained their veſſels, and eſcaped to the coaſt of Normandy, with the melancholy intelligence of the fate of their companions.

Towards the latter end of June the fleet of France, conſiſting of eighteen ſhips of the line, under the command of the count de Guichen, quitted Breſt, and joined the fleet of Spain at Cadiz. The united ſquadrons, which preſented the formidable ſpectacle of fifty ſhips of the line, ſteered ſouth-eaſt, and detached two ſhips of the line with ſeveral frigates, to eſcort the duke de Crillon and a conſierable body of land forces to Minorca: the invaſion of which iſland had been determined on by the courts of Verſailles and Madrid. After performing this ſervice, the combined naval ſtrength of the houſe of Bourbon directed their courſe towards the Engliſh coaſts; admiral Darby, with the Britiſh fleet of twenty-three ſhips of the line, haſtily retired before them into the friendly harbour of Torbay; but the elements warred in favour of the Engliſh; a violent tempeſt diſperſed the united fleets, and compelled each of them to ſeek ſhelter from its fury in their own ports.

The French availed themſelves of their ſuperiority at ſea, to reinforce the duke de Crillon in his attack on Minorca, with ſeveral veteran regiments, under the command of the baron de Falkenheyn; but it was in the Weſt-Indies and America that their principal efforts were directed. Towards the end of March monſieur de Graſſe, with twenty ſhips of the line, one of fifty-four guns, and ſeveral frigates, with ſix thouſand land forces, ſailed from Breſt for Martinico. Off Fort-Royal he diſcerned the Baitiſh fleet of ſeventeen ſail of the line commanded by admiral Hood. The convoy with which monſieur de Graſſe was encumbered, compelled him at firſt to prepare for action with caution; but four ſhips of the line having eluded the endeavours of the Britiſh admiral, and joined the French from Fort-Royal, he now determined to avail himſelf of this decided ſuperiority, and to bring on a general engagement. In the mean time the Engliſh had been reinforced alſo by a ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, and their commander diſplayed admirable ſkill in his manœuvres; yet the advantages of the French were numerous and evident, and a conflict of three hours was only terminated by night. On the return of day monſieur de Graſſe would have renewed the engagement; but the Engliſh, who had ſuffered ſeverely, bore away to Antigua; they were purſued by the French, who, incapable of forcing them, under the batteries of that iſland, directed their operations to the reduction of the Britiſh ſettlements.

In the beginning of the war France had been ſeverely mortified by the loſs of St. Lucia, and ſhe now aſpired to the recovery of that iſland; great part of the Engliſh garriſon had been drafted away for the capture of St. Euſtatius, a wealthy

ſettlement belonging to the Dutch; and while the captors revelled in their ſpoils, the marquis de Bouille, whoſe enterpriſing genius had already been repeatedly diſplayed, with the viſcount Damas, and a conſiderable body of troops, landed on St. Lucia. They immediately occupied the town of Gros-Iſlet, and ſummoned brigadier-general St. Leger, the commanding officer, to ſurrender; but the marquis was ſoon convinced that the ſtrength of the Engliſh far exceeded what the natives, impatient to return under the government of France, had deſcribed; a greater object, and leſs difficult of acceſs, was in view; and the French commander, having diſguiſed his intentions from the enemy, by every preparation for a vigorous aſſault, ſuddenly reimbarked his troops in the night, and ſteered his courſe towards Tobago.

Againſt that iſland he had previouſly detached a ſmall French ſquadron, with a conſiderable body of troops, under the conduct of monſieur de Blanchelande, late governor of St. Vincent's. The feeble garriſon of Tobago, ſcarce amounting to five-hundred men gradually retired before the invaders to Concordia, a high ground, naturally ſtrong, and which commands a view of both ſides of the iſland. They were there inveſted by monſieur de Blanchelande; and the marquis de Bouille, ſoon after arriving with the fleet of France, aſſumed the ſupreme command.

Though that nobleman was poſſeſſed of ſuch a ſuperiority in the number of his troops, yet the reſiſtance of the garriſon of Tobago was long and obſtinate; during ſix days in the poſt of Concordia they maintained an undaunted countenance; and when the French had occupied the adjacent hills, which in ſome meaſure commanded the poſt, the Engliſh on a ſudden quitted it, and retreated to another ſtation almoſt equally ſtrong, and at a conſiderable diſtance.

But theſe efforts, though they protracted, could not avert the final ſubmiſſion of the iſland; the ardour of the marquis de Bouille was increaſed by the difficulties that ſucceſſively aroſe; under a burning ſun, he in perſon conducted his troops through the moſt intricate paſſages of the iſland; to unite terror to force, he reduced to aſhes two of the neighbouring and moſt capital plantations; a ſquadron, that had been diſpatched by admiral Rodney to the relief of Tobago, had been chaced, and with difficulty eſcaped the purſuit of the French fleet, and the inhabitants, hopeleſs of ſuccour, at length conſented to ſurrender. The marquis, inſtead of being irritated by the obſtacles their perſeverence had preſented, diſplayed an example of generoſity worthy of imitation by all other ſucceſsful commanders, and granted to the vanquiſhed the ſame favourable conditions as had been granted to the inhabitants of Dominica.

Tobago had ſcarce ſubmitted to the dominion of France, before the Britiſh fleet, under admiral Rodney, appeared in ſight. Monſieur de Graſſe immediately got under ſail, and offered his rival battle; the Engliſh, informed of the total loſs of the iſland, the relief of which was moſt probably their ſole object, thought proper to decline the encounter; and the French admiral, inſtead of conſuming his hours

in a fruitleſs purſuit, re-convoyed the marquis de Bouille to Martinico, touched at the Havannah to receive a conſiderable ſupply of money, and with twenty-eight ſail of the line and ſeveral frigates directed his courſe towards America, and anchored in the Cheſapeak the laſt day of Auguſt.

From the deſertion of General Arnold, the principal army of the Americans under general Waſhington had remained in a ſtate of inaction within their lines near New-York, and were content with vigilantly obſerving the Britiſh commander at that place, who ſeemed ſatisfied with maintaining his ground, without attempting to extend his limits The French under count Rochambeau, incapable of undertaking any important enterpriſe alone, had diligently employed themſelves in ſtrengthening the fortifications of Rhode-Iſland. But the war that languiſhed in this quarter, was revived with increaſe of fury in the ſouthern provinces. In South and North-Carolina, and Virginia, a variety of obſtinate and indeciſive engagements had taken place between the generals Gates, Greene, and Sumpter, in the ſervice of the United States; and the lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, who commanded the Britiſh forces. At Camden general Gates had ſuffered a ſevere defeat from an inferior army under lord Cornwallis; and though that nobleman had afterwards in his turn reaſon to lament the viciſſitudes of war, and was mortified by the total deſtruction of ſeveral detachments, yet a ſecond victory that he obtained at Guildford, in North-Carolina, over general Greene, had confirmed his reputation, and extended the terror of his arms throughout the adjacent country.

The miniſters of Great Britain had early entertained an opinion that ſeems to have accompanied them throughout the whole courſe of the war; and the idea that the greateſt part of the Americans were ſtill inclined to ſubmit to the ancient form of government, was induſtriouſly inculcated in England, where it was neceſſary to deceive the people into the pecuniary grants requiſite for the continuance of hoſtilities. but the fallacy of this opinion was ſufficiently expoſed by the victories of lord Cornwallis; even after the ſplendid action of Guildford, the friends that joined the Britiſh ſtandard were few, and inconſiderable in point of conſequence; and the victorious commander was ſoon obliged to abandon the ſcene of his triumph, and conſult his ſafety by a precipitate retreat into the province of Virginia.

The Engliſh had ſome time before detached their new convert Arnold, to invade that country, which, interſected with wide and navigable rivers, afforded a proper theatre for their naval exertions, and which had largely contributed from its flouriſhing plantations to furniſh the reſources of Congreſs. The ardour of that officer, in the cauſe he had lately eſpouſed, was not inferior to that which he had formerly diſplayed in the ſervice of the United States. His ravages ſoon drew the attention of general Waſhington; and the marquis de la Fayette was detached with a ſmall but ſelect corps to obſerve his motions and haraſs his rear. The French at Rhode-iſland alſo thought that a proper opportunity offered of

atoning for their former inactivity; and that they might render a moſt effectual ſervice to their allies, by cutting off the retreat of Arnold and his party from the Cheſapeak. To reconnoitre that bay they diſpatched a ſhip of the line and ſome frigates; this ſmall ſquadron fell in with and captured the Romulus, a Britiſh man of war of forty-four guns; and ſoon after count Rochambeau having embarked the land forces, with the French fleet under monſieur Ternay, ſailed from Rhode-iſland.

A dreadful tempeſt had driven the Engliſh fleet from its ſtation before that iſland; but monſieur Ternay had ſcarce made Cape-Henry, before he was diſagreeably ſurpriſed by the appearance of the Britiſh ſquadron under admiral Greaves; an action immediately enſued, which though indeciſive, and attended with no particular loſs on either ſide, yet ſo far diſabled the French ſhips, as to render it prudent to return to Rhode-Iſland, and diſconcerted the ſanguine hopes they had formed of affording their allies the moſt eſſential aſſiſtance.

In the interval general Clinton had ſtrongly reinforced the detachment in Virginia, and nominated to the chief command of it general Phillips, an officer of approved abilities. The inferiority of the marquis de la Fayette allowed him only to obſerve the motions of the enemy, and while he remained on the oppoſite ſide of James-River, he witneſſed with indignation thoſe devaſtations which he was too weak to reſtrain.

It was at this critical juncture, when general Phillips had juſt fallen a victim to the heat of the climate, and the fatigues he had endured in a toilſome and deſultory war, that lord Cornwallis, unable any longer to ſubſiſt in the exhauſted province of Carolina, directed his attention to Virginia: with his way-worn army he traverſed a hoſtile country of above three hundred miles, and arrived at Peterſburg a few days after general Phillips had breathed his laſt. He immediately aſſumed the chief command, was reinforced by about two thouſand infantry from New-York, and diſplayed that active vigour, the prominent feature of his charcter. He completed the devaſtation which had been left unfiniſhed by Arnold, puſhed his ſucceſs as far as Williamſburg, the capital of Virginia, on his retreat defeated a conſiderable corps which the marquis de la Fayette preſſed forward to impede his paſſage of James-River, and eſtabliſhed his place of arms at York-Town, ſituated on the banks of the river of that name, and which, as it was navigable for ſhips of great ſize and burthen, enabled him to receive any ſuccours or ſupport by ſea.

This poſt, which at leaſt promiſed ſecurity, lord Cornwallis diligently applied himſelf to fortify; but the hour was now rapidly approaching, deſtined to terminate the carreer of that commander, and by a deciſive blow finally to eſtabliſh the independence of America. By a ſeries of the moſt artful addreſs, general Waſhington had deceived his antagoniſt Clinton; count de Rochembeau had paſſed over from Rhode-Iſland; and in conjunction with the American army,

menaced New-York with an immediate attack; that poſt, with its dependencies, was kept in a continual ſtate of alarm for above ſix weeks; when the combined army of French and Americans rapidly traverſed the Jerſeys, croſſed the Delaware, paſſed through Philadelphia, and arrived at the head of the river Elk, at the bottom of the Cheſapeak.

On the ſame day monſieur de Graſſe, with his fleet from the Weſt-Indies, arrived alſo in the bay, where, after blocking up York-River, he inſtantly applied himſelf to ſecure the river James, which he occupied with his armed veſſels and his cruiſers to a conſiderable diſtance; by this manœuvre he not only precluded lord Cornwallis from any retreat to the Carolinas, but alſo was enabled to convey in ſecurity the marquis de Saint Simon, with three thouſand three hundred land forces from the Weſt-Indies, eighteen leagues up that river, where he formed a junction with the marquis de la Fayette, who had already been reinforced by general Wayne, and the ſuccours from Pennſylvania.

The fleet of monſieur de Graſſe conſiſted of twenty four ſhips of the line; and the approach of the Britiſh ſquadron of nineteen ſhips of the line under the admirals Greaves and Hood, might rather have furniſhed matter of exultation than dread; but the operations of monſieur de Graſſe chiefly tended to the reduction of lord Cornwallis's army at York-Town; he expected every hour to be joined by the ſquadron from Rhode-Iſland, commanded ſince the death of monſieur Ternay, by monſier de Barras, whom he knew had already ſailed with ſeveral tranſports, and a train of artillery for the ſiege of York-Town, and fifteen hundred of his ſeamen were ſtill employed in tranſporting the French troops up James River. Under theſe circumſtances he conſidered it as unadviſable to hazard much; and though he ſtood out to ſea, and engaged the Engliſh fleet, he was ſatisfied with maintaining the honour of the flag of France; and without attempting to improve his advantage, he retired to his former ſtation in Cheſapeak bay, where he was ſoon after ſtrengthened by the arrival of monſieur de Barras.

The united forces of France and America now diligently proceeded cloſely to inveſt lord Cornwallis, who with ſeven thouſand ſelect troops ſtill occupied York-Town. The count de Rochambeau, and the marquis de la Fayette, with an equal number of French, extended from the river above the town to a moraſs in the centre, where they met the Americans under Waſhington, who occupied the oppoſite ſide from the river to that ſpot. Monſieur de Graſſe was entirely maſter of Cheſapeak-bay; and the duke of Lauzun with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under general Wieden, already preſſed the poſt at Glouceſter-Point, which was defended by colonel Tarleton with about ſix hundred infantry and cavalry.

Thus having ſurrounded their prey on every quarter, the different commanders began to urge their attacks with a vivacity that precluded every hope of relief; the works of the Engliſh were penetrated by an hundred pieces of heavy ordinance; their defences were in many places ruined; and moſt of their guns were

ſilenced; two redoubts ſtill incommoded the progreſs of the allied army, but the trenches had ſcarce been opened a week before it was determined to attack theſe as ſoon as the approach of the evening ſhould conceal the motions of the aſſailants. To balance the honour as well as the duty between both nations, the attack of one was committed to the French, and of the other to the Americans. The former advanced with that impetuoſity which ever has been their characteriſtic; and though the reſiſtance of the Engliſh was firm and gallant, they were at length driven from their poſt, and the ſtandard of France was diſplayed from the redoubt; the Americans on their ſide had been equally ſucceſsful, and the fate of lord Cornwallis appeared unavoidable; ſome damage occaſioned by two ſallies that he had made was quickly repaired; and his attempt to eſcape to the oppoſite ſide of the river was fruſtrated by the tempeſtuous weather and the vigilance of the French ſhips of war.

The ardour of count Rochambeau and general Waſhington was ſtimulated by the rumour of relief from general Clinton; and ten days after the trenches were firſt opened, every preparation was made for a final aſſault; but this ſcene of carnage was averted by the prudence of the Britiſh commander, who, ſenſible of his hopeleſs ſituation, reſolved not to ſacri ce wantonly the lives of the gallant men entruſted to his care: he accordingly opened a negociation, by which the troops under his command ſubmitted to become priſoners of war; the Guadaloupe frigate of twenty-four guns, with ſeveral tranſports, and fifteen hundred ſeamen, in the diviſion of the ſpoils were aſſigned to monſieur de Graſſe, in return for the French naval power and aſſiſtance; but the land forces, amounting to between five and ſix thouſand men, became the captives of the United States of America.

Such was the important and deciſive atchievement of France and America, which may be conſidered as ultimately ſealing the independence of the latter. The conduct of the French officers in the mom nt of victory had been as conſpicuous for humanity, as their valour had been diſtinguiſhed in the hour of danger; ſuch was the teſtimony of the vanquiſhed commander, who, in his official diſpatches to the miniſters of Great-Britain, declared "their delicate ſenſibility of "our ſituation, their generous and preſſing offers of money, both public and "private to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can poſſibly deſcribe; "and will I hope make an impreſſion on the breaſt of every Britiſh officer, when-"ever the fortune of war ſhould put any of them into our power."

It was not alone the elder branch of the houſe of Bourbon that triumphed on the northern continent of America. An armament had been fitted out by Spain from the Havannah, and though at firſt it was ſcattered by a ſudden and violent tempeſt, yet a perſevering people continued their attempts, penetrated deep into Weſt-Florida, and with an army of eight-thouſand men, inveſted Penſacola, the capital of that province; general Campbell, the governor, made a gallant defence; but the weakneſs of his garriſon compelled him at length to ſurrender. The

Spaniards, brave themſelves, reſpected the valour of their enemy; the moſt favourable terms of capitulation were granted, and the ſtandard of Spain was erected on the walls of Penſacola.

But Gibraltar, the favourite object of the court of Madrid, ſtill continued to deride her attempts, and fruſtrate her inceſſant enterpriſes. A ſcheme to deſtroy the Panther and Experiment, two Britiſh ſhips of war, by means of fire ſhips, was rendered abortive by the vigilance and intrepidity of the Engliſh captains; and Spain, throughout the whole ſiege, had reaſon to regret her treaſures laviſhly expended, and her troops fruitleſsly employed.

Holland, unprepared abroad and diſunited at home, was an ally that claimed the more immediate attention and ſupport of the court of Verſailles; in the Weſt-Indies the Britiſh commanders had eagerly invaded the iſland of St. Euſtatius; that ſettlement during the war had become the general magazine of all nations; and the valuable commodities which it contained, became a prey to the rapacity of the victors. Yet the conquerors reaped not that advantage which they expected from their indiſcriminate confiſcation; ſeveral of the veſſels richly laden with ſpoil were intercepted on their voyage to Europe, and even in ſight of the Britiſh coaſt, by monſieur de la Motte Piquet, who was cruizing off the Lizard with ſix ſhips of the line and five frigates. And before the cloſe of the year the iſland itſelf was recovered by the activity of the marquis de Bouille, who ſuddenly landed with a ſelect body of troops from Martinico, ſurpriſed colonel Cockburn the Engliſh commandant, and reſtored St. Euſtatius to the dominion of the Dutch, the very day before count de Graſſe caſt anchor at Fort-Royal from his deciſive triumph on the coaſt of America.

But it was in the Eaſt that the republic of Holland was moſt vulnerable; and her excluſive poſſeſſions of the ſpice iſlands, her wealthy and populous ſettlement of Batavia, afforded the moſt faſcinating allurements to the avarice of her enemies. In the beginning of the war France had received with indignation the intelligence that her ſettlements throughout Aſia had been ſwept away by the power of the Engliſh; ſhe therefore readily liſtened to propoſals which tended to reſtore her own colonies in the Eaſt, and to ſecure thoſe of her ally; ſhe ſigned a treaty with the republic, which was to put her troops in poſſeſſion of the Cape of Good Hope, a port on the African coaſt, the moſt convenient for refreſhments on the long voyage to India; and ſhe alſo engaged to detach an armament to act in conjunction with the Dutch forces in the Eaſt.

To fulfil this treaty, at the ſame time that the count de Graſſe ſailed from Breſt to the Weſt-Indies, monſieur de Suffrein with five ſhips of the line and a conſiderable body of land forces was detached to the Eaſt, and the Cape of Good Hope. On his arrival at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands, he diſcerned a Britiſh ſquadron of nearly equal force at anchor within the harbour; this had ſailed from England under the conduct of commodore Johnſtone, much about

the ſame time as Suffrein had quitted Breſt, and was deſigned to ſurpriſe the Dutch ſettlement at the Cape of Good Hope. The impetuoſity of Suffrein, who was ſenſible how deeply the intereſts of his country were concerned in the deſtruction of this armament, prevailed over his reſpect to the crown of Portugal; and he heſitated not to enter a neutral harbour as an enemy, and to attack the Engliſh. But though in this enterpriſe he diſplayed the moſt daring ſpirit and undaunted reſolution, yet all the efforts of courage ſerved only to expoſe his ſhips to the deſtructive fire of his adverſary, who derived advantages from his ſituation that neither ſkill nor courage could compenſate. The French commander was reluctantly compelled to abandon the attack, and after touching at the Cape of Good Hope, and reinforcing that ſettlement with a ſufficient number of troops to ſecure it from inſult, he ſteered to the iſland of Mauritius, to join the count d'Orves, who, after the loſs of Pondicherry, had aſſembled at that place the ſcattered remnant of the French forces.

But while France rather hoped than expected to eſtabliſh her ancient power and influence on the coaſt of Coromandel, her ambitious views were ſeconded by a new and formidable enemy to Great-Britain, who ſuddenly burſting through the unguarded paſſes, deluged with his myriads the devoted ſettlements of the Engliſh. This daring invader was Hyder-Ali, whoſe ſucceſsful ambition had raiſed him from an humble ſituation to an extenſive empire in the Eaſt, and who had eſtabliſhed ſuch a military force as India had never beheld, and was thought incapable of producing. He had more than once diſputed the honour of victory with the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company; and though frequently defeated, yet he ſtill appeared terrible, and had even menaced with his martial ſquadrons the capital of the victors, who were confounded by the rapid evolutions of a cavalry that precluded all flight, and derided all purſuit.

In the hour of preſumptuous confidence, the Engliſh had violated the dignity of his throne by the reduction of Mahé, a French ſettlement eſtabliſhed within his dominions, and under his protection. This inſult had awakened thoſe reſentments which had rather been ſuſpended than extinguiſhed by former treaties; the ſupineneſs of the government of Madras encouraged his hopes; he penetrated through the ghauts, or narrow paſſes in the mountains, which ſeperate his territories from thoſe of the Engliſh, and with a celerity that exceeds deſcription, extended his bloody ravages over the face of the Carnatic. A conſiderable detachment, the flower of the Engliſh army on that coaſt, was overwhelmed after a gallant reſiſtance by the irreſiſtable weight of his cavalry. General Munro, who commanded the principal army belonging to the ſettlement of Madras, was reduced to retreat before the torrent of his arms; Madras even trembled for her ſafety; and the progreſs of the victor was only checked by the arrival of general Coote with a large reinforcement from the province of Bengal. After an obſtinate conflict Hyder was compelled to relinquiſh the field to the ſuperior ſkill of that veteran commander, and the perſevering valour of his troops; but his nu-

merous cavalry were ſtill ſpread over the fertile fields of the Carnatic, and extended on every ſide the terror of his name.

It was under the preſſure of this unexpected and formidable invaſion that the Engliſh firſt received the intelligence of a rupture with the United States of Holland; and they diſplayed no ſmall degree of vigour in cruſhing the ſettlements of this new enemy before they could co-operate, or receive aſſiſtance from Hyder; in Bengal, Chinſura; on the coaſt of Coromandel, Negapatam; and Trincomalé in the iſland of Ceylon, were ſurprized or reduced by the Engliſh; and Holland beheld with terror the ſtorm that threatened her ſettlements in Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccas.

But if in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies the Dutch ſcarce diſplayed the ſhadow of reſiſtance, in Europe they diſcovered a degree of reſolution that aſtoniſhed their friends, appalled their enemies, and reſtored that reputation for patient and obſtinate courage which had emancipated them from the fetters of the houſe of Auſtria, and had raiſed them to conteſt with Great-Britain the dominion of the ſeas. The Dogger-bank was the ſcene where the Dutch and Engliſh encountered each other with equal valour and mutual animoſity; their ſquadrons, which conſiſted of the ſame number of ſhips, ſeemed animated with a rage that knew no alternative between victory and death. The diſabled ſtate of their veſſels compelled at length the combatants to deſiſt; and though the Dutch, by retiring to their harbours, acknowledged the victory to the Engliſh, yet theſe were incapable of improving their advantage, and were glad alſo to ſhelter their ſhattered ſhips in port.

But whatever ſatisfaction France might derive from the ſpirit of her ally, it ſerved not to counterbalance that diſcontent with which the people in general beheld the diſmiſſal of a miniſter in whom they placed the moſt unbounded confidence. Monſieur Necker, in the management of the finances had acquired the reputation of activity, induſtry, and ſevere integrity; he had conceived the arduous, but popular project of maintaining a war by loans without taxes; and the rigid economy that he had introduced into all the departments of the royal houſhold, and the various reſources that preſented themſelves to his fertile genius, had ſupported him amidſt the difficulties that attended this ſyſtem. But his auſterity of temper, had not rendered him equally acceptable to the ſovereign and his ſubjects; the repeated reforms he had recommended, were repreſented as inconſiſtent with the dignity of the crown; he was diſmiſſed from his office of comptroller-general, and monſieur Joli de Fleuri, counſellor of ſtate, was appointed to that important department.

The birth of the dauphin cloſed the memorable occurrences of the year, and though it could not extinguiſh the regret, ſerved to divert the attention of the Pariſians; the young prince was baptiſed by the cardinal de Rohan; the count of Provençe and the princeſs Elizabeth, repreſented as ſponſors the emperor of Germany and the princeſs of Piedmont, and beſtowed on their royal nephew the names of Lewis, Joſeph, Xavier, and Francis.

A. D. 1782.] The advantages which, at the close of the last campaign, had been obtained by the arms of France, were at the commencement of this, diligently improved by the ministers of Lewis; and the greatest exertions were called forth by the house of Bourbon to bring the war to a speedy and successful conclusion. The siege of Minorca, which had been undertaken in the preceding year, was terminated in the beginning of the present by the surrender of St. Philips; the garrison were made prisoners of war; and their commander, general Murray, acknowledged in the most express terms the humane treatment they experienced from the victorious leaders, the duke de Crillon and the baron de Falkenhayen.

The capture of the army under lord Cornwallis had insured the independence of America, and the subsequent operations in that quarter were confined to some faint struggles made by the English in the Carolinas and Georgia. France was now at leisure to direct her attention to the East and West-Indies; and monsieur de Grasse from the Chesapeak had steered his course to Martinico; his naval force when collected, consisted of thirty ships of the line; but he had already detached four to convoy from St. Domingo the homeward bound trade to Europe. The court of Versailles, to supply this deficiency, had fitted out at Brest nine ships of the line, under the command of the marquis de Vaudreuil; these were accompanied by a numerous convoy of transports, destined for the service of the East and West: and they were escorted by the count de Guichen, who sailed at the same time with ten ships of the line to join the grand-fleet of Spain off Cadiz. Off Scilly they were intercepted by the British fleet of thirteen ships of the line under admiral Kempenfelt; the admirable manœuvres of that officer were seconded by the favourable state of the wind, and the count de Guichen had the mortification to behold his convoy dispersed, and several of them taken by an inferior force. He himself continued his course to Cadiz, while the marquis de Vaudreuil, having detached part of his squadron to the Cape of Good Hope, with the rest joined monsieur de Grasse at Martinico.

That commander immediately prepared to avail himself of his decided superiority over the English squadron in those seas. With the marquis de Bouille, who had already erected the standard of France on the island of Nevis, he planned the attack of St. Christopher's, one of the most considerable of the West-India islands that yet remained to Great-Britain. The marquis landed with eight thousand men and a formidable train of artillery, while the count de Grasse, occupied with his fleet Basseterre-road, and seem to preclude every hope of relief; general Frazer, the English commander, immediately retired to Brimstone-hill, a strong post, which he declared he would defend to the last extremity. But the operations of the French were soon interrupted, by the appearance of a British squadron of twenty two ships of the line, conducted by admiral Hood, an officer of approved skill and experience. The count de Grasse, whose naval force consisted of twenty-nine large ships, hesitated not to quit his station to encounter his daring adversary. The action was partial and indecisive; but in the course of it admiral Hood, by a

ſudden change of diſpoſition, deceived the count de Graſſe, eluded his attack, and preſſing towards the iſland, gained the very anchorage in Baſſeterre-road which the French fleet had quitted.

Though the count de Graſſe could not but admire the ſuperior dexterity of his adverſary, he was by no means inclined to leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of his advantage. The next morning with his whole force he attacked the Engliſh ſquadron from van to rear; but theſe ſuſtained with a ſteady fire the repeated efforts of the French; and though the count in the courſe of the evening renewed the attempt, the damage that his ſhips had incurred compelled him reluctantly to deſiſt.

The marquis de Bouille could not be indifferent to the operations of the hoſtile fleets, whoſe fate was likely to involve his own; but inſtead of deſponding or endeavouring to retreat, he puſhed his attacks with encreaſe of ardour. Brimſtone-Hill was cloſely inveſted on every ſide; and while he conſided the blockade of that poſt to the marquis of St. Simon, he himſelf marched with four-thouſand troops to encounter a detachment that had been landed from the Britiſh ſhips. Although the ſtrong ſituation and number of theſe, amounting to two-thouſand four-hundred men, rendered an aſſault imprudent, yet the marquis continued vigilantly to obſerve their motions; till, hopeleſs of joining or ſuccouring their countrymen, they re-embarked; in the mean time every moment was aſſiduouſly employed in the annoyance of the Engliſh entrenched on Brimſtone-Hill; the marquis de Bouille had again reſumed the command of the beſiegers; and the inceſſant fire of his artillery had reduced the works and buildings to a heap of ruins. The Engliſh, under the terror of immediate deſtruction, conſented to ſurrender a poſt that they were incapable of defending any longer; and the humanity of the marquis granted the ſame favourable terms of capitulation as had been agreed upon at the reduction of Dominica.

The Engliſh admiral was no ſooner informed of the fate of St. Chriſtophers, than he determined to abandon a ſituation which was no longer either ſecure or uſeful; and this reſolution he executed with a ſecrecy and celerity that prevented all danger from the ſuperior force of count de Graſſe. Under cover of the night he cut his cables; and ſailing from Baſſeterre-Road, directed his courſe towards Barbadoes, in hopes of joining a conſiderable ſquadron that was hourly expected from England; while the count de Graſſe and the marquis de Bouille, after the reduction of Montſerrat, returned to Martinico.

In that road had been aſſembled one hundred and fifty tranſports, with a large quantity of artillery, and a conſiderable body of land forces.—Theſe were deſtined for an enterprize which, had it proved ſucceſsful, muſt have extinguiſhed in the Weſt-Indies the power of Great Britain. The count de Graſſe, whoſe fleet already amounted to thirty-three ſail of the line fit for action, was to have been joined by a ſtrong Spaniſh ſquadron from the Havannah; and the united force of the houſe

of Bourbon was to have been directed againſt Jamaica, the moſt flouriſhing ſettlement belonging to the Engliſh in that quarter of the globe.

In purſuance of this deſign, the count quitted Fort-Royal bay about the beginning of April, to proceed to the place of his deſtination; but he ſcarce loſt ſight of the iſland of Martinico, before he deſcried the Britiſh fleet, commanded by admiral Rodney, and by late reinforcements from Europe ſwelled to thirty-ſix ſail of the line. He immediately hoiſted the ſignal for action, and ſuſtained with great gallantry the attack of the enemy; but intent on the grand object of his court, he availed himſelf of a favourable wind, and bore away towards Guadaloupe.

But that proſperous fortune which hitherto had attended the enterprizes of France, on this occaſion deſerted her.—In the late action the Zele, a ſeventy-four, had ſuffered material damage; and though the count de Graſſe had gained a conſiderable ſtart of admiral Rodney, yet the ſhattered condition of that ſhip allowed her not to keep up with the reſt of the fleet. The French admiral was now reduced to the painful alternative of hazarding the ſucceſs of his expedition by a ſecond action, or to indure the diſgrace of abandoning the Zele a prey to the purſuing enemy.

On this trying occaſion he determined to preſerve inviolate the honour of the French flag; and though his judgment has been arraigned, ſince, in relinquiſhing the Zele, and haſtening to join the Spaniſh ſquadron, he might have ſeverely revenged the loſs of that ſhip by the probable reduction of Jamaica, yet the more honourable reſolution was in ſome meaſure ſanctioned by the ſtate of the fleet under his command, and the probability that this engagement, like all the preceding ones, might prove indeciſive.

In this hope he bore down to ſuccour the Zele, and compelled the moſt forward of the Engliſh ſhips to retire at the moment that they were ready to attack her; the approach of night precluded all immediate action; but in the morning the French admiral found the Engliſh had gained the wind of him, and that he muſt ſtake the fortune of France on a deciſive engagement. This was continued from ſeven in the morning till half paſt ſix in the evening, when the ſetting ſun put an end to the conteſt and to the hopes of France. The Ville de Paris, of one hundred and ten guns, commanded by count de Graſſe himſelf, the Glorieux, the Hector, and the Cæſar of ſeventy-four, with the Ardent of ſixty-four, were compelled to ſtrike to the ſuperior fortune of Great-Britain; the Cæſar ſoon after caught fire and blew up; while the marquis de Vaudreuil collected part of the ſcattered fleet, and with nineteen ſhips of the line eſcaped to Martinico; the reſt, ſhattered and diſperſed, endeavoured to reach the neareſt ports and elude the purſuit of the victors.

If the prudence of the count de Graſſe was in ſome meaſure impeached, his courage was univerſally acknowledged: though wounded, he defended his ſhip to the laſt extremity; and before he conſented to ſtrike his flag, the Ville de

Paris reſembled a wreck. He was received on board the Barfleur with thoſe marks of reſpect that the brave never fail to ſhew to each other; after continuing a ſhort time at Jamaica, he was conveyed to England, and was there honoured by the conſtant attention of the royal family; while the applauſe of the multitude, who admired the perſonal gallantry of their enemy, contributed to ſooth the painful recollection of defeat.

The misfortunes of France ended not with the twelfth of April. The Cato and the Jaſon, two men of war of ſixty-four guns each, with the Amiable of thirty-two, and the Ceres of eighteen guns, were taken by a ſquadron under admiral Hood, detached from the main Engliſh fleet; the ſame baneful influence ſeemed alſo to extend to Europe; and in that month the Pegaſe of ſeventy-four guns, and the Actionnaire of ſixty-four, which had ſailed from Breſt for the Eaſt-Indies, with ten ſhips of their convoy were captured by the Engliſh off Uſhant.

The marquis de Vaudreuil, after the late defeat, ſteered with the remnant of the fleet that he could collect from Cape-Francois to America; but riſing under the preſſure of calamity, he previouſly detached monſieur Peyrouſe in the Sceptre of ſeventy-four guns, with two large frigates, againſt the remote poſſeſſions and property of the Engliſh Hudſon's Bay Company. As the marquis was unacquainted with the defenceleſs ſtate of theſe ſettlements, he added three hundred ſoldiers, with ſome mortars and cannon for the ſieges that might preſent themſelves.

But the only difficulties that monſieur Peyrouſe encountered were thoſe which attended the navigation of obſcure ſtreights and gulphs, among the frozen regions of the north; and for three weeks, from the moment that they paſſed the iſlands of Reſolution, which mark the entrance into Hudſon's-Straits, they were inceſſantly expoſed to new and imminent peril; notwithſtanding the power of the ſun in the month of July, the ſhips at one time were ſo faſt locked up in the ice, that the ſeamen went on foot from one to the other; and when after they had extricated themſelves, things appeared ſo hopeleſs, that monſieur Peyrouſe even meditated on ſending back the Sceptre with one of the frigates to the Weſt-Indies, and of wintering himſelf with the other frigate and a part of the troops in the Bay. So ſevere a trial of his conſtancy was however prevented by the appearance of a ſmall opening in the ice two days afterwards; through this the ſhips forced their way with a preſs of ſail, and afterwards diſcovered, to their no ſmall joy, the Engliſh colours flying from a fort on the banks of Churchill-River.

If the toils and dangers of the voyage had been great, ſome compenſation was afforded by the facility of the conqueſt; the forts of the Hudſon's-Bay Company were only garriſoned by a motley crew of ſtore-keepers, clerks, and ſervants, who ſurrendered on the firſt appearance of an European enemy. Some few ſought ſhelter in the deep and impenetrable woods; and monſieur Peyrouſe having by the

deſtruction of the forts and merchandiſe completed the object of his expedition, had yet the humane precaution to preſerve one of the magazines, in which he depoſited proviſions, arms, and ammunition for the uſe and ſubſiſtence of the fugitives who had eluded his purſuit, and who during the long and approaching winter could not have received any relief from home.

While France in every quarter of the globe diſplayed that active ſpirit which could not be repreſſed by defeat, the patient courage of the Spaniards was ſtill exerciſed in the ſiege of Gibraltar. The duke de Crillon, adorned with the laurels of Minorca, aſpired to additional fame from this more arduous enterpriſe; and the count d'Artois, and the duke of Bourbon, diſdaining the eaſe and luxury of Verſailles, animated the camp of St. Roche by their preſence. But they had ſcarce arrived before they endured the mortification of beholding the principal works of the beſiegers deſtroyed. A heavy fire of hot ſhot and ſhells from the batteries of the garriſon ſoon communicated the deſtructive flames to the batteries and magazines of the Spaniards, and the labour of months was conſumed in a few hours.

Yet the court of Madrid though often baffled, ſtill perſevered: and to preclude the garriſon of Gibraltar from the hope of relief, the combined fleets of France and Spain, conſiſting of forty-four ſhips of the line, were directed to block up the harbour. This was but the prelude to a new and different mode of attack, which had long been meditated, and on which the moſt ſanguine expectations were grounded. Ten ſhips of different ſizes, from ſix hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, were converted into floating batteries. They were ſecured by every art that ingenuity could deviſe, and provided with every offenſive or defenſive material that experience ſuggeſted, or the wealth of Spain could furniſh. Two hundred and twelve braſs guns, each of them carrying balls of twenty-ſix pounds, menaced from their maſſy decks immediate deſtruction; they were ſupported by a ſufficient number of frigates; and three hundred large boats were alſo collected for the conveyance of the troops that were ready to avail themſelves of the confuſion of the garriſon, and the breaches that it was expected the floating batteries muſt ſoon occaſion. But Gibraltar was entruſted to the care of general Eliott, an officer whoſe vigilance, courage, and unſhaken reſolution were never excelled; and who with the caution and experience of age, preſerved the activity and enterpriſe of youth. The fire from the floating batteries was indeed terrible; but they were ſoon anſwered by the thunder of the garriſon; and the ſame engines of deſtruction that had proved fatal to the Spaniſh preparations on ſhore now blaſted their hopes at ſea. A ſhower of hot balls and ſhells in a few hours involved the floating batteries in flames; the gun-boats of the Engliſh prevented the Spaniards from approaching to the aſſiſtance of their conntrymen; to avoid the rapid progreſs of one deſtructive element, the miſerable men were compelled to confide themſelves to another; part periſhed by the fire, part were overwhelmed by the ſea, and the ſcanty remnant was only ſaved by the Britiſh ſeamen, who

diſcovered the ſame ardour in relieving their enemies, as they had diſplayed an hour before in conquering them.

One reſource ſtill remained to the houſe of Bourbon; and the beſiegers, thus fatally baffled in every aſſault, now reſolved patiently to await the ſlow but certain effects of famine. To prevent the garriſon from receiving any ſupplies, the combined fleets were directed to ſtretch acroſs the bay; but even this diſpoſition could not enſure ſucceſs; a violent tempeſt that aroſe ſhattered their ſhips, and drove on ſhore the Triumphant, a Spaniſh man of war of ſeventy-four guns; and the Engliſh fleet of thirty-four ſail of the line, and a conſiderable convoy, before they could recover from their confuſion, entered the Straits, and landed the troops and proviſions for the relief of Gibraltar. On their return a partial and undeciſive action took place off the Straits-mouth; but the Engliſh had already effected the object of their expedition; and the French and Spaniſh commanders judged it not prudent to preſs an engagement, which, if adverſe, might be attended by the moſt fatal conſequences, and, if ſucceſsful, could not tend to the immediate reduction of that fortreſs.

If the war languiſhed in America, it was reſumed with increaſe of ardour in the Eaſt, and the coaſts of Coromandel were ſtained with the blood of the contending powers. From the Cape of Good Hope monſieur Suffrein had proceeded with favourable winds to the iſland of Mauritius; he there reſigned the command to his ſenior officer, the count d'Orves; and the French fleet, increaſed by this junction, to ten ſhips of the line, and one of fifty guns, beſides ſeveral large frigates, ſailed for the coaſt of Coromandel, accompanied by a number of tranſports and ſtore-ſhips, with a conſiderable body of land forces. On the voyage the count d'Orves, whoſe zeal in the ſervice had roſe ſuperior to the infirmities of a debilitated conſtitution, expired; and the ſole command of the fleet devolved on monſieur Suffrein, whoſe ſkill and courage have deſervedly ranked him among the moſt celebrated naval characters of the age.

On his paſſage he fell in with the Hannibal, a Britiſh man of war of ſixty-four guns, which after a gallant but fruitleſs reſiſtance, was compelled to ſurrender, and ſwelled the number of the French ſquadron. With this addition to his ſtrength he ſwept the Coromandel coaſt, and entered Madras roads in hopes of ſurpriſing, according to the intelligence he had received, the Engliſh admiral, ſir Edward Hughes, with only ſix ſhips of the line. This force he conſidered himſelf capable of eaſily overwhelming; the loſs of the numerous trading ſhips and tranſports in the road muſt have attended the deſtruction of the fleet; and while ſuch an unexpected calamity ſpread terror through the town of Madras, the French forces, joined by Hyder-Ali's numerous army, would have carried on their attacks againſt it by land, and the victorious ſquadron would have aſſailed it by ſea.

From this flattering illuſion, which promiſed to determine the war at a ſingle blow, monſieur Suffrein was awakened to a diſappointment as mortifying as it

was unexpected; a few days before the Engliſh ſquadron had been joined by a reinforcement from Europe; they had at the ſame time been apprized of the approach of monſieur de Suffrien; three hundred land forces had been detached from Madras to ſtrengthen their numbers; and the French admiral now beheld, inſtead of the defenceleſs ſquadron, he fondly expected to ſurprize, nine ſhips of the line, drawn up in proper order and ready to receive him.

Under theſe circumſtances all views of attack were abandoned, and monſieur Suffrein ſtood out to ſea with the intention of diſembarking the land forces to the ſupport of Hyder-Ali. The Engliſh, who penetrated his deſign, immediately followed, and an action enſued the next morning, long, bloody, but indeciſive. The preſervation of his convoy was now the chief object of the French commander, but in the courſe of the engagement he diſplayed a degree of intrepidity that extorted the applauſe of his adverſaries. Night only parted the combatants; and monſieur Suffrein repreſſing his ardour, and anxious to ſecure the retreat of his convoy, ſtood off to the north-eaſt.

This important object was no ſooner attained then the French admiral once more directed his courſe in ſearch of the Engliſh. The latter, during this interval, had been reinforced from Europe by two men of war of ſeventy four guns each; but this formidable acceſſion of ſtrength could not damp the courage or alter the reſolution of monſieur Suffrein; he himſelf led the attack on board the Heros of ſeventy-four guns, and continued to engage for a conſiderable time the Engliſh admiral within piſtol-ſhot. The damages ſuſtained by the Heros induced him to ſhift his flag into the Hannibal, a French ſhip of equal force; and by his ſuperior fire he diſabled and drove out of the line the Monmouth of ſixty-four guns.—Though every effort was made to board that ſhip, ſhe was reſcued by the approach of three other Engliſh ſhips; the hoſtile fleets, after a fierce and bloody conteſt, in which they had diſplayed ſimilar gallantry, and ſuffered ſimilar loſs, ſeparated as if by mutual conſent; for ſeveral days following they however kept in ſight of each other: but their reciprocal damages ſuſpending on both ſides all idea of attack; the Engliſh retired to Trincomalé and the French ſquadron proceeded to Batacalo, a Dutch port in the iſland of Ceylon, and about twenty leagues to the ſouthward of Trincomalé.

The war on land raged not with leſs fury than at ſea. In the general deſtruction of the French ſettlements on the commencement of hoſtilities, a ſmall band had found ſhelter in the dominions of Hyder-Ali, and ever ſince under the command of monſieur Lally, had given ſtability to the opperations of that enterpriſing prince. They now, in conjunction with Tippoo-Saheb, the ſon of Hyder, and who inherited the daring ſpirit of his father, attacked a Britiſh detachment under colonel Braithwaite, that had encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, for the protection of Tanjour and the adjoining provinces. This ſmall but ſelect corps conſiſted of two thouſand veteran infantry, with thirteen field-pieces, and two hundred and fifty cavalry. For two ſucceſſive days they repulſed with undaunted

reſolution the reiterated attacks of Hyder's cavalry, though amounting to the formidable number of twenty thouſand; but on the third they were broken by the charge of four hundred French, who advanced with bayonets fixed, and were led on by monſieur Lally himſelf. The humanity of that officer was not leſs conſpicious than his courage; he not only iſſued orders for putting a ſtop to the carnage; but haſtened perſonally, and with apparent hazard, to chaſtiſe and reſtrain the cruel fury of the black cavalry, five of whom periſhed by his own hand in the generous exertion. He alſo prevailed on Tippoo-Saheb to commit the priſoners to his care, and endeavoured to ſoothe their misfortues by every mark of kindneſs and reſpect; nor can it have eſcaped the reader, that during the whole courſe of the war, the French and Engliſh mutually vied with each other in acts of generous compaſſion as well as daring valour.

In the firſt engagement with the Engliſh fleet, the ardour of monſieur Suffrein had been reſtrained by a prudent attention to his convoy. He ſoon after landed at Porto-Novo the land forces and artillery that had been entruſted to his care. Theſe were joined by a body of native troops from Hyder-Ali; and the combined army immediately marched to the ſiege of Cuddalore. The feeble garriſon in that place was not long able to reſiſt their arms; and monſieur Duchemin, the French commander, having ſecured a future poſt for the reception of ſuccours, which France before was deſtitute of, now proceeded to more diſtant conqueſts. He accordingly inveſted Permacoil to the northward; and after the reduction of that fort, effected a junction with the main army of Hyder-Ali, and in concert with that prince meditated an attack on Wandiwaſh.

The approach of the Engliſh compelled them to abandon that enterpriſe; and the combined army, ſtrong in their numbers, poſſeſſed themſelves alſo of ſuch advantageous poſts as defied any aſſault. But the Britiſh commander, general Coote, having menaced the ſiege of Arnee, a ſtrong fortreſs in which Hyder's great magazines were depoſited, that prince relinquiſhed his ſituation, and advanced to the protection of it. A battle enſued, in which the allies were routed by the ſuperior diſcipline of their adverſaries. But the native troops, chiefly compoſed of cavalry, eaſily eluded the purſuit of the victors; and monſieur Duchemin had cautiouſly avoided expoſing the French; whom he wiſhed to preſerve entire, till the arrival of the marquis de Buſſy with a conſiderable force, an event that was daily expected, might enable them to act with efficacy.

In conſequence of this plan he retired to Cuddalore, which he induſtriouſly ſtrengthened by new works, and rendered ſecure from any ſudden inſult. The indiſpoſition of general Coote about the ſame time compelled him to quit the field; and the exhauſted ſtate of the country affording ſcarce any ſubſiſtance to the hoſtile armies, no event of any conſiderable importance took place in the Carnatic during the remainder of the year.

But this ceſſation was entirely confined to the land; and the Indian-ocean was ſtill deſtined to be the ſcene of hard and bloody action. Monſieur Suffrein had

returned from Batacalo to the coaſt of Coromandel; and having refreſhed his fleet at the Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar, he proceeded from thence to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered their ſtrong and great place of arms, both for the land and ſea ſervice. It was his object to attack the Engliſh ſquadron before the arrival of a reinforcement, which he knew had ſailed from England, and was impatiently expected at Madras. He was furniſhed at Cuddalore with four hundred French and as many Sepahis; and to theſe were added three hundred artillery-men, than which no aid could be more thoroughly effective.

Thus ſtrengthened, he appeared off Negapatam, where the Engliſh fleet lay at anchor; and admiral Hughes, impatient of the inſult, immediately quitted the ſecurity of his ſtation to meet his rival. The number of ſhips on each ſide was the ſame as in the laſt engagement; the ſame courage and ſkill were diſplayed, and the event was nearly ſimilar; the French fleet was however reduced to retire firſt from action; the captain of the Severe of ſixty-four guns even ſtruck his colours; but the officer next in rank immediately aſſumed the command, renewed the engagement, and brought off the ſhip, which, with the reſt of the ſquadron, reached Cuddalore; while admiral Hughes, having kept the ſea about a fortnight longer, proceeded to Madras.

Monſieur de Suffrein uſed the utmoſt induſtry and diſpatch in refitting his ſquadron; and having received advice from the ſieur d'Aymar, that he was arrived at Point de Galles, which lies on the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Ceylon, in his own ſhip the St. Michael of ſixty-four guns, accompanied by the Illuſtre of ſeventy-four, and the ſecond diviſion of the marquis de Buſſy's troops, the French admiral immediately ſailed from Cuddalore, and having joined this ſquadron, proceeded with his whole force to the attack of Trincomalé, where he arrived towards the end of Auguſt.

The fire of the Engliſh batteries from that place could not prevent his fleet from anchoring in the moſt advantageous ſtation for the annoyance of the garriſon, the landing of the troops under the conduct of the baron d'Agoult was effected the next day, and the place was immediately inveſted. After two days employed in erecting batteries, thoſe on the left were opened early in the morning, and ſoon gained ſuch a decided ſuperiority, that the Engliſh cannon were ſilenced before night. On the following day monſieur de Suffrein, encouraged by this ſucceſs, ſummoned the garriſon, and captain Macdowal, the Britiſh commandant, convinced that all further defence was fruitleſs, conſented to capitulate.

The terms that he demanded were immediately ſubſcribed by the generoſity and prudence of the French commanders. The hononrs of war were granted in the fulleſt extent; the garriſon was to be directly conveyed to Madras, in ſhips provided at the expence of France; the Dutch inhabitants, as well as the garriſon, were to be ſecured in their private property; and all the rights and privileges of the former were to be preſerved inviolate.

Monſieur de Suffrein had but ſcarce time to poſſeſs and ſecure his new acquiſition, when the Engliſh fleet, on the ſecond of September, was deſcried off Trincomalé; admiral Hughes had been lately joined by a ſhip of ſeventy four guns; but ſtill the advantage was on the ſide of the French, and they were ſuperior to their adverſaries by one ſhip of the line and two of fifty guns. Monſieur de Suffrein now flattered himſelf the moment was arrived when he might eſtabliſh the dominion of France in thoſe ſeas by a glorious and deciſive victory. He accordingly got under ſail, and ſtood out to ſea; and about three o'clock in the evening the action became general. Monſieur de Suffrein himſelf in the Heros again encountered admiral Hughes in the Superbe, and the rival commanders maintained a cloſe and bloody conflict till half paſt five; had the other French officers imitated the conduct of their chief, that day had probaly avenged the fatal defeat of monſieur de Graſſe; but ſeveral ſeemed to conſider their own perſonal ſafety beyond the honour of their country; and though the admiral himſelf, with his ſhip nearly diſmaſted, and one third of his gallant crew killed and wounded, bravely perſevered, he perceived with indignation his hopes of conqueſt blaſted by the cautious manœuvres of his followers. Under cover of the night he reluctantly condeſcended to retire to Trincomalé, whence, no longer under the neceſſity of diſguiſing his ſentiments, he ſent ſix of his captains under arreſt to the iſland of Mauritius; the approach of thoſe hurricanes which, at a certain ſeaſon of the year ſweep with deſtructive fury the coaſt of Coromandel, compelled the hoſtile ſquadrons to conſult their mutual ſafety; and while the French ſought ſhelter at Achèn, a port belonging to the iſland of Sumatra, the Engliſh retired to the friendly harbour of Bombay.

While the fleets and armies of France were thus occupied in the Faſt, the attention of her miniſters at home was directed to the commotions which agitated the republic of Geneva. By the original conſtitution of Geneva, the ſovereign power of the ſtate was veſted in the general council, which conſiſted of the citizens promiſcuouſly aſſembled. By degrees the magiſtrates and ſenate had encreaſed their own authority, and diminiſhed the privileges of the people. The latter had not ſuffered theſe innovations without repeated remonſtrances, and the taxes which the ſenate impoſed, and the ſeverity with which they puniſhed thoſe who were moſt loud in their oppoſition, increaſed the number of the diſaffected. Such a ſtate of things naturally occaſioned frequent conteſts; and to prevent a continuance of diſputes, the democratical party required a regular code of laws, which ſhould be for the rulers the foundation of their authority, and for the people the known ſtandard of their obedience. This ſalutary project, which might have reſtored mutual confidence, was defeated by the intrigues of the ariſtocracy; the magiſtrates were determined not to circumſcribe the authority they had hitherto poſſeſſed; and in ſupport of their juriſdiction ſolicited the interference of foreign powers.

Of theſe the moſt conſiderable was the king of France, who, as protector of the republic, concerted with the king of Sardinia and the cantons of Zurich and

Bern, the means of reſtoring tranquillity to Geneva. They at length formed a code, which lodged the ſupreme power in the magiſtrates; and to give weight to their mediation, an army of twelve thouſand men, belonging to the king of France, the king of Sardinia, and the Swiſs cantons, encamped under the walls of the city. The leaders of the democratic party were unable to contend with their rivals, thus formidably ſupported, the gates of the city were opened to the combined forces; and the pretenſions of the ſyndics were eſtabliſhed by the count de Jancourt, the count of Marmora, and meſſieurs Stigeur and Valtevalle, the miniſters plenipotentiary of the mediating powers. A general amneſty was at the ſame time publiſhed, out of which only nineteen perſons were excepted: two of theſe were deprived of their employments, ſeven were condemned to perpetual exile, and the reſt were baniſhed for ten years; but the ſpirits of the inhabitants were ſeverely wounded by theſe new regulations; and a great number heſitated not to quit their ancient habitations, in ſearch of that freedom which they conſidered themſelves deprived of in their native country.

Paris, amidſt the gloom which naturally accompanies a long and extenſive war, received a tranſient ray of ſplendor from the viſit of the grand-duke and ducheſs of Ruſſia; theſe illuſtrious travellers were peculiarly gratified by the marked attention of Lewis and his royal conſort; but the viſits of ſovereigns, and their apparent ſucceſſors, have become ſo frequent of late years, as no longer to excite the ſpeculations of ſtateſmen; and the grand-duke and ducheſs, after taſting, during a ſhort month, the ſplendid enjoyments of the capital of France, directed their ſteps again towards the north.

With the adminiſtration of monſieur Necker had expired the great and popular ſyſtem of ſupporting a war without encreaſing the burthens of the people. The management of the finances had not long been entruſted to monſieur Fleuri, before the people were again awakened to a ſenſe of their ſituation, by a variety of edicts and impoſts, all of them probably neceſſary, but ſome of them undoubtedly grievous. Theſe could not fail of recalling to their remembrance the virtuous economy of the late miniſter, whom they had beheld diſmiſſed with regret, and for whoſe reſtoration they inceſſantly languiſhed.

To multiply the reſources of government, without augmenting the burthens of the public, the miniſters endeavoured to kindle throughout the capital and different provinces, a flame of enthuſiaſm, which, if productive of no ſolid advantage, might yet dazzle the eyes of the multitude and awe the enemies of France. The defeat of the count de Graſſe had impreſſed the kingdom with general grief and conſternation; and to repair the loſs that the national marine had ſuſtained, ſeveral ſtates and wealthy communities were prevailed upon to diſplay their zeal in building and fitting out ſhips of war, according to their reſpective ſtrength and affluence.

The liberality of the clergy this year was ſtill more honourable to themſelves, and more conſiſtent with their ſacred profeſſion. To the exigencies of the ſtate they granted a free-gift of fifteen millions of livres. At the ſame time they requeſted

the ſovereign to accept an additional million, to be inviolably applied to the comfort and maintenance of thoſe ſeamen who had been wounded in the courſe of the war, and to the ſupport of the widows and orphans of thoſe who had fallen, gallantly fighting in the defence of the naval glory of France.

A. D. 1783.] Yet theſe contributions, though they reflected the higheſt honour on the donors, were but a partial and ſcanty ſupply, while the immenſe preparations of France demanded the moſt ſolid and effectual ſupport. In conjunction with the courts of Madrid and the Hague, Lewis was determined this year to make the moſt powerful efforts to bring the war to a concluſion. The combined fleets of the houſe of Bourbon ſtill maintained their ſuperiority, in Europe over the Engliſh. The marquis de Buſſy with three ſhips of the line, three thouſand land troops, and a conſiderable train of artillery, ſupported the hopes of France in the Eaſt, and already aſpired to the conqueſt of the coaſt of Coromandel. Nine ſhips of the line, and thirty tranſports, in which were embarked ſeven thouſand five hundred ſelect ſoldiers, ſailed from Breſt to America, under the conduct of monſieur de Vialis, to reinforce the marquis de Vaudreuil, and to complete the expulſion of the Engliſh from that continent: while the ſtate-sgeneral of Holland agreed to ſupply, at their own expence, ten ſhips of the line, which were to rendezvous at Breſt, and to act in concert with the ſquadrons of France. The count de Eſtaign, grown grey in naval combats, was called by the general applauſe to the ſupreme command, and in the room of don Lewis de Cordova, was appointed to lead to victory the combined fleets of the houſe of Bourbon.

Such were the preparations for the enſuing campaign, which promiſed the moſt important advantages to France, when the voice of peace was again heard, and Lewis conſented to ſacrifice his ambition to the eaſe and happineſs of his people. The miniſters of great Britain, whoſe imprudence and incapacity had plunged their country in a war as calamitious in the concluſion, as it was impolitic in the origin, were at length, by the clamours of the multitude, and the indignation of parliament, removed from the councils of their ſovereign; and they were ſucceeded by men who no longer nouriſhed the frantic idea of controlling the independence of America; the freedom of that continent had been the grand object of France; the defeat in the Weſt-Indies, and the repulſe at Gibraltar, were ſtill deeply impreſſed on the mind of Lewis; and though his vaſt armaments, and the reſources of his allies, preſented the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs in the enſuing campaign, he was not inſenſible of the various accidents to which military operations were liable, and how little he could confide in a naval ſuperiority, which in a moment might be annihilated by the rage of a fickle and turbulent element.

Theſe conſiderations induced him to liſten to the proffered and powerful mediation of the two firſt potentates in Europe, the emperor of Germany and the

empreſs of Ruſſia; and the count de Vergennes, who ſtill occupied the poſt of ſecretary of foreign affairs, was appointed to treat with Mr. Fitzherbert the Engliſh miniſter at Bruſſels, but who had lately proceeded to Paris to conduct this important negociation. The way was already ſmoothed for the reſtoration of the public tranquillity by proviſional articles ſigned at the concluſion of the laſt year, between the States of America and Great-Britain, and which were to conſtitute a treaty of peace finally to be concluded, when that between France and Great-Britain took place.

By theſe articles the freedom, ſovereignty, and independence of the Thirteen United States were individually by name, and in the fulleſt and moſt expreſs terms acknowledged; and all claims to their government and territorial rights were for ever relinquiſhed by the crown of Great Britain. Several lines were drawn to preclude all future diſputes about boundaries; and on the ſea-coaſts, as the Britiſh forces were to be withdrawn from all the territories of the United States, New-York, Long Iſland, Staten-Iſland, Charleſton, and Nova-Scotia, with all their dependencies, were given up; and an unlimited right of fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and all other places where both nations had been hitherto accuſtomed to fiſh, was granted to the Americans.

Thus had France the ſatisfaction of ſtripping Great-Britain of thoſe colonies ſo long her pride and boaſt, and in erecting a new power acroſs the Atlantic, to have ſecured to herſelf a grateful and potent ally. This primary object was therefore no ſooner attained, than the count de Vergennes quickened the negociations of his own court; and on the twentieth of January ſigned at Paris, with Mr. Fitzherbert, the preliminary articles of peace.

By theſe France acquired an extent of fiſhery on the coaſt of Newfoundland, which extended from Cape St. John in about fifty degrees north latitude, on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, round by the north to Cape-Ray, on the weſtern coaſt, in forty-ſeven degrees and fifty minutes latitude; ſhe alſo regained the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, and tacitly delivered from any reſtriction in point of fortification, with which they had before been diſgracefully incumbered

In the Weſt-Indies, England reſtored to her the iſland of St. Lucia, and ceded and guaranteed to her the iſland of Tobago; but France conſented to relinquiſh in return the iſlands of Grenada and the Grenadines, with thoſe of St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat.

In Africa, France was inveſted in full right with the river Senegal, and all its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podoz, Galem, Arguin, and Portendia; and obtained alſo in reſtitution of the iſland of Gorée; but, on the other hand, ſhe guaranteed to Great-Britain the poſſeſſion of Fort-James, and of the river Gambia.

In the Eaſt, France regained, with conſiderable additions, all that had been wreſted from her by Great-Britain in the courſe of the war; all her eſtabliſhments in Bengal and Orixa were to be reſtored, and liberty was given for ſurrounding Chandenagore with a wet ditch; Pondicherry and Carical were likewiſe reſtored to her; her ſtandard was again to be erected on Mahé, and ſhe was once more reinſtated in her factory at Surat; while the king of Great-Britain was bound to procure from the princes, whoſe property they were, certain ſpecified neighbouring diſtricts round theſe places, which were to be annexed to them as dependencies.

In Europe, where the dominion of France could not be extended, her dignity and glory were ſtudiouſly conſulted. The degrading conditions which had marked the calamitous cloſe of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, which had been revived in that of his ſucceſſor, and which ſtipulated the demolition of the works round Dunkirk, were for ever abrogated and ſuppreſſed; and Lewis the Sixteenth enjoyed the ſplendid ſatisfaction of reſtoring to France the entire ſovereignty over her own territories.

Nor was the other branch of the houſe of Bourbon neglected on this occaſion; long diſuſed to victory, and accuſtomed to behold her boundaries gradually recede, Spain now taſted the ſweets of acquiſition; though continually baffled and repulſed before Gibraltar, her pride was ſoothed by the ceſſion of the important iſland of Minorca in the Mediterranean; and to the boundleſs poſſeſſions which ſhe already held in South-America, were now added the fertile provinces of Eaſt and Weſt-Florida, on the northern continent. Some retribution was however to be made; and the Bahama-Iſlands, the moſt unworthy of her conqueſts, were reſtored to Great-Britain.

But Holland had entered too late into the war, and had been guided by too evident a tardineſs in her operations againſt an unprovoked and unſparing enemy; the characteriſtic induſtry of the Dutch and their neceſſary attachment to the ſpirit of commerce unpremeditatedly co-operated with that ſecret influence which for ſo many years the Engliſh had maintained in the operative counſels of Holland; divided into two powerful factions, diſtinguiſhed by the titles of the Louveſteins and Orangiſts, at the head of the latter was the Stadtholder, connected by ties of blood and proſpects of ambition with the court Great-Britain; the other without any fixed leader, from neceſſity became attached to that power which from political circumſtances and local relation, promiſed to afford them aid or protection; the States-General, compoſed of theſe partiſans, nevertheleſs afforded ſufficient teſtimony of the predominancy of that which was adverſe to the intereſts of Great-Britain; but the immenſe executive power lodged in the Stadtholder, ſo effectually counterbalanced on the other ſide, that the energies of the ſtates were palſied, and France left Holland at the at the concluſion of the peace, a ſtriking example to nations of the fatal influence of foreign influence and domeſtic treachery. The cloſe connection which had ſubſiſted between the Hague and London, was not ſhaken by the events of inveterate hoſtility, and the Dutch diſcovered that

while they ſuffered from the deſtructive enmity of an old ally, that they incurred by the diſordered and corrupt condition of their government, the contempt of the only power from whom they could expect ſuccour.

Though tranquillity was thus reſtored to Europe, Africa, and America; Aſia, diſtant from the ſcene of negociation, continued ſtill expoſed to the ravages of war. Hyder-Ali, whoſe aſpiring genius had ſo long and ſeverely agitated that quarter of the globe, had ſunk into the grave, and had left behind a character ſcarce to be paralleled in the annals of the Eaſt. His mind was ſo vaſt and comprehenſive as at once to reach and embrace all the parts of war and of government; as a warrior, the Carnatic was a mournful teſtimony of his atchievements; as a ſtateſman, the internal regulation of his own territories proclaimed his ſagacity; though daring in war, he was far from being naturally cruel; and ſtrictly obſervant of his own word; he puniſhed with rigour in others that breach of faith which he abhorred. He deſpiſed, and diſpenſed with, as far as with propriety it could be done, the vain pageantry and haughty pomp of the Indian courts; living in habits of great intimacy and familiarity with his friends, courtiers, and officers; and diſplaying in his own perſon the frank manners of a camp, inſtead of the proud diſtance and auſtere reſerve of an Eaſtern deſpot.

His ſon, Tippoo-Saheb, equally bold, prompt, and vigilant, but leſs ſcrupulous, and more ferocious, was the heir of his throne and enterprizes; he was already diſtinguiſhed by his ſucceſſive victories over colonel Baillie in the Carnatic, and colonel Braithwaite on the banks of the Coleroon; and his enemies were ſoon convinced that the acceſſion to royalty had not damped his ardour, nor chilled his martial ſpirit. General Mathews, a Britiſh officer, had penetrated with a ſelect detachment to Bedanore, the capital of the wealthy kingdom of Canore; his progreſs had been marked by cruelty and avarice; and his rapacity not only ſtimulated him to plunder with unfeeling aſſiduity the proſtrate city, but even to defraud his companions of their portion of the ſpoils. The avenger of his country's injuries was however at hand, and general Mathews had ſcarce time to indulge in the contemplation of his newly acquired riches, before he was alarmed by the approach of Tippoo-Saheb, who, with an hoſt of cavalry, and a ſmall corps of French, under the command of monſieur Lally, preſſed forwards to chaſtiſe the temerity of the invader. The Engliſh commander marched out to meet the exaſperated prince; but neither his ſtrength nor ſkill ſeemed proportioned to his preſumption; his ranks were inſtantly broken by the charge of the French; with the loſs of five-hundred men he retired within the walls of Bedanore; and ſoon after ſigned a capitulation, which, on promiſe of their lives and liberties, delivered himſelf and his troops into the power of Tippoo-Saheb. That capitulation was ſoon violated by the faithleſs victor; he even juſtified the infraction of the treaty, by the evaſion of the vanquiſhed to reſtore the ſpoils of Bedanore, which they had ſtipulated to refund, but had endeavoured to conceal. The general was the unlamented victim of his own avarice, and is reported to have periſhed by

poiſon; ſeveral of the principal officers were barbarouſly murdered; and the ſcanty remnant, that were releaſed at the concluſion of the peace, had experienced ſufferings that rendered the fate of their ſlaughtered companions enviable.

The hoſtile ardour of the French and Engliſh ſquadrons had been mutually repreſſed by a ſenſe of their own danger, and to avoid the monſoons, that ſcatter deſtruction along the coaſt of Comorandel, each ſought ſhelter in their reſpective harbours; but that tempeſtuous ſeaſon was no ſooner elaſped, than the ſpirit of enterpriſe revived; and monſieur Suffrein, early in the year, proceeded from Trincomalé to Cuddalore; he was there reinforced by twelve hundred European troops, which he diſperſed among his ſhips, and was lying at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, when he diſcovered the approach of the Engliſh fleet under admiral Hughes.

The Britiſh ſquadron had been joined by five ſhips of the line from Europe, and was now ſuperior in number to the French by two ſhips of the line. But monſieur Suffrein was not diſmayed by this diſparity; and with the ſame ſpirit that had marked his former conduct, he prepared to maintain the honour of the French flag; the action began about four o'clock in the afternoon, and a heavy cannonade was continued until ſeven; at that hour the conflict ceaſed without any deciſive conſequences; each ſquadron had to lament the unavailing ſlaughter of a number of gallant men; and with this ſevere trial of their ſtrength, concluded the naval warfare in India; admiral Hughes ſoon after retired to Madras; and monſieur de Suffrein, who throughout the whole war had ſuſtained the character of a bold and ſkilful commander, proceeded to Cuddalore to return the land forces with which had been reinforced, and to which he added two thouſand four hundred men from his own fleet.

This ſuccour, though important, was not more than neceſſary to the immediate defence of that place. The marquis de Buſſy, who had lately arrived in India with a conſiderable body of European troops, found his ſituation far from enviable; general Coote, whoſe ſkill, experience, and enterpriſing genius had been confirmed and diſplayed in the courſe of long ſervice, was indeed no more; and by his death the command of the Britiſh forces had devolved on general Stuart. But the marquis de Buſſy was ſoon taught that this officer aſpired to rival the fame of his predeceſſor; and he was ſcarce arrived at Cuddalore before he beheld himſelf inveſted by the Britiſh troops, conducted by their new general; who had ſeized the favourable moment of enterpriſe when Tippoo-Saheb had evacuated the Carnatic for the recovery of Bedanore.

The works of Cuddalore had been ſtrengthened by unwearied labour and diligence; and the marquis de Buſſy was ſtill employed in the conſtruction of new fortifications, when his progreſs was interrupted by the menacing manœuvres of the Engliſh, who rapidly advanced to aſſault the lines before they could be completed. The attack and defence were both maintained with a degree of reſolution that had ſeldom been experienced in that quarter of the globe, and perhaps never

ſurpaſſed in Europe; the aſſailants, though frequently repulſed, as conſtantly returned to the charge; but the French were at length overwhelmed by numbers, and were compelled to abandon their out-poſts with the loſs in killed and wounded of near ſix hundred of their beſt troops.

The arrival of the fleet under monſieur Suffrein, and the reinforcement that he landed from the ſhips, determined the marquis de Buſſy to hazard a vigorous ſally, in hopes of recovering the poſts that he had loſt, and of making ſome impreſſion on the works of the beſiegers. The conduct of this enterpriſe was entruſted to the chevalier de Damas, a knight of Malta, and colonel of the regiment of Acquitain, and the hour fixed for the execution of it was three o'clock in the morning. But though under cover of the darkneſs a tranſient advantage was gained, yet the Engliſh were ſoon alarmed; as light opened their numbers increaſed; the French were puſhed on every ſide; a complete rout enſued; the chevalier de Damas with about one hundred and fifty ſoldiers were taken priſoners, and near two-hundred fell in the conflict.

It was at this critical juncture that the Medea frigate arrived from Madras at Cuddalore, and brought information of the concluſion of peace between the two nations; a mutual ceſſation of hoſtilities, and reſtoration of priſoners, immediately took place; and that tranquillity which the French already enjoyed in Europe, Africa, and America, was now extended to their tottering ſettlements and war-worn veterans in Aſia.

A. D. 1783. The preliminary articles which had been ſigned at Verſailles, were ſoon after ſucceeded by a definitive treaty; and France, throughout her extenſive dominions, beheld peace once more eſtabliſhed. Though the late war had been attended by the moſt brilliant ſucceſs, and the independence of America ſtruck deep at the ſource of her rival's power, yet ſhe herſelf had not been entirely free from inconvenience; the retreat of monſieur Necker from the management of the finances, had, as we have already obſerved, diminiſhed the public confidence; three different perſons, who ſince his reſignation had tranſiently occupied the poſt of comptroller-general, encreaſed the jealouſies of the people; and the failure of the celebrated Caiſſe d'Eſcompte, completed the univerſal conſternation.

That bank had been eſtabliſhed in the year ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-ſix. The plan was formed by a company of private adventurers, and its capital was fixed at five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Its profeſſed deſign was to diſcount bills at ſhort dates, at the rate of four per cent. per annum; but as this intereſt could never be an equivalent for the capital ſunk by the proprietors, they were entruſted with the additional power of iſſuing notes to the amount of their capital, which, as they were capable at any time of being converted into ſpecie, might be often voluntarily taken by their cuſtomers from mere convenience.—The reputation of the bank ſoon cauſed its ſtock to ſell above par, and its credit was ſtill at the higheſt, when to the aſtoniſhment of the nation, the ſecond day it ſuddenly ſtopped payment. The cauſe aſſigned was an uncommon ſcarcity of

ſpecie; but the public imagined that it originated in a loan ſecretly made to the government; and what confirmed the ſuſpicion was, that government, about the ſame time, ſtopped payment of the bills drawn upon them by their army in America.

Whatever was the ſource of this event, the king was prevailed on to extend his protection to the falling company; four ſucceſſive edicts were publiſhed by adminiſtration tending to relieve the diſtreſs under which it laboured; by theſe the banks in Paris were ordered to receive the notes of the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte at currency; a lottery with a ſtock of one million ſterling, redeemable in eight years, was alſo eſtabliſhed, and the tickets were made purchaſable in notes of the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte; by theſe expedients the public confidence in that bank was again revived, its buſineſs increaſed, and its ſtock roſe to a ſurprizing amount, above double the original ſubſcription; the bills from America were at the ſame time put in a train of payment, and public credit was happily reſtored throughout the kingdom.

Some compenſation for the expences that had been incurred during the late war, was drawn from a treaty with the United States of America. Theſe engaged to reimburſe France in the ſum of eighteen millions of livres, which had been advanced in the hour of their diſtreſs, and Lewis conſented to receive the money, as more convenient to the ſtates, in the ſpace of twelve years, by twelve equal and annual payments.

With the return of peace, it might naturally have been expected that France would have delivered herſelf from the heavy demands occaſioned by her numerous armies; yet inſtead of diſbanding her forces, ſhe continued diligently to fill up all deficiencies; and her military eſtabliſhment in the midſt of tranquillity, rivalled that which was collected for a ſtate of profeſſed hoſtility; nor could this afford aſtoniſhment to her neighbors, ſince the peace of Europe was already menaced by reſtleſs ambition and the inſatiate luſt of dominion.

The emperor of Germany had long cheriſhed the hope of wreſting from the Dutch the principal fortreſſes of the Auſtrian Netherlands, which had been depoſited in their hands at the concluſion of the ſucceſſion war, for the mutual ſecurity of the court of Vienna and themſelves. The advantages of this arrangement had been repeatedly experienced during the ſucceeding depreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria; but the preſent emperor felt his own power fully competent to the protection of his dominions; and he thought it derogatory to his honour, that a number of his principal cities ſhould be garriſoned, and at his own expence too, by foreigners; he availed himſelf of the juncture when Great-Britain, the guardian of the barrier, was become the enemy of Holland, and extorted from the ſtates in their diſtreſs a reluctant compliance. The Dutch garriſons and artillery were ſilently withdrawn from the barrier towns; and the emperor's order for diſmantling the fortreſſes was immediately executed.

Though France, bound to the emperor by ties of alliance, friendſhip, and blood, had tacitly acquieſced in this claim, yet the court of Verſailles did not regard with equal indifference his pretenſions to the free navigation of the Schelde. That court for ſome years had been divided into two parties, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters were the count de Vergennes, and the mareſchal de Caſtries; the former, who had long reſided at the Ottoman Porte, and was celebrated for his addreſs in negociation, poſſeſſed the confidence of Lewis, who himſelf mild and humane, admired thoſe talents in his miniſter which had been diſplayed in the reſtoration of peace; the latter, who had ſucceeded monſieur de Sartine in the marine department, was bold and enterpriſing, and had continually ſtood forth the advocate for war; he was ſupported by the queen, who, intelligent, active, and fond of public buſineſs, aſpired to diſpoſe of every lucrative or honorary appointment, and afforded no indifferent contraſt to the mild indolence of her royal conſort.

A. D. 1784, 1785.] Though Holland had in ſome meaſure been deſerted at the concluſion of the peace, and ſuffered in her foreign poſſeſſions and her character as a nation, through the ſecret machinations of the Britiſh cabinet, yet the protection the republic had received from France during the war, was ſtrongly enforced by the faction in the intereſt of the court of Verſailles, and which conſiſted of the enemies of hereditary privileges and of the Orange family. Their aſcendancy was become open and uncontrouled; they purſued with a degree of political violence, the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, field-mareſchal of the Dutch forces, and intimately connected with the houſe of Orange and the royal family of England; the duke conſidered it as moſt prudent to bend before the ſtorm; he reſigned the offices that he had been entruſted with; and the democratic party having thus eſtabliſhed their triumph over their domeſtic enemies, depended on the friendſhip of France for protection againſt their foreign foes.

The immediate conſequence fully juſtified the confidence they had thus once more placed in their ally. The emperor, encouraged by the facility with which he had atchieved the demolition of the Dutch barrier, now extended his pretenſions to a free navigation beyond fort Lillo, as far as the land of Seftingen, ſeven miles up the Schelde; and inſiſted that the guardſhip that had been uſually ſtationed by the ſtates at fort Lillo, ſhould be immediately withdrawn.

An acquieſcence with this demand would have ſtruck at the root of the wealth and power of the United States of Holland: the city of Antwerp, formerly renowned for its commerce, and ſtill celebrated for its opulence, is ſituated on the banks of the Schelde; and Spain, the former ſovereign of Antwerp, while ſhe conſidered the greatneſs and opulence of that city as inconſiſtent with her views of deſpotiſm, had concurred with Holland in ſhutting up the Schelde; trade thus diverted, flowed into different channels; and Amſterdam, though long before conſiderable, had from that period riſen on the ruins of Antwerp to be the firſt commercial city of Europe.

Her inhabitants, therefore, could not be indifferent to pretenſions which ſo materially affected their intereſts. Memorials and remonſtrances had in vain been preſented; in vain did they inſiſt that the whole courſe of the two branches of the Schelde, which paſſed within the dominion of Holland, was entirely artificial; that it was formed by and owed its exiſtence to, the hands of Dutchmen: that its banks were the produce of ages of inceſſant labour; that they were ſtill maintained at a great and conſtant expence; that if it had not been for thoſe ſtanding monuments of Dutch enterpriſe, thoſe admirable dykes which excite the aſtoniſhment of mankind, the waters of the Schelde, ſtagnating in immenſe marſhes and ſhallow lakes, had never reached the ſea in any diſtinct or ſufficient portion for navigation. And to theſe claims of natural right was to be added a ſeries of treaties which fortified them in the moſt expreſs and ſolemn terms in the excluſive poſſeſſion of the Schelde. To diſarm their formidable enemy by ſubmiſſion, they alſo removed the obnoxious guardſhip at Lillo, and rejected the propoſal for repairing the works of Maeſtricht, a fortreſs to which the emperor had urged a claim, leſt its being adopted at ſuch a ſeaſon ſhould give umbrage to that prince.

But the arguments and pacific meaſures of the ſtates were equally diſregarded by the emperor, and even the mediation of France was liſtened to with cold indifference; a brig was directed to proceed down the Schelde from Antwerp to the ſea, and his imperial majeſty declared that he would conſider the firſt inſult offered to his flag on this occaſion, as an act of formal hoſtility, and a declaration of war on the part of the republic; the brig was however ſtopped by the Dutch naval officer; on the Auſtrian commander reſuming his courſe, ſome ſhot, though without any fatal conſequence to the crew, compelled him to deſiſt; and he was detained for ſome days by the Dutch admiral at the mouth of the Schelde.

From this moment the ſeeds of diſcontent ſeemed to ripen; the imperial ambaſſador was recalled from the Hague, and all negociation was ſuſpended; an army of ſixty-thouſand men was under orders for marching from the Auſtrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands; and immenſe trains of artillery, and all the other apparatus of war were put in motion; the republic, alarmed at theſe menacing appearances, now redoubled their ſolicitations to the court of Verſailles; the diſmiſſal of the duke of Brunſwick obliged the ſtates to apply to France for a general, whoſe abilities and experience might enable him to conduct their arms with effect in the war they expected; and Lewis granted to their diſtreſs the count de Maillebois, an officer of undoubted talents, who had ſeen much ſervice in the late reign, but whoſe jealouſy of mareſchal d'Etrees, in the laſt German war, had precipitated him into intrigues, which had drawn upon him a ſevere cenſure from the tribunal of the mareſchals of France.

But the king confined not his friendſhip to the republic within the narrow limits of recommending a commander; the Pruſſian monarch was equally intereſted with Lewis in reſiſting the pretenſions of the emperor; prince Henry of Pruſſia, at this critical juncture, made a long viſit at the court of Verſailles; from that moment

the count de Vergennes expoſtulated with the court of Vienna with more freedom and in leſs equivocal terms. To give weight to his negociations, the ſtanding forces of France were ſilently and gradually thrown into quarters on the borders of Alſace, Lorrain, and the Low Countries; and orders were given to form a camp of eighty thouſand men in the plains of Lens, which had been rendered memorable by one of the great Condé's moſt ſplendid victories.

The emperor, though appriſed of the numerous enemies that he muſt encounter, ſtill appeared inflexible in the proſecution of his deſign; and the queen of France could not be inſenſible to a conteſt which involved her neareſt and deareſt connections, and armed the hand of her conſort againſt her brother. On the morning when a grand council was to be held, the reſult of which was to be concluſive in reſpect to the part that France ſhould take, if the emperor perſiſted in his pretenſions againſt Holland, that princeſs took an opportunity of meeting monſieur de Vergennes before he entered the cabinet, and deſired that he would not on that day forget that the emperor was her brother; the miniſter replied that he certainly ſhould not; but that he was bound likewiſe to remember that the king of France was her huſband, and the dauphin her ſon.

The ability and firmneſs of that ſtateſman was the effectual ſecurity of the republic; and while the mind of the emperor was ſuppoſed to be entirely occupied by the navigation of the Schelde, the world was aſtoniſhed by his opening a new ſource of jealouſy and diſcord in Germany. With a levity which for ever extinguiſhed his reputation as a politician, he now meditated to exchange for the duchy of Bavaria the Auſtrian Netherlands, thoſe very Netherlands, upon whoſe account he ſeemed at the point of encountering all the hazards of a war, the conſequences of which, as had been ſtrongly urged by the court of Verſailles, could not even be calculated. Though this project was baffled by the firm and formidable interpoſition of the king of Pruſſia, the diverſion that it occaſioned allowed Holland lieſure to recover from its firſt ſurpriſe; it enabled France to complete her preparations; and facilitated the negociations of the count de Vergennes.

Inſtead of overwhelming in his career a diſtracted and defenceleſs multitude, the emperor perceived he muſt have encountered a people ſtubborn by nature, and highly irritated by a ſenſe of the injuries and indignities that had been impoſed on them; they were alſo ſupported by an ally, whoſe friendſhip it was his intereſt to conciliate, and whoſe power, even ſingle, had more than once menaced to ſubvert the houſe of Auſtria. He now aſſumed a more moderate language, and to the deputies of the republic, who profeſſed their reſpect for his imperial majeſty, anſwered, that he ſhould order his ambaſſador at Paris to reſume the negociations, under the mediation of his brother the king of France; and he did not doubt but a ſpeedy concluſion would prevent the unhappy occurrences which muſt be the unavoidable conſequence of a farther delay.

The addreſs and abilities of the count de Vergennes contributed to remove every obſtruction, and under his auſpices the preliminary articles of peace were



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ſigned at Paris about the middle of September; and two months afterwards the definitive treaty was ſubſcribed at Fontainbleau, under the guarantee of his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

The treaty of Munſter was laid down as the baſis of the preſent, and its ſtipulations to be in all caſes binding, where they were not expreſsly excepted by the new clauſes. The principal articles were, that the States acknowledged the emperor's independent ſovereignty over every part of the Schelde, from Antwerp to the limits of the county of Seftingen; they bound themſelves not to interrupt, in any manner the commerce or navigation of his ſubjects thereon; but that the reſt of the river beyond thoſe limits to the ſea, with the canals of the Sâs, the Swin, and other neighbouring mouths of the ſea, were to continue under the ſovereignty of the States-general; they agreed to evacuate and demoliſh the forts of Kruiſchens, and Frederic-Henry, and cede the territories to his imperial majeſty; they alſo ſubmitted to his diſcretion the forts of Lillo and of Liefkenſhoek, with the fortifications in their preſent condition, only reſerving to themſelves the right of withdrawing the artillery and ammunition. They alſo ſtipulated to pay to his imperial majeſty the ſum of nine millions and a half of florins in the current money of Holland, in lieu of all his rights and pretenſions on Maeſtricht and its adjacent territories; and half a million more as an indemnification to his ſubjects for the damages they had ſuſtained from the inundations when the dyke near Lillo had been broken down by the Dutch.

While the count de Vergennes acquired the glory of having conducted this delicate negociation, he was not inattentive to the immediate intereſts of his own court. In two days after the treaty of peace between the emperor and Holland had been ſigned, a new treaty of alliance between France and that republic was likewiſe concluded and finally ratified, the ſtipulations were ſuch as might have been expected from the gratitude of the States, and the addreſs of the court of Verſailles. It included all the principles which can ſerve to bind or cement, in the cloſeſt and moſt indiſſoluble union, diſtinct nations under diſtinct governments; and by which they may mutually participate, in peace or in war, of good or of evil; and in all caſes adminiſter the moſt perfect aid, counſel, and ſuccour to each other.

It alſo preſcribed, if their united good offices for the preſervation of peace ſhould prove ineffectual, the aſſiſtance they were to impart to each other by ſea and land; France was to furniſh Holland with ten thouſand effective infantry, two thouſand cavalry, with twelve ſhips of the line and ſix frigates; and their high-mightineſſes, in caſe of a marine war, or that France ſhould be attacked by ſea, were to contribute to her defence ſix ſhips of the line and three frigates; and in caſe of an attack on the territory of France, the States-general were to have the option of furniſhing their land contingent either in money or in troops, at the eſtimate of five thouſand infantry, and one thouſand cavalry; and if the

ſtipulated ſuccours ſhould be inſufficient for the defence of the party attacked, or for procuring a proper peace, they engaged to aſſiſt each other with all their forces, if neceſſary; it being however agreed that the contingent of troops to be furniſhed by the States-general ſhould not exceed twenty thouſand infantry and four thouſand cavalry.

It was alſo added, that neither of the contracting powers ſhould diſarm, or make, or receive propoſals of peace or truce, without the formal conſent of the other; they promiſed alſo not to contract any future alliance or engagement whatever, directly or indirectly, contrary to the preſent treaty; and on any treaties or negociations being propoſed, which might prove detrimental to their joint intereſt, they pledged their faith to give notice to each other of ſuch propoſals as ſoon as made.

Thus was Holland, after beholding for above a century her fertile fields ravaged and her cities aſſaulted by the ambition of the houſe of Bourbon, now become the firm ally of that power againſt whoſe encroaching ſpirit ſhe had formerly armed the moſt powerful kingdoms in Europe; while France having aſſerted the independence of America againſt Great-Britain, having reſcued the States-general from the reſtleſs rapacity of the houſe of Auſtria, and having converted an ancient and formidable foe into an uſeful friend, ſeemed to have attained an influence over the nations of the earth that ſhe had never been poſſeſſed of from the firſt foundations of her monarchy.

But however exalted her preſent ſituation might appear, the ſeeds of future commotion were already apparent to the eye of an accurate obſerver; the applauſe that had attended the parliament of Paris in their ſtruggles with Lewis the Fifteenth, might be conſidered as the firſt dawn of freedom; the language of that aſſembly had boldly inculcated to their countrymen their natural rights, and taught them to look with a more ſteady eye on the luſtre that hitherto had encompaſſed the throne. The war with America had contributed to enlarge the political ideas of the French; they had on that occaſion ſtood forth as the champions of liberty, in oppoſition to regal power; and the officers who had acted on that conſpicuous ſtage, accuſtomed to think and ſpeak without reſtraint, on their return imparted the glorious flame to the provinces of France, which had been kindled in the wilds of America; from that moment the French, inſtead of ſilently acquieſcing under the edicts of their ſovereign, canvaſſed each action with bold and rigid impartiality; while the attachment of the army, which has ever been conſidered as the ſole foundation of deſpotiſm, gave way to an enthuſiaſtic admiration of freedom.

We have already noticed the public diſſatisfaction that had attended the diſmiſſal of monſieur Necker; his tranſient ſucceſſor, monſieur de Fleuri, had retired from the management of the finances in eighty-three, and the more tranſient adminiſtration of monſieur d'Ormeſſon had expired in the ſame year that gave birth to it. On his retreat monſieur de Calonne, who had ſucceſſively filled with acknowledged reputation the office of intendant of Metz, and afterwards of

the provinces of Flanders and Artois, was nominated to the poſt of comptroller-general; flexible and inſinuating, eloquent in converſation, and poliſhed in his manners, fertile in reſources and liberal in the diſpoſal of the public money, he ſoon rendered himſelf acceptable to the court, and acquired the favour of his ſovereign. But he did not enter upon his new and arduous ſtation favoured by the breath of popularity; he was reported to be more able than conſiſtent, and not to have tempered the ardour of his ſpirit by the ſeverity of deep reſearch; and the people, amidſt repeated loans, regretted that ſevere ſimplicity which had characterized the adminiſtration of monſieur Necker.

A.D. 1784.] Yet the firſt operations of monſieur Calonne had extorted the general approbation; and it was his bold and judicious meaſures that had reſtored credit to the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte, the only incorporated banking company then in France, and which had ſtopped payment a few weeks before his acceſſion. In the eſtabliſhment of the Caiſſe d'Amortiſſement, or ſinking-fund, he merited a ſtill higher degree of applauſe. The plan of that fund was ſimple and moderate; it was to pay annually by government, into the hands of a board ſet apart for that purpoſe, the entire intereſt of the national debts, whether in ſtock or annuities, together with an additional ſum of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. The annuities that would be extinguiſhed every year were eſtimated at fifty thouſand pounds; and in that proportion, the ſum ſet apart for the redemption of the national debt, would annually encreaſe. The operation of this new fund was limitted to the term of twenty-five years; and during that term the annual receipt of the Caiſſe d'Amortiſſement was declared unalterable, and incapable of being diverted to any other object.

From the diſcuſſion of theſe new regulations of finance, the public attention was directed to the conduct of thoſe officers who, during the courſe of the war, had been entruſted with the naval forces of France. A council of war, which had been commiſſioned to try the count de Graſſe, and other captains of the fleet defeated by admiral Rodney, honorably acquitted the commander with the majority of the officers, and ſlightly cenſured a few, among whom was monſieur Bougainville, who had acquired a diſtinguiſhed reputation in exploring new coaſts, and navigating the moſt diſtant receſſes of the ocean.

If the perſonal gallantry of the count de Graſſe, though unfortunate, could ſecure him an honorable acquittal, the ſucceſsful courage and conduct of monſieur de Suffrein could not fail of commanding the moſt flattering reception. All ranks and orders of men vied with each other in marks of gratitude and attachment to the man who had ſo nobly ſuſtained the glory of the French flag, and who had ſhewed his countrymen the way to conqueſt on an element which had ſo repeatedly witneſſed their defeat and diſgrace. The compliment which was paid him by the queen, whether conſidered as a mark of the ſenſibility of her character or the elegance of her taſte, cannot be unacceptable to the reader. Introducing him to the dauphin, a boy of three years old, ſhe added, "this is monſieur de Suffrein,

" to whom we owe the greateſt obligations; obſerve him well, and remember " his name; it is one of the firſt of thoſe which you muſt learn to repeat, in order " that you may never forget it."

A. D. 1785.] During the laſt year, if the conduct of monſieur Colonne had not attached popularity to his adminiſtration, it yet might defy cenſure; but the principal meaſure of the year eighty-five was not equally guarded from reproach. From the year ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-three France had been without an Eaſt-India company; and though the idea of a free trade to that part of the world had hitherto been untried in Europe, ſhe did not appear to ſuffer in an experiment; on the contrary, her annual importation from India during this time was conſiderably greater than during any former period. Yet not content with the ſilent profit that thus accrued to the public, the court was induced to liſten to propoſals for eſtabliſhing a new Eaſt-India company; their privilege was for ſeven years, with the ſpecial proviſo, that years of war which ſhould occur in the interim, ſhould be excluded from the computation.

In the preamble of the act, by which the ſcheme was adopted, it was aſſerted; " that the commodities of Europe not having of late been regulated by any " common ſtandard, or proportioned to the demands of India, had on the one " hand ſold at a low price, while on the other the competition of the ſubjects of " France had raiſed the price of the objects of importation; that upon their " return home, a want of ſyſtem and aſſortment had been univerſally complained " of, the market being glutted with one ſpecies of goods, and totally deſtitute of " another; that theſe defects muſt neceſſarily continue as long as the trade " remained in private hands; and that on theſe accounts, as well as of the capital " required, the eſtabliſhment of a new company was abſolutely neceſſary."

Theſe reaſonings appeared by no means ſatisfactory to the perſons principally intereſted; it was remarked, that the arguments of the preamble did not apply more to the trade of India than to any other trade; and that if they were admitted in their entire force, they were calculated to give a finiſhing blow to the freedom of commerce. A proviſion in the act, directing that the prices of Eaſt-India goods in the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon ſhould be regulated by a tariff fixed by the court of Verſailles, excited ſtill louder exclamations; in this inſtance it was ſaid, that the firſt principles of commerce were trampled upon in a manner the moſt wanton and abſurd; inſtead of ſuffering it to find its own level, by the mutual colliſion of the wants of one party, and the labour of another, it was arbitrarily to be faſhioned by a power, whoſe extreme diſtance muſt naturally render its deciſions ill-timed and inapplicable. The very mode in which the monopoly was introduced was a ſubject of complaint: it was determined by a reſolution of the king in council; a proceeding totally inadequate to the importance of the ſubject, and which was to be regarded as clandeſtine and ſurreptitious. In all former inſtances ſuch meaſures had aſſumed the form of edicts, and were regiſtered in the parliaments; it was the prerogative of theſe courts to verify them; that is,

to enquire into the facts that had led to the adoption of them. The injured parties had an opportunity of being heard before the privilege assumed the form of a law; not privately by the ministers of the sovereign, but publicly by the most considerable bodies in the kingdom, and in the face of the nation.

Such were the free and animated strictures with which the establishment of a new East-India company was attended; nor could it escape observation, that the writers of the day had not only assumed a bolder and more independent style, but that they were desirous of reviving the pretensions of the parliament, and of raising the tribunal of that assembly above the will of the crown.

To monsieur de Calonne these discussions were far from favourable; and the time was now rapidly approaching, when the necessities of the state would compel him to measures still more unpopular, and destined to undergo a severer scrutiny; though peace had been re-established throughout Europe for three years, yet the finances of France seemed scarce affected by this interval of tranquillity, and it was found requisite to close every year with a loan; the public expenditure of the year eighty-five might probably seem to sanction this measure. It had been thought proper to fortify Cherbourg upon a large and magnificent scale; the claim of the emperor to the navigation of the Schelde, had obliged the French to increase their land forces, either to form a respectable neutrality, or to assist effectually their Dutch allies; and the marquis de Castries, fond of war, and profuse in his designs, had not suffered the navy, which monsieur Sartine had surrendered into his hands, to moulder away during the interval of peace.

A. D. 1786.] The treaty of commerce concluded this year with Great-Britain was a new source of discontent; though regarded by the English manufacturers as far from advantageous, it excited in France still louder murmurs, and was criticised with an uncommon degree of asperity. It was considered as likely to extinguish those infant establishments which were yet unable to vie with the manufactures of England, that had attained to maturity; and the market that it held out for the wines and oils of France was passed over in silence, while the distress of the artisan was painted in the most striking and lively colours.

But when the edict for registering the loan at the conclusion of the last year, and which amounted to the sum of three-millions three-hundred and thirty-thousand pounds, was presented to the parliament of Paris, the murmurs of the people, seconded by that assembly, assumed a more legal and formidable form. The king however signified to the select deputation that was commissioned to convey to him their remonstrances, that he expected to be obeyed without further delay; accordingly the ceremony of the registering took place on the next day; but was accompanied with a resolution, importing that public economy was the only genuine source of abundant revenue, the only means of providing for the necessities of the state, and restoring that credit, which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin.

This proceeding was no ſooner known than the king required the attendance of the grand deputation of parliament; he eraſed from their records the reſolution that had been adopted; and obſerved, though it was his pleaſure that the parliament ſhould communicate by its reſpectful repreſentations whatever might intereſt the good of the public, yet he never would conſent that they ſhould ſo far abuſe his confidence and clemency as to erect themſelves into the cenſors of his adminiſtration; he expected in future that they ſhould confine their expreſſions within the limits of wiſdom and loyalty; he declared himſelf ſatisfied with the conduct of the comptroller-general, and determined on no account to ſuffer groundleſs apprehenſions to interfere with the plans calculated for the good of the ſtate and the eaſe of the nation; and more ſtrongly to mark his diſpleaſure at their expoſtulations, he directed the diſmiſſion from further ſervice, of one of their officers, who had appeared moſt active in forwarding the late reſolution.

Though the approbation and ſupport of his ſovereign was doubtleſs highly gratifying to monſieur de Calonne, yet he could not fail of feeling himſelf deeply mortified by the oppoſition of the parliament; his addreſs to concilitate that aſſembly had proved ineffectual, and he experienced their inflexible averſion at the critical juncture when their acquieſcence might have proved of the moſt eſſential ſervice. An anxious enquiry into the ſtate of the public finances, had convinced him that the expenditure by far exceeded the revenue; in the preſent ſituation, to impoſe new taxes was impoſſible, to continue the method of borrowing was ruinous, and to have recourſe only to œconomical reforms, would be found wholly inadequate; and he heſitated not to declare that it would be impoſſible to place the finances on a ſolid baſis, but by the reformation of whatever was vicious in the conſtitution of the ſtate.

To give weight to this reform, the miniſter was ſenſible that ſomething more was neceſſary than the royal authority; he perceived that the parliament was neither a fit inſtrument for introducing a new order into public affairs, nor would ſubmit to be a paſſive machine for ſanctioning the plans of a miniſter, even if thoſe plans were the emanations of perfect wiſdom. Though originally a body of lawyers, indebted for their appointments to the king, there was not an attribute of genuine legiſlative aſſembly that they did not ſeem deſirous to engroſs to themſelves; and they had been ſupported in their pretenſions by the plaudits of the the people, who were ſenſible that there was no other body in the nation that could plead their cauſe againſt royal oppreſſion; to ſuppreſs therefore the only power of control that remained, and to render the government more arbitrary, was deemed by the comptroller-general a meaſure of too much hardihood; yet to leave the parliament in the full poſſeſſion of their influence, an influence that he was convinced would be exerted againſt him, was at once to render his whole ſyſtem abortive.

Under theſe circumſtances, the only alternative that ſeemed to remain was to have recourſe to ſome other aſſembly, more dignified and ſolemn in its character,

and that ſhould conſiſt in a greater degree of members from the various orders of the ſtate, and the different provinces of the kingdom. This promiſed to be a popular meaſure; it implied a deference to the people at large, and might be expected to prove greatly acceptable; but the true and legitimate aſſembly of the nation, the ſtates-general, had not met ſince the year ſixteen hundred and fourteen; nor could the miniſter flatter himſelf with the hope of obtaining the royal aſſent to a meeting which a deſpotic ſovereign could not but regard with ſecret jealouſy. Another aſſembly had occaſionally been ſubſtituted in the room of the ſtates-general; this was diſtinguiſhed by the title of the *Notables*, and conſiſted of a number of perſons from all parts of the kingdom, chiefly ſelected from the higher orders of the ſtate, and nominated by the king himſelf. This aſſembly had been convened by Henry the Fourth, and again by Lewis the Thirteenth; and was now once more ſummoned by the authority of the preſent monarch.

The writs for calling together the aſſembly of the notables were dated on the twenty-ninth of December eighty-ſix; they were addreſſed to ſeven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field mareſchals, twenty-two nobles, eight counſellors of ſtate, four maſters of requeſts, eleven archbiſhops and biſhops, thirty-ſeven of the heads of the law, twelve deputies of the pays d'etats, the lieutenant-civil, and twenty-five magiſtrates of the different towns of the kingdom. The number of members was one hundred and forty-four; and the twenty-ninth of January eighty-ſeven was the period appointed for their opening.

A. D. 1787.] It was at the moment when the members of the notables had arrived at Paris, and that the attention of all the claſſes in the kingdom was fixed upon their meeting as an important æra in the national hiſtory, that the miniſter found himſelf yet unprepared to ſubmit his ſyſtem to their inſpection, and poſtponed the opening of the council to the ſeventh of February. This delay was injudicious in the higheſt degree; politics had occupied the minds of men, particularly in the metropolis, to the excluſion of every other ſubject; ſome of the plans of the comptroller-general had not been entirely concealed; and it was natural that they ſhould engage the premature reflections of the notables, forced from their uſual employments, and left without any other occupation for their leiſure; yet it was the deſign of the miniſter rather to dazzle their imagination, than to derive information from their debates; and he well knew if once they proceeded to doubt, they would aſſume the guiſe of a legiſlature, inſtead of a council of ſtate, a circumſtance the fartheſt from his intentions.

A ſecond delay to the fourteenth of the ſame month was occaſioned by the indiſpoſition of monſieur de Calonne himſelf, and that of the count de Vergennes, preſident of the council of finance, and firſt ſecretary of ſtate; and a third procraſtination was the neceſſary reſult of the death of the count on the day previous to that fixed for the opening of the meeting. He was ſucceeded in the department of foreign affairs by the count de Montmorin, a nobleman of unblemiſhed character. But his loſs at this critical juncture was ſeverely felt by the comptroller-gene-

ral; he alone of all the miniſters had entered with warmth and ſincerity into the plans of monſieur de Calonne. Monſieur de Miromeſnil, keeper of the ſeals, was avowedly the rival and enemy of that ſtateſman. The mareſchal de Caſtries, ſecretary for the marine department, was perſonally attached to Mr. Necker, and preferred the intereſts of friendſhip to conſiderations which might otherwiſe have engaged his ſupport; and the baron de Breteuil, ſecretary for the houſhold, was the creature of the queen, and deeply engaged in what was called the Auſtrian ſyſtem.

It was under theſe difficulties that monſieur de Calonne, on the twenty-ſecond of February, firſt met the aſſembly of the notables, and opened his long expected plan. He began by ſtating that the public expenditure had for centuries paſt exceeded the revenue, and that a very conſiderable deficiency had of courſe exiſted; that the Miſſiſippi ſcheme of ſeventeen hundred and twenty, had by no means, as might have been expected, reſtored the balance; that under the œconomical adminiſtration of cardinal Fleuri the deficit ſtill exiſted; that the progreſs of this derangement under the laſt reign had been extreme; at the appointment of the abbé Terray it had amounted to three millions ſterling; that miniſter had reduced it to one million ſix hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds; it became ſomewhat leſs under the ſhort adminiſtrations that followed; it roſe again in conſequence of the war, under the adminiſtration of monſieur Necker; and at his own acceſſion to office, it was three millions three hundred and thirty thouſand pounds

To remedy this evil the comptroller-general recommended a territorial impoſt, in the nature of the Engliſh land-tax, from which no rank or order of men were to be exempted; an enquiry into the poſſeſſions of the clergy, which hitherto had been deemed ſacred, from their proportion of the public burthens; the various branches of internal taxation were alſo to undergo a ſtrict examination; and a conſiderable reſource was preſented in mortgaging the demeſne lands of the crown.

The very neceſſity for theſe reforms was combated with a degree of boldneſs and depth of reaſoning that could not fail of ſtrongly impreſſing the aſſembly; and from the hope of ready acquieſcence, the miniſter was now launched into the boundleſs ocean of political controverſy. Before monſieur Necker retired from the management of the finances, he had publiſhed his Compte rendu au Roi, in which France was repreſented as poſſeſſing a clear ſurplus of four hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling; this performance had been read with avidity, and had been regarded as marking a new era in the hiſtory of France; it probably contributed to eſtrange from the author the royal countenance; but the credit of it was ably vindicated by monſieur de Brienne, archbiſhop of Thouloufe, a prelate eloquent and ambitious, and the paſſionate advocate and admirer of monſieur Necker.

A ſtill more formidable adverſary preſented himſelf to the comptroller-general in the count de Mirabeau. This extraordinary man, has been characteriſed as reſtleſs in his diſpoſition, licentious in his morals, but bold, penetrating, and enterpriſing; yet envy which rarely admits perfection of character to exiſt with tranſcendant genius has never queſtioned his ſuperiority as a politician and an orator. He had occaſionally viſited every court in Europe; he had at one time been admitted to the confidence of the miniſter, and had been directed, though in no oſtenſible character, to obſerve at Berlin the diſpoſition of the ſucceſſor of the great Frederic; in this capacity he was frequently expoſed to neglect and diſappointment; his letters were often left unanſwered; diſguſt quickly ſucceeded to admiration; and he who entered the Pruſſian court the intimate friend, returned to Paris the avowed enemy of monſieur de Calonne: while the archbiſhop of Thouloufe arraigned the underſtanding, the count de Mirabeau impeached the integrity of the comptroller-general; he heſitated not to rank him among thoſe who preferred their fortune to their honour; and who had augmented their wealth by the moſt diſhonourable ſpeculations in the funds; he added that all his operations bore the ſtamp of deſpotiſm and perſonal intereſt; and he called upon the notables to addreſs their ſovereign in the honeſt language of truth; "let "them tell him," ſaid he, "that a man, who was eſtranged to every principle "of good faith, of fidelity in engagements, of reſpect to property, was unfit to "remain at the helm of commerce, of contracts, and of law. Let them tell "him that pliancy of ſpirit, facility of ſtudy, correctneſs of ſtyle, the elegance "of his preambles, the charms of his elocution, were but ſo many new crimes "in a miniſter, who developed with ſkill the principles of an honeſt policy, and "eluded and inſulted them in his practice."

The eloquence of monſieur de Calonne might have poſſibly vindicated his ſyſtem and his reputation againſt the calculations of Brienne, and the ſplendid invectives of Mirabeau; but the genius of the comptroller-general ſunk under the influence of the three great bodies of the nation; the grand and eſſential object of reform, was to equalize the public burthens, and by rendering the taxes general, to diminiſh the load of the lower and moſt uſeful claſſes of the people. The ancient nobility and the clergy had ever been free from all public aſſeſſments; and had the evil gone no further, it might have been ſtill perhaps borne with patience; but through the ſhameful cuſtom of ſelling patents of nobility, ſuch crowds of new nobleſſe ſtarted up, that every province in the kingdom was filled with them; the firſt object with thoſe who had acquired fortunes rapidly, was to purchaſe a patent, which, beſides gratifying their vanity, afforded an exemption to them and their poſterity from contributing proportionably to the exigencies of the ſtate; the magiſtracies likewiſe throughout the kingdom enjoyed their ſhare of theſe exemptions; ſo that the whole weight of the taxes fell on thoſe who were leaſt able to bear them.

The deſign of equalizing the public burthens, though undoubtedly great, thus united againſt the miniſter, the nobility, the clergy, and the magiſtracy; and the

event was ſuch as might have been expected; the intrigues of thoſe three bodies raiſed againſt him ſo loud a clamour, that finding it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent, monſieur de Calonne not only reſigned his place on the twelfth of April, but ſoon after retired to England from the ſtorm of perſecution; yet one ray of royal favor ſtill gilded the evening of his adminiſtration; and his rival, monſieur Miromeſnil, received at the ſame time orders to reſign the ſeals.

While the mind of Lewis was aſſiduouſly occupied by the riſing ſpirit of diſcontent at home, the republic of Holland, his new and cloſe ally, preſented a ſcene of anarchy and faction that demanded his moſt ſerious attention. The prince of Orange had been ſtripped of all authority by the democratic party and retiring from the Hague, maintained the ſhadow of a court at Nimeguen; yet feeble as his influence might appear in the United Provinces, he was ſtill formidable from his powerful connections. His brother-in-law, the new king of Pruſſia, for Frederick the Great had cloſed his long and ſplendid career, was indefatigable in his endeavours to promote the intereſts of the ſtadtholder; and had offered, in concert with France, to undertake the arduous taſk of compoſing the differences which diſtracted the republic; the propoſal was received with apparent cordiality by the court of Verſailles; and monſieur de Rayneval, who had already acquired conſiderable credit in negociation, particularly in concluding the late treaty of commerce with England, was appointed to be repreſentative of Lewis in the office of mediation.

Notwithſtanding theſe pacific meaſures, it could ſcarce be expected that France would become the inſtrument of reſtoring the prince of Orange to that ſhare of weight and power which he had before occupied in the republic; and thus abandon one of the longeſt and deareſt objects of her policy, the eſtabliſhing a ſupreme and permanent controul in the affairs of Holland; the conditions that were framed by the Louveſtein faction as the baſis of reconciliation, were ſuch as plainly implied their deſign to contract the influence and authority of the ſtadtholder within very narrow limits; on his renouncing his right of filling up the occaſional vacancies in the town-ſenates, he was to be reſtored to the nominal office of captain-general; but he was to be reſtrained from marching the troops into or out of any province, without leave from the reſpective provinces concerned; and he was alſo to ſubſcribe a reſolution, paſſed ſome time before by the ſenate of Amſterdam, that the command ſhould at all times be revocable at the pleaſure of the ſtates.

Had the prince of Orange acquieſced in theſe preliminaries, France would have completely attained the object of her long negociations, and by means of the Louveſtein faction have acquired the aſcendancy that ſhe had repeatedly ſought in the councils of Holland; but however unequal the prince of Orange might ſeem to the difficulties that ſurrounded him, every deficiency was ſupplied by the genius, the ſpirit, and the abilities of his royal conſort; ſhe pertinaciouſly refuſed to give up any rights that had been attached to the office of ſtadtholder; and mon-

ſieur de Rayneval having in vain endeavoured to overcome her inflexible reſolution, broke off the correſpondence between the Hague and Nimeguen, and returned to Paris about the middle of January eighty-ſeven.

A. D. 1787.] It was about this time that the republican party brought forward the propoſal of ſuſpending the prince of Orange from his offices of ſtadtholder and admiral-general; the queſtion was agitated with the utmoſt warmth and acrimony for two ſucceſſive days; but thoſe who had propoſed it found the oppoſition ſo formidable, and the aſpect of the independent members ſo doubtful, that they did not chooſe to hazard the deciſion of a vote.

To this defeat it is not improbable that the abſence of Van Berkel, the firſt penſionary of Amſterdam; in a great meaſure contributed; this man had long been the leader and ſoul of the republican party, and was well qualified by his various talents for that lofty ſituation; by his opponents it has been aſſerted, that his ambition was boundleſs; but that his love of power was ſtill exceeded by his luſt of wealth; and tempted by the emoluments of office alone, he had ſacrificed his influence at home to the lucrative appointment of repreſenting, the republic as miniſter to the United States of America. His adherents have placed him in the firſt rank of their patriots and ſages, and repreſent him as ſacrificing his perſonal fortune in an embaſſy where he could acquire only danger and honour.

The abſence of this celebrated demagogue, though it embarraſſed the counſels, did not extinguiſh the zeal and ſpirit of his party. They were convinced that their power could only be retained by prompt and deciſive meaſures. In the ſenate of Amſterdam their influence daily diminiſhed; in that of Rotterdam they had been out-voted by a conſiderable majority; the provinces of Zealand, Frieſland, Utrecht, and Guelderland, had evinced the ſtrongeſt inclination towards the prince of Orange; and the ſmall provinces of Groningen and Overyſſel alone remained firmly attached to them. Thus, already tottering, they had recourſe to the reſtleſs multitude; aſſociations were formed, and large ſums of money ſubſcribed; and the burghers, provided with arms, ſoon proceeded to acts of open outrage. At Rotterdam they ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe, compelled the ſenate to depoſe ſeven of their body, whom they conſidered as moſt adverſe to their deſigns; and veiling their violence under the form of an election, they filled the vacant places with ſeven of the moſt zealous of their own party; and as the degraded ſenators compriſed the deputies of the city in the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, the repreſentation of Rotterdam was of courſe totally changed.

On the very ſame day that the ſenate of Rotterdam was purged in this manner by the armed burghers, ſimilar meaſures were purſued by their brethren at Amſterdam. They ſurrounded the ſenate houſe early in the morning: and the affrighted magiſtrates entered into a negociation with them, which was ſpun out until the evening, when finding they had no alternative, they were obliged to ſubmit to the demands of the populace, by declaring that nine members of their body, whom the republican party had proſcribed, had abdicated their offices. Among theſe victims to the revolution, were three deputies to the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, who had lately voted on ſome occaſions on the ſide of the-

ſtadtholder. At the ſame time that they were clearing the ſenate of their adverſaries, the four colonels of the city militia, and conſequently the only legal commanders of the burghers, were doomed to undergo their perſecution, and obliged to ſend in their reſignations.

The court of Verſailles had hitherto reaſon to exult in the ſucceſs of their party; the republican faction ſeemed every where triumphant, and the trembling adherents of the prince of Orange, each moment expected to be overwhelmed by the headlong torrent; but the turbulent diſpoſition of the people had at length arouſed from their lethargy the ſtates-general, who, accuſtomed ſolely to guard the republic from foreign invaſion, regarded with no little emotion the diſſentions of the different provinces. The dread of beholding the whole commonwealth involved in anarchy, awaked the latent ſparks of power which, however concealed, muſt ſubſiſt in all ſtates. The preſumption of the city of Utrecht in withdrawing its allotted quota of revenue from their diſpoſal, ſeemed an object that merited immediate chaſtiſement; and a body of troops was commanded by the provincial ſtates to beſiege and humble the haughty inhabitants of that opulent capital. This feeble detachment was however encountered by a band of armed burghers: it was on this occaſion that the firſt blood was ſhed in this civil conflict, and the regulars endured the mortification of retiring before an inferior number of undiſciplined citizens.

Yet while the republicans received with avowed triumph the ſucceſs of their firſt eſſay in arms, they were blind to the tempeſt that impended over them: whether too confident of their own ſtrength, they had neglected to ſooth, or were incapable of aſſuming thoſe conciliating manners neceſſary to command the affections of the military:—the ſkirmiſh near Utrecht had ſcarce taken place, before the province of Holland was alarmed by the defection of two thirds of its regular forces, who quitted the poſts that had been aſſigned them, and declared in favour of the prince of Orange. To ſupply the deficiency, the volunteers and armed burghers were ſummoned to the defence of their country, and were appointed to guard the frontiers.

While the ſtates of that province were occupied in repreſſing the ſpirit of deſertion among their troops, an event took place which introduced new and more important actors on the ſtage, and abſorbed every other conſideration. The princeſs of Orange, who had been driven by the violence of the adverſe party from the Hague, now determined to return to the vicinity of that place, with the intention, as ſhe declared, of communicating with the ſtates-general, and bringing forward ſuch conciliatory propoſitions, in the name of the prince, her huſband, as might avert if poſſible the evils and horrors of a civil war.

But the adverſe party regarded this journey in a different light; they ſaid, that in order to facilitate the ſtadtholder's open operations againſt them in the field, the princeſs had come into Holland, with a view of exciting inſurrection and rebellion; and that the debauching the troops of the ſtate, and increaſing their late defection, was alſo probably included in the ſyſtem; by theſe pretences they

endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the populace to the rash and imprudent meaſure on which they now ventured; for the princeſs had ſcarce paſſed Schoonhoven, on the borders of Holland, before ſhe was ſurrounded by a party of armed burghers, and was conveyed with every mark of licentious brutality to a ſmall town at a conſiderable diſtance; ſhe was thence eſcorted by the ſame guards to Schoonhoven; and hopeleſs of being permitted to purſue her journey to the Hague, ſhe ſet out the next day for Nimeguen.

The king of Pruſſia, who had beheld with ſecret indignation, but with well-aſſumed indifference, the rights of his brother-in-law invaded by the turbulent ſpirit of the ſtates of Holland, now found in the inſult offered to his ſiſter, that pretence for interference that he had ſo long ardently wiſhed for. He ordered a ſtrong memorial to be preſented to the ſtates of Holland, in which he inſiſted on the moſt ample and ſpeedy ſatisfaction; at the ſame time he repreſented the indignity that he had ſuffered, in the perſon of the princeſs, to the court of Verſailles; and Lewis in pointed terms condemned the inſult, and recommended to the ſtates to efface the affront by the moſt liberal reparation.

The republican party could not conceal their mortification at finding their conduct condemned by that ally on whoſe ſupport they depended; yet whatever appearances the court of Verſailles might think proper to preſerve, the ſtates of Holland ſtill implicitly relied on the faith of France, and concluded that in the hour of extremity her aſſiſtance would be proportioned to their diſtreſs. In this confidence they ſtill rejected all language of ſubmiſſion; they refuſed to enter into any diſcuſſion of the ſubject, and iſſued orders that every thing ſhould be prepared for laying the country under water, the moment any foreign troops ſhould violate the territories of the republic.

The court of Berlin immediately made every diſpoſition for entering into action; nine thouſand Pruſſian troops lined the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves, bordering on the territories of the republic; the governor of Weſel received orders to prepare accomodations for the reception of an army of ſixty or ſeventy thouſand men; and the celebrated hereditary duke of Brunſwick, who by the death of his father was now become the ſovereign and reigning duke of that country, was called from his tranquil enjoyments, to command the forces of his royal kinſman, the king of Pruſſia.

The prince of Orange himſelf was not entirely inactive during theſe tranſactions. With the ſmall army that he had aſſembled, he poſſeſſed himſelf by a coup de main of the fortified town of Wick, in the province of Utrecht; a place eminently noted for its early adoption of the moſt violent republican principles; and which, from its ſituation, was of ſtill more importance, ſince eſtabliſhed on the borders of Holland, twenty-four miles only from Amſterdam, it commanded the courſe of that part of the Rhine called the Lech, and might be conſidered as the key of the province on the ſide of Utrecht: he ſoon after reduced Harderwycke, a town in Guelderland, erected on the Zuyder-ſea, was acknowledged by the city of

Middleburg and the whole province of Zealand, which declared without reſerve in his favour, blocked up the city of Utrecht, and repulſed an attempt that was made by the ſuperior numbers of the garriſon and inhabitants on one of his out-poſts.

Theſe ſucceſſes probably ſerved to quicken the motions of the Pruſſians; and the duke of Brunſwick, at the head of an army which conſiſted of about eighteen thouſand men, furniſhed with a train of light artillery, advanced from the duchy of Cleves, and about the middle of September entered the province of Guelderland in three columns; that on the right, which directed its courſe to the northward, was under the command of general Lottum; the centre was entruſted to the generals Waldeck and Gaudi; and the left, which pointed its march to the ſouth, was led by the duke in perſon.

The ſucceſs of each diviſion was ſuch as might have been expected from the dread conceived of the Pruſſian arms; and no ſuperiority of number could embolden either the regular or irregular forces of the province to endure any thing like a conflict even with the huſſars and chaſſeurs. Gorcum, though in a conſiderable ſtate of defence, and under the government of the celebrated colonel and chamberlain Capelle, ſo eminent for his republican principles, ſurrendered after a few ſhots; and the garriſon and governor yielded themſelves priſoners of war to the duke of Brunſwick; Newport and Schoonhoven, both capable of a long reſiſtance, were abandoned by their garriſons: Dort, Leyden, and Haerlem, ſubmitted on the firſt ſummons; and Rotterdam, on the appearance of the Pruſſians, threw open her gates and received the invaders with the loudeſt acclamations.

The progreſs of the column in the centre was equally rapid and ſplendid; on the approach of it, the turbulent city of Utrecht, which had derided the ſmall army under the prince of Orange, was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; every other object and conſideration immediately gave way to the deſire of eſcape; the city was evacuated by all orders of armed men; the artillery was left on the works without ſentinels or guards; and the prince of Orange, without oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of a city which had long been conſidered as the great bulwark of the province of Holland, and, next to Amſterdam, as the principal ſeat and grand citadel of the republican party.

The column led by general Lottum on the right, met with rather more reſiſtance; Naarden, a ſtrong place, lying at the ſouth end of the Zuyder-Sea, within thirteen miles of Amſterdam, rejecting the ſummons of the Pruſſian commander, and gallantry prepared for defence. But general Lottum, whoſe detachment was by no means provided for a ſiege, turned aſide from the walls and received the ſubmiſſion of Nieuwerſluys, a ſtrong fortreſs, with a garriſon of near eight hundred ſoldiers, who ſurrendered priſoners of war.

During theſe military tranſactions, an unexpected revolution had taken place at the Hague; that town, the reſidence of the ſtates of Holland, was yet ſtrong-

ly attached to the perſon and intereſts of the prince of Orange; the governing party, well aware of this diſpoſition, had brought in a ſtrong body of volunteers, to overawe the ordinary garriſon and inhabitants; but under the diſmay which the progreſs of the Pruſſians had excited on the republican ſide; it was eaſily ſeen that the volunteers would not long be able to keep the populace in ſubjection, and ſeveral principal perſons of that party accordingly retired for ſafety to Amſterdam.

The event juſtified their precaution; the Swiſs ſoldiers, who formerly compoſed the ſtadtholder's ſtate-guard, boldly aſſembled, and carried off the two pieces of cannon that had been aſſigned for the ſupport of the volunteers—their zeal ſoon communicated to the inhabitants—the republicans on every ſide were diſarmed—the moſt violent members of the ſtates retired to Amſterdam—and the reſt of that aſſembly immediately ſent a deputation to ſolicit the return of the prince of Orange.

The prince accepted with tranſport the invitation, and with his conſort was received at the Hague with every demonſtration of joy; the ſtates, without heſitation, reſtored him to all thoſe offices and rights from which he had been ſuſpended, and conſequently annulled all proceedings which had been purſued againſt him in that province; they likewiſe iſſued an edict forbidding all attempts to inundate the country, and ſtrictly commanding the governors of all cities to give free admiſſion to the Pruſſian troops; in conſequence of this baron Matha, governor of Naarden opened the gates of that town, on the ſame principles of duty on which before he had kept them cloſed.

All oppoſition was now centred in the city of Amſterdam, and its environs, whither the moſt active and moſt obſtinate of the republican party had fled from all quarters. That proud capital, undiſmayed by the general defection, made every preparation for the moſt deſparate reſiſtance. The ſurrounding country was laid under water, ſtrong batteries were every where erected, all the poſts capable of commanding the roads leading into the town were entrenched and fortified; and the citizens declared they would hold out to the laſt extremity.

The danger was indeed already at their gates; for the duke of Brunſwick had eſtabliſhed round the city a chain of poſts whereever the nature of the ground and the interſection of the dykes would admit; a tranſient negociation was ſcarce ſuffered to interrupt his ardour; and on finding the ſpirits of the Amſterdammers yet unſubdued, he determined to force their boaſted barrier. In order to render the alarm and conſternation more general, he not only ordered all the poſts to be attacked at the ſame inſtant, but that each ſhould be attacked in every quarter that it could be approached; in a defence ſo extenſive, it is not ſurpriſing that ſome weak point ſhould have eſcaped the vigilance, or exceeded the ſtrength of the beſieged; the military talents of the duke of Brunſwick had never been diſplayed to more advantage, he availed himſelf of every favourable occurrence, and notwithſtanding the gallantry of the republicans, penetrated and eſtabliſhed his poſts within their boaſted barrier.

The haughty city of Amſterdam was now for the firſt time delivered to the diſcretion of a victor, and, open on every ſide to bombardment, reluctantly condeſcended to the language of ſubmiſſion. The magiſtracy declared themſelves obliged by the impending danger to ſubſcribe conditions which they yielded to, leſt others more ruinous might be impoſed. Sixteen perſons moſt obnoxious to the princeſs of Orange, were deprived of their reſpective offices; the members of the regency, who had been tumultuouſly depoſed for their attachment to the ſtadtholder, were immediately reſtored; the burghers, and all perſons in the town, except the legal militia, were to be diſarmed; and the Leyden-gate was delivered up to the Pruſſians, to facilitate the performance of the laſt condition.

The court of Verſailles had long truſted to the natural ſtrength of the republican party, and had been aſſiduous throughout the whole ſummer in endeavouring to ſecond them by every deſcription of ſuccours that could be privately imparted. Crowds of French officers arrived every day in Holland, and either received commiſſions in the ſervice of the ſtates, or acted as volunteers in their troops. Several hundreds of tried and experienced ſoldiers, whoſe fidelity and diſcretion could be relied on, were ſelected from different regiments, and being furniſhed wih money for their journey, and aſſurances of future favour, were diſpatched in ſmall parties to join the troops, and to diſcipline the burghers and volunteers. A conſiderable corps of engineers, diſguiſed as mechanics, and inſtructed what anſwers to make to any enquiries, were directed to proceed towards Amſterdam, and to aſſiſt in ſtrengthening the works of that city.

Theſe aids, which might have proved effectual had the conteſt been confined to the ſtates of Holland and the prince of Orange, were overwhelmed in the rapid invaſion of the Pruſſians; and the court of Berlin had taken its meaſures with ſo much celerity, and the ſituation of the republicans was already become ſo deſparate, that it was doubtful whether their affairs could be reſtored by any aſſiſtance that France was capable of immediately adminiſtering. Yet on Great-Britain fitting out a ſtrong ſquadron of men-of-war at Portſmouth, to give confidence to the operations of the king of Pruſſia, the court of Verſailles alſo ſent orders to equip ſixteen ſail of the line at Breſt, and recalled a ſmall ſquadron which had been commiſſioned on a ſummer's cruiſe on the coaſt of Portugal.

In theſe preparations the king of France ſeemed rather to regard his own dignity, than to be actuated by any hopes of affording effectual relief to his allies. All oppoſition in Holland might be already conſidered as extinguiſhed. The ſtates aſſembled at the Hague, had officially notified to the court of Verſailles, that the diſputes between that province and the ſtadtholder were now happily terminated; and as the circumſtances which gave occaſion for their application to that court no longer exiſted, ſo the ſuccours which they then requeſted would be now unneceſſary.

Under theſe circumſtances France could only wiſh to extricate herſelf from her preſent difficulty with honour; and the French king therefore readily liſtened to a

memorial from the Britiſh miniſters at Paris, who propoſed, to preſerve the good underſtanding between the two crowns, that all warlike preparations ſhould be diſcontinued, and that the navies of both nations ſhould be again placed on the footing of a peace eſtabliſhment. This was willingly acceded to by the court of Verſailles; a ſhort inſtrument was ſigned by monſieur de Montmorin and the duke of Dorſet, in the names of their reſpective ſovereigns; and that harmony which had been tranſiently interrupted, was reſtored between France aud Great-Britain.

Though Lewis could not but ſeverely feel the mortification of thus relinquiſhing the aſcendancy that he had attained in the conucils of Holland, and was not inſenſible to the diſgrace of abandoning a people who had implicitly relied on his faith, yet every other conſideration was abſorbed by the ſtate of his own domeſtic concerns, and the internal ſituation of his kingdom, which furniſhed matter for deep and ſerious reflection. The diſmiſſal of monſieur de Calonne had left France without a miniſter, and almoſt without a ſyſtem; and though the king bore the oppoſition of the notables with admirable temper, yet the diſappointment which he had experienced was grievous and highly diſcouraging. Without obtaining any relief for his moſt urgent neceſſities, he perceived too late that he had opened a path to the reſtoration of the ancient conſtitution of France, which had been undermined by the crafty Lewis the Eleventh, and had been nearly ſwept away by the daring and ſanguinary counſels of Richelieu, under Lewis the Thirteenth. The notables had indeed conducted themſelves with reſpect and moderation, but at the ſame time they had not been deficient in firmneſs; the appointment of monſieur de Brienne, archbiſhop of Thouloufe, and the vigorous adverſary of monſieur de Calonne, to the office of comptroller-general, probably contributed to preſerve the appearance of good humour in that aſſembly; yet the propoſed territorial impoſt or general land-tax, which was an object ſo ardently coveted by the court, was rejected and, on this occaſion the attorney-general of Provençe was bold enough to declare, that neither that aſſembly, the parliaments, nor the king himſelf, could aſſeſs any ſuch impoſt in the country which he repreſented, ſince it was directly contrary to the ſpecific and indefeaſible rights of the people.

The king now deprived of any further hope of rendering the convention the inſtrument for extricating him from his embarraſſments, determined to diſmiſs the meeting; his ſpeech on diſſolving the aſſembly was well calculated to engage the inclinations of the members. He acknowledged that they had fulfilled his expectations in aſſiſting him with their counſels; that they had not only properly enquired into various abuſes, but had ſuggeſted the means of reforming them; that they had done much towards the attainment of the grand object of reducing the expences of the ſtate to a level with the public revenues, by the proviſional taxes which they had recommended as the moſt proper to be laid on his ſubjects; and he concluded by declaring the ſatisfaction that he enjoyed in the hope, that

theſe new impoſts would not be ſo burthenſome as thoſe of former times; the only wiſh of his heart being that of rendering his people as contented and happy as poſſible.

Lewis thus diſappointed of thoſe advantages, which he had flattered himſelf that he ſhould have drawn from the acquieſcence of the notables, was obliged now to recur to the uſual mode of raiſing money by the royal edicts; among the meaſures propoſed for this purpoſe was the doubling of the poll-tax, the re-eſtabliſhment of the third twentieth, and a ſtamp-duty; the whole was ſtrongly diſapproved by the parliament of Paris, but the laſt in particular was the immediate object of contention; and that aſſembly in the moſt poſitive terms refuſed to regiſter the edict. The king was obliged to apply, as the laſt reſort, to his abſolute authority, and by holding what was called a bed of juſtice, compelled them to enroll the impoſt.

The parliament, though defeated, were far from ſubdued; on the day after the king had held his bed of juſtice, they entered a formal proteſt againſt the conceſſion that had been extorted from them. They declared that the edict had been regiſtered againſt their approbation and conſent, by the king's expreſs command; that it neither ought, nor *ſhould* have any force; and that the firſt perſon who ſhould preſume to attempt to carry it into execution, ſhould be adjudged a traitor and condemned to the gallies.

This declaration left to the crown no other alternative than either proceeding to extremities in ſupport of its authority, or giving up for ever after the power of raiſing money upon any occaſion, without the conſent of the parliament; painful as every appearance of violence muſt have proved to the mild diſpoſition of Lewis, he could not conſent to ſurrender, without a ſtruggle, that authority which had been ſo long exerciſed by his predeceſſors. Since the commencement of the preſent diſcontents, the capital had been gradually filled with conſiderable bodies of troops; and about a week after the parliament had entered the proteſt, an officer of the French guards, with a party of ſoldiers, went at break of day to the houſe of each individual member, to ſignify to him the king's command, that he ſhould immdiately get into his carriage, and proceed to Troyes, a city of Champagne, about ſeventy miles from Paris, without writing or ſpeaking to any perſon out of his own houſe before his departure; theſe orders were ſerved at the ſame inſtant; and before the citizens of Paris were acquainted with the tranſaction, the parliament were already on the road to the ſcene of their baniſhment.

But previous to their removal, they had preſented a remonſtrance on the late meaſures of government, and the alarming ſtate of public affairs; in ſtating their opinions on taxes, they declared that neither the parliaments, nor any other authority, excepting that of the three eſtates of the kingdom, collectively aſſembled, could warrant the laying of any permanent tax upon the people;

and they ſtrongly enforced the renewal of thoſe national aſſemblies, which had rendered the reign of Charlemagne ſo great and illuſtrious.

The ardent deſire of the parliaments to re-eſtabliſh the national council, or ſtates-general, was the more honourable, as the former aſſemblies muſt have ſunk under the influence of the latter, and returned to their original condition of mere regiſters and courts of law. The confidence and attachment of the people of conſequence roſe in proportion to this inſtance of diſintereſtedneſs; their murmurs were openly expreſſed in the ſtreets of the capital; and the general diſſatisfaction was augmented by the ſtop that was put to public buſineſs, by the exile of the chief magiſtrates.

The court at the ſame time was apparently weak and divided, and continual changes took place in every department of the ſtate. The king, averſe to rigorous counſels, wiſhed to allay the growning diſcontent by every conceſſion that was conſiſtent with his dignity; but it was generally believed that his royal conſort ſtrongly diſſuaded him from any ſtep that might tend to the diminution of the regal authority; the influence of that princeſs in the cabinet was undoubtedly great; but the popularity which once had accompanied her was no more; and ſome, imputations of private levity, which had been rumoured through the capital were far from rendering her acceptable to the majority of the people; while the count d'Artois, the king's brother, who had expreſſed himſelf in the moſt unguarded terms againſt the perſeverence of the parliament, ſtood expoſed to all the hatred of a lively and inſulted people.

It was not only in Paris that the flame of liberty once more burſt forth; the provincial parliaments imitated that of the capital; among various inſtances of this nature, the parliament of Grenoble paſſed a decree againſt lettres de cachet, the moſt odious engine of arbitrary power, and declared the execution of them, within their juriſdiction, by any perſon, and under any authority, to be a capital crime.

The king had endeavoured to ſooth the diſcontented minds of the Pariſians by new regulations of œconomy, and by continual retrenchments in his houſhold; but theſe proofs of attention, which once would have been received with the loudeſt acclamations, were now loſt in their open affliction for the abſence of their parliament; and the monarch, to regain the affections of his ſubjects, after an exile of a month, conſented to reſtore that aſſembly; the ſources of diſpute on the territorial impoſt, and ſtamp-duty, were abandoned by Lewis; and the parliament on their ſide conſented to regiſter an edict, by which the archbiſhop of Thouloufe was conſtituted firſt miniſter of ſtate.

This harmony was not of long duration; the neceſſities of the ſtate ſtill continued, nor could the deficiency of the revenue be ſupplied but by extraordinary reſources, or a long courſe of rigid frugality; about the middle of November, in a full meeting of the parliament, attended by all the princes of the blood, and the peers of France, the king entered the aſſembly, and propoſed two edicts for

their approbation; the firſt was for a new loan for four hundred and fifty millions; near nineteen millions ſterling; the ſecond was for the re-eſtabliſhment of the proteſtants in all their ancient civil rights, a meaſure which had long been warmly recommended by the parliament, and which was probably now introduced to ſecure a better reception to the loan.

In uſhering in theſe edicts, the king had delivered himſelf in a ſpeech of uncommon length, replete with every ſentiment of regard for the people, but at the ſame time full of intimations to the parliament of the obedience he expected. It is poſſible that Lewis imagined that the dread of that baniſhment from which they had been ſo lately recalled, would have enſured the acquieſcence of the aſſembly; but no ſooner was permiſſion announced for every member to deliver his ſentiments, than he was convinced their ſpirits were unſubdued by their recent exile. An animated debate was continued for nine hours, when the king, wearied by inceſſant oppoſition, and chagrined at ſome freedoms uſed in their arguments, ſuddenly roſe, and commanded the edict to be regiſtered without further delay. This meaſure was moſt unexpectedly oppoſed by the duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, who, conſidering it as an infringement of the rights of parliament, proteſted againſt the whole proceedings of the day as being thereby null and void. Though Lewis could not conceal his aſtoniſhment and diſpleaſure at this deciſive ſtep, he contented himſelf with repeating his orders, and immediately after, quitting the aſſembly, retired to Verſailles.

On the ſovereign's departure, the parliament confirmed the proteſt of the duke of Orleans, and declared, as their deliberations had been interrupted, they conſidered the whole buſineſs of that day as of no effect. But it was not to be ſuppoſed that Lewis would ſilently paſs over ſo bold an attack on the authority of the crown. The Baron de Breteuil next day delivered a letter to the duke of Orleans, in which he was commanded to retire to Villars Cotterel, one of his ſeats, a mile from Paris, and to receive no company there, except his own family; at the ſame time the abbé Sabatiere, and monſieur Freteau, both members of the parliament, and who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the debate, were ſeized under the authority of lettres de cachet, and conveyed, the firſt to the caſtle of Mont St. Michel in Normandy, the laſt to a priſon in Picardy.

The parliament were not ſlow in proclaiming their feelings at this act of oppreſſion; on the following day they waited on the king, and expreſſed their aſtoniſhment and concern that a prince of the blood royal had been exiled, and two of their members impriſoned, for having declared in his preſence what their duty and conſciences dictated; and at a time when his majeſty had announced that he came to take the ſenſe of the aſſembly by a plurality of voices. The anſwer of the king was reſerved and forbidding; "When I put away from my "preſence a prince of my blood, my parliament ought to believe that I have ſtrong "reaſons for doing it; I have puniſhed two magiſtrates, with whoſe conduct I "ought to be diſſatisfied."

This cold and ſtately repulſe did not diſcourage the parliament from preſenting a long addreſs, in which they repreſented in glowing colours the conſequence of the late acts of violence, and painted the unworthy treatment of the two ſuffering magiſtrates confined in horrid and unwholſome priſons, where life was a continual puniſhment; "if exile," they add, "is the recompence of fidelity to the princes "of your blood; if outrage and captivity threaten the ingenuouſneſs of the firſt "magiſtrates of the kingdom, we may aſk ourſelves with terror and grief, what "will become of the laws—of the public liberty—of the honour—and of the man-"ners of the nation?"

Yet this ſpirit of reſentment did not prevent the parliament from attending to the exigencies of the ſtate; and convinced of the emergency, they conſented to regiſter the loan for four hundred and fifty millions of livres, which had been the ſource of this unfortunate difference; it is probable this conceſſion coucurred to act upon the mind of the king, naturally humane; and the ſentence of the two magiſtrates was in conſequence changed from impriſonment to exile; monſieur Freteau being ſent to one of his country ſeats, and the abbé Sabatiere to a convent of Benedictines.

The parliament was however unwilling to give up the points againſt which they had originally remonſtrated; and in a petition conceived with freedom, and couched in the moſt animated language, they boldly reprobated the late acts of arbitrary violence:—"We do not come," they declare, "ſo much to claim your "compaſſion, as the protection of the laws. It is not to your humanity alone "that we addreſs ourſelves; it is not a favour your parliament ſolicits; it "comes, ſire, to *demand juſtice*. That juſtice which is ſubject to regulations, in-"dependent of the will of man; even kings themſelves are ſubſervient to them; "that glorious prince Henry the Fourth acknowledged that he had two ſovereigns, "God, and the laws.

"One of theſe regulations is to condemn no one without a hearing; it is a duty "in all times, and in all places; it is the duty of all men; and your majeſty "will allow us to repreſent to you, that it is as obligatory on you, as on your "ſubjects.

"It is therefore in the name of thoſe laws which preſerve empires; in the name "of that liberty of which we are the reſpectful interpreters and the lawful medi-"ators; in the name of your authority, of which we are the firſt and moſt con-"fidential miniſters, that we dare to demand the trial or the liberty of the duke "of Orleans, and the two exiled magiſtrates, who are impriſoned by a ſudden "order, as contrary to the ſentiments as the intereſts of your majeſty."

A. D. 1788.] Such pretenſions ſtruck at once at the root of arbitrary power; and while they delivered the ſubject from fear, would have diſarmed the vengeance of the ſovereign. But we have already noticed the fluctuating counſels of the court of Verſailles; and Lewis, as often as he was left to purſue his own inclinations, adopted meaſures of reconciliation; in the beginning of the year he re-

called the duke of Orleans to court, and permitted the return of the abbé Sabatiere and monſieur Freteau.

The parliament of Paris had not confined their demands to the liberation of theſe gentlemen, but had echoed the remonſtrances of the parliament of Grenoble, and had loudly inveighed againſt the execution of *lettres de cachet*. Theſe repeated remonſtrances, mingled with perſonal reflections, ſeconded moſt probably the ſuggeſtions of the queen, and Lewis was once more prevailed on to recur to ſeverity. Monſieur de Lamoignon, on the diſmiſſal of monſieur de Miromeſnil, had, on the recommendation of monſieur de Calonne, been entruſted with the ſeals, and he ſtill continued to hold them under the adminiſtration of the archbiſhop of Thouloufe. The chancellor was ſummoned by monſieur de Brienne, to the arduous taſk of compoſing a new court of juriſprudence; the *Cour Pleniere* was to be the reſult of their joint counſels; each meaſure for the eſtabliſhment of that court was taken with the greateſt ſecrecy; a preſs was erected at Verſailles; printers were employed night and day; and the avenues were ſtrictly guarded from the approach of curioſity by a triple row of bayonets.

Theſe appearances of myſtery ſerved to excite freſh alarms; and the parliament of Paris conceived themſelves too deeply intereſted in the event to be deterred by any obſtacles. Monſieur d'Eſpremenil, a member of that aſſembly, poſſeſſed himſelf of the important ſecret; he divulged it to his aſſociates; and animated them to oppoſe with their combined ſtrength a project which aimed at nothing leſs than their final extinction.

The court of Verſailles, but little ſatisfied with the diſcovery of monſieur d'Eſpremenil, was enflamed by the boldneſs with which he harangued againſt its deſigns; the king was perſuaded that examples of puniſhment were become neceſſary to the ſupport of his power, and meſſieurs d'Eſpremenil and Monſambert, whoſe open and pointed language had preſſed moſt cloſely on the royal authority, were doomed to experience its immediate reſentment. A body of armed troops, provided with axes to force the doors in caſe of reſiſtance, ſurrounded the Palais; the Sieur Vincent d'Agouſt, who commanded them, entered the aſſembly, and ſecured the perſons of the obnoxious members. Monſieur d'Eſpremenil was conducted to the ſtate-priſon of the iſland of St. Marguerite, and monſieur Monſambert to that of Pierre-Enciſe.

The activity of monſieur de Brienne had advanced him from the chief of the council of finance to the poſt of firſt miniſter, and his zeal had been rewarded with a rich abbey and the archbiſhopric of Sens: But this tranſient proſperity was already in the wane; the late inſtance of deſpotiſm was followed by a remonſtrance of the parliament, which exceeded in boldneſs all the former repreſentations of that aſſembly. They declared they were now more ſtrongly confirmed, by every proceeding, of the entire innovation which was aimed at in the conſtitution. "But, ſire," added they, "the French nation will never adopt the "deſpotic meaſures to which you are adviſed, and the effects of which alarm the

" moſt faithful of your magiſtrates; we ſhall not repeat all the unfortunate " circumſtances which afflict us; we ſhall only repreſent to you, with reſpectful " firmneſs, that the fundamental laws of the kingdom *muſt* not be trampled " upon; and that *your authority can only be eſteemed, ſo long as it is tempered with* " *juſtice.*"

Language ſo bold and deciſive, and which aſſerted the controuling power of the laws above the regal authority, could not fail of ſeriouſly alarming the royal boſom. To diminiſh the influence of parliament, it was determined again to convene the notables; and about the beginning of May, Lewis appeared in that aſſembly; and after complaining of the exceſſes in which the parliament of Paris had indulged themſelves, and which had drawn down his tardy indignation on a few of the members, he declared his reſolution, inſtead of annihilating them as a body, to bring them back to their duty and obedience by a ſalutary reform. Monſieur de Lamoignon, as keeper of the ſeals, explained his majeſty's pleaſure to eſtabliſh a *cour pleniere*, or ſupreme aſſembly, to be compoſed of princes of the blood, peers of the realm, great officers of the crown, the clergy, mareſchals of France, governors of provinces, knights of different orders, a deputation of one member from every parliament, and two members from the chambers of councils, and to be ſummoned as often as the public emergency, in the royal opinion, ſhould render it requiſite.

If the aſſembly of the notables liſtened in ſilent deference to the project of their ſovereign, the parliament of Paris received it with every ſymptom of rooted averſion; they ſtrongly proteſted againſt the eſtabliſhment of any other tribunal, and declared their final reſolution not to aſſiſt at any deliberations in the ſupreme aſſembly which his majeſty prepared to inſtitute. A more unexpected mortification occurred to the king, in the oppoſition of ſeveral peers of the realm; theſe expreſſed their regret at beholding the fundamental principles of the kingdom violated; and while they were laviſh in their profeſſions of attachment to the perſon of their ſovereign, concluded with apologizing for not entering on thoſe functions aſſigned them in the plenary court, as inconſiſtent with the true intereſts of his majeſty, which were inſeparable from thoſe of the nation.

The new archbiſhop of Sens was ſtartled by theſe appearances of general diſcontent; and his advice to his ſovereign, was to recall once more monſieur Necker to the adminiſtration of the finances. This counſel, which had it been urged and adopted ſooner, might have been productive of the moſt ſalutary effects, was now only agreed to as the laſt reſource; even in the very moment of giving it, the miniſter heſitated: He had flattered himſelf with the idea of ſtill retaining the nominal direction of affairs; but his rival ſuffered him not long to deceive himſelf with that vain hope; and the firſt ſtipulation of monſieur Necker was the immediate diſmiſſal of monſieur de Brienne, who, deſpoiled of power, was left to conſole himſelf with the dignity of cardinal, and an immenſe revenue, the fruits of his miniſterial influence.

Monſieur de Lamoignon, whoſe elevation had a ſhort time preceded that of the archbiſhop, was ſoon after included in his diſgrace. Though the court was ſtill deſirous of retaining him in office, the parliament purſued him with implacable hatred; the firmneſs of that aſſembly had triumphed over the propoſed eſtabliſhment of the plenary court; but their unwearied reſentment ſtill continued to attend every patron of that obnoxious project. Monſieur de Lamoignon was unable to withſtand their repeated and inceſſant attacks; he demanded and obtained his diſmiſſion from office, and ſeemed at firſt to ſupport the reverſe of fortune with becoming magnanimity; but the myſterious circumſtances of his death have left it doubtful how far his fortitude was equal to the appearances he aſſumed. He was accuſtomed to amuſe himſelf with ſhooting; a few days after his reſignation, he had walked out as if in purſuit of his uſual ſports: in little more than an hour afterwards he was diſcovered by a labourer in a grotto of the garden, dead, and weltering in his blood; the fuſil, the inſtrument of his fate, was by his ſide; but whether diſcharged by accident or deſign has never been aſcertained. Though neither addicted to play nor pleaſures, and long in poſſeſſion of the royal favour, monſieur de Lamoignon left his paternal eſtate deeply burthened with debt; and was accompanied to the tomb by the unfeigned tears of a wife and children, whoſe fortunes he had ruined: An upright magiſtrate and ſincere patriot, he ſhook to the foundation, the magiſtracy and the kingdom; and he bequeathed his example as a ſalutary leſſon to thoſe ambitious ſpirits who beſiege thrones, and aſpire to places of eminence, without firſt enquiring whether they poſſeſs the abilities neceſſary to fill them.

The citizens of Paris had received the diſmiſſal of the late miniſter with the loudeſt acclamations; but the joy of the public was ſoon converted into mourning by an event diſaſtrous and ſanguinary. The populace, in the exceſs of their tranſports, had aſſembled at the Place-dauphine; they had carried about in triumph a figure clothed in epiſcopal robes, of which three-fifths were ſattin, and two of paper; a ſatirical alluſion to a late decree, which authoriſed the different banks to make two-fifths of their payments in paper. The figure itſelf was judged with ludicrous ſolemnity, and condemned to the flames. An eccleſiaſtic, who happened to paſs by at that moment, was arreſted by the crowd; they beſtowed on him the name of the abbé Vermont, who was ſuppoſed to enjoy the confidence, and direct the counſels of the late miniſter; under this fictitious title, they compelled him to confeſs the image; which was immediately after burnt with much ceremony: and the people, gratified with this ideal vengeance, diſperſed without any other marks of diſorder.

The populace had been too much pleaſed with their harmleſs triumph, not to be deſirous of enjoying it again; they accordingly aſſembled the ſucceding day on the ſame ſpot; but that which they conceived as an innocent amuſement appeared in a very different light to the chevalier Dubois who commanded the marechauſſée at Paris. Zealous in the diſcharge of his duty, and eager to diſtinguiſh

himſelf by his peculiar vigilance, he prepared to interrupt theſe tumultuous meetings, which he conſidered as endangering the tranquility of the capital. The obvious method would have been to have occupied the paſſes leading to the *Place-Dauphine* early in the morning, and before the people began to aſſemble. But whether this meaſure eſcaped the penetration of that commander, or that he deſpiſed too much the unarmed and undiſciplined multitude to execute it, it is certain near twenty thouſand people were collected before he thought the numbers worthy his preſence; even then the feeble guard that accompanied him proclaimed his contempt of reſiſtance. His ſlender troop conſiſted only of twenty marechauſſée mounted on horſeback, ſuſtained by fifty on foot. His appearance at the head of this eſcort was by no means productive of the terror that he flattered himſelf he ſhould inſpire; the people, equally deaf to his threats and admonitions, ſtill kept their ground, and refuſed to diſperſe; and the chevalier Dubois, fatigued with ineffectual remonſtrances, at length gave the reins to his natural impetuoſity, and commanded his followers to charge.

The croud, unable to ſuſtain the fury of the firſt attack, were broken by this handful of ſoldiers; ſeveral were trampled down by the horſes of the cavalry, ſeveral were wounded by the ſwords and bayonets of their enemies, and not a few loſt their lives amidſt the general confuſion. But no ſooner were the firſt moments of ſurpriſe over, then ſhame and indignation triumphed over their tranſient fears: The ſpirit of the citizens were reſtored by the ſmall number of their adverſaries; their courage was confirmed by the diſorderly purſuit of the marechauſſée, who in the exultation of ideal victory had quitted their ranks, and renounced thoſe advantages which they might have derived from ſuperior diſcipline; in a moment they were aſſailed on every ſide by thoſe arms which the immediate fury of the people ſupplied; the ſcene was inſtantly changed; the late victors now abandoned themſelves to a precipitate flight, and the chevalier Dubois was the foremoſt of the fugitives.

The people, elated by this eſſay in arms, proceeded to force the guard placed near the ſtatue of Henry the Fourth; all reſiſtance was ſwept away by the torrent of the aſſailants; the vanquiſhed were deſpoiled by their conquerors; their arms were ſeized; their uniforms were burnt; but ſome praiſe was due to the moderation of the multitude, who in the midſt of popular inſurrection reſpected the lives of theſe unfortunate men; and diſmiſſed them after this ſevere leſſon of humiliation, to join their companions.

Hundreds of the lower claſs of people diſperſed themſelves through the city; ſeveral guard-houſes, which ſtood ſeparate from other buildings, were ſet on fire by this diſorderly troop; but on attempting to poſſeſs themſelves of the *Greve*, the place of execution in Paris, they were repulſed by a body of regular troops; and many attoned with their lives for the tumult they had engaged in. The next morning order ſeemed reſtored throughout the city; but the minds of people

ſtill remained agitated; the embers of inſurrection were concealed, but not quenched, and the breath of occaſion was only wanting to wake again the dormant flame.

This was ſupplied by the retreat of Monſieur de Lamoignon; on that event the ſame ſcenes were re-commenced; and the figure of that miniſter was burnt in effigy without any interruption from the police. But it is equally dangerous to treat with ſeverity, or abandon the multitude to their own caprice; and the people from burning in effigy Monſieur de Lamoignon, ruſhed, with torches in their hands, to communicate the flames to the houſes of the late miniſters, and that of the chevalier Dubois.

It was at that inſtant that monſieur de Brienne, the brother of the archbiſhop, and ſecretary of war, arrived from Verſailles. His own hotel was threatened by the inſurgents; and his concern for the public ſafety was ſtimulated by perſonal intereſt: Immediate orders were given for the French guards to march; two different detachments entered at each end of the ſtreet of St. Dominique, where the greateſt number of the populace had aſſembled; theſe were inſtantly pierced by the charge of the regulars; a number periſhed on the ſpot, and the reſt fled in confuſion, and concealed themſelves in the adjacent houſes, at the ſame time the ſtreet Melée, where the chevalier Dubois reſided, preſented a ſcene equally fatal and ſanguinary.

Amidſt theſe diſorders the weak and fluctuating counſels that diſgraced the cabinet of Verſailles preſent themſelves as a predominant feature. On the firſt tumultuary aſſemblage of the people, had a ſtrong body of troops been poſted in the different ſtreets of the capital, the crowd over awed muſt inſtantly have diſperſed; their momentary rage would ſoon have given way to their natural levity; their minds would not have been irritated by the loſs of their companions; nor their ſpirits elated by their vaunted triumph over a feeble band of marechauſſée; but the imbecility of the court neglected the firſt ſparks of inſurrection, and afterwards endeavoured in vain to extinguiſh the flame with the blood of the people.

Another effect, which was little apprehended, but which was attended by conſequences of the utmoſt magnitude, was produced by theſe tumultuary conflicts. In every government the citizens are accuſtomed to regard the military with terror and ſuſpicion; ſtanding armies ever have been, and ever muſt remain, an object of jealouſy to the bulk of mankind: But the ſoldier, though in ſome meaſure ſeparated by his profeſſion from his fellow-citizens, is by no means indifferent to their reproaches, or inſenſible of their hatred. In the late diſturbances the French guards beheld themſelves loaded with the invectives of the capital; they were perſuaded to bluſh at the part they had acted in obedience to the orders of their officers; ſentiments of patriotiſm ſucceeded to thoſe of implicit ſubmiſſion; they wiſhed to be reſtored to the favourable opinion of their countrymen; they declared they were engaged to defend, and not to oppreſs the people, and the

language of an individual corps was ſoon generally diffuſed throughout the army.

The parliament, ſo lately reſtored, beheld not in ſilence the commotions which ſhook the capital. The chevalier Dubois was commanded to appear before that aſſembly. The orders which he produced ſtifled all judicial proceedings againſt him, but could not extinguiſh the reſentment of his fellow-citizens; the public tranquillity ſeemed to require his abſence, and government, though reluctantly, conſented to the ſacrifice, and removed him to a diſtance from the capital.

The mareſchal Duc de Biron, who had accepted the command of Paris, was alſo ſummoned before the tribunal of the parliament. He pleaded his age and infirmities, which no longer allowed him to partake the active duties of life; and this excuſe, which ought to have prevented him from aſpiring to a truſt which he was no longer capable of diſcharging, was received by the compaſſion of the parliament as a palliation of his conduct; but the popular indignation augmented the weight of years, and in leſs than a month from this event, the Duc de Biron, oppreſſed by regret breathed his laſt.

The late unhappy diſturbances had caſt a gloom over the minds of the Pariſians, but a ray of hope burſt upon them from the recall of monſieur Necker to the adminiſtration. We have already noticed how invariably hitherto the public confidence had been attached to the meaſures of that gentleman—the credit of an individual ſeemed at this moment to ſupport the tottering ſtate of France—and the people flattered themſelves that the national wealth, which had been ſo long diverted from its proper courſe, would by his integrity and ability, be again reſtored to its natural channel

Few characters have been more ſeverely ſcrutinized than that of monſieur Necker; while his friends and partizans, zealous and grateful, have attributed to him every quality that can adorn a great miniſter, his rivals and opponents have endeavoured to ſtrip him of every pretenſion to merit: In a commercial line, the facility and depth of his calculations had challenged the approbation of his contemporaries; as comptroller-general, his ſplendid project of ſupporting a war by loans without taxes, had attracted the admiration of his countrymen; while the ſevere reform which he had introduced into the royal houſhold, flattered and gratified the applauding multitude. But the commerce of a great people is not to be arranged like that of a ſimple individual. Frugality, induſtry, and probity, are the baſis on which the latter is founded; while the former requires in addition, liberality of ſentiment, expanded ideas, and penetration ſeldom to be eluded. The project of monſieur Necker, in maintaining a war eſtabliſhment without encreaſing the burdens of the people, was indeed captivating and magnificent; but it was attended by two fatal conſequences, it opened to his ſucceſſors the facility of borrowing, a meaſure which muſt ever ultimately prove fatal to a nation; while no ſecurity being immediately appropriated to the payment of

theſe new loans, the monied men availed themſelves of this defect to advance the ſupplies at an exorbitant advantage.

If the talents of monſieur Necker had been ſeverely exerciſed, when, amidſt a war which agitated almoſt all Europe, he formerly occupied the poſt of comptroller-general, his ſituation was not leſs delicate, when, on the eve of civil commotion, he was called again to direct the finances of France.

That government poſſeſſed indeed the reſources of an immenſe territory; a country fertile in every neceſſary production; ports and harbours which invited to commerce; and a people equally ſkilful to guide the plough or the loom. With theſe advantages its internal wealth and happineſs ought to have kept pace with its power and grandeur. But before the harveſts of the ſtate could arrive to maturity, before the revenues could be collected into the public treaſury, they for near a century paſt had been anticipated by needy and prodigal miniſters; and France groaned beneath a national debt of five milliards, or upwards of two hundred and eight millions ſterling.

The acclamations which welcomed monſieur Necker to the capital could not baniſh from his mind the difficulties he had to ſtruggle with; he was ſenſible that monſieur de Calonne and the archbiſhop of Sens had both ſunk under the public diſtreſs, and the impracticability of raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies: That diſtreſs had not diminiſhed, and unleſs ſome expedient could be adopted to re-eſtabliſh public credit, he foreſaw his own fate in thoſe of his predeceſſors.

The ſole expedient that appeared likely to produce the deſired effect was the aſſembly of the ſtates-general: That aſſembly had been demanded by the unanimous voice of the people; but it was certainly with reluctance that the ſovereign conſented to convene a body of men, whoſe powers and popularity muſt overſhadow his own authority, and whoſe juriſdiction would confine within narrow limits the ample prerogative he had inherited from his predeceſſors.

Even monſieur Necker himſelf was not a little embarraſſed by the choice of difficulties which preſented themſelves in aſſembling the ſtates-general. Theſe had been wholly diſcontinued during the two preceding reigns; and though the queen-regent, during the troubles which attended the minority of Lewis XIV. frequently expreſſed her intention of calling them together, ſhe was conſtantly diſſuaded by the perſuaſions of the crafty Mazarin. The parliament alſo, who now began to repent their late patriotic remonſtrances; and who recovering from the fumes of enthuſiaſm, beheld with terror, in the re-eſtabliſhment of the ſtates-general, the extinction of their own political conſequence, endeavoured to augment the perplexity of the miniſter, by ſupporting the pretenſions of the nobles and clergy againſt the commons; pretenſions which they themſelves had but lately proteſted againſt as unconſtitutional.

From the reign of Philip the Fair, the period in which the third eſtate, or repreſentatives of the commons, had firſt been admitted into the aſſembly of the ſtates-general, to the year 1614, the influence of that eſtate had undergone a con-

ſiderable fluctuation; its numbers had been occaſionally varied; it had always poſſeſſed a greater number of voices than either of the other orders ſeparated, but had never been equal to the nobility and clergy united: The intereſting queſtion was now propoſed, whether the repreſentatives of the commons ought to be confined to a third in number of the ſtates-general, or, whether they ought to be allowed a number equal to the other two orders united?

An object ſo important could not fail of being diſcuſſed with warmth and ability; the partiſans of either party were numerous and active, the preſs groaned with inceſſant publications, even the ſentiments of the princes of the blood were divided, and while the the count d'Artois, the princes of Condé and Conti, with the duke de Bourbon, ſupported the ancient pretenſions of nobility, the duke d'Orleans, ſacrificing every narrow conſideration, ranged himſelf on the popular ſide, and declared openly for the commons. His ſentiments were received with the loudeſt applauſe, and the people looked with gratitude towards a leader, who in defending their rights was deaf to the voice of perſonal intereſt.

The declaration of the duke d'Orleans was ſoon after followed by the deciſion of monſieur Necker: his propoſal was, after long and ſerious deliberation, approved by the king, and regiſtered by the parliament. It fixed the number of the deputies to the ſtates-general at one thouſand and upwards; it ordained that the repreſentatives of the third eſtate, or commons, ſhould equal in number thoſe of the nobility and clergy united; and it decreed that the different bailiwicks, in returning their members, ſhould be guided by the ſtandard of population.

In the moment of fermentation, when the hopes and fears of people were equally awakened, the election of deputies for the ſtates-general was, with ſome few exceptions, conducted with tranquillity: At Paris indeed the conteſt was long and ſevere: monſieur d'Eſpremenil, who formerly had ſuffered from the royal indignation, and had been confined in the ſtate-priſon of the iſland of St. Marguerite; and the abbé Sieyes, who had defended with energy the pretenſions of the third eſtate, in a popular performance entitled, *Qu'eſt-ce-que le Tiers-Etat*, were named among the repreſentatives of the capital.

The advice of monſieur Necker had ſwelled the deputies of the third eſtate to an equality in number with the united orders of the clergy and the nobility; but this conceſſion, important as it ſeemed, might yet be evaded, and it was early foreſeen, by thoſe who conſidered with attention the ſituation of two parties, that the nobility and clergy, (who had already offered to bear their part of the burden of the ſtate) to preſerve their influence, would urge their claim to vote by order; while the repreſentatives of the commons would be equally ſtrenuous that every queſtion ſhould be decided by a plurality of voices; that this difference of opinion would ſoon increaſe into an open ſchiſm; and would deſtroy that unanimity ſo neceſſary to the public tranquillity, and ſo eſſential to the deliberations of the ſtates-general.

A. D. 1789. Thoſe who ventured to foretel theſe conſequences, were not diſappointed in the event. On the fifth of May, 1789, the king opened at Verſailles the long expected aſſembly of the ſtates-general. His ſpeech on this occaſion was ſuch as became the ſovereign and the friend of the people: He declared,

" that the day which his heart had ſo long panted after was at length arrived, in " which he beheld himſelf ſurrounded by the repreſentatives of a nation, which it " was his glory to reign over.

" That though a long interval had elapſed ſince the ſtates-general had been " aſſembled, and though thoſe aſſemblies had appeared to have ſunk into diſuſe, " yet he had not heſitated to eſtabliſh them again, as a ſource from whence the " kingdom might derive additional ſtrength, and which might open to the nation " a new proſpect of happineſs.

" The national debt," he added, " ſo conſiderable at his acceſſion to the " throne, had been augmented during his reign; this was to be attributed to a " war expenſive indeed, but honourable; the increaſe of taxes had been the " neceſſary conſequence, and had rendered ſtill more apparent the inequality with " which they were levied.

" A general diſcontent, an eager thirſt for innovations had," he obſerved, " pervaded the minds of the people, and might finally tend to delude them from " their duty, if their opinions were not recalled by counſels at once wiſe, mode- " rate, and united.

" It was in that confidence, that he had aſſembled the ſtates-general: and " he beheld with pleaſure his expectations juſtified by the diſpoſition which the " nobility and clergy had already ſhewn to renounce all pecuniary advantages: " And he flattered himſelf that the hope he had conceived, to behold all the or- " ders unanimouſly concur with himſelf in purſuing the public good, would " not be diſappointed.

" In his own expences," he ſaid, " he had already made conſiderable reduc- " tions. But with every exertion of economy, he dreaded that he ſhould not be " able to diminiſh the burdens of his ſubjectsſo ſoon as he deſired; that he ſhould " ſubmit to their inſpection an exact account of the finances; and when they had " examined them, he was aſſured they would propoſe the means moſt efficacious " to eſtabliſh permanent order, and to raiſe the public credit: This grand and " ſalutary work, which would inſure the internal happineſs, and external grandeur " of the kingdom, ought continually to occupy their thoughts.

" The minds of the people ſtill indeed remained agitated; but the repreſenta- " tive body of the nation would doubtleſs only liſten to the language of wiſdom " and prudence; they themſelves had obſerved how often that language had " been neglected; but the ſpirit of their deliberations, (he doubted not), would " anſwer to the true ſentiments of a generous people, who had ever been diſtin- " guiſhed by their attachment to the throne.

" I know," continued the prince, " the authority and power of a juſt king in " the midſt of a people, faithful, and ever devoted to the principles of the mo- " narchy: That authority and power have conſtituted the glory and grandeur of " France; and it is my duty, and I ever will firmly maintain them.

" But whatever can be expected for the public welfare, whatever can be de- " manded of a ſovereign, the friend of his people, you may—you ought—to " hope, from my ſentiments.

" That a perfect unanimity may reign through this aſſembly; that this period " may become for ever memorable for the happineſs and the proſperity of the

" kingdom, is the wiſh of my heart, is the moſt fervent of my prayers; it is the " reward that I expect for the uprightneſs of my intentions, and my love for my " people."

Such was the language delivered from the throne on the firſt meeting of the ſtates-general. The patriotic ſentiments of the ſovereign were followed by a cold and inſipid harangue from the keeper of the ſeals, which was received without attention, and immediately conſigned to oblivion.

But far different was the reception of the ſpeech of monſieur Necker; every word was ſtrongly imprinted on the minds of the auditors, and every ſentiment expoſed to the ſevereſt ſcrutiny. He ſtated, that the ſame power which had thought proper to ſummon, might alſo have prevented the meeting of the ſtates-general; though in reſpect to the finances, the public debt was conſiderable, that various reſources remained, without having recourſe to this extraordinary expedient. He then touched upon the difficulties that had occurred in convening the aſſembly; he repreſented the facility with which a king of France could always render himſelf maſter of their determinations, ſhould theſe depend upon a plurality of voices; and he concluded a ſpeech of three hours, by ſtrongly inſinuating the propriety of deciding every queſtion by a majority of the orders taken ſeparately.

It was the misfortune of monſieur Necker, on this occaſion, to be deſirous of pleaſing both parties, and of conſequence he obtained the permanent confidence of neither; the acclamations of the giddy multitude ſtill indeed attended him, but ſeveral deputies of the third eſtate or commons, regarded already with ſuſpicion the miniſter who repreſented the ſtates-general merely as the effect of royal compliance, inſtead of a conſtitutional right: They were ſtill leſs ſatisfied with the ſyſtem he inclined to, to decide every queſtion by a majority of orders inſtead of a majority of voices; while the clergy and nobility recollected with indignation, that his counſels had ſhaken their former ſuperiority, and had ſwelled the commons to equal in number the other two eſtates.

Neither the unanimity recommended by the king, nor the ſyſtem of policy inculcated by his miniſter, had a momentary effect on the ſtates-general. Scarce had the monarch left the hall, before the clergy and the nobility retired to their different chambers to verify their powers. The third eſtate regarded this ſeparation with evident jealouſy; they conſidered it as an open attempt in the other two eſtates to eſtabliſh the ſyſtem which had been alluded to by the miniſter of the finances. Compoſing in number one half of that aſſembly, the commons were determined never to ſubmit to the claims of the nobility and clergy to vote by orders, and thus to reduce themſelves to a third part of the aſſembly; a conceſſion which they aſſerted would have rendered illuſory the rights which had been acknowledged in the third eſtate: and why, added they, have we been granted a moiety of voices, if thoſe voices are to be conſidered as only compoſing a third?

The third eſtate, which had remained in the hall appointed for their deliberations, preſſed the other two orders to continue with them, and to verify their powers in common: They urged, that at preſent the important queſtion was by no means concerned, whether they ſhould deliberate by orders or by number;

and th e ſole matter in diſpute was a ſimple verification of powers. Several days paſſed in fruitleſs invitations and negociations; the patience of the third eſtate was at length exhauſted; they determined to proceed to buſineſs, and they aſſumed the title of *commons;* a title which we have already beſtowed upon them by anticipation.

On the eleventh of May, the nobility alſo, after having verified their powers, declared themſelves a legal aſſembly; but the clergy followed their march with more cautious ſteps. They deferred the verification of their powers, and regarding themſelves as yet compoſing no conſtitutional body, they offered their mediation between the other two orders. But the minds of each party grew daily more hoſtile; the ſchiſm became ſtill wider; and at length the royal interpoſition was deemed neceſſary to compoſe thoſe differences which blaſted the happy fruits that had been expected from the meeting of the ſtates-general.

But the ſeeds of diſcontent had taken root too deeply to be eaſily eradicated; in vain did Lewis recommend, in the moſt perſuaſive terms, that unanimity which alone could give weight to the proceedings of the aſſembly; his plan of conciliation produced only debates, aſſemblies of commiſſaries, addreſſes, and deputations, eloquent but indeciſive. Several weeks were conſumed in ineffectual motions on the ſcarcity of corn, the diſtreſs of the people, the regulation of the police, and the validity of elections.

At length, about the middle of June, the impatience of the commons prevailed over every other conſideration; ſeveral of the clergy, already aſhamed of their inactivity, had conſented to verify their powers in the preſence of the third eſtate; their example had been followed by a ſmall body of the nobility; and on the fifteenth of June, the abbé Sieyes, availing himſelf of this event, made his celebrated motion.

He repreſented, "that the aſſembly already conſiſted of deputies returned by "a very conſiderable majority of the nation; that ſuch a body ought not to "remain inactive becauſe a certain deſcription of citizens obſtinately perſevered "in abſenting themſelves; that it belonged to them to proclaim the general "wiſhes of the nation; that no intermediate power could exiſt between them "and the throne; and that the title of *known and acknowledged repreſentatives* of "the nation belonged to that aſſembly: That it no longer became them to defer "the ſalutary work of reſtoring order to the nation, in the vain hope that the "deputies now abſent would unite with them, and partake in the labours of "re-eſtabliſhing the glory and happineſs of France."

After long and animated debates, the commons, on the ſixteenth of June, adopted the ſpirit of the abbé Sieyes' motion; rejecting at the ſame time the title of the *known and acknowledged repreſentatives of the nation*, and ſubſtituting in the place of it, that of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY; thus aſſuming to themſelves the vaſt power of legiſlative government, amidſt the approbation of a vaſt concourſe of ſpectators, whoſe plaudits of "long live the national aſſembly" rung the hall. —With the birth of this illuſtrious title to the French repreſentation, a title and an era for ever memorable, we ſhall cloſe this volume.

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THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE;

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TO

The complete Establishment of the Republic.

THE ANCIENT PART, AND MODERN, DOWN TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION,

FROM

THE FRENCH OF VELLY, VILLARET, GARNIER, MEZERAY, DANIEL, AND OTHER EMINENT HISTORIANS:

With Notes Critical and Explanatory, by

JOHN GIFFORD, *Esq.*

THE

REVOLUTIONARY PART,

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST ENGLISH AND FRENCH AUTHORITIES,

By WILLIAM DUANE.

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FRANCE
Divided into
CIRCLES
and
DEPARTMENTS.

Names of the
METROPOLITAN CIRCLES

1 Circle of Paris
2 ____ the Coasts of the Channel
3 ____ North East
4 ____ East
5 ____ South East
6 ____ Coasts of the Mediterranean
7 ____ South
8 ____ South West
9 ____ North West
10 ____ Centre

Explanation

Boundaries of the Metropolitan Circles ..... Tower of Cordovan
D° ____ of the Departments .....
Seats of the Metropolitans ..... ⊛
D° of the Bishops ..... ⊙
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The principal Place in each Department is underlined as Caen

British Statute Miles
10 20 40 60 80 100

Leagues of France 25 to a Degree
5 10 20 30 40

6 West 5 Long. from 4 London 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 East 5 Long. from 6 London 7 8 9

51 50 49 48 47 46 45 44 43

7' 73 East Longitude 75 from Philadelphia 77 79 81 83

ENGLAND
BRITISH CHANNEL
BAY OF BISCAY
SPAIN
Pyrenean Mountains
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GERMANY

Lundy I. Hartland P.t Wells Minchead Stratton Exeter Dorchester Trevose P.t Laencester Lestwithiel Plymouth Torbay Weymouth Portland I. Lands End St Ives Edyston Start P.t Lizard P.t Rochester Canterbury Dover Southampton Chichester Rye Lewes Newport Yarmouth I. of WIGHT Brighthelmstone Beachy Head Str. of Dover

Oftend Bruges Ghent ANTWERP Liere Roermend Dunkirk Gravelines Calais Boulogne Malines Arschot Louvain Brussels Hall Landen Maestricht Aix la Chapelle COLOGNE Dalem Bonn Limburg Rhine R. Geluppe LIEGE Namur Meuse R. Spa Coblentz Reinfels St Hubert Simmeren Mentz Worms Manheim Spire Philipsburg Landau Philipsburg

Aldernay I. Cla Hoogue Barfleur Cherbourg Valognes Guernsey I. St Martin Jersey I. St Aubin Havre de Grace Harfleur Caudebec Seine R. Pont Audemer Honfleur Lisieux Caen Bayeux Falaise Argentan Vire Avranches Mont St Michael Dieppe Aumale Neufchatel Gournay Beauvais Pont St Esprit Louviers Evreux Verneuil Mantes Meulan Versailles Paris Rouen Caudebec Pont Audemer Pont l'Evêque Courtonne Argentan Falaise Vire Avranches Mont St Michael Granville Mortain Pontorson Dol Dinan Montfort Rennes Vitre Fougeres Laval Mayenne Chateau Gontier Segre Craon Ancenis Nantes Clisson Rochelle Chatellerault Loudun Thouars Parthenay Niort Fontenay Les Sables d'Olonne Ile de Ré Oleron I. Rochefort Marennes Saintes Pons Cognac Angoulême Barbezieux Chalais Perigueux Riberac Montignac Bergerac Montpont Libourne Bordeaux Cadillac Blaye Lesparre Soulac Pointe de Grave Cordovan Tower

Abbeville Pequigny Amiens Doullens Arras Bapaume Cambray Peronne Roye Montdidier Noyon Compiegne Soissons Chauny Laon Coucy Guise Rethel Vervins Charleville Sedan Mezieres Luxemburg Longwy Thionville Metz Verdun Montmedy Sarre Louis Deux Ponts Bouquenom Sarreguemines Bitche Landau Weissenburg Lauterbourg Strasbourg Schlestadt Colmar Neuf Brisach Basle Altkirch Huningen Belfort Vesoul Gray Langres Is sur Tille Dijon Beaune Autun Chalons Macon Bourg en Bresse Geneva Nantua Seyssel Annecy Chambery Moutier Grenoble Briançon Embrun Gap Digne Barcelonette Nice Antibes St Marguerite Villefranche Monaco Ventimiglia Albinga Suze Turin Pignerol Saluzzo Coni Lausanne Sion Aosta Martigny St Maurice Evian Thonon Yverdun Neufchatel Soleure Bienne Fribourg Berne Lucerne Zurich Constance

Brest Harb. Ushant I. The 7 Isles Ile Bas Brahat I. Chausey I. St Malo St Brieux Morlaix Landerneau Brest Carhaix Chateaulin Douarnenez Bay Pontcroix Quimper Penmark Glenan I. L'Orient Groais I. Quiberon Bell Isle Nourmoutier I. Ile d'Yeu Les Sables d'Olonne Ile de Ré Oleron I. Rochefort Marennes Saintes Pons Cognac Angoulême Barbezieux Chalais Perigueux Riberac Montignac Bergerac Montpont Libourne Bordeaux Cadillac Blaye Lesparre Soulac Pointe de Grave Cordovan Tower Bayonne Dax Tartas Mont de Marsan Roquefort Nerac Agen Villeneuve Lot Cahors Montauban Moissac Castelsarrasin Toulouse Carcassone Narbonne Alet Quillan Perpignan Arles Tarascon Pont St Esprit Montelimart Valence Privas Tournon Romans Vienne St Etienne Monistrol Yssingeaux Le Puy Brioude Issoire Clermont Riom Thiers Ambert Montbrison Roanne Villefranche Tarare Lyons Trevoux Bourg en Bresse Pont de Vaux Pont de Veyle Mâcon Tournus Chalons Beaune Dijon Is sur Tille Gray Vesoul Langres Chaumont Joinville Bar sur Aube Troyes Nogent sur Seine Sens Montereau Melun Provins Nemours Fontainebleau Rambouillet Dreux Nonancourt Verneuil Argentan L'Aigle Mortagne Nogent le Rotrou Chateaudun Chartres Etampes Pithiviers Montargis Orleans Gien Auxerre Tonnerre Clamecy Cosne Nevers Moulins Gilbert Chateauroux Issoudun Bourges Aubigny Sancerre Cosne Briare Montargis Joigny Sens Nogent sur Seine Arcis sur Aube Vitry le François Chalons Epernay Chateau Thierry Meaux Paris Versailles Montfort l'Amaury Dreux Nonancourt Verneuil Argentan L'Aigle Mortagne Nogent le Rotrou Chateaudun Chartres Etampes Pithiviers Montargis Orleans Gien Auxerre Tonnerre Clamecy Cosne Nevers Moulins Gilbert Chateauroux Issoudun Bourges Aubigny Sancerre Cosne Briare Montargis Joigny Sens Nogent sur Seine Arcis sur Aube Vitry le François Chalons Epernay Chateau Thierry Meaux Paris Versailles Montfort l'Amaury

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

THE REVOLUTION.

SOCIETY, like the individuals of which it is compoſed, is the creature of circumſtances, capable of being faſhioned by imperceptible cauſes, or ſwayed by the weakeſt no leſs than by the moſt violent paſſions. How lamentably fatal have been the effects of ignorance upon Nations! How baleful the effects of an inſinuating and effeminating Luxury! The one hath nurſed the horrid brood of error; the other hath ſunk man below himſelf, into all the debaſing ways of Vice; both have concurred to make man the ſlave of his equal; and to ſupercede for a time the bounties of providence.

It is from hiſtory that men ſhould draw that experience ſo neceſſary to guard againſt the moſt fatal of human evils. It is by the errors and crimes of mankind in paſt and preſent times, he ſhould learn to ſhun thoſe paths which inevitably lead to ſimilar ends. The records of departed time do not afford a topic ſo eventful and momentous as that of the French Revolution; perhaps it is not from the hand of a contemporary that a ſubject ſo powerful over the paſſions can be effectually illuſtrated; and it is not improbable that a future generation may derive more advantage from the terrible admonitions which it furniſhes, than the preſent.

But it will be admitted that no period can be more ſuitable than the preſent to collect the ſcattered and fugitive materials which have ariſen from the paſſing events. Theſe carefully teſted by the ſimple proceſs of taking evidence where the parties are oppoſed to each other in principles, but concur in the facts; or where the facts are diſputed; ſelecting that ſtatement which appears moſt probable, but without diſguiſing the objections which ſtand againſt it: Placing theſe in the moſt inſtructive point of view, the enquirer of the preſent day will poſſeſs the beſt information that is to be obtained;

future times muſt develope thoſe ſecret operations which the intereſts and irritation of parties have alwayscarefully ſecluded from the ſcrutiny of their opponents.

Vanity engroſſes ſo large a portion of the human character, that it is not extraordinary to find different opinions upon the origin of the French revolution; or that eager to obtain the credit of the diſcovery, individuals have endeavoured to fix its origin to that ſingle cauſe which moſt concurred with his prejudices or his wiſhes. But however unſubſtantial the individual theory, perhaps the union of the many cauſes may be truly found to have produced this great event.

An examination of the hiſtory of the French monarchy, even from the period of the revival of letters, would alone furniſh evidence of a double progreſſion which muſt at ſome period end in a convulſion between the inſatiable rapacity of the monarchy and the accumulating enlightenment of the people.

Under the united extravagance of her kings the French nation for ten centuries exhibited an aſtoniſhing example of attachment and obedience; but although the rapid ſucceſſion of their afflictions tended to drown the recollection of the paſt in the pains of the preſent; the voice of remonſtrance was ſometimes heard. The parliaments at different periods had manifeſted a ſpirit worthy of the moſt happy days of ancient Athens, and beſides their ſucceſs in eaſing the people from particular burthens, we know that their power has proceeded ſo far with the ſupreme authority, as to beſtow the regency three times, and to annul the teſtaments of two kings.

The plenitude of power uſurped by Lewis the Fourteenth had thrown the nation into a lethargic apathy, which prevailed with odious uniformity during the reign of his ſucceſſor, Lewis the Fifteenth; whoſe debauched life and unprincipled extravagance contaminated by example while it ſapped the foundations of the people's domeſtic ſimplicity and comfort; he entailed on the nation thoſe antiſocial vices which proceed from luxury, while he encumbered them with an enormous addition to the public debt. Lewis the Sixteenth commenced his reign, it has been remarked, under the moſt ſiniſter and unpopular auſpices, with iſſuing *lettres de cachet* and diſputes with the parliaments; but he poſſeſſed ſome of the moſt happy qualifications to ſucceed at ſuch a critical juncture; auſtere in his obſervance of the ordinary moral duties, he exhibited in his own perſon a ſevere economy, and it has been urged as an extraordinary fact, claiming admiration, that during a reign of eighteen years he had neither miſtreſſes nor favourites.* But his wife unfortunately more than ſurpaſſed in profuſion the habitual parſimony of Lewis: ſhe diſliked expence and pomp; ſhe aſpired not only to the dominion over the graces, but over the government. —The habitual coldneſs of Lewis was ſubdued into a baleful ſufferance of every exceſs by the plaſtic allurements of his conſort; and in the already contaminated atmoſphere of the court, minions were not wanting capable of perfecting that ruin which already threatened the nation through the incumbrances of an immenſe debt.

At the commencement of the revolution, the debt of France, commonly known by the name of the *deficit*, conſiſted of two claſſes; one the annual expences above the actual receipts, which was eſtimated at fifty-ſix millions: the other of the ſum of five hundred and ſixty millions, payable at certain periods.

* Du Government des Moeurs, et des conditions en France, avant la Revolution, &c. printed at Hamburg, 1795.

A curſory review of the early part of the reign of Lewis XVI. will ſerve to diſplay the numerous calls for new taxes, and the ſyſtems adopted to ſatisfy the wants of the government: But it may be firſt neceſſary to exhibit the character of the nation in the aggregate, as drawn by the pencil of the moſt impartial, and the concurring teſtimony of writers of oppoſite opinions in politics. The character of the French could not be juſtly confounded with that of the court or its viſitors. The nobles who imported into the provinces ſcarcely any thing beſide vices and oppreſſion, exhibited each in their caſtles an epitome of the frivolity and debauchery of the capital; but the pride of birth on one hand, and unaſpiring ſimplicity on the other, fixed a barrier which reſiſted every inroad but that of oppreſſive levies and barbarous laws.

The inveterate deſpotiſm of ages and the accumulating burthens of taxation, had been in ſome meaſure countervailed by the gifts of nature; a happy climate and a fertile ſoil ſuſtained the ſimplicity of their manners and enjoyments; and the ſenſe of honor and the love of country animated the hearts of the people in the practice of the ſocial virtues, unleſs where titular honors had given a ſanction for every gradation of turpitude. That ſupercilious dignity which depends not on talents and the practice of virtue, but in a diſtinction which holds no other character but that of arbitrary regulation or in prejudice, was not yet ſo odious in its general operation in France as in other countries; we are told that there was a perpetual friction between the different claſſes, which rubbed off ſuch of the angles of ſociety as were too prominent; hence it may not be ſo much a matter of ſurpriſe that a people peculiarly ſuſceptible of complaiſance ſhould ſubmit to impoſitions laid in a manner flattering to the individuals though ultimately fatal to their proſperity. The domeſtic lives of the people were enviable objects of contemplation and deſire. A certain gaiety, a ſweet familiarity that looks innocent and unabaſhed in the face of the ſtranger or the great; an urbanity ſeldom to be met with in other countries, which ſoftens and reconciles the difference of years; a frank fondneſs which diſplayed the huſband and wife, if not lovers, the civileſt friends and the kindeſt parents—the only parents perhaps who treated their children like friends; the moſt affable maſters and miſtreſſes; the cold formality of invitation was unknown between relatives and friends, and the ſtranger, in partaking of their hoſpitalities, felt no anxiety but in the obligations which their courteſy laid him under. Such were the prominent features of the French character, as drawn by a diſcriminating hand.* But candour muſt allow that this preſents a large calculation on the ſtock of happineſs; to meaſure the miſery of the nation by an equable proceſs, it would be neceſſary to eſtimate the progreſſive exceſſes of the government, which had been growing up for ſo many reigns. This properly belongs to the prior hiſtory; however it may be ſatisfactory to preſent a brief outline of the public grievances at this period.

Under the monarchy of France that eternal principle of Juſtice, which makes mutuality of allegiance and protection, the only baſis and bond of civil government, was utterly diſregarded, or not recognized; *that the will of the king is the will of the law*, had become a maxim of the government; hence it is not a matter of ſurpriſe that the limitted capacity of a monarch, bred up enſtranged from the wants and cares of ſociety, ſhould either impoſe inefficient or oppreſſive laws himſelf, or be betrayed into them by the

*Mrs. Woolſtoncraft.

intrigues of the more crafty and ambitious. The oppreſſive inſtitution of the *corvee*, had been aboliſhed a few years prior to the revolution, through the ſalutary advice of Turgot. But the greater feudal ſuperiorities ſtill maintained their oppreſſive influence in the utmoſt plenitude; to theſe were attached a monopoly of entails, a diſcretionary power in the ſuperiors over their vaſſals; the nobles totally exempted from contribution to the wants of the ſtate, and nobility was purchaſeable; hence as the nation became opulent the rich became noble, and the weight of the public burdens became heavier on the poor:—barbarous foreſt laws, which put the life of the peaſant in conſtant jeopardy; an oppreſſive ſtanding army, to ſupply which the multitudinous inferior ranks of ſociety were arbitrarily torn from their families, their children doomed to indigence and ignorance; the national wealth, both in collection and expenditure, at the entire and unqueſtioned diſcretion of the crown, levied without any previous conſent of the contributors, and without any other form than that of a royal edict—and in the rare inſtances of remonſtrance, enforced by a compulſive regiſtration;—Places created and penſions laviſhed without neceſſity or merit, the offices of public truſt, honour, and emolument, military and civil and the adminiſtration of juſtice put up to ſale; unbounded ſecondary offices of oppreſſion, and immenſe patronage of eccleſiaſtical preferments, ſecular and regular, diſpoſed of without any viſible advantage to the ſtate, and repeatedly employed as the price of corruption, crimes, and intrigue; the public roads infeſted by an inſolent marechauſſée, who maltreated or pillaged the poor without mercy or fear of puniſhment; barriers of inquiſition on the public roads; all correſpondence by poſt violated; all communication of thought by the medium of the preſs, philoſophical, moral, civil, political, or religious, equally enthralled by public examination and conditional licenſe; an inquiſitorial police invading the private receſſes of ſociety; and *lettres de cachet* conſtantly iſſuing by the influence or the reſentment of courtiers, and often of the moſt abandoned proſtitutes.

Such was the great outline of national oppreſſions at the period which we have taken up the hiſtory of France; the people, however, ſeemed to bear with extraordinary patience ſuch an enormous aggregation of wrongs; the ſucceeding pages will develope ſtill further cauſes of complaint, for it was not until the national ſpirit had began to awake, that the grievances which had been long ſanctioned by patient endurance were found not to be therefore juſt.

We may now reſume the conſideration of thoſe circumſtances which peculiarly marked the reign of Lewis XVI. The evil moſt ſenſibly felt by the government, was the deficiency of funds to ſupply the exigencies of the public ſervice; Necker thought to ſubdue the difficulty by loans, and the moſt rigid œconomy; by reforming ſome of the expences of the houſhold and retrenching ſuperfluous offices in the various departments of the adminiſtration; but while he acquired popular applauſe, he alſo incurred the enmity of a numerous and powerful nobility, to whom his ſyſtem was particularly obnoxious, and through whoſe intrigues he was at length diſmiſſed from office. His ſucceſſor, monſieur Calonne, commenced his adminiſtration with great popularity, but the maſk with which he had at firſt ſeduced their applauſe was ſoon removed from this penetrating people, and his meaſures not only incurred their diſapprobatinon but that of their repeſentatives; however, the power of the ſovereign for a time ſtamped ſufficient importance on every proceeding of his miniſter; To give a more effectual ſanction to the increaſing

loans and taxes now in contemplation, the assembly of notables was convened; but the minister derived no advantages from this body, and they were soon dissolved. The king now had recourse to the accustomed measure of a royal edict. A double poll-tax, a third twentieth, and a stamp-duty were thus ordained to be levied. The parliaments oppосed these taxes, and the king had immediate recourse to the compulsive authority of a bed of justice. The banishment of the parliament was the consequence of their remonstrances; but with an instability that signalised Lewis, they were soon recalled. New measures were formed by the court; the king call d another assembly of the notables, with a view to sanction the establishment of a *cour pleniere;* by this project it was intended that all royal edicts should be registered, and the painful remonstrances of the parliaments avoided: but opposition strangled this monstrous measure in its birth, and with it terminated th administration but not the influence of Calonne. Necker was soon after recalled, whose first measure was to give way to the popular desires, in advising the assembly of the states-general.

The principles of liberty now began to manifest themselves in memorials from various parts of the kingdom, on the nature of the representation to the states-general. The principles of the election to that body were discussed fully in the assembly of the notables, representation fixed, but so as to alarm many of the nobles, and particularly the prince of Conti, whose predictive fears were considerably heightened by the nature of the numerous publications disseminating throughout France. He caused a note to bedelivered to the king, expressive of his uneasiness for the result of these unusual productions of the press. Monarchy, he said, was attacked, and its existence endangered! The moment was near, and it comported with the necessity of the times to proscribe this licentious liberty, and blast these new systems in their bud. But the king received this note with his accustomed coldness, This was followed soon after by another memorial presented to the king, by the princes of the blood, excepting Monsieur and the duke d'Orleans. They affirmed that the state was in instant danger, that a revolution was gradually undermining the vitals of the government, and that institutions by which the monarchy had been upheld for ages, were now derided as unjust; that the publications and representations from the provinces were alarming, evincing a contempt of the law; such was the excess of popular innovation, that men void of ability or information, had been invested with the fate of empires; inflamatory publications were read with avidity, and their poison of such a nature that no power could set bounds to opinion?—already had the rights of the throne been disputed; those of the two higher orders were next questioned; it had even been proposed to suppress the feudal lordships, as a system of oppression, and a remnant of barbarism; that there only remaine the uneqnal distribution of property, which would soon be deemed an infringement requiring reform.

These representations appear at first sight in a degree prophetical; but on a closer examination will be found to be the result of an intimate acquaintance with humann nature, and of the particular circumstances of France. The claim of a representation for the commons, equal in number to that of the other two estates united, was the first result of of national opinion; it was determined also that the great principle of proportioning the representation to the population and financial contribution of the different bailliages, should be the adopted. It was at this this period of public agitation the memorable society of *The Friends of the People*, since called *Jacobins* in allusion the hall where they met, was formed.

Its members held correſpondence with all parts of France; poſſeſſed of a rare union of talents and enthuſiaſm, it gave a tone to the national voice that reſponded with impreſſive harmony from all points of the nation. The agitations which prevailed among the three eſtates of nobles, clergy and the commons, on the important queſtion whether they ſhould vote by ſeparate houſes, ſo that an union of any two could ſuppreſs the reſolutions of the other, or whether the *tiers état* ſhould, being equal in numbers, have an equal vote with the other two orders united, were now carried to a great height. On the motion of Rabaut de St. Etienne (a proteſtant clergyman) commiſſioners were appointed to negotiate an accommodation, but, without the deſired effect, the nobles continuing obdurate. No mode of conciliation appearing practicable, conſiſtent with the dignity of the repreſentatives, who being adhered to by ſome of the nobility and clergy, the *tiers état*, upon the ſuggeſtion of the abbé Sieyes, took the important reſolution of aſſuming the ſupreme legiſlative authority, under the famous title of the *National Aſſembly*.

From the period of this event, which took place on the ſixteenth of June, 1789, may juſtly be dated the commencement of the revolution—when privileged orders and feudal diſtinctions—the ſtupendous fabric of eccleſiaſtical authority and the magnificence and power of the hoary monarchy of France, crumbled into ruin beneath the breath of a nation awakened into action by the weight of their grievances.

The new aſſembly immediately took the neceſſary oaths, and, as the firſt act of authority, they declared that the different taxes collected throughout the kingdom, as never having received the aſſent of the nation, were illegal and null; but at the ſame time, that the preſervation and ſafety of the ſtate demanded the continuation of them; and they therefore decreed, that they ſhould be levied as before, until the time that the national aſſembly ſhould be prorogued; but from the moment that event, from whatever cauſe it might proceed, ſhould take place, then all impoſts and contributions, which had not been nominally, formally, and freely granted by the aſſembly, ſhould entirely ceaſe in every province of the country.

At the ſame time the aſſembly declared, that as ſoon as they had aſcertained the principles of the conſtitution, they would direct their attention to the public debt; placing from this moment the creditors of the ſtate under the ſafeguard of *the honour and faith of the French nation*: And, to alleviate the fears of the people, a committee of ſubſiſtence was immediately eſtabliſhed, to enquire into the cauſes of the dearth which at that moment afflicted the kingdom.

It is ſcarce poſſible to deſcribe the different ſenſations and effects which this memorable day produced. The people, in the moment of triumph, abandoned themſelves to all the intoxications of joy: "One hour," ſaid they, "has deſtroyed the prejudices and ſlavery "of fourteen centuries; the nation has once more reſumed its rights, and reaſon "has again aſſerted her ſway. The clergy and nobles, beneath whoſe uſurpations we "have ſo long groaned, have vaniſhed from our ſight; the charm is broken, and the "voice of the repreſentatives of the commons is become the voice of the nation."

On the other ſide, the nobility and clergy watched the courſe of the torrent with a mixture of terror and indignation; they beheld the pretenſions of the commons ſweeping before them thoſe excluſive privileges which had long been attached to their orders, and which long cuſtom had almoſt converted into rights: "It is not," exclaimed "they, our own deſtruction that we lament; it is the ſubverſion of the monarchy."

Nor could the ſovereign himſelf be indifferent to the proſpect before him: He had liſtened to the complaints of the people; he had reſtored the commons to their deareſt and moſt ancient rights; but he had moſt probably given way to the flattering illuſion, that it would always be in his power to reſtrain their zeal within certain bounds; it is not impoſſible that he had even conceived the hope, after uſing their influence to eſtabliſhed the new taxes, and reſtore regularity to the finances, that he might be able to let this popular aſſembly ſink once more into diſuſe. But if he had indulged this pleaſing dream, he was ſoon awakened from it by new pretenſions and declarations of the third eſtate. Borne away by the ſtream, the clergy and nobles ſeemed to ſtretch forth their hands and implore the protection of the crown; his favourites aſſailed his ears with dark and gloomy repreſentations; even his royal conſort is ſuppoſed to have joined in predicting the dangerous influence the commons were likely to acquire: The flexible deſpoſition of Lewis was unequal to the weight of united ſolicitation; he yielded to the intereſted importunities of thoſe around him; and determined once more to oppoſe the royal authority to the enthuſiaſm of the people.

The moment was now rapidly approaching, when that authority which the national aſſembly had acquired by its eloquence, was to be maintained by its courage and perſeverance. On the twenty-firſt of June the deputies, on preſenting themſelves at the entrance of the ſaloon, found the door ſhut, and all admiſſion precluded by a numerous guard. The reaſon aſſigned for this extraordinary ſtep was the preparations for the king, who had declared his intention to be preſent on the twenty-third. Surpriſed, but undaunted, the members immediately adjourned to a neighbouring tennis-court where they reſolved, that in this alarming juncture the deputies of the nation ought to ſwear, "that "they conſidered themſelves inſeparable; and that they would continue to aſſemble in "every place practicable." A general enthuſiaſm prevailed; all unanimouſly crowded to take the oath; and their ſolemn aſſociation in defence of the common cauſe was reduced into writing by the ſecretary, and ſigned by every one preſent.

On the enſuing morning that aſſembly met in a church; and its numbers were again augmented by a conſiderable body of clergy, who preſented themſelves to verify their powers. This freſh acceſſion of ſtrength, with the ſanctity of the place, affected every mind; it was a moment of triumph to Mr. Bailly in particular, who having long diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an academician, was in this important criſis nominated to preſide in the national aſſembly.

On the twenty-third of June, the day that had been appointed by the king, the three orders aſſembled in the grand ſaloon of Varſailles. His majeſty opened the aſſembly by a ſpeech, in which he complained of that diviſion which prevailed among them, ſo fatal to the hopes of the people, and ſo contrary to the views of the ſovereign. This diſcourſe was followed by a declaration from the keeper of the ſeals: In the moſt deciſive language it inſiſted on the ancient diſtinction of the three orders as eſſential to the exiſtence of the ſtate; it eſtabliſhed particular rules in future for their deliberations; it aboliſhed, and declared void, the celebrated declaration of the commons on the ſeventeenth of the month, with all thoſe that had followed, as illegal and unconſtitutional; and finiſhed by declaring that the ſaloon, which hitherto had been open, ſhould be cloſed to the public in general.

A ſecond declaration followed the firſt, in which the king announced all the favours which it was his intention to grant to his people; and concluded with, "I may truly ſay "that no king has ever done ſo much for any nation whatſoever; but what ſubjects can "have merited ſo much from their natural deſpoſition as my own?"

The ſecond declaration conſiſted of thirty ſix articles, all of the utmoſt importance; taxes, loans, the actual ſtate of the finances, the ſums allotted to different departments for the maintenance of the king's houſehold, the conſolidation of the public debt, and the abolition of the pecuniary privileges of the clergy and nobility; letters de cachet, liberty of the preſs, of commerce, civil and crimnal code, perſonal liberty, equality of impoſt, with the eſtabliſhment of provincial ſtates, were points on which his majeſty explained his wiſhes and his will. In addreſſing the aſſembly he added, "If you abandon "*me* in this honourable enterpriſe, I alone will eſtabliſh the happineſs of my people; "it is ſeldom perhaps that the ſole ambition of a ſovereign is to prevail on his ſubjects to "receive his favours."

On retiring, the king had commanded the three orders to ſeparate immediately, and the next morning to aſſemble each in its reſpective chamber. The clergy, with the exception of a few, and the nobility, in obedience to the royal injunction, quitted inſtantly the ſaloon; but the commons ſtill remained, and debated with firmneſs on the meaſures likely to avert the deſtruction with which they were menaced from the intrigues of the court.

The aſſembly purſued their diſcuſſions with extrordinary freedom and animation, and at length Lewis thought it neceſſary once more to interpoſe; the marquis de Breze, grand-maſter of the ceremonies was injudiciouſly choſen to be organ of his will; he entered the hall, and addreſſed himſelf to the preſident thus, "You know, ſir, the intentions "of the king." The ſignificant brevity of this communication, and the haughty levity of the meſſenger, were calculated rather to encreaſe the heat and jealouſy which already prevailed, than to obtain that effect which was intended to be produced. Nevertheleſs, the preſident anſwered in a manner reſpectful and dignified, that the aſſembly was not conſtituted to receive orders from any perſon. Mirabeau then roſe from his ſeat, and addreſſed himſelf to M. de Breze, "The commons of France have determined to debate; "we have heard the intentions which have been ſuggeſted by the king; but you, who "cannot be his agent to the ſtates-general—you, who have neither ſeat nor voice here, "have no right to remind us of his ſpeech: go, and tell your maſter, that we are here "by the power of the people, and nothing ſhall expel us but the bayonet." Unanimous approbation ſeconded this ſpirited ſpeech, and the grand-maſter retired confuſed from the hall. M. Camus in an animated harangue pointed out the neceſſity of deciſive meaſures for their ſecurity; he enveighed ſeverely on the royal ſeſſion, which he contemptuouſly ſtigmatized with the title of *the bed of juſtice;* and concluded with propoſing a decree declaratory of their adherence to their former decrees, which he aſſerted no power could annul. Meſſrs. Barnave, Fethion, Gregoire, and ſeveral others ſupported the propoſition, which paſſed with the unanimous concurrence of the aſſembly. Soon after they broke up, having firſt agreed to a motion of Mirabeau, "That the perſon of every deputy ſhould be con-"ſidered inviolable."

It was fondly expected at Verſailles, that the interpoſition of the king would be attended with the moſt ſalutary conſequences; and it is not improbable, that had the king's declaration been announced earlier, and in a ſuitable form, the commons would not have ventured to oppoſe themſelves to the effects of his indignation; but they had already tried their own ſtrength and plainly ſaw the wavering inſtability of the monarch: they felt their own importance as the repreſentatives of the nation at large, they knew the influence attached to that character in the preſent awakened ſtate of public ſentiment, and they were determined to preſerve it or to periſh in the attempt.

Another circumſtance that greatly diminiſhed the effects of the king's declaration was the abſence of monſieur Necker; that miniſter was ſtill the idol of the multitude, and even many of the deputies regarded his experience and abilities as abſolutely requiſite to reſtore order to the finances. From his abſenting himſelf at ſo critical a juncture, it was concluded that he by no means approved the royal declaration; this ſuppoſition was confirmed by his offering at that moment to reſign; the populace, who conſidered on his retreat the veſſel of the ſtate as deſerted, crowded round his houſe, and when aſſured that he was ſtill to remain at the helm, teſtified their joy by acclamations and illuminations

Every circumſtance, however trifling, ſerved to agitate and inflame the minds of the people; th court and capital about this time began to divide into two parties; thoſe who adhered to the pretenſions of the clergy and nobility, were di inguiſhed by the title as *Ariſtocrats*; while thoſe who declared themſelves on the popolar ſide, were deſcribed as *Democrats*. The angry countenances of the Pariſians alſo foretold the ſtorm that was brooding; ſeveral priſons were forced, the debtors and criminals were ſet at liberty; and the French guards were loudly called upon by their fellow citizens to quit the cauſe of deſpotiſm, and to range themſelves beneath the ſtandard of liberty.

The clouds gathered on every ſide; the weakneſs of the royal councils, the boldneſs of the commons, and the enthuſiaſm of the people, all demanded the moſt mature reflection; the court of Verſailles no longer inſpired confidence or terror; and even could its fortitude have been relied on, to eſtabliſh its former aſcendancy, it was neceſſary to wade through torrents of blood. The flames of civil war muſt have been kindled, and the ſubject who had fought the battles of deſpotiſm, at beſt, could but have found his reward in a ſplendid ſlavery.

The pretenſions of the commons, on the other hand, ſeemed to have paſt the bounds of moderation; but the road which they had choſen led to liberty: It was indeed thorny and rugged; it had been long left unexplored; but the toil of the traveller was cheered by hope; and his labour was to be rewarded by the moſt ineſtimable of human bleſſings.

To that bleſſing the nobility themſelves were not entirely inſenſible. From the firſt moment that the voice of freedom had been heard, we have beheld the duke of Orleans attentive to her ſummons: As firſt prince of the blood, his ſituation allowed of no increaſe of dignity; his immenſe revenue, perhaps, exceeded that of any other ſubject in Europe; to theſe advantages no change of government could add; but he was conſcious they muſt have been conſiderably diminiſhed by that ſyſtem which adopted as its baſis the equality of mankind.

Yet one reward remained, the approbation of his fellow-citizens; to merit this he had early ſubjected himſelf to the royal diſpleaſure; in the beginning of the preſent

reign we behold him, with his father, exiled from the court; his proteſt in eighty-eight had been attended with his baniſhment to Villars Cotterel; on his recall his conduct had ſtill been conſiſtent, and he had ſupported the demand of the third eſtate to an equality of voices in the ſtates-general with the clergy and the nobility; he now, in concert with about fifty of the nobility, determined to join the national aſſembly; and endeavoured to put an end to that ſchiſm which threatened to ſhake the kingdom to its very foundation: this occurred on the twenty-fifth of June. The people were not indifferent to this freſh inſtance of his zeal for the public welfare; and they beſtowed on their illuſtrious champion, the glorious title of *prince of patriots*.

The clergy and nobility who yet remained ſeparate, had publiſhed their reſolution to adhere to the royal declaration of the twenty-third; but whether the influence of the miniſter of the finances for a moment prevailed, or the king yielded to his natural inſtability and deſire of peace, in a letter that his majeſty addreſſed to the two privileged orders, after aſſuring them how ſenſible he was of their fidelity in accepting his declaration, he added, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, he could not diſpenſe with recommending them to join thoſe, who had refuſed to accede to the propoſal he had made.

This celebrated junction was effected on the 27th of June. Several of the nobility and the higher rank of the clergy, ſtill combated againſt the deciſions of the aſſembly being determined by a majority of voices inſtead of orders; but their feeble attempts were overwhelmed by the numbers of the commons; and a proteſt was the only fruit of their long and unſucceſsful oppoſition.

The re-union of the different orders had inſpired the people with the moſt lively hopes of tranquillity; but thoſe hopes were ſoon blaſted; the influence of the queen and the baron de Breteuil ſeemed again to predominate at Verſailles; and the ſovereign had ſcarce conſented to the wiſhes of his people, before he was perſuaded to repent of the conceſſions he had granted. Large bodies of troops were directed to march towards Paris; a conſiderable camp was formed near the gates of the capital; the avenues to Verſailles were guarded by a formidable artillery; numerous ſentinels were planted round the palace; and the mareſchal de Broglio, grown grey in the wars of Germany, was ſummoned to command the forces aſſembled in the iſle of France.

The hoſtile preparations neither eluded the vigilance of the national aſſembly, nor were beheld with indifference by the citizens of Paris. They formerly contented themſelves with addreſſing his majeſty to withdraw thoſe troops which filled with apprehenſions the minds of his faithful ſubjects; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he might rely on the loyalty of the national aſſembly. But the latter, impatient of the controul with which they were menanced, had already proceeded to acts of violence, and had delivered by force ſome ſoldiers of the French guards, who had been confined by their colonel for military offences.

The indiſcretion of the citizens of Paris was overlooked and pardoned by Lewis; but to the addreſs of the national aſſembly, the ſovereign replied, that the diſorder of the capital had rendered it neceſſary to aſſemble an armed force in its neighbourhood; but that the deliberations of the national aſſembly ſhould ever be re- rded as free and ſacred; and if the deputies entertained any apprehenſions, they were at liberty to adjourn to Soiſſons or Noyon.

July 4.] The fortitude of the national aſſembly diſdained an alternative, which muſt for ever have alienated from them the minds of the capital: The moment was arrived for the election of a new preſident, in the room of monſieur Bailly; a conſierable majority of voices were in favour of the duke d'Orleans; but that prince, at the ſame time that he expreſſed himſelf ſenſible of the honour, with ſentiments of moderation and diffidence, declined the offer; and the archbiſhop of Vienne was elected in his place.

The ſtate of the colonies had claimed the attention of the aſſembly; that of St. Domingo had obtained the right of naming ſix deputies; and the national aſſembly to accelerate the public buſineſs, determined in future to divide itſelf into a number of committees.

The ſcarcity with which France was afflicted became the principal and moſt important object of deliberation; the capital bore with impatience the high price of corn, and the murmurs of the inhabitants were loud and general: It was at this moment when the greateſt addreſs was neceſſary to ſooth their diſcontented minds, that the court ventured on a meaſure as unpopular as it was impolitic.

On the eleventh of July, monſieur Necker, who had ſo long commanded the confidence of the multitude, received the royal orders to quit ſuddenly the kingdom. The firſt intelligence of his departure filled Paris with conſternation; he was conſidered as a ſacrifice to the patriotic ſentiments he had avowed; the people regarded his exile as the firſt ſtep to the ſubverſion of their freedom; the exchange was ſhut; the public ſpectacles were ſuſpended; and the crowds that aſſembled tumultuouſly in the ſtreets, proclaimed by their countenances their grief and indignation. Their fury at laſt blazed out with open violence; the bells were ſounded on every ſide as ſignals for the citizens to arm: The licentiouſneſs of the rabble, who, during the night, had pillaged ſeveral houſes, ſeemed to authoriſe this meaſure. The city, to facilitate the election of deputies, had been divided into ſixty diſtricts; and the electors, on the firſt alarm, repaired to their reſpective departments; they were claſſed into different regiments, they aſſumed a cockade of various colours, which was dignified with the title of National; while the court, whoſe verſatility had provoked the inſurrection, ſeemed loſt in aſtoniſhment at its progreſs.

The national aſſembly were no ſooner informed of the diſorders which raged through the capital, than they diſpatched a numerous deputation to the king, to repreſent their concern, and the dangers which threatened the ſtate. The favourites who had deſpiſed in the moment of tranquillity the rage of the populace, now trembled for their perſonal ſafety; the anſwer from the throne was conceived in terms the moſt ſatisfactory; the king aſſured the deputies that he would withdraw the regular troops from the environs of the capital; that he deſired his intentions might be known to the Pariſians; and that, to maintain the public order, he permitted the citizens to form themſelves into military bodies, while he himſelf would ſelect the proper officers to command them.

But before Paris could be aſſured of the favourable intentions of the ſovereign, her ſtreets had already been ſtained with civil blood; the regiment of Royal-Allemand, commanded by the prince de Lambeſc, had been ſtationed in the gardens of the Thuilleries; but the colonel, apprehenſive that the increaſing numbers of the people might preclude his retreat, gave orders to his ſoldiers to force their way through the crowd; in this attempt, the prince is reported to have wounded himſelf an unarmed citizen. This

unfortunate accident awakened again the fury of the people; the regiment of Royal-Allemand was attacked by every weapon that inſtant rage could ſupply. The French guards ranged themſelves on the ſide of the populace; and it was not without ſome loſs that the prince de Lembeſc ſecured the retreat of his reigment.

The croud, elated by ſucceſs, precipitated themſelves on the hotel of invalids; they there poſſeſſed themſelves of thirty thouſand fuſils; while the guards, that might have defended this important charge, waited in vain the orders of monſieur de Bezenval, the general of the Swiſs troops, and were tame ſpectators of the inſult. Each attempt confirmed the populace; armed with the trophies of their new victory, they now preſſed forward to the Baſtile, and with loud cries devoted to deſtruction that celebrated fortreſs of deſpotiſm.

The maſſy walls of the Baſtile, with the wide and deep ditch that ſurrounded them, might have defied the frantic valour of the inſurgents, had they been confided to any other perſon than the marquis de Launay. But the conduct of that officer was equally fatal tohis life and reputation; he rejected the demand of the people to remove the artillery from the ramparts, yet he neglected to raiſe the draw-bridge, and ſuffered a crowd to place themſelves upon it: On theſe unhappy people, who peacably awaited the effect of a parley which he held, he ſuddenly fired—ſeveral were the victims of this guilty raſhneſs—but the populace inſtead of being intimidated, were only irritated by the fate of their companions—they preſſed forwards in thouſands to avenge them—in vain did the wretched governor propoſe terms of capitulation—their fury was deaf to every entreaty, and ſuperior to every obſtacle: Reſiſtance was in vain—each avenue was forced—monſieur de Launay, a priſoner, loaded with inſults, was dragged to the place of public execution—and his head ſevered from his body, was carried in triumph through the ſtreets.

Monſieur de Loſme Salbrai, the major of the Baſtile, whoſe blameleſs life had been paſſed in alleviating the ſufferings of his priſoners, with ſeveral other officers of inferior note, were the victims to the miſconduct of the governor, and the undiſcerning rage of the people: once having taſted of blood, the multitude became inſatiate; and the guilty day was marked by the deſtruction of monſieur Desfleſſelles, prevot de Marchands: The refuſal of that officer to deliver the arms entruſted to him to the inſurgents, and a rumour that he had excited the unfortunate Launay to reſiſtance, proved fatal to his life; and he was torn to pieces by the barbarous madneſs of the ſanguinary populace.

If the ſtate of the capital was deplorable, that of the army was ſcarce leſs critical; the example of the French guards had pervaded the camp; the ſoldiers openly declared their reſolution not to arm againſt their fellow-citizens; the defection became general, and the mareſchal de Broglio was reluctantly compelled to inform the king, that his majeſty muſt no longer place any dependence on the army that he had been appointed to command.

The deputies, who had been diſpatched from the national aſſembly to reſtore order to the capital, had been witneſſes of the late ſanguinary ſcenes of commotion; they now returned to inform that aſſembly, that the voice of the nation at large demanded the recal of monſieur Necker, as a pledge of the ſincerity of the court; and a ſecond deputation was appointed to repreſent to his majeſty, the dangers with which every moment was pregnant.

The flattering proſpect which the courtiers had placed before the eyes of the king, was now vaniſhed from his ſight: The dream, that the royal authority would have inſpired inſtant and implicit ſubmiſſion, was no more; a people without government, an army without obedience, the provinces diſcontented, and the capital in revolt, formed a picture hediouſly alarming. Nothing remained but to ſooth the minds of the people by compliance; the camp, which had ſpread the fatal alarm throughout Paris, was inſtantly broken up; the different reigments were diſmiſſed to the diſtant quarters they had before occupied; the new miniſters, who had ſcarce yet entered upon their employments, were removed; and numerous couriers were diſpatched after monſieur Necker, to ſolicit his return. The letter from his majeſty to that ſtateſman, expreſſed his regret at yielding to the miſrepreſentations of his enemies; it invited him once more to ſhare his confidence, from which he never again ſhould be excluded; and expreſſed his hope that he would comply with the wiſhes of his ſovereign and fellow-citizens.

The royal letter to monſieur Necker was accompanied by the following from the national aſſembly: "The national aſſembly has already, Sir, declared by a ſolemn act, "that you carried with you their eſteem and regret; this honourable teſtimony has been "ſent to you on their part, and you muſt have received it. This morning they had "come to a reſolution to addreſs the king, requeſting your return; this was the reſult "of their own wiſhes, united to thoſe of the capital, which loudly demands you.

"The king has deigned to anticipate our deſire, and has announced to us your recal; "gratitude immediately impelled us to wait on his majeſty, who has given a freſh token "of his confidence, by charging us to ſend you this letter.

"The national aſſembly, Sir, preſs you to yield to the deſires of his majeſty; your "virtues and your talents cannot receive a more glorious or a more flattering incite- "ment. This will juſtify our confidence—you will not prefer your own repoſe to that of "the public—you will not decline to aid the beneficent intentions of his majeſty in "favour of his people. Every moment is precious—the nation, its king, its repreſen- "tatives await you."

While the royal couriers, with theſe flattering marks of approbation, were purſuing the flying ſteps of monſieur Necker, the ſovereign himſelf was employed in endeavouring to eſtabliſh harmony again in the capital. For this purpoſe his preſence at Paris was deemed neceſſary, and he entered the city amidſt the acclamations of its inhabitants; he was met by monſieur Bailly, who, during the late diſorders, had been choſen mayor of Paris, and whoſe election the king had been pleaſed to confirm; that officer preſented to his majeſty the keys of the capital, addreſſing him at the ſame time in the following memorable words: "Theſe, Sire, are the ſame keys which were preſented to Henry "the Fourth; he came to conquer his people; this day it is the people who re-conquer "their king."

Whatever might be the ſecret mortification of the ſovereign at this ſingular harangue, his whole conduct was ſuch as could not but challenge the applauſe of the moſt zealous champions of patriotiſm. The marquis de la Fayette, whoſe enthuſiaſtic ardour had impelled him to croſs the Atlantic, and to fight beneath the banners of America, was now ſelected by his countrymen to command the militia they had newly formed; and the choice of the Pariſians was ſanctioned by the approbation of his majeſty; who preſented

a new inſtance of compliance with the wiſhes of the multitude, by ſhewing himſelf at the windows of the Hotel de Ville with the national-cockade.

After theſe repeated conceſſions, the king was permitted to return once more to Verſailles, but the calm that his preſence had diffuſed throughout the capital was deceitful and of ſhort duration; the minds of the people ſtill remained agitated; diſtruſt and cruelty ſtill characteriſed the multitude; and the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions were ſufficient in their eyes to ſanction the moſt barbarous executions. Each day beheld ſome new ſacrifice to their ſanguinary caprice; but the ſuperior ſituations of meſſieurs Foulon and Berthier, have diſtinguiſhed their fate from more innocent though leſs conſpicuous, victims of popular fury.

The unfortnnate monſieur de Foulon, on the diſmiſſal of Necker, had been named to a poſt in the new adminiſtration; though in conjunction with his colleagues he had retired from office on the recall of that ſtateſman, yet his retreat ſerved not to extinguiſh the hatred of the Pariſians; his diſpoſition, naturally ſevere and uncomplying, probably encreaſed the general diſlike; and an expreſſion that public rumour had once attributed to him, "*that hay was food good enough for common people*," inflamed the murmurs of diſcontent into open menaces of deſtruction. Senſible of the ſtorm that threatened him, he had retired into the country, and hoped in diſguiſe and privacy to await the return of general tranquillity. But it was the misfortune of this gentleman to be equally obnoxions to his tenants and the Pariſians; by the former his place of retreat was diſcovered to the latter; he was dragged in bloody triumph to the capital; judges were appointed to try him; but the impatience of the multitude could ill brook the ſlow forms of juſtice; he was forced from the guards; the cord of a lanthorn ſupplied the inſtrument of execution; his body was dragged through the kennels; and his head, with the mouth filled with hay, was carried in cruel exultationthrough the ſtreets of the capital.

Monſieur de Berthier, the ſon-in-law of Foulon, though more amiable in his character, was ſcarce leſs culpable in the eyes of the people. A rumour prevailed that he had furniſhed the troops lately encamped in the environs of Paris with a conſiderable quantity of ammunition; he was alſo accuſed with not only having monopolized great quantities of corn, but alſo with having deſtroyed the growing harveſt to enhance the price of the grain in his poſſeſſion. Though his fate was longer deferred, he had reaſon to regret the more ſpeedy death of his father-in-law. The head of the unfortunate Foulon was thruſt into his carriage, and he was compelled by the enraged populace to ſalute it. This painful compliance ſerved only to procraſtinate the hour of his deſtruction; the populace were deaf to every ſolicitation, and the laſt moments of his life were embittered by reproach, inſult, and torture.

The fate of meſſieurs Foulon and Berthier, was an awful warning to thoſe who by their inefficacious diſdain for the ignoble multitude, and the arrogance and cupidity of ſucceſsful avarice, were alike liable to the effects of an unbridled vengeance; to the leading characters of the popular party it preſented a leſſon no leſs ſtriking; and meſſieurs Bailly and de la Fayette were taught, that it is more eaſy to attain the dignity than to exerciſe the authority of office: the former diſtinguiſhed by his extraordinary talents as an aſtronomer, from a peaceful academician, was tranſferred to a high political ſituation, and inveſted with the

new title of mayor of Paris; and the ambition of the latter, which had early precipitated him amidſt the ſtorms of civil commotion, had been gratified with the title of commander of the militia. Both had ſtrenuouſly exerted themſelves in favour of the late unhappy victims; but the crowd were equally deaf to their intreaties and remonſtrances; and they were now taught, though too late, how much more eaſy it is to excite than to appeaſe the paſſions of the multitude.

The flight of more illuſtrious perſonages probably only preſerved them from the fury of the people. The count d'Artois and the prince of Condé were avowedly attached to the ancient government; the former, it was ſuppoſed influenced the diſmiſſal of Necker, and had adviſed his royal brother to the moſt rigorous meaſures in ſupport of his authority; the mareſchal duke de Broglio had braved the reſentment of the Pariſians by accepting the command of the army which had been lately encamped at their gates, and rumour had attributed to him the projection of meaſures of coercion extenſive and ſanguinary, rumours which ſubſequent events corroborated; the family of Polignac, in partaking the favours of the queen, more than partook of the odium which at this period purſued that princeſs: but theſe had all found their ſafety in a precipitate flight, and had quitted a kingdom where their ſentiments had rendered them eminently obnoxious, and where the regard of their ſovereign could no longer afford them protection.

The ſituation of that ſovereign was dreary and forlorn; a gloomy ſilence reigned through his palace of Verſailles—his courtiers and familiars had been torn from his ſide—his brother terrified into exile—his capital polluted with the blood of his ſubjects—that loyalty and obedience, ſo long the characteriſtic of his people, extinguiſhed—that fidelity to the royal perſon and veneration for the regal authority, which ſignaliſed his troops, were no more; and ſome painful ſenſations muſt have accompanied a letter which he addreſſed to the marquis de la Fayette, and by which even the French guards were permitted to enter into the national militia, and at the ſame time to receive their former pay.

The influence of the national aſſembly had riſen in proportion to the diminution of the royal authority; yet that body could not behold the late frantic and ſanguinary exceſſes of the capital without ſecret anguiſh and horror. A populace maddened into all the extravagance of revenge, inſatiate of blood, and enamoured of cruelty—deaf to entreaty, and impatient of authority; the ſcourge of deſpotiſm wreſted from the hand that had held it, but that of anarchy impending over their heads.

Yet amidſt every danger their conſtancy never forſook them; the archbiſhop of Vienne had conducted himſelf through his ſtormy preſidency with firmneſs and ability, and in his place the duke of Liancourt, who had been early diſtinguiſhed by his zeal, was called to the temporary dignity. To appeaſe the capital, corn was brought from the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom, and agents were diſpatched to every court in Europe to ſolicit ſupplies. The minds of the citizens were aſſuaged by the hopes of returning plenty, and the affections of the ſoldiers were confirmed by a decree which aboliſhed corporal puniſhment; part of a ſyſtem of diſcipline which had been received in the armies of France with univerſal deteſtation, and which while it marked the unfeeling cruelty of the government that adopted it, ſerved to undermine the military ſpirit and defeat the purpoſes of its inſtitution—by degrading the ſoldier from his manlineſs of mind, ſinking him below the level of a ſlave into the condition of a brute, and at once blotting out from his

heart every confidence in religious precept, every bias to moral and ſocial affections; a mode of puniſhment, in a word, that ſubverted perſonal valour and diſgraced the nation.

The tempeſt which commenced in the capital agitated the moſt diſtant provinces, the example of Paris and Verſailles prevailed throughout; the national-cockade was univerſally diſplayed; and from the frontiers of the Mediterranean-ſea to the Alps, from the Pyrennees to the ocean, the defection was general.

Two millions of peaſants in arms ſeverely avenged the injuries they had formerly endured, and thoſe of their progenitors; with ſavage joy they directed the flames of deſtruction againſt the ſeats of their religion and nobility. The rich edifices of the church, the lofty caſtles of the nobles were confounded in one general ruin; the archives of the great, the titles of ancient poſſeſſions, were in a moment deſtroyed; thoſe owners deemed themſelves happy who could eſcape by a precipitate flight; while thoſe who were more tardy or leſs fortunate, frequently were expoſed to the moſt barbarous and lingering deaths. Some imperfect eſtimation may be formed of the general devaſtation, ſince in the province of Burgundy alone, thirty-two ſeats of the nobility were levelled to the ground; while in Brittany, and Normandy, the ravages of the inſurgents were the more conſiderable.

The departure of Necker had blown the embers of diſcontent into open flame, but his return it was ſtill hoped would extinguiſh the conflagration. That gentleman had directed his haſty ſteps from Bruxelles toward his native country of Geneva; at Baſle he was informed of the arrival of the Ducheſs of Polignac, who was flying the bloody reſentmeut of the inſurgents; from her he firſt learnt the events which had immediately taken place on his departure; the inſurrection of the capital, the defection of the troops, and the preſent intentions of the ſovereign; under theſe circumſtances he determined to remain at Baſle, and await the orders of the king.

Theſe ſoon arrived, accompanied by the letter of the national aſſembly: To the firſt he replied with every expreſſion of gratitude, and every aſſurance of attachment; to the laſt he anſwered, by declaring, that though it had long been his wiſh, at this late period of his life, no further to have intereſted himſelf in the fate of France, than by fervent prayers for her proſperity, yet on receiving the letter of the national aſſembly, he thought it his duty to preſent to them his reſpectful acknowledgements in perſon; and to prove to the king and the nation, that nothing could relax that zeal which had ever been the leading principle of his life.

In conformity with theſe declarations he quitted Baſle, and preſſed forwards to Verſailles; on his route at Villenau, he found the Baron de Bezenval, late general of the Swiſs troops, and who was travelling towards Swiſſerland with a royal paſſport, arreſted by the militia of the town. On this occaſion monſieur Necker endeavoured to avail himſelf of his own popularity, and the temporary enthuſiaſm of the people, by attempting to procure the releaſe of that gentleman, but it was in vain that he urged his own reſponſibility for the liberty of the baron, and acknowledged the obligation that would be conferred; the militia were deaf to his ſolicitations, and notwithſtanding his remonſtrances, determined to retain their captive.

Whatever mortification monſieur Necker might have endured by the refuſal of the militia of Villenau, was immediately effaced by his reception at the capital. His entry

there was regarded as a public triumph; an immenſe concourſe of people preſſed to meet him, a numerous guard conducted him with military honours through the city; the air reſounded with acclamations of "Long live the Nation! Long live Necker!" Every houſe was illuminated; but it could not eſcape the obſervation of the ſpectator, that the ſtreet of Vivienne, the chief reſidence of bankers and ſpeculators, who had enriched themſelves by the loans of the miniſter, was the moſt ſplendid in diſtinguiſhing its zeal.

Though the humanity of monſieur Necker had not availed in extricatiug the Baron de Bezenval at Villenau, he could not but flatter himſelf, that his ſolicitations would have been attended with better ſucceſs in the capital. He had been followed by the plaudits of the citizens; he had been loaded with the panegyrics of the national aſſembly—and when he preſented himſelf at the hall of the electors, he ſeized the favourable moment, and urged the propriety of a general amneſty.

This requeſt was ſeconded by the eloquence of the Count de Clermont Tonnerre; and a decree was immediately drawn up and ſigned by the electors, importing, that at the interceſſion of monſieur Necker, and to render memorable the day that had reſtored that miniſter to France, the aſſembly, in the name of the citizens of the capital, pardoned all its enemies proſcribed all acts of violence in oppoſition to the preſent decree, and conſidered thoſe only as enemies of the nation, who ſhould hereafter interrupt by any exceſſes the public tranquillity.

The ſatisfaction of Necker at this deciſion was but of ſhort duration; and to explain the revocation of a decree ſo conſiſtent with true policy, and ſo honourable to humanity, it is neceſſary to recur once more to circumſtances which we could not with ſo much propriety touch upon, in tracing the firſt ſteps to the revolution.

To facilitate the nomination of deputies, on firſt convening the ſtates-general, Paris had been divided into ſixty diſtricts: theſe diſtricts had appointed a certain number of electors, as they were termed, whoſe voices were finally to decide the choice of the deputies. But the electors, though certainly compoſing no legal body, confined not their cares to that ſingle object—they demanded an apartment of the Hotel de Ville to aſſemble in—and the eſſential ſervices they had rendered in contributing towards ſupplying Paris with proviſions, for ſome time endeared them to the citizens.

But the firſt moments of tranſport were ſcarce over, when the inhabitants began to regard the electors with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt: a rumour that this aſſembly propoſed to render itſelf perpetual, increaſed the public jealouſy and diſlike; and in lieu of this illegal maſs, it was determined that each diſtrict ſhould appoint two deputies, who ſhould occupy themſelves in tracing a plan for the municipality, and in providing the ſubſiſtence of the capital.

It was theſe hundred and twenty deputies, who had again proclaimed monſieur Bailly, mayor, and the marquis de la Fayette, commander-general of the militia of Paris; theſe two civil and military chiefs had hitherto held their ſituation rather by the acclamations than the ſuffrages of their fellow-citizens: They now addreſſed a circular letter to all the diſtricts, in which they invited them to approve their nomination; and having received a ſolemn confirmation of the choice of the deputies, they took the neceſſary oaths.

But the appointment of the deputies, though it controuled, did not diſſolve the general aſſembly of the electors; the former had preſented themſelves before the latter, and after thanking them for their zeal, and inviting them to concur in mutual efforts for the public benefit, they had even confirmed the ſeveral committees for the ſubſiſtence of the city, and the regulation of the police, contenting themſelves with adding four of the new deputies to each committee.

It muſt yet be allowed that on this occaſion, the general aſſembly of the electors conducted themſelves with great moderation: they declared they were ready to deſiſt from the exerciſe of all authority, as ſoon as a majority of the diſtricts ſhould command, and as the new deputies could take charge of the public affairs; and they added, that if they did not immediately ſuſpend their meetings, it was that the deputies themſelves had entreated them to continue their labours, ſo neceſſary to the general good.

Yet this declaration was far from recovering the public opinion, and their ſteps were ſtill attended by jealouſy: It was at the moment when affairs were thus delicately ſituated that monſieur Necker arrived at Paris; and in ſoliciting the pardon of the baron de Bezenval, and a general amneſty, unfortunately addreſſed himſelf to the general aſſembly of the electors.

We have already related the compliance of that aſſembly with his wiſhes; but no ſooner was their concurrence made known than the diſtricts took fire at their preſumption, "What," exclaimed the people, "at the moment that the national aſſembly prepares to appoint a committee, to enquire out thoſe whoſe treaſonable practices have been levelled at the nation; at the moment that it has promiſed to eſtabliſh a tribunal to puniſh thoſe traitors to the people, does an aſſembly without power, without title, without character, dare to pronounce an amneſty, a general pardon? The electors pardon! Then alſo they have a right to puniſh; but who has inſtituted them judges of the enemies of the ſtate? Who has given them the power to annul the decree of the national aſſembly?"

Even the reputation of monſieur Necker did not entirely eſcape that odium which attended the late decree of the electors: It was inſinuated, that he had ſacrificed the public cauſe to his own private intereſts; and in ſcreening the baron de Bezenval from impending puniſhment, it was aſſerted that he had purchaſed the ſupport of a powerful party: "We ſhall ſoon," ſaid they, "behold the conſpirators againſt the ſtate triumphant "again at the court; braving the indignation of an injured nation, and exerciſing their "vengeance on the champions of freedom."

Such were the rumours circulated with induſtry, and received with facility; and while the capital blazed with illuminations for the return of its favourite miniſter, his firſt, and perhaps his moſt ſalutary counſel, was accompanied by every mark of public diſapprobation.

The deputies of the diſtricts had joined in condemning the arret of the electors in the moſt pointed terms; they commanded the baron de Bezenval ſtill to be detained a priſoner; or if already releaſed, they authoriſed the different municipalities to exert the utmoſt diligence in again ſecuring him, and keeping him in confinement, till they ſhould receive further inſtructions.

The fortitude of the electors was not proof againſt the clamours that purſued them. By a ſecond decree they endeavoured to explain away the firſt; and aſſerted that their

indulgence extended no further than to ſecure the accuſer from inſtant and irregular execution; but was by no means to be conſtrued into an intention of ſcreening the guilty from that puniſhment which legal and deliberate juſtice might think proper to inflict on their crimes. After having thus attempted, by this ſpecious retraction, to efface the impreſſion occaſioned by their haſty but humane arret, they renounced all functions with which, during the public exigency, they had been charged; and reſigned their powers into the hands of the deputies of the diſtricts.

In conſequence of this explanation, monſieur de Bezenval, whoſe opportune abſence had preſented to pillage without reſiſtance the Hotel of Invalids, and had furniſhed the fury of the people with thoſe arms which they afterwards turned ſo ſucceſsfully againſt the Baſtile, was conveyed a priſoner to Brie-Comte-Robert—and was expoſed from popular caprice to a trial, which his negligence or deſertion might with more propriety perhaps have ſubjected him to, from the reſentment of his ſovereign.

Monſieur Necker could not entirely conceal his chagrin at the mortifying diſappointment he had encountered; "My happineſs has been of ſhort duration," was his conciſe but pathetic expreſſion, in a letter addreſſed to the late electors. That hope in which he had ſo lately dreſſed himſelf, was now vaniſhed; and he perceived too late, that though his name might be ſucceſsfully uſed to the deſtruction of his fellow-citizens, his influence was of ſmall extent when exerted to ſave his friends.

His retreat had excited a general inſurrection, but his return was far from inſpiring an univerſal calm. That ſcarcity, which had reſulted from the ſterility of the laſt autumn, was ſtill ſeverely felt; and if not immediately the ſource, furniſhed a frequent pretext for popular inſurrection. At St. Denys, the inhabitants ſurrounded the houſe of the Sieur Chatel, lieutenant to the mayor, and with loud menaces, compelled him to lower the price of bread to a penny in the pound. Even this conceſſion did not ſatisfy the multitude; their ſecret murmurs broke out into open rage; headed by three ſoldiers of the regiment of Provençe they forced the houſe of the unhappy object of their fury; for a moment, monſieur Chatel deferred his fate by eſcaping to a neighbouring ſteeple; but the place of his retreat was unfortunately diſcovered; he was dragged forth, and ſacrificed to the popular madneſs with circumſtances too barbarous to be related.

The city of Caen, in Normandy, was deſtined to partake the fatal effects of civil commotion, and to behold her ſtreets polluted with blood: Her citizens, on the firſt turbulent movements of Paris, had followed the example of the capital; they had aſſumed the national-cockade, they had ſeized the citadel, poſſeſſed themſelves of the arms, forced the ſtate-priſons, and releaſed thoſe criminals whom the government had confined for carrying on contraband trade. The municipality yielded to a ſtorm which they were unable to oppoſe with ſucceſs; to ſooth the minds of the inhabitants, the price of bread was diminiſhed, a militia was eſtabliſhed, and order ſeemed once more reſtored.

But a new incident ſerved to revive that diſcontent, which was rather concealed than extinguiſhed. Some ſoldiers of the regiment of Artois, then in garriſon at Rennes, happened to appear in the ſtreets of Caen, adorned with medals, the recompence of ſervices which they had rendered the patriotic party; between theſe ſoldiers and ſome dragoons of the regiment of Bourbon, a quarrel aroſe, in which the former were oppreſſed by the numbers of the latter, and their medals were wreſted from them. The vanquiſhed filled the city

with their complaints: they accuſed the marquis de Belzunce, major of the regiment of Bourbon, of having excited his ſoldiers by the promiſe of pecuniary recompence to this outrage. The citizens ſided with the ſoldiers of Artois; the bells ſounded the alarm, the peaſants haſtened from the neighbouring villages, and the quarters of the regiment of Bourbon were inveſted by above twenty-thouſand men, provided with cannon.

The municipality of the city, equally deſirous with the officers of the regiment of Bourbon to prevent the effuſion of blood, entered into a parley; the marquis de Belzunce proteſted his innocence, and offered to appear before the Hotel de Ville, and give convincing proofs of his aſſertions: His regiment demanded hoſtages for his ſecurity, theſe were delivered, and the major, conſcious of his integrity, ſurrendered himſelf with an undaunted countenance: He was ſurrounded by the militia, and conducted to the citadel as the place of the greateſt ſafety. Soon after the marquis of Harcourt, who was governor of the province of Normandy, ſent orders to the regiment of Bourbon to quit Caen, in hopes that its departure would quiet the minds of the inhabitants: Tranquillity indeed ſeemed already eſtabliſhed; and ſuch was the confidence of the regiment of Bourbon in the citizens, that they voluntarily reſtored the hoſtages they had received. But they had ſcarce marched out of the city, when they had reaſon to repent their miſplaced generoſity; the crowd once more roſe in arms, pierced the feeble national guard, burſt open the gates of the citadel, dragged the helpleſs marquis de Belzunce from his aſylum, and after putting an end to his life, ſubjected his carcaſe to a thouſand unworthy inſults.

Straſburg was the theatre of ſcenes more ſanguinary: That city, in uniting herſelf to France, had preſerved he ancient cuſtoms and form of government, which in a meaſure reſembled thoſe of the other imperial cities of Germany. But that conſtitution, which in the beginning had been a pure democracy, had, through the unſuſpecting indolence of the people generally, and the activity and diſſimulation of the ambitious, been inſenſibly converted into an ariſtocracy; the citizens at length ſaw how baſely they had been betrayed by thoſe in whom they had placed the greateſt confidence, but too late—reſtrained by a numerous garriſon of mercenaries, they could only vent their complaints in ineffectual murmurs.

The election of repreſentatives to the ſtates-general revived the hopes of the citizens in general, and depreſſed thoſe of the magiſtrates of Straſburg, who trembled for the power they had uſurped. But the meaſures of the ſtates-general were at firſt tardy and indeciſive; and we have already noticed the embarraſſments that occupied their early moments; yet the inſtant that the ſtates had aſſumed the title of the national aſſembly, the acclamations of the citizens of Straſburg were mingled with the moſt menacing appearances; and the magiſtrates, to allay the immediate diſcontent, held forth promiſes as ſervile and flattering as their former conduct had been inſolent and rigorous.

But, no ſooner did the latter fondly imagine the hour of danger paſt, than theſe promiſes were as baſely evaded or retracted. The inhabitants enraged at their breach of faith, flew to arms; they ſurrounded the city-hall in thouſands; the rabble, impatient for pillage ſeized the favourable inſtant; they poured from their dark retreat, intermixed with the citizens, and urged that attack, from which the intreaties of the commander of the garriſon would probably have diſſuaded the more reſpectable claſs. Ladders were inſtantly procured; ſix or ſeven hundred men mounted with that alacrity which enthuſiaſm and

revenge inſpire; the doors and windows were forced by the aſſailants, and the crowd diſperſed themſelves through the apartments.

The trembling magiſtrates eſcaped indeed their fury, by ſecret avenues which were unknown to the inſurgents; but the cheſts of the city treaſure were broke open: The fund for the ſupport of the orphans was ſeized and divided; the furniture was deſtroyed; and the thoughtleſs croud, exploring the cellars which were filled with the choiceſt wines, gave a looſe to intoxication, and were in ſeveral inſtances the victims of their own exceſs.

The diſorder now became general; the ſeditious multitude threatened to ſet fire to the city in ſeveral places; and the officers of the garriſon who had conducted themſelves throughout with the greateſt forbearance and moderation, now ordered the troops under arms. Strong detachments were appointed to the arſenals, the magazines, the treaſury, and the priſons; ſentinels were placed before the doors of the magiſtrates for their protection: But the ſame diſpoſition prevailed, to prevent the effuſion of blood; and the injunctions of the officers to their ſoldiers, were, to form a barrier with their ranks before their ſeveral poſts, and to make uſe of their arms only in their perſonal defence.

The inſurgents were leſs awed by the appearance of the military, than they were encouraged by their inactivity; ſeveral houſes were ſacked, and others were threatened with the flames. It was at length determined to employ force, as the only means of preſerving the city from general deſtruction; the diſorderly multitude were forced to yield to the charge of the regulars; ſeveral were dangerouſly wounded, and a great number were ſecured: Of the latter, one who had been moſt active was inſtantly executed and two more were condemned to the gallies.

The municipality, grateful for the ſervices which the troops had rendered, had ordered them a pecuniary gratification; this had been expended at the tavern; but no ſooner were the ſoldiers heated with wine than they plunged into exceſſes ſtill more fatal than thoſe which they had reſtrained: They ſeized their arms, and contemning the voice of their officers, diſperſed themſelves through the trembling city; pillaged the houſes, forced open the ſtate-priſons, and compelled the regiments of Alſace and Darmſtadt, who had hitherto preſerved their diſcipline, to partake in their guilty orgies.

Satiate of plunder, and oppreſſed by intoxication, they at length ſuffered themſelves to be conducted by their officers to their quarters: Shame the next morning extorted ſome marks of compunction, and a promiſe of future ſubmiſſion; and the prudent precautions of M. de Rochambeau, governor of the province, contributed to reſtore the long loſt tranquillity of Straſburg.

At the other extremities of the kingdom, the greateſt diſſentions prevailed between the garriſon and the citizens of Breſt. Two thouſand of the inhabitants of Nantes, completely armed, had marched to ſupport the cauſe of the latter; and the moſt fatal conſequences were only averted by the interpoſition and conceſſions of the municipality: The citizens, however, perſiſted in preſenting a detail of their grievances to the national aſſembly, and in demanding the count d'Eſtaign as a governor; whoſe nomination, it was expected, would extinguiſh the jealouſy and reſtore the harmony of the province of Brittany.

At Mans, monſieur de Monteſſon periſhed by a muſquet-ſhot, after beholding his father-in-law torn to pieces by the populace; in Languedoc, M. de Barras was murdered

in ſight of his wife, then pregnant and ready to lie-in: In ſhort, from one frontier to the other, the enraged peaſantry were armed againſt their former lords; and the Seine and the Loire, the Soane and the Rhone, bluſhed with the nobleſt blood of France.

The national aſſembly could not but be deeply impreſſed with the diſorders and barbarities which afflicted and diſgraced the kingdom; but it was pointedly obſerved, that theſe unhappy tranſactions were to be conſidered as the temporary effect of a great revolution; that theſe cruelties, which made humanity ſhudder, were not to be attributed to a ſavage diſpoſition in the people, but to the united influence of indignation and reſentment againſt the arbitrary government which had ſo long trampled under foot the moſt ſacred rights of mankind—which had bound the majority of the nation in the fetters of ignorance and poverty—which ſtifled or circumſcribed the ſofter paſſions—and taught by its practice that revenge and ſanguinary puniſhment were concommitant with deſpotic power: It was added, that notwithſtanding the violence which had raged, there appeared no reaſon to be alarmed for the public ſafety from the proceedings of the people; that their turbulence would ſubſide if the national aſſembly would teſtify by its unanimity a ſincere diſpoſition to promote the true intereſts of the nation, by ſecuring its liberty and happineſs againſt any future innovations of the conſtituted authority.

But that aſſembly, to whom ſuch ſalutary admonitions were held forth, and from whoſe counſels and deciſions ſo much was expected, and on whoſe prudence and example the grandeur and happineſs of France appeared to depend, nouriſhed already in its boſom the ſeeds of faction and diviſion. The duke of Liancourt had now poſſeſſed the diguity of preſident for the alotted period of a fortnight; a conſiderable majority had given their votes to place M. Thouret in the vacant chair; but a party hoſtile to him, from jealouſy of his political opinions, oppoſed him by intrigues, and preferring tranquillity to the diſtinction conferred on him, he by a letter to his predeceſſor relinquiſhed the appointment, which was immediately transferred to M. Chappelier, an advocate by profeſſion, and deputy for Brittany, and who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bold and impaſſioned eloquence.

The aſſembly immediately reſumed a ſubject, which for ſeveral days before had been the object of their diſcuſſion; and the celebrated declaration of "*The rights of man*" was agitated with unwearied zeal and ardour. The inconvenience of this declaration was urged by the duke de Levi, the biſhop of Langres, and ſeveral other members. They aſſerted that in a monarchy, where neceſſary circumſtances are ſo often oppoſed to theoretical principles, that the veil could not be totally removed from the eyes of the people without the greateſt imprudence; it was a ſecret, they ſaid, that ought to be concealed till a new and approved conſtitution had placed the ſtate in that ſecurity, that would not be expoſed to danger upon being revealed: a declaration of that nature, they obſerved, was not neceſſary to break the chains of tyranny; it was juſt laws and prudent regulations that the people demanded, and not abſtracted maxims of metaphyſics, uſeleſs to the multitude, which they were neither capable of comprehending, and which could not be ſubjected to their view without the moſt eminent hazard.

Arguments like theſe might ſeduce the ignorant; to the oppoſite party they appeared as ridicule, to which the champions of the declaration beholding themſelves attempted to be expoſed, were yet not prevented from manfully combating in its defence. The

comte de Montmorenci, whoſe long and illuſtrious train of anceſtors placed him only ſecond to the princes of the blood, with meſſieurs Mounier, de Lally-Tollendal, de Mirabeau, Target, and Barnave, all diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion. They ſtrenuouſly maintained, that it was abſolutely neceſſary that this declaration ſhould precede the formation of a conſtitution: "That to form a free people, it was requiſite to "convince them in what conſiſted their rights and their liberty; that this declaration "led to two uſeful and important ends; the firſt, to fix the ſpirit of legiſlation, that in "future it might not wander from its proper courſe; the ſecond, to direct the repreſen-"tatives of the people in forming thoſe laws, which it was impoſſible to promulgate at "the inſtant, and which could only be the effect of long and mature reflection."

"It has been repreſented," they added, "that this declaration is uſeleſs, becauſe it "is already impreſſed in all hearts; and that it is dangerous, becauſe the people them-"ſelves may abuſe their rights: But though impreſſed on all hearts, it is not leſs neceſ-"ſary to renew the traces which may be weakened by time; and experience has already "taught us, that a nation can eaſily forget its advantages, and that it frequently wants "perſeverance to maintain its rights. If this declaration had exiſted, the abettors of "ſlavery had never preſumed to publiſh thoſe dangerons maxims which have over-"ſhadowed the true principles of freedom; and as to the dread that the people them-"ſelves ſhould abuſe thoſe rights in which they were inſtructed, every example of hiſtory "ſtands forth in oppoſition to theſe imaginary fears. You every where behold the peo-"ple tranquil and happy in proportion to their knowledge, whilſt it is ignorance alone "that agitates the minds and excites the troubled ſpirits of mankind."

The arguments of theſe gentlemen, were amply ſupported by the popular opinion. The majority within doors acquieſced in the ſentiments of thoſe without; and it was decided, that there ſhould be a declaration of the Rights of Man, and that, that declaration ſhould be diſtinct from and precede the conſtitution.

Melancholy diſorders ſtill ſorely afflicted the provinces, and which equally menacing the public revenue with private property and perſonal ſecurity, awakened the aſſembly from their metaphyſical diſcuſſions, and in an inſtant impreſſed their minds with the urgent neceſſity of proceediug to form that conſtitution, which was become ſcarce leſs neceſſary to the grandeur and exiſtence of France, than requiſite to preſerve the lives and fortunes of her citizens. The committee of reports had preſented a lively and affecting picture of the national calamities; and it was propoſed, as a remedy for the evils which daily multiplied, to publiſh a ſolemn declaration, in which all conditions of men were commanded, under penalty of the ſevereſt puniſhment, not only to contribute their proportions to the burden of the ſtate, but to with-hold on no pretence whatſoever, thoſe dues to which the original land-holders were entitled.

This propoſal was encountered by a vigorous reſiſtance; the one party repreſented that the feudal laws were too oppreſſive, the taxes too partially impoſed, and the public diſtreſs too general, to hope for any happy effects from ſuch a declaration; that it would fall ſoon into oblivion; that inſtead of diminiſhing it would encreaſe the evil, as it would betray the weakneſs of the national aſſembly; at the ſame time that it would irritate the minds of the people, which at preſent required to be ſoothed; and that it neceſſarily muſt become an object of deriſion, to demand the payment of taxes, the inequality and injuſtice of which every perſon was ſenſible of.

On the other hand, the aſſembly were reminded of the ſacred rights of property; the immenſe deficiency with which the public revenue was threatened; and the contempt into which they would fall, if they had not recourſe to inſtant and vigorous meaſures; that a gloomy ſilence pervaded the courts of juſtice; that their authority could only be reſtored by regulations the moſt deciſive; and that the means for enforcing might immediately follow the declaration itſelf.

In conſequence of theſe arguments, it was agreed, that a committee ſhould be entruſted to draw up a plan for the preſervation of the rights of the proprietors; and that plan on the fourth of Auguſt, was preſented to the inſpection, and for the approbation of the national aſſembly.

It ſtated, "That the national aſſembly taking into conſideration, whilſt it had been "ſolely occupied in erecting the happineſs of the nation on the baſis of a free conſtitution, "that the diſorders and violences which had afflicted the different provinces, had ſpread "the moſt boding alarms throughout the minds of the people, and had fundamentally "ſtruck at the ſacred rights of property, and at perſonal ſafety; and conſcious that theſe "diſorders could not but retard the labours of that aſſembly, and encourage the criminal "deſigns of the enemies of the public welfare:

It now declared, "That the ancient laws ſubſiſted, and were to be carried into exe-"cution to that moment when the nation might think proper to modify or aboliſh them; "that the taxes alſo, ſuch as they were at preſent, were punctually to be paid, according "to the arret of the national aſſembly of the 17th of June laſt, till other impoſts could "be deviſed, and new modes of collection leſs grievous to the people.

"That all cuſtomary rents and ſervices were to be diſcharged as formerly; and that "all eſtabliſhed laws, for the ſecurity of perſons or their property, were to be univerſally "reſpected.

"That the preſent declaration was to be diſperſed throughout the provinces; and "all vicars and curates were required to read it in their reſpective churches to their "pariſhioners, and to exhort them to obſerve and obey it."

It was this declaration that called up the Vicomte de Noailles, who, deſcended from a family long celebrated for its attachment and ſervices to the crown, had in the late oppoſition, eſpouſed the popular party, and diſplayed a zeal in reſtraining the royal influence, at leaſt equal to that which his anceſtors had manifeſted in extending it.

"The end," ſaid he, "to which this declaration tends, is to allay that fermentation "that reigns throughout the provinces; to aſſure the freedom of the ſubject, and to con-"firm the true right of the proprietor. But how is it poſſible for us to attain this "object, without clearly aſcertaining the ſource of inſurrection, and underſtanding the "nature of the diſeaſe, to which we would apply a remedy?

"The commons have proclaimed their demands to this aſſembly in too audible a voice "not have been clearly underſtood: It is not a new conſtitution which they require; "but it is the abolition of the exciſe; the ſuppreſſion of vexatious inferior officers; "and the mitigation, or extinction, of ſenorial rights, which they expect from your "juſtice.

"For three months the commons have beheld their repreſentatives excluſively occu-"pied in what they themſelves have called, and what truly are, the affairs of the public;

" but to the commons, the affairs of the public appear only thoſe objects which they " deſire, and moſt ardently wiſh to obtain.

" After all the different opinions which have exiſted among the repreſentatives of the " nation, the provinces have caſt their eyes only on two deſcriptions of people; the " one who have armed in their ſupport, and who have endeavoured to promote their " happineſs; the other, thoſe of rank and diſtinction, who have exerted themſelves " to oppoſe it. In theſe circumſtances they conceived it a duty to repel force by force; " and indulged in liberty, they will no longer bear the rein. There remains but one " method to reſtore tranquillity, and to reconcile them to civil government; it is by " giving them ſolid proofs, that we only reſiſt their deſires when they might prove dange- " rous to their own proſperity.

" To reſtore therefore that confidence which they once repoſed in this aſſembly, and " to re-eſtabliſh that tranquillity which every true Frenchman pants after, I propoſe firſt, " That in the preamble to the declaration intended, it ſhall be expreſſed, that the public " taxes ſhall be paid by every individual of the kingdom in proportion to his revenue; " ſecondly, that the burdens of the ſtate ſhall in future be equally diſtributed among all; " thirdly, that the feudal rights ſhould be redeemed at a certain price; and, fourthly, " that thoſe ſeignorial claims which fall under the deſcription of perſonal ſervitude, " ſhall be aboliſhed without any compenſation whatſoever."

Thus from long metaphyſical enquiries, accompanied by tedious debates and tardy deciſions, the national aſſembly had rapidly paſſed to decrees the moſt intereſting in their nature, and important in their conſequences. The feudal ſyſtem, that ancient oak whoſe extenſive ſhade had darkened the ſurface of the empire, whoſe roots, for ages, had drained the moiſture of, and whoſe branches had intercepted the ſun from the ſoil of France, was now doomed to feel the axe, and to fall proſtrate in one night, beneath the repeated ſtrokes of the public enthuſiaſm. The diſcuſſion of the ſubject ſerved but to render it univerſally hateful; although too much praiſe cannot be beſtowed on the moderation and regard to the rights of perſons that was maintained by the advocates of reformation.

The general revolution throughout the kingdom was ſcarce leſs extraordinary than that which had taken place in the ſentiments of different families. The late Duke d'Aiguillon had been proſecuted by the juſt reſentment of the parliament of Brittany, for exceſſive tyranny; he had been purſued by the active hatred of his fellow-citizens; and, loaded with the general execration, had ſcarce found an aſylum from deſtruction in the protecting favour of the late king, until death placed him and his crimes beyond human coercion. The ſucceſſor to his dignity now ſtood forward as the candidate for popular approbation: he not only ſeconded the motions of the Viſcount Noailles, but even paſſed the boundaries that had been traced by that nobleman. The voice of ſeveral of the principal nobility, and a popular aſſembly, were not tardy in receiving conceſſions, which were ſo advantageous to a majority of their own members, and which were propoſed by thoſe who would ſuffer moſt on their being adopted.

A diſtinction was made with ſtriking accuracy, by M. le Grand, between the different ſpecies of feudal property and rights; he deſcribed them under two heads perſonal and mixed; ſuch as *mainmorte* or vaſſalage, and the *corvée* or right to the labour of the peaſant; both of which he deſcribed as at variance with the laws of nature and of human juſtice, and ſuch as could not entitle the holders to any ſpecies of ranſom; real rights conſiſted of quit-rents, rents in kind, and the like; theſe he thought ought to be redeemed by purchaſe from the individual, but the whole of each individual's claims ſhould be conſolidated.

Mixed rights, ſuch as *banalites*, or the right in the landlord to compel the tenant or vaſſal to bake at his oven, and pay a toll of flour, was alſo an object, which as it produced a revenue to the proprietor and had been a frequent ſubject of ſale, deſerved a moderate remuneration on its abolition.

Cruel and outrageous parts of the feudal claims were ably expoſed by M. de Karengall, in ſome cantons the vaſſals were ſubjected to be yoked like cattle to the carriages of the nobility; in others they were compelled to paſs whole nights in beating the ponds, in order that the lord's reſt ſhould not be diſturbed by the croaking of frogs; in others the poor were obliged to maintain the nobleman's hounds; other privileges he noticed which from their very indecency forbid deſcription, but we ſelect two uſages that ſufficiently indicate the deteſtable exceſſes to which the unhappy French were liable from the arbitrary caprice of their noble tyrants, when practices ſo atrocious, ſo deſtructive of human happineſs, and oppoſite to the letter and ſpirit of religion, were ſanctioned by law—in many diſtricts the chief poſſeſſed the right to occupy the place and privileges of the bridegroom on the wedding-night; while in others the lord, upon his return from hunting, was authoriſed to rip open the bowels of two of his vaſſals, to foment his feet therein for his refreſhment.

The debates were followed by many other voluntary ſacrifices, and theſe by the moſt important regulations for the equalization of the public burdens; the corvée, to which the immortal Turgot firſt laid the axe was now felled totally and for ever; feudal ſervitude of every kind was ſuppreſſed; and the deſtruction of warrens and dove-cotes, followed. The inferior courts wherein feudal laws and uſages were litigated, next fell; to theſe ſucceeded the repeal of ſeveral taxes that were conſidered as moſt oppreſſive; a reſolution was then paſſed for the ſuppreſſion of penſions and gratifications given by the court, and that places and offices ſhould be aboliſhed which were obtained unworthily, or that were not required by neceſſity and ſanctioned by actual national ſervices.

The preſident was proceeding to the queſtion upon theſe patriotic meaſures, when recollecting himſelf, he obſerved, "that the clergy had not yet had an opportunity of "declaring their ſentiments, and that he ſhould deem himſelf indecorous were he to "neglect affording them an opportunity to manifeſt their diſintereſtedneſs on this happy "occaſion."

The biſhop of Nancy thereupon propoſed in the name of the clergy, that if the feudal rights ſhould be ranſomed, that the proceeds might not be applied to the profit of the eccleſiaſtical lords, but to the augmentation of poor livings.

The biſhop of Chartres propoſed the ſuppreſſion of the game-laws; he repreſented the abſurdity of ſubjecting the huſbandman to be the patient ſpectator of the ravage

of his fields, or expoſed to arbitrary puniſhment if he preſumed to deſtroy thoſe animals which ravaged his corn and conſumed the fruits of his labours: a number of the nobility loudly acclaimed their concurrence, and demanded that the rights of the chace alſo ſhould be renounced, reſerving only the right of ſporting within their perſonal demeſnes.

M. de St. Fargeau, who now occupied the chair, demanded an explanation of the exclamations of the nobility and clergy concerning the *equalization of taxes*—"We have "given the people a ray of hope," ſaid he "let us make it a reality; I propoſe that "not only for the laſt ſix months of the year, but from the commencement of it, all the "members of the privileged claſſes, without exception, ſhall contribute their proportion "to the public impoſt; this will be but in accord with the inſtructions of all the orders; "and until this aſſembly ſhall fix the ſtandard for future taxation, the aſſemblies of the "departments ſhall adjuſt the rate."

Theſe ſeveral propoſitions were adopted and followed by the renunciation of the vicarial rights. The Vicar of Louppes offered, in the name of his brethren, the relinquiſhment of caufualties, and all fees exacted from the poor; ſeveral of the dignitaries ſignified that agreeable to the ſpirit of the canons of the church they were determined to reſtrict themſelves to a ſingle benefice.

All theſe propoſals having been confirmed by a general vote; the deputies from ſeveral provinces which enjoyed peculiar privileges, came forward with offerings of their charters and franchiſes. Dauphiné, which had been always the moſt forward in patriotic ſacrifices was the firſt, and was followed by Brittany its rival in this race of true glory; Languedoc, Paris, Marſeilles, Straſburg, and others ſucceeded.

Theſe ſacrifices truly glorious and virtuous, diſintereſted as they were, may be readily conceived not to be univerſally acceptable; the great body of the nobility and clergy denied or were diſpoſed to diſpute the power of their repreſentatives, which they alleged was unauthoriſed, that they had exceeded their powers and voted away what was not their own. That the public ſpirit diſplayed by the aſſembly ſhould not have made a ſudden impreſſion on the minds of the whole nation, will not be a ſubject of ſurpriſe to thoſe who conſider the ſlow progreſſion of information in a convulſed country, in a country too ſo extenſive as France, where the preſs had but juſt dared to erect its light in the ſhade of the throne of deſpotiſm; and even among the enlightened, a numerous body was to be found whoſe whole eſtate lay in the public grievances.

Among the ſacrifices of that day, the foreſt laws were not regarded at the leaſt important; and perhaps they were ſurrounded with the greateſt regret. In times of peace, the amuſement of the field had been conſidered as no indifferent repreſentation of the more noble toils of war; they enured the mind to danger, and the body to fatigue; and had been immemorially preſerved from the multitude as a diſtinction the moſt noble and ſacred: But as they were poſſibly the moſt prized by the nobility, ſo they were conſidered by the commons as the moſt obnoxious of the feudal rights, from the barbarous penalties which were allotted to them, and the ſtill more barbarous abuſes which they produced. The ſeverity with which ſeveral lords had maintained their pretenſions, and the unremitting rigour with which they had purſued their unhappy vaſſals, who had

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preſumed to treſpaſs upon their game, or when only ſuſpected; had kindled againſt this peculiar privilege a degree of odium, which was only to be extinguiſhed by its total abolition.

To commemorate a day which had given birth to ſo many, and ſo important reforms, the duke of Laincourt propoſed, that a medal ſhould be ſtruck with the following inſcription, to *the abolition of all privileges, and the perfect re-union of all the provinces*; and monſieur Lally-Tollendal having obſerved, that it was in the aſſembly of the ſtates-general, that Lewis the Twelfth had been named *the Father of the People*, moved, that Lewis the Sixteenth ſhould be ſtyled *Reſtorer of the Liberties of France*. The moment of enthuſiaſm was not yet paſſed, and every motion which flattered the conduct of the deputies themſelves, and impreſſed on the people the advantage they had gained, by the diminution of the royal power, was readily received, and inſtantly adopted.

Theſe decrees of the national aſſembly had been received by the inhabitants of Verſailles and Paris with the loudeſt and moſt heart-felt acclamations; and from the walls of the capital the patriotic ardour ſoon diffuſed itſelf throughout the diſtant provinces. Dauphiné, in whoſe boſom the ſeeds of liberty had long been foſtered; and who claimed the merit of firſt calling them into life, exulted in the example ſhe had ſet to the reſt of France, by her inſtant compliance with the views of the national aſſembly; her deputies were followed by thoſe of Brittany, Provençe, Burgundy, and Languedoc: The cities of Lyons, Marſeilles, Bourdeaux and Straſbourg were equally emulous to diſplay their zeal and concurrence; and approaching the bar of the aſſembly, ſurrendered, in the moſt univerſed terms, all thoſe excluſive privileges which they formerly had defended with the moſt unſhaken courage againſt the pretentions of the crown.

Even the breaſts of individuals were warmed by the general ardour: ſeveral of the nobility on this accaſion vied with the diſintereſted profeſſions of the provinces and the cities, and offered, as a ſacrifice on the altar of Liberty, thoſe privileges which they late declaration had left them; declaring, that they conſidered the title of *a citizen of France*, as the moſt honourable dignity they could poſſeſs.

The ſanctity of religion was called in, to add ſolemnity to the ſcene, and to conſecrate the hour of liberty: The archbiſhop of Paris, whoſe extenſive liberality and goodneſs of heart had long entitled him to that pre-eminence of dignity which he enjoyed, but who in the firſt ſtage of the revolution had nearly fallen a victim to the blind fury of the multitude, preſided on this awful occaſion; and by his preſence, ſerved in ſome meaſure to diminiſh that prejudice which hitherto had prevailed amongſt the populace againſt the clergy, and to reſtore his order to that confidence which their timely reſignation and diſintereſted conduct merited.

While the bold and deciſive meaſures of the national aſſembly excited or commanded general attention, the voice of the ſovereign was feebly and rarely heard: The little influence that had been left him daily diminiſhed; his grandeur was over-ſhadowed: his authority was eclipſed; his French and Swiſs guards had abandoned all duty; and retiring from their poſts at Verſailles, had marched with their arms and colours to join their companions, who had already ranged themſelves on the popular ſide: Each hour was marked with ſome new deſertion; whilſt by nature incapable of energy or enter-

the impropriate tythes with thoſe of the church; it militated againſt the intention of the aſſembly, which was to relieve the farmer, or huſbandman; and afforded an endleſs ſource of litigation in aſcertaining the value at which that redemption was to be fixed.

Theſe objections were ably ſupported by the lively eloquence of the comte de Mirabeau, while the claims of the church found a warm and ſtrenuous defender in the abbé Sieyes, who had formerly ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the ſucceſsful champion of the Tiers-Etat. He urged, that it could not now be a queſtion, whether ſuch a tax was originally unwiſe or wrong in itſelf, as the tythe was not a tax eſtabliſhed by the nation, but a rent-charge to which the firſt proprietors had ſubjected their own private eſtates, for the ſupport of the church; that the nation was by no means competent to aboliſh it, to the benefit of the preſent poſſeſſors who had purchaſed their lands under the ſtipulation of conſtantly diſcharging it. The tythe was, therefore, in the hands of the clergy, a legal property; and, as injurious to the public welfare, it could only be aboliſhed by the ſame means as it was cuſtomary to obſerve in the abolition of other rights; that was to ſay, by a compenſation voluntarily agreed on between thoſe who received and thoſe who paid tythes; or eſtabliſhed by the moderation and equity of the national aſſembly;—that the ſums which might be drawn from ſuch a compenſation, might be placed in ſuch a manner as to contribute to the primitive object in the eſtabliſhment of tythes, and yet, under the preſent circumſtances, to furniſh moſt eſſential reſources to the nation; "If you wiſh to be free," ſaid he "begin by being juſt."

To this it was anſwered, that the tythes could not be converted into a ſettled income, as they were not immediately derived from the ground itſelf, but from the produce of it, which was various and uncertain, and might be left uncultivated; and as they had not originally been derived from any grant of land, they could not be conſidered as a real eſtate, but merely as a gratuitious gift which the nation had tolerated to recompenſe thoſe who inſtructed the people in religion and morality; and ſince, by the confeſſion of the clergy themſelves, the tythes might be redeemed by individuals or communities, they certainly might be redeemed by the united voice of thoſe individuals or communities, by the nation at large, eſpecially when inſtruction could be more effectually provided and more ſuitably rewarded.

While yet the majority of the clergy ſtruggled againſt a propoſal, which, if adopted, they conceived would mortally wound the power of their order, the temporary enthuſiaſm of a few, rendered in a moment their exertions ineffectual. The debate which had been interrupted by the lateneſs of the hour was renewed the ſucceeding day; when monſieur Ricart de Séault read to the aſſembly, a deed ſubſcribed by fifteen or twenty curates, who voluntarily ſurrendered the tythes they enjoyed into the hands of the nation, and confided in its equity to provide for them a proper and decent ſubſiſtence. "Gentlemen," added monſieur Séault, amidſt the applauſes of the aſſembly, "I de-"poſit this act, with which I have the honour of being entruſted, on your table, to "afford an opportunity to all thoſe who are willing to ſign it."

Inſtantly the numerous body of curates, who had been nominated as deputies to the aſſembly, preſſed towards the table, and diſputed with each other the honour of firſt ſubſcribing their names. Their example was followed by the dignified clergy: "In

" my own name," exclaimed the venerable archbiſhop of Paris, " and in thoſe of my " brethren preſent, I depoſit the tythes of the church in the hands of a nation juſt and " generous: That the goſpel ſhould be propagated; that divine worſhip ſhould be cele- " brated with dignity and decency, that the churches ſhould be provided with zealous and " virtuous paſtors, and that the poor ſhould be nouriſhed; theſe were the ends for which " thoſe tythes were allotted us; and we doubt not that the juſtice of the national aſſem- " bly will ſtill ſupply us with means for fulfilling duties ſo ſacred and eſſential." " This," added the cardinal de Rochefoucault, " is the ſole prayer of the clergy, who place " their whole confidence in the equity of the nation."

The national aſſembly received with tranſport an offer ſo conſiſtent with their views, and ſo ſuperior to their expectations; they were profuſe in their encomiums, and in their promiſes of compenſation: But the generality of the clergy throughout the kingdom diſcovered but little ſatisfaction at the liberality of their repreſentatives; they accuſed them of having annihilated, by their raſh or timid concurrence, the influence of the eccleſiaſtical order; and their clamours were encreaſed, when they perceived that the compenſation with which they had been allured, was by no means equal to the revenue they had ſurrendered.

But the reſources which the national aſſembly contemplated from the abolition of tythes were precarious and diſtant; the diſtreſs of the public was immediate and urgent; the pleaſing viſions of monſieur Necker had gradually receded from his ſight, and the horrors of a national bankruptcy opened to his view; however he might vary the ſhape in which he addreſſed it, the enthuſiaſm of the people was ſtill his only hope; he had now recourſe to it in a manner which nothing but the imperious voice of neceſſity could authoriſe, and nothing but the moſt unbounded zeal render ſucceſsful.

The idea of relieving a ſtate by voluntary contributions, poſſeſſes ſomething ſo natural and ſo faſcinating to an inexperienced ſtateſman, that it has been frequently recurred to, and almoſt as frequently been attended by diſappointment. But as the preſent ſituation of France was unprecedented, ſo alſo might the conſequences of this expedient; and the miniſter having already perceived that his influence among the repreſentatives of the people daily diminiſhed, was willing to aſcertain how far he retained his empire over the people themſelves.

Throughout the different provincial capitals, offices were opened, and the people were invited to depoſit on the altar of the new conſtitution, their plate, their jewels, and a fourth of their actual revenue. On this occaſion, the ſucceſs, though not ſufficient to extinguiſh the wants of the ſtate, exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations of the miniſter; a general ardour ſeemed to pervade every rank and deſcription throughout the kingdom; the ſumptuous ſide-boards which had miniſtered to the vanity of the nobility, the ancient and maſſy veſſels which had been ſo long conſecrated to religious ſervices, the very ornaments of the fair-ſex, ſwelled the promiſcuous pile, and were cheerfully offered as a ſacrifice to freedom: Even thoſe who moſt dreaded, and in ſecret were moſt deſirous of embarraſſing, the new ſyſtem of government, endeavoured to elude the ſuſpicions of their countrymen, by the moſt liberal donations.

But at the ſame time that the people ſo largely contributed to alleviate the public diſtreſs, their clamours againſt the influence of the throne aſſumed a louder and more deciſive tone. In the capital eſpecially, the various clubs and popular aſſemblies boldly

erected themſelves againſt the royal ſanction, while the committee which had been nominated by the national aſſembly to arrange the form of the new conſtitution, far from acquieſcing with the opinions without doors, repreſented it as eſſential to the very exiſtence of the government, that the king on every law ſhould be entruſted with an *abſolute veto or negative.*

The debates on this occaſion were long and vigourous, and the fermentation of the people violent. It was even though neceſſary to aſſure the ſafety of the capital by numerous guards of militia, and the protection of cannon. Thoſe who ſupported the royal ſanction were loudly menanced with the weight of the public indignation: Yet the dangers that environed them, did not prevent them from diſcharging their duty, and openly proclaiming their ſentiments.

Among thoſe who moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion were the comtes de Mirabeau, and Lally-Tollendal, the duke de Liancourt, and meſſieurs Trielhard, d'Antraigues, Mounier and Bergaſſe. They urged, that no legiſlative act could be conſidered as law till ſantioned by the king; that his conſent alone could render it binding, and ſtamp it ſacred and invoidable: And ſince no act could be conſidered as law ſtill confirmed by his ſanction, that ſanction ought to be free and voluntary; that if it was not, it could be conſidered only as a form, requiſite to the conſecration, and not as the eſſence of the act itſelf; and, and therefore, ought not to be placed in the rank of thoſe qualities which form the very exiſtence of the law.

They aſſerted that thoſe only who were attached to the two following propoſitions: The one, that all the legiſlative acts, which ought always to be propoſed, debated; and formed in the boſom of the national aſſembly, require, as eſtabliſhed law, to be ſanctioned by the approbation of the ſovereign; the other, that the monarch being free to conſent or diſſent, might give or refuſe indefinitely his ſanction, had conceived a clear and ſimple idea of thoſe maxims which had been received as the foundation of all monarchies.

Theſe principles were oppoſed by meſſieurs Chappilier, Barnave, Lameth, Landine, Garat, junior, and Sales, they preſented, that as all powers were to be conſidered as ſo many emanations from the people, it was moſt inconſiſtent and dangerous to allow to the will of an individual, a controuling authority over the will of a nation at large; that ſuch a propoſal could only be the reſult of a plan deliberately hoſtile to liberty, and, if adopted, could only be attended by the re-eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm.

Amidſt theſe various diſcuſſions, a new expedient ſeemed for a moment to unite the diſordant opinions of the public: and while the *abſolute veto* appeared to yield to the jealouſy of the populace, a *ſuſpenſive veto* was propoſed to ſupply vacancy it had left. But this alſo was ſoon diſcovered to be liable to innumerable objections; to leave it unlimited, was again to fall into the ſyſtem of the abſolute veto, and only to change the name, and not the nature of that inviduous perogative, to ſuffer it to depend on the judgement of provincial aſſemblies, or the inſtructions of the conſtituent body, was to eſtabliſh an appeal to the people, far diſtant from the intentions of the national aſſembly, and moſt dangerous in its conſequences, from their preſent inexperience of a free form of government.—To reſtrain it to any fixed term, was at once to deſtroy the effect of it; to loſe the advantages, and to preſerve the inconveniencies with which it was pregnant.

Though monſieur Necker, from the moment that the terms he had recommended for the late loan were rejected, was convinced that his influence in the national aſſembly daily declined, yet he was perſuaded on this important occaſion, to try once more the effect of his ſentiments; theſe were generally known to be favourable to the expedient that had been propoſed in the *ſuſpenſive* veto; and that they might have more weight, and be more ſtrongly impreſſed on the minds of the aſſembly, he delivered them in writing. But the majority of the aſſembly conſidered this procedure as an innovation inconſiſtent with their dignity, and the letter of the miniſter of the finances was returned unopened.

Under circumſtances ſo critical the aſſembly preſerved an equanimity that commanded the admiration and reſpect of all deſcriptions of the people; having gratified the favorite wiſhes of the nation in the abolition of the feudal ſyſtem and tythes, they reſumed the great work of the declaration of rights. Three drafts were ſelected from a conſiderable number that had been preſented by various members; theſe were the productions of de la Fayette, abbé Sieyes, and Mounier; the firſt admired for its ſimplicity and cloſe reſemblance of the celebrated American declaration; that of Sieyes embraced the whole expanſe of human government from the firſt principle of ſocial union to the moſt minute member of law and delegated authority, exemplifying the rights and correſponding duties of men; but it was conſidered as too complex and profound for the occaſion, the object contemplated being to promulgate the declaration as a civic catechiſm; that of Mounier was not ſo complex as the ſecond nor ſo ſimple as the firſt, but it was wanting of clearneſs and deciſion of principle: After ſome diſcuſſion, they were finally referred to a committee of five members, who reported them to the aſſembly, and upon the motion of Mirabeau it was decreed that they ſhould be publiſhed and form the preamble to the conſtitution.

It was on the twenty-third, that the majority completed the decrees which were to form the foundation of a conſtitution for France, and condenſed them for general information in the following important nineteen reſolutions:—

1ſt. That all power originally was derived from the people, and could continue to flow from that ſource alone.

2d. That the French government was monarchical, but that there exiſted in France no authority ſuperior to the law; that the king reigned by the law, and in virtue thereof alone could claim the obedience of the people.

3d. That the national aſſembly has acknowledged and declared, as fundamental points of the monarchy, that the perſon of the ſovereign is ſacred and inviolable—the throne indiviſible—the crown hereditary in the preſent royal family, from male to male in order of primogeniture, to the perpetual and abſolute excluſion of females and their deſcendants, without deciding on the effect of renunciations.

4th. That the national aſſembly ſhall be permanent.

5th. That the national aſſembly ſhall be compoſed of only one chamber.

6th. That the return of the deputies to the national aſſemblies ſhall be for two years.

7th. That on the expiration of that term, an entire new election ſhall take place.

8th. That the legiſlative power is veſted in the national aſſembly, who ſhall exerciſe it as follows:

9th. No act of the legiſlative body can be conſidered as law, if it is not framed by the repreſentatives of the nation, freely and legally choſen; and if it is not ſanctioned by the monarch.

10th. The king can refuſe his aſſent to any act of the legiſlative body.

11th. In that caſe where the king ſhall interpoſe his negative, that negative ſhall be conſidered only as ſuſpenſive.

12th. The negative of the king ſhall ceaſe to exiſt on the election of the national aſſembly, which next follows that in which the law was propoſed.

13th. The king may invite the national aſſembly to deliberate on any ſubject; but to propoſe any new law is the excluſive prerogative of the repreſentatives of the people.

14th. The creation or ſuppreſſion of offices cannot take place, but in conſequence of an act of the legiſlative body, ſanctioned by the king.

15th. No tax or contribution in kind, or in money, can be levied; no loan direct or indirect can be negociated by any other means than by an expreſs decree of the aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the nation.

16th. The ſupreme executive power is excluſively veſted in the hands of the king.

17th. The executive power can enact no laws, not even proviſional; but only is allowed to iſſue proclamations conformable to the law, to recal or enforce obedience to it.

18th. The miniſters and the other agents of the executive power, are reſponſible for the application of the different ſums in their departments, as well as for every infringement of the laws, whatever orders they may have received; but no order of the king is to be executed, unleſs ſigned by his majeſty himſelf, and counterſigned by the ſecretary of ſtate, or the miniſter of the department.

19th. The judicial power can on no occaſion whatſoever be exerciſed by the king, nor by the legiſlative body; but juſtice is to be adminiſtered in the name of the king, by thoſe tribunals eſtabliſhed by law, according to the principles of the conſtitution, and the forms which the law preſcribes.

Such were the articles decreed as the future land-marks of the conſtitution of France, and as theſe, without expreſsly naming, completely extinguiſhed the abſolute *veto*, which comte Lally-Tollendal and meſſieurs Mounier and Bergaſſe had deſcribed as indiſpenſably neceſſary to the exiſtence of the ſtate, thoſe gentlemen declined continuing any longer members of a committee, whoſe repreſentations were diſregarded; and accordingly gave in their reſignation.

The declaration of the rights of men and citizens was ſcarce leſs remarkable for the ſolemnity with which it was introduced, than for the important matter which it contained.

The preamble ſtates, that the repreſentatives of the people of France, formed into a national aſſembly, conſidering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the ſole cauſes of public misfortunes, and corruptions of government, have reſolved to ſet forth, in a ſolemn declaration, theſe natural, impreſcriptible, and unalienable rights. That this declaration being conſtantly preſent to the minds of the body ſocial, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties; that the acts of the legiſlative and executive powers of government being capable of a conſtant compariſon with the end of political inſtitutions, may be more reſpected; and alſo, that the future claims of the citizens being directed by ſimple and inconteſtible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the conſtitution and the general happineſs.

For theſe reaſons, the national aſſembly doth recognize and declare, in the preſence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of his bleſſing and favour, the following ſacred rights of men and citizens.

1ſt. Men are born and always continue free and equal in reſpect of their rights; civil diſtinctions, therefore, can be founded only in public utility.

2dly. The end of all political aſſociations, is the preſervation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of men; and theſe rights are liberty, equality, property, ſecurity, and reſiſtance of oppreſſion.

3dly. That the people compoſing the nation are eſſentially the ſource of all ſovereignty. nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority, which is not actually and expreſsly derived therefrom.

4thly. Political liberty conſiſts in the power of doing whatever does not injure another; the exerciſe of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than thoſe which are neceſſary to ſecure to every other man the free exerciſe of the ſame rights, and theſe limits are determinable only by the law.

5thly. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to ſociety; what is not prohibited by the law ſhould not be oppoſed; nor ſhould any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

6thly. The law is an expreſſion of the will of the community; all citizens have a right to concur, either perſonally or by their repreſentatives, in its formation; it ſhould be the ſame to all whether it protects or it puniſhes; and all being equal in its ſight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other diſtinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

7thly. No man ſhall be accuſed, arreſted, or held in confinement, except in caſes determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has preſcribed. All who promote, ſolicit, execute, or cauſe to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be puniſhed; and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himſelf culpable by reſiſtance.

8thly. The law ought to impoſe no other penalties than ſuch as are abſolutely and evidently neceſſary; and no one ought to be puniſhed but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

9thly. Every man being preſumed innocent until he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indiſpenſable, all rigour to him, more than is neceſſary to ſecure his perſon, ought to be provided againſt by the law.

10thly. No man ought to be moleſted on account of his opinions, not even of his religious opinions, provided his irregular diſſemination of them does not diſturb the public order eſtabliſhed by law.

11thly. The unreſtrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the moſt precious rights of man, every citizen may ſpeak, write, and publiſh freely, provided he is reſponſible for the abuſe of this liberty in caſes determined by the law.

12thly. A public force being neceſſary to give ſecurity to the rights of men and citizens, that force is inſtituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular advantage of the perſons to whom it is entruſted.

13thly. A common contribution being neceſſary for the ſupport of the public force, and for defraying the other expences of government, it ought to be divided among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

14thly. Every citizen has a right, either by himſelf or his repreſentative, to a free voice in determining the neceſſity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of aſſeſſment and duration.

15thly. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

16thly. Every community, in which a ſeparation of powers and a ſecurity of rights are not provided for, wants a conſtitution.

17thly. The right to property being inviolable and ſacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in caſes of evident public neceſſity, legally aſcertained, and on condition of a previous juſt indemnity.

The ſimplicity that reigns throughout this declaration was admirably ſuited to the purpoſes for which it was intended. A plain ſyſtem of government was preſented to the view and comprehenſion of the moſt limited capacity; and while each citizen was taught to look to thoſe rights which are inherent in man, he was inſtructed to ſubmit without repining to thoſe burdens, and that reſtraint, which were neceſſary to the preſervation of the ſtate, and to his own protection.

In the revolution that thus gradually unfolds itſelf, the mind of the reader is ſcarce cheered by the proſpect of tranquillity, before it is again overcaſt by the gathering ſtorms of civil commotion. The ſagacious and unprejudiced obſerver will, while he accompanies the hiſtorian, frequently have occaſion to admire the incidents unexpected and accidental, which ſo largely contributed to accelerate the progreſs of the revolution, and to ſupercede at once the wiſdom and the prudence of one party, and the power and conſequence of another. The declaration of right and the articles of the new conſtitution, might have ſoothed the angry ſpirits, and kindled the hopes of France; but her harveſt of ideal proſperity was blaſted by the chilling breath of famine; neither the exertion of the committee of ſubſiſtence, the precaution of the miniſter of the finances, nor the liberality of the duke of Orleans, who devoted his princely revenue to alleviate the public diſtreſs, could prevent the Pariſians from being aſſailed by that ſcarcity which ſtill afflicted France, and was alſo felt in ſome meaſure by the neighbouring kingdoms.

Even Verſailles, the royal reſidence, was not exempt from its ſhare of miſery; ſome popular tumults which prevailed in the ſtreets, and which were excited by the extravagant price of bread, ſerved as a pretext for the municipality to demand, and the king to conſent, to the regiment of Flanders being ſummoned to preſerve the public tranquillity. This meaſure, which at firſt appeared of no importance, was ſoon productive of conſequences the moſt unexpected and ſanguinary.

Though through every ſtage of this extraordinary revolution, the monarch himſelf appeared zealous to comply with the popular wiſhes, yet it was well underſtood that the high maſculine ſpirit of his conſort was ſeverely wounded, by the diminution of the regal authority, Whatever oppoſition had occurred from the throne, was therefore attributed to her counſels; and the influence which the count d'Artois poſſeſſed over his royal ſiſter-in-law, with the avowed ſentiments of that prince, induced the nation in general to regard the queen with jealouſy and ſuſpicion.

Theſe ſuſpicions were encreaſed by the arrival of the regiment of Flanders; and the capital, ever tremulouſly alive to danger, beheld with a jaundiced eye the vicinity of a body of regular troops, whoſe preſence, it was aſſerted, could be productive of no real

advantage, who might be ſupported at a leſs expence in any of the provinces, and whoſe conſumption of corn would encreaſe that ſcarcity, from which the inhabitants of Paris already ſeverely ſuffered.

Such were the ſubjects of immediate remonſtrance, when a new and more lively cauſe of complaint and jealouſy preſented itſelf. The garde-du-cops, or houſhold troops of the king, had invited to an entertainment the regiment of Flanders. Though it had been an ancient cuſtom in the French ſervice to pay this compliment to every regiment that arrived, yet as it had been delayed ſome time, prudence at leaſt would have dictated the omiſſion of it at ſo critical a moment: but enthuſiaſm which is ſo often the parent of great actions and misfortunes, and which on ſo many occaſions during this unexampled revolution proved fatal to the royal cauſe, on this occaſion not only blinded the judgment of the adherents of the court, but plunged them into acts of extravagance, the meaning and conſequences of which could not elude the vigilance and diſcernment of the popular party.

The circumſtances that attended the entertainment, were far from allaying thoſe fears which had been excited by the arrival of the regiment of Flanders. Beſides that corps, the houſehold troops invited ſeveral officers of the national-guard of Verſailles, with their commander, the celebrated count d'Eſtaign. Even the common ſoldiers of the Swiſs-guards, the chaſſeurs of Trois-Evêchés, and the grenadiers of Flanders, were admitted into the ſaloon, where the feaſt was prepared; liquor was plentifully diſtributed; the health of the king, queen, and the dauphin, were drank with the loudeſt acclamations; but that of the nation was rejected. The royal family themſelves appeared on this occaſion;—the air of "Oh Richard! Oh my king!" an ancient chivalric ballad, was played by the band; and towards the cloſe of the evening ſeveral ladies of the court preſented themſelves, and diſtributed white-cockades, which were eagerly received, though the regiment of Flanders had previouſly worn that of the nation.

If in this tranſaction the court can be acquitted of any regular deſign, it yet muſt ſtand convicted of the higheſt imprudence. In the new and unſettled ſtate of affairs to countenance theſe Bacchanalian orgies, was at leaſt an unpardonable indiſcretion; the national-cockade was conſidered as the emblem of attachment to the new conſtitution; yet the ſoldiers of Flanders were prevailed on to abandon it, and reſume that which they had worn under the ancient government; while the female attendants of the queen diſplayed their zeal, by furniſhing theſe enſigns of open and undiſguiſed diſaffection.

The rumour of theſe occurrences rapidly ſpread from Verſailles to Paris; it had been preceded by a report that it was the intention of the king to quit his palace, and accompanied by the queen, whoſe reproaches it was ſuppoſed, had arouzed him to this deciſive meaſure, to eſcape to Metz; there to aſſemble what forces he could depend upon; and erect once more the ſtandard of deſpotiſm. The recall of regular troops to the neighbourhood of the capital gave weight to this report; and the Pariſians had no ſmall reaſon to apprehend that from the moment of the king's retreat, the ſcanty ſupplies of grain, which furniſhed at preſent but a bare ſubſiſtence to the capital, would be entirely intercepted.

Theſe diſcontents were not long confined to ſecret and ineffectual murmurs; on the intelligence of the myſterious entertainment at Verſailles, the clamours of the populace

assumed a louder and more menacing tone. The militia of Paris, and the ancient French guards, joined in the general indignation. On the Fourth of October, the marquis de la Fayette, who was then at the committee of police, was addreſſed by ſix grenadiers, who informed him that they were deputies from the ſix grenadier companies; that though they entertained no doubt of his integrity, they believed he himſelf to be betrayed by the government; that it was time an end ſhould be put to the public diſtreſs; that they could not turn their arms againſt women who demanded bread; that the committee of ſubſiſtence deceived them, and ought to be aboliſhed. That they were determined to go to Verſailles, and exterminate the garde-du-corps and the regiment of Flanders, who had trampled under foot the national cockade. That if the king of France was too feeble to bear the weight of the crown, they would depoſe him, and that they would crown his ſon, and then all would go well.

Language ſo alarming, it might have been naturally expected would have induced the marquis de la Fayette, as colonel-general of the militia, to have adopted every poſſible precaution; but whatever were his motives, that nobleman contented himſelf with ſimply haranguing the grenadiers, and recommending patience and forbearance.

His eloquence on this occaſion was not attended with the effects that he might have fondly imagined. The progreſs of diſcontent was rapid and frightful. Some hundreds of the moſt licentious and daring of the rabble, chiefly women, collected from the markets and public halls, armed with ſtaves, pikes, and every weapon that their blind fury could ſupply, poured from their dark and ſecret lurking places. They ſurrounded the Hotel de Ville with fearful cries, forced open the doors, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the arms. Their numbers were ſoon ſwelled to ſeveral thouſands, by ſucceſſive and motly groups of both ſexes, furniſhed with fuſils and piſtols, ſwords and poignards, lances and hatchets, and dragging two pieces of cannon. To this deſparate and tumultuous hoſt the marquis de Saint Huruge, a nobleman of ancient family in Burgundy but of ſullied reputation, and doubtful intellects, joined himſelf.

Theſe lawleſs inſurgents, animated by a ſurvey of their ſtrength, and the ſeditious harangues of their new leader, at length took the road to Verſailles. On their route they compelled the different paſſengers whom they met, and eſpecially the women, to mingle in their train. Terror and diſmay preceded their van; the villages through which they paſſed were diſerted; the ſhops and houſes were ſhut on their approach; and the inhabitants who remained in any town were happy to redeem themſelves from pillage by a liberal diſtribution of bread and wine.

Intoxicated with rage and liquor, the frantic crowd about half after three o'clock precipitated themſelves on Verſailles. The king that morning had ſet out for Meudon, and was engaged in the amuſements of the chace, when he was firſt informed of the march of the inſurgents; he inſtantly returned to the caſtle, and arrived a quarter of an hour before the appearance of the hoſtile rabble; yet far from regarding their diſpoſitions as really dangerous; to the prince of Luxembourg, the captain of his guards, and who enquired if his majeſty had any orders to give; he replied, with a ſmile, "what "for women? you ſurely jeſt."

The national aſſembly was engaged in diſcuſſing the anſwer of the king to the articles of the conſtitution. His majeſty had acceded to them, on condition that the executive power ſhould remain whole and undiminiſhed in his hands. But this reſervation was

far from meeting the general approbation. It was obſerved, that though the king had acceded to them, that he had not accepted them; it was propoſed, that he ſhould ſwear to obſerve them in the preſence of the aſſembly; and amidſt this diverſity of opinion, the fatal entertainment of the firſt of October, the fource of ſo many ſuſpicions, and ſiniſtrous events, was introduced into debate.

While yet the minds of the deputies were agitated by this relation, and the various motions that attended it, monſieur Mounier, the preſident, communicated the alarming intelligence that he had juſt received; that an armed concourſe of thirty or forty thouſand people were on their march from Paris. On this news the aſſembly reſolved that the preſident ſhould wait upon the king to obtain a pure and ſimple acceptation of the articles of the conſtitution; and were already prepared to break up, when they were interrupted by the unwelcome and formidable preſence of the inſurgents.

Theſe preſented themſelves with loud cries and imprecations at the doors of the aſſembly, and threatened to force the guards that defended them. To avoid this dangerous extremity, it was decreed by a majority of voices to permit them to enter; they immediately preſſed forwards in great numbers, and the benches were inſtantly occupied by a crowd of women, diſtained with duſt and ſweat, deaf to reaſon, inflamed with liquor, and inſatiate of blood.

Two men, who aſſumed the tone of authority, appeared at their head. The firſt addreſſed the aſſembly, and informed them that they were come to Verſailles for bread and money; and at the ſame time to puniſh the garde-du-corps, who had inſulted the patriotic cockade. That like good patriots they had on their route taken away by force all the white and black cockades that they had met with; and, drawing one out of his pocket, he concluded with obſerving, "that he would have the pleaſure of tear-"ing it to pieces in the preſence of that aſſembly." His aſſociate added, that they would compel every one to wear the national-cockade. A murmur of diſcontent at this expreſſion ſpread itſelf through the aſſembly; which only produced from the undaunted and lawleſs orator the exclamation "*what, are we not all brethren?*" while the preſident, ſenſible of the danger which impended over him, condeſcended to anſwer in terms of the mildeſt expoſtulation.

This ſingnlar dialogue was interrupted by the tumultuous cries of the women, who demanded with menacing geſtures, bread for themſelves, and for Paris. In vain did monſieur Mounier repreſent the conſtant attention of the aſſembly to their diſtreſs; in vain did he hold up the flattering proſpect of future relief, and intreat them to retire in peace; his promiſes and ſolicitations were equally diſregarded; and the national aſſembly, diſmayed by the imperious voice of the inſurgents, ſought only to avert deſtruction by the moſt degrading compliances.

The majority confirmed again the decree reſpecting the articles of the conſtitution; they appointed once more the preſident, accompanied by a deputation, to return to the king to obtain not only his acceptation of thoſe articles, but alſo his aſſiſtance in relieving Paris, and allaying that ſcarcity which threatened the moſt fatal conſequences: but at the moment that monſieur Mounier roſe to depart, the women who ſurrounded him proclaimed their intention of accompanying him to the king; and it was with the greateſt difficulty they could prevail on them to limit their demand to ſix of their number.

The picture which this motly deputation preſented, and the embarraſments which attended it, cannot be better deſcribed than from the pen of the preſident himſelf; "we "were," ſays he, "on foot, expoſed to the mud and a heavy rain. A crowd of the "inhabitants of Verſailles lined on each ſide the avenue that conducted to the caſtle; "the women of Paris were formed into different groupe, mingled with a certain number "of men, for the moſt part covered with rags, their countenances fierce, their geſtures "menacing, and raiſing the moſt fearful howlings. They were armed with fuſils, and "old pikes, with hatchets, with ſtaves guarded with iron, long poles, having at the end "the blades of ſwords or knives. Small detachments of the garde-du-corps formed "the patroles; and paſſed on full gallop, amidſt the cries and hiſſes of the populace.

"We advanced," continues monſieur Mounier; "and another party of men armed "with pikes, hatchets, and ſtaves, approached to eſcort the deputation. The ſtrange "and numerous train by which the deputies were followed, was miſtaken for a crowd "of the inſurgents. The garde-du-corps charged acroſs us. We were diſperſed in "the mud: we however rallied again, and proceeded towards the caſtle. We there "found the garde-du-corps, a detachment of dragoons, the regiment of Flanders, the "Swiſs guards, the invalids, and the militia of Verſailles, ranged in order of battle. "We made ourſelves known, and were received with reſpect; we traverſed the lines; "and it was with difficulty that we could prevent the crowd that had followed us from "entering with us; but in the place of ſix women, to whom I had promiſed admittance "into the caſtle, I was obliged to introduce twelve."

It was half paſt five, and a day the moſt wet and dreary, had given place to a night the moſt dark and inauſpicious; when the preſident of the national aſſembly, eſcorted by fifteen deputies, and twelve women of the dregs of Paris, entered into the royal preſence, and painted to his majeſty the diſtreſs of his capital. The king anſwered in the language of ſenſibility, and with every aſſurance of prompt and effectual ſuccour. Satisfied on this ſubject, monſieur Mounier ſtill ſolicited that ſome hour might be appointed to underſtand his majeſty's definitive anſwer to the articles of the conſtitution, and the rights of men and citizens. The king named nine; and retired to his cabinet to conſult with his miniſters on the difficulties which preſented themſelves. It was not till ten that this important deliberation was brought to a concluſion; monſieur Mounier, who had ſtill remained in waiting, was then called in, and received from the hands of the ſovereign his acceptation *pure and ſimple*.

But the triumph of the preſident was of ſhort duration; the multitude, whoſe fury had been excited by the ſtings of hunger, felt themſelves but little intereſted in the proſpect of future freedom, and future laws, while the diſtreſs of the preſent moment threatened inevitable deſtruction. Famine ſtill appeared before their eyes in its moſt hideous form. And monſieur Mounier entered exulting into the ſaloon of the aſſembly, and announced the acceptation of the king *pure and ſimple*, he was interrupted by the cries of the populace; "is it advantageous to us? will it procure us bread?" He was mournfully obliged to confeſs that the power of the king extended not to this, and that it was from time only they could expect an effectual remedy to their diſtreſs.

Even the female deputies who had accompanied monſieur Mounier, had reaſon to regret the unexpected honour which the voice of their comrades had conferred upon them; they had returned with the preſident and had announced the auſpicious promiſes of the

ſovereign; but theſe were far from ſatisfying their impatient companions; they threatened them with punishment; they accuſed them of being corrupted; and compelled them to return to the caſtle, and to demand from the king that he would ſubſcribe his promiſe. Monſieur de St. Prieſt, miniſter of the home department, ſucceeded in calming for a moment their angry ſpirits. He condeſcended to explain to them the different meaſures that the king and the miniſters had adopted for the ſubſiſtence of the capital; and he delivered to them a paper ſigned by his majeſty, in which he engaged for the moſt ſpeedy and effectual ſuccours.

While M. Mounier and the deputation awaited in the royal apartment the anſwer of the king, the court of Verſailles diſplayed a ſcene of confuſion and horror. The diſorderly multitude that had accompanied the preſident to the caſtle, had returned and repoſſeſſed themſelves of the ſaloon of the national aſſembly. The deputies beheld themſelves ſurrounded by a mixture of men and women, whoſe infuirated viſages proclaimed their fell diſpoſitions; throughout the hall a thouſand voices demanded the ſuppreſſion of the garde-du-corps, or body-guard, the diſmiſſion of the regiment of Flanders; and the abolition of the parliaments. But theſe objects of popular hatred were loſt in the more general and importunate clamours for an abatement in the price of candles, of bread, and of meat.

Daring and licentious as the multitude appeared, it was ſtill hoped that they would have deſiſted from the laſt extremeties, and not ventured to have ſtained the reſidence of their ſovereign with civil blood. But each compliance, inſtead of extinguiſhing, ſeemed only to have added fuel to their rage. From the national aſſembly they had directed their tumultuous ſteps again to the caſtle. This was ſtill in appearance protected by the garde-du-corps, the regiment of Flanders, and the national-guard of Verſailles. But the latter, who had ſuffered equally with the Pariſians from the general ſcarcity, were ſoon ſeduced to join the party of the multitude; nor was it long before the defection gained the regiment of Flanders; and the garde-du-corps beheld themſelves alone, and without reſource expoſed to the headlong torrent.

It was about ſeven o'clock in the evening when the inhabitants of Verſailles were ſtartled at firſt by a ſcattering, and afterwards by a heavy but irregular diſcharge of muſquetry. The objects of this fire were the guard-du-corps; the marquis de Savonnieres, an officer in thoſe troops, had, by the imprudent purſuit of one of the national-guard of Verſailles, drawn upon them the hoſtile fury of the multitude; his temerity was ſeverely puniſhed, for his arm was broken in two places, and he fell in the midſt of his ſquadron, who, faithful to the orders of their ſovereign, ſtill preſerved their ranks, and reſtrained their own reſentment. However imprudent the behavior of this corps at the entertainment of the firſt of October, and of which the violence which they experienced on this occaſion was a conſequence, their moderation in this trying criſis is deſerving of admiration; but it failed of producing a like temper in their aſſailants, who taking advantage of their patient inactivity worried them on every ſide.

The king was yet engaged in council on the declaration of right, and the articles of the conſtitution, when he was appriſed of the danger which impended over his guards, and anxious for their ſafety, commanded them to retire to their hotel. This retreat was not effected without conſiderable hazard; and ſome men, with ſeveral horſes, were ſeverely wounded. They had not long gained the ſhelter of their hotel, when Lewis, always irreſolute and indeciſive, alarmed by the various reports which each moment grew

more formidable, ſummoned to his defence once more his houſhold troops. They obeyed with alacrity, though not without experiencing the ſame riſk and oppoſition as before. They ranged themſelves in order of battle before the caſtle; and though ſome were the victims of the repeated attacks of the multitude, they ſtill diſplayed the ſame ſteady but paſſive conduct. At length the monarch, ſenſible that in that poſition their deſtruction would be inevitable without contributing to his ſecurity, gave orders for them to retire to Rambouillet, under the command of the duke de Guiche; and only retained ſome few whoſe duty it was to guard as ſentinels the royal apartments.

From the horrors which profaned Verſailles, the attention of the reader is recalled to the capital. Paris had indeed vomited forth her needy and rapacious thouſands, impatient of reſtraint, and greedy of plunder. But ſhe was too deeply intereſted in the fate of her monarch to rejoice at their abſence; and the loud and ſanguinary menaces which they had breathed. too plainly proclaimed the exceſſes which they were capable of. Soon after their tumultuous departure, the militia of Paris began to aſſemble in the ſtreets; yet ſcarce ſenſible of their own intentions, they awaited the commanding voice of their leader, and every eye was anxiouſly fixed on the marquis de la Fayette.

That nobleman, by the free choice of his fellow-citizens and the ſanction of his ſovereign, had attained to the dignity and authority of colonel-general of the militia of Paris. From the reputation he had hitherto enjoyed, vigilance and activity were at leaſt to be expected; and from the military power veſted in his hands, and from the confidence which had been fondly attached to his conduct, he alone was capable of reſtraining the blind fury of the populace. Yet whether from contempt or deſign, he ſeemed to perſevere in ſupine indifference; we have already beheld with what inattention he received the addreſs of the grenadiers; and though their diſpoſition promiſed conſequences the moſt fatal, yet no precautions were taken, no orders given, no poſts occupied; it appeared as if the marquis was willing to enhance the merit of his ſervices, and to ſuffer Verſailles to be reduced to the laſt extremities before he appeared to its relief.

At length when the marquis beheld ſeveral thouſands of the militia aſſembled, and was convinced that the force, which required him as a leader, was ſufficient to look into ſubmiſſion, either the diſorderly hoſt of inſurgents, or the ſcanty band of regular troops, he preſented himſelf at the Hotel de Ville, and demanded permiſſion of the commons to march to Verſailles; this was immediately granted, and at four in the evening, about five hours after the factious populace had quitted the capital, the marquis de la Fayette, at the head of eighteen thouſand men, directed his tardy ſteps towards Verſailles.

It was ten at night before an aid-de-camp of the marquis announced to the king and the national aſſembly the approach of the Pariſian army. Their commander, ſtill more deſirous of preſerving forms, than of rapidly advancing to protect the wretched inhabitants, halted his army at a ſmall diſtance from the town, and adminiſtered to his ſoldiers the oath to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king. Fortified by this proof of allegiance, he next preſented himſelf to the national aſſembly, and aſſured the preſident both of his own pacific intentions and thoſe of his followers,

From the national aſſembly the marquis paſſed to the royal preſence; where he held the ſame language, and ſo fully poſſeſſed his majeſty of his ſecurity, that the king

declined the preſence of the national repreſentatives, and contented himſelf with declaring that it was his intention never to ſeparate himſelf from the ſeat of their councils.

The deputies ſtill however continued ſitting, and were employed in diſcuſſing the code of criminal law, but their deliberations were interrupted by the frequent cries of the multitude for bread. At length the tempeſt ſeemed to have exhauſted its force; the crowd ſunk into a momentary ſilence; the militia who had marched from Paris, benumbed with cold and wet, ſought ſhelter in the taverns, the ſtables, and the courts of the different houſes; they were liberally ſupplied with liquor and proviſions; and the marquis de la Fayette, witneſs of their joy and abundance, again returned to the caſtle and communicated to the king the welcome tidings of public tranquillity. It was now about two o'clock in the morning, and his majeſty, oppreſſed by fatigue, prepared to retire to reſt.

The marquis fatally impreſſed by the deceitful quiet which prevailed, contented himſelf with placing a few ſcattered ſentinels, and haſtened to rejoin the national aſſembly. Though M. Mounier declared, that if any doubt remained he would ſtill keep the deputies ſitting, the marquis ſo confidently aſſured him of his reliance on the attachment of his own army, and repreſented ſo favourably the tranquillity which then prevailed, that the preſident conſented to diſmiſs the aſſembly, and reſigned himſelf to ſleep; an example that was ſoon followed by the general himſelf.

If the repoſe of the marquis de la Fayette was ſound and unalloyed, the ſlumbers of the inſurgents were ſhort and perturbed. Sleep ſeemed to have recruited their ſtrength without allaying their turbulence. Before the break of day their diſcordant cries and ſanguinary menaces afforded a melancholy preſage of what might be expected from their active fury: the name of the queen was mingled with their imperious demand of bread. At length about ſix in the morning the frantic crowd precipitated themſelves on the hotel of the garde-du-corps; the thin remnant of the houſhold troops were incapable of ſtemming the torrent; the doors were forced; fifteen of that corps were ſeized and dragged forth amidſt the multitude; the reſt effected their eſcape and fled towards the caſtle, and were purſued thither by their enemies whom hunger had now ſharpened up to the thirſt of blood; theſe deluged with their numbers the courts of the royal reſidence; two of the garde-du-corps fell a victim to their fury near the iron railing, a third was ſlaughtered on the the marble ſtaircaſe; the ſcattered ſentinels placed by the marquis de la Fayette were inactive ſpectators of the bloody ſcene; the houſhold troops that had eſcaped the firſt attack, in vain attempted to defend the interior of the palace; their feeble barrier was ſoon pierced by the inſurgents, who now ruſhed forwards to the apartments of the queen.

The door of the royal chamber was defended by monſieur Miomandre, a garde-du-corps, whoſe fidelity and reſolution entitle him to the applauding notice of hiſtory; while he heroically oppoſed himſelf to the hoſt of murderers already ſtained with the blood of his companions, he loudly called to her attendants to ſave the queen. That princeſs was inſtantly awakened by her women, and by a private paſſage was conducted almoſt naked to the apartment of the king; the gallant Miomandre, ſuſtained repeated aſſaults, and ſtemmed their terrible impetuoſity until ſhe had obtained a place of ſecurity; he fell indeed covered with wounds, but his life was preſerved by the goodneſs of his conſtitution and the ſkill of his ſurgeons.

A ſhort moment before the multitude ruſhed towards the apartments of the queen, the king had been rouſed from his ſleep by the accumulating tumult. The duke of Luxem-

bourg had been alſo awakened by the ſame cauſe; he now preſented himſelf in the chamber of his ſovereign, followed by the few gardes-du-corps that he could collect: round the ſtandard of theſe, the ancient French guards ranged themſelves, and joined in repelling the inſurgents; by degrees the crowd was compelled to retire into the lower courts, while regular poſts were eſtabliſhed, and every precaution taken to ſecure the caſtle againſt a ſecond attack.

On the firſt intelligence of theſe diſaſtrous events, the marquis de la Fayette had quitted his bed, and endeavoured to atone by his activity for his former credulity and negligence; his ſplendid promiſes of ſecurity were now converted into reproaches, and ſhame ſucceeded to miſplaced confidence: As he preſſed with haſty ſteps towards the caſtle, he beheld on every ſide the effects of his own imprudence; motly groups of men and women, drunk with fury and liquor, armed with pikes and hatchets, and bearing aloft as trophies the bleeding heads of the victims to their barbarity: The national-guard of Paris rallied at the known voice of their commander; they flew to his ſupport: and their united efforts wreſted from the populace ſeveral of the garde-du-corps, whoſe fate had been deferred to render it more lingering and cruel; a conſiderable body of the national-guard were alſo introduced into the caſtle, and to ſooth the fury of the people, the king and queen, by the advice of the marquis, appeared in an open balcony; while the garde-du-corps were prevailed on to contribute to the general tranquillity, by the humiliating meaſure of ſurrendering their arms and accoutrements.

Yet theſe painful conceſſions were far from ſatisfying the multitude: The Pariſians conceived that plenty could only be ſecured to the capital by the preſence of the monarch; they now demanded, with imperious cries, the removal of the royal family from Verſailles; and the king, after a ſhort deliberation, was compelled to acquieſce in their demand.

Before his majeſty had engaged in this laſt promiſe, he had expreſſed a deſire that the deputies of the national aſſembly ſhould wait upon him at the caſtle, and aſſiſt him with their councils. Though the royal requeſt was ſeconded by the eloquence of the preſident, yet the majority conſidered it as inconſiſtent with the dignity of the aſſembly; they urged, that their deliberations in the preſence of the ſovereign would wear the appearance of conſtraint, and be ſubject to the ſuſpicions of the people. A deputation of thirty-ſix members were, however, alotted to wait on the king; and on the news that his majeſty intended to remove to Paris, that number was ſwelled to an hundred, and was appointed to accompany him to the capital.

It was about one o'clock in the evening, when Lewis the Sixteenth, attended by the royal family, ſet out from Verſailles; and the order of the march preſented to the ſpectator a ſcene of horror that ſurpaſſes deſcription. A crowd of frantic women, ſtill ſtaggering under the debauch of the preceding night, and ſtill ſtained with the blood which they had wantonly ſhed, mounted on the horſes, fantaſtically ornamented with the hats and uniforms, and armed with the weapons of the houſhold troops; theſe were ſurrounded with a hoſt of men, the refuſe of a vaſt and luxurious capital; two of which, with their arms naked and bloody, diſplayed aloft on their pikes the heads of two of the gardes-du-corps, whom they had inhumanly maſſacred. Behind were the ſurvivors of thoſe unhappy gentlemen on foot, bare-headed, without arms, and ſhuddering with

horror at the goary viſages of their ill-fated comrades. The royal family themſelves followed, encompaſſed by the dragoons, the regiment of Flanders, and the hundred Swiſs; continually expoſed to the inſults of a licentious rabble, who inceſſantly reproached them as the authors of that ſcarcity which the hand of Providence had inflicted.

In this picture the queen preſented an object as extraordinary as affecting; though youth and beauty naturally excite compaſſion; and though illuſtrious ſufferers generally inſpire pity from the compariſon of their former ſplendour with their fallen ſtate; yet her ſubjects beheld her ſituation with ſavage tranſport; they ſtill attributed to her the deſign of attempting to ſtarve them into ſubjection by a fictitious famine; and ſo lively were the impreſſions of their own diſtreſs, that their indignation precluded that ſympathy which is rarely denied to the unfortunate great. But the conſolation, which the queen was not allowed to derive from the humanity of her people, ſhe in ſome meaſure found in her own magnanimity.

The confuſed and tedious march from Verſailles to Paris continued from one o'clock in the evening till ſeven, when his majeſty and the royal family entered the capital, rather amidſt the reproaches than the acclamations of the inhabitants; and the king, after having preſented himſelf at the Hotel de Ville, where he liſtened to an addreſs from monſieur Bailly, was afterwards with his royal conſort, eſcorted to the Tuilleries.

The character of Lewis has been ſometimes repreſented as weak and adoleſcent, but in the courſe of the trying ſcenes which follow we ſhall find him to poſſeſs not only a quick apprehenſion, but a ſtrength of judgement which appears at variance with the feeble and wavering courſe of his public and private meaſures:—On this occaſion when paſſing up the ſtairs of the Hotel, monſieur de la Fayette ſuggeſted that it might anſwer a ſalutary purpoſe, if he were to aſſure the people himſelf, or authoriſe him to aſſure them, that he meant to fix his future abode in Paris. "I feel no objection," replied he, "to reſide "in Paris, but as I have not yet formed any determination of that kind, I will not make "any promiſe which I am not determined to fulfil."

Thus concluded the ſixth of October, a day which will long remain memorable in the annals of France. Yet while we lament the horrors that diſtinguiſh it, candour muſt admit that it was not the outrage of premeditation:—Devoid of deſign and incapable of ſyſtem, the ſtings of hunger ſeem alone to have rouzed the populace to action; to them the acceptation of the declaration of rights, and the articles of the conſtitution, were matters of indifference; famine was the object of their terrors; and amidſt every attempt to ſooth them, the high price of bread was the ſubject of their clamours; to this were added the irritating follies tranſacted at the entertainment of the garde-du-corps; and the intended flight of the king to Metz, a project which has ſince been confirmed by a letter written by count d'Eſtaign to the queen, conjuring her to relinquiſh the deſign and pointing out its inevitable dangers. In ſhort, much impatience on the part of the populace, and much negligence in thoſe to whom the chief military power had been entruſted, combined to produce thoſe diſaſtrous events.

This fatal inſurrection was however attended with other circumſtances not unworthy of obſervation. The removal of the king to Paris was productive of many happy conſequences; the ſuſpicions of the king's intended flight, which had been rapidly circulated and fully credited, were now as prudently diſbelieved, and the royal party found ſome conſolation in their diſapointment by throwing the odium of raiſing a falſe report on

their opponents; the confidence of the Parisians was now much more fixed than heretofore, and that abundance and profusion which usually follows courts had contributed to revive the appearance of plenty and mitigate the sufferings of the poor: and the markets were stocked by the conflux of provisions to the centre of the capital and court.

The aristocratic party however could not conceal their chagrin, it appeared under every effort of dissimulation and profession of moderation; and in the Assembly their disappointment was particularly manifested in the debate concerning the removal of the legislative body to Paris from Versailles, which they observed would annihilate the freedom of debate; nevertheless it was effected by a letter from the king to the president, and they resumed their sittings in the metropolis accordingly.

We have already remarked the firmness with which the duke of Orleans had early opposed himself to the despotism of the throne. His repeated exiles from court, his adherence to the claims of the commons; the large territorial sacrifices he had v luntarily made; and the liberality with which he had applied his revenue to relieve the distress of the capital, had attached to him the hearts of the people; but at the same time had rendered him equally obnoxious to the champions of arbitrary power, and those ambitious spirits who hoped to rise by the favour of the multitude, and who found themselves eclipsed by his superior rank, influence, and liberality. These insinuated that the name and popularity of the duke might be applied to purposes the most dangerous, by aiming at the crown; and that prince, who had before given no insignificant proof of his forbearance, by declining the proffered honour of president of the national assembly, now established his character for moderation, by yielding to the wishes of his sovereign, and accepting a commission to the court of St. James's, he withdrew himself from the eyes of his partial countrymen.

An address was on this occasion published by the commune of Paris, and circulated through all the provinces and communities of France, explaining the nature of the proceedings of that day, their loyalty and attachment to the king, an inviolable obedience to the national assembly, and love of their country This address, although it might have quieted some, it by no means diminished the fears of a considerable body both in and out of the assembly, and hastened their removal; numberless passports were daily solicited on various pretexts, and the roads to the frontiers displayed in the succession of fugitives, a melancholy indication of the despair of the aristocratic party.

About the same time that the duke of Orleans withdrew to England, monsieur Mounier, comte Lally-Tollendal, and several other members of the national assembly, offended at the little attention that had lately been paid to their representations, and despairing of the safety of the vessel of the state, abandoned the stations that had been assigned them, and sought in Switzerland a shelter from the fury of the tempest; many others pursued a less honourable course, by retiring to countries which were avowedly or covertly hostile to France, where they employed themselves with indefatigable perfidy in exciting all Europe to war against their native country, and thereby aggravating the animosities just then kindling, and which ultimately spread into a flame that consumed the throne, their own hopes, and contributed more firmly to establish the new order of things on a basis that experience has proved invulnerable to the united efforts of the combined power of all the nations of Europe.

The ſucceſſor of Lewis the fourteenth and fifteenth, conducted in abject triumph to his capital by his victorious ſubjects, reduced to follow a frantic crowd, ſtained with the blood and adorned with the ſpoils of his guards; to men entruſted with the power of nations, to thoſe whoſe ambitious deſires are never ſatisfied but in the deſpotic ſubjection of a people, whoſe boſoms are never penetrated by the miſeries inflicted by warand luxurious profuſion, and who never calculate upon the danger and the injuſtice of confirming the great body of a nation in ignorance,—preſents no common leſſon on the inſtability of human grandeur. While the ſituation of his miniſter offers to reflection the fond preſumption of men who attempt to ſteer a middle courſe between the oppreſſors and the oppreſſed, in great national convulſions.

We have already beheld monſieur Necker recalled from exile by the general voice of France; aſcend but a few weeks, we behold him crowned with laurels, and adored as the irreproachable miniſter, the guardian genius of the nation. But he was now doomed with his ſovereign to experience the mutability of favour, and of fortune; as long as the welfare of the ſtate ſeemed to depend ſolely on loans, banks, and pecuniary negociations, he ſtood aloof from his rivals, and appeared to guide the helm of empire with no unſteady hand. But no ſooner was the veſſel launched upon the ocean of opinion, no ſooner had the principles of civil liberty taken poſſeſſion of that place in the national mind which had been before ſolely engroſſed in deviſing expedients to obviate preſent difficulties, than the talents and activity of the miniſter ſhrunk beneath this new combuſtion of the elements. Diſmay and deſpair ſucceeded to hope and confidence; he heard with horror the howlings of the tempeſt; and ſilently abandoned his ſtation to more experienced or more adventurous pilots. The plaudits of the crowd were no more; that laſt and higheſt gratification of vanity was extinguiſhed, and though he continued to ſtand apparently at the head of the finances, his plans were conſidered as calculated rather to temporize with and perpetuate the national grievances than to relieve them, and therefore rarely adopted, andhis repreſentations were heard either with cold indifference or ſuſpicion.

The firſt meaſure of the king, on his arrival at Paris, was to iſſue a proclamation to allay the doubts and fears of the provinces, and to repreſent his departure from Verſailles, rather as his own voluntary choice, than the effect of conſtraint. He ſtatted, that he had with confidence fixed his reſidence in the capital, the inhabitants of which he was aſſured would never join in any attempt to reſtrain the liberty of their ſovereign; and he added, that as ſoon as the national aſſembly ſhall have terminated the grand object of their labours, the re-eſtabliſhment of the public welfare; that then he would execute the plan that he had long conceived, and viſit, without pomp, the different provinces of the kingdom, to prove by his preſence that all his people were equally dear to him.

This proclamation was immediately followed by a ſecond from the national aſſembly, in which it was declared, that though liberty was the ſource of proſperity to empires, yet licence was ſubverſive of their power and grandeur; that although, during the hour of tranquillity, the execution of the laws might be enforced without any extraordinary exertion of the public authority, yet in caſes of particular emergency, particular expedients muſt be reſorted to; that impreſſed with theſe conſiderations, and deſirous of preſerving the tranquillity of France, the national aſſembly had thought proper to form a code of martial law; by this code all municipal officers, in inſtances of civil

commotion, were authorized to employ military force, and were to be accountable for not uſing the means that they were thus entruſted with. That the national-guard, the regular troops, and the marechauſſée, were inſtructed to march at the requiſition of the municipal officers, but were ſtill to be accompanied by one of the latter; and that on the crowd not retiring, on being thrice warned by the civil magiſtrate, it was then lawful for him to have recourſe to the military, who were commanded to execute his orders.

From the moment the king had fixed his reſidence at Paris, the national aſſembly, now removed to the capital, ſeemed to have engroſſed all authority, while the power of the ſovereign was reduced to a vain and empty ſhadow. Decree followed decree with a rapidity that aſtoniſhed the members themſelves; but with whatever ſucceſs their regulations to reſtore order might be attended, the ſtate of the finances, and the fatal deficit ſtill preſented difficulties the moſt ſerious and formidable; that deficit had been ſtated in May, 1789, by monſieur Necker, at fifty-ſix millions of livres, and was now ſwelled by the ſuppreſſion of the duty on ſalt, and the deficiencies in the cuſtoms and exciſe, to an enormous amount. The two privileged orders were already ſubjected, in common with their fellow-citizens, to the taxes from which they had been formerly exempted; but this promiſed only a ſcanty and tardy ſupply; the public neceſſities were great and urgent; and the eyes of the aſſembly were turned to the property of the church, as the ſole effectual reſource.

The affluence of the eccleſiaſtical order had been ſeverely wounded by the abolition of tythes; but though their power was conſiderably impaired by that regulation, their poſſeſſions were ſtill an immenſe ſource of wealth and influence; and held out a moſt alluring temptation to the new government, equally anxious to diminiſh the public burdens, and to depreſs an order to whoſe intereſts their very exiſtence was hoſtile, whoſe connexion as a body and whoſe peculiar functions rendered their oppoſition to any ſpecies of reform formidable, and in whoſe profeſſions they could not cordially confide. They were ſtimulated by the powerful motives of humbling their enemies and eſtabliſhing their own authority and the clergy were not blind or indifferent to the danger that menaced them; to avert it, they offered by the archbiſhop of Aix, a contribution of four hundred millions of livres, or near ſeventeen millions ſterling, provided they might be permitted to enjoy their revenues in peace.

This propoſal only ſerved to confirm the aſſembly in the idea they had entertained of the value of the propoſed ſpoil. In the compte rendu of monſieur Necker the poſſeſſions of the church had been ſtated at five millions ſterling of revenue; but as this calculation was drawn from the returns of the poſſeſſors, they were, as had been ſurmiſed, found to immenſely exceed that eſtimation.

Impreſſed with the importance of ſuch an acquiſition, under the encreaſing exigencies of the nation, on the tenth of October, Talleyrand-Perigord, biſhop of Autun, aſcended the tribune, and after expatiating on the ſtate of the finances and the national neceſſities, with a diſintereſtedneſs that charmed and aſtoniſhed the aſſembly, and with a boldneſs that for a moment confounded thoſe who were prediſpoſed to oppoſition, pointed out the magnitude of the reſource in the poſſeſſions of the clergy, which he aſſerted belonged of right to the nation, and were at the diſpoſal of the aſſembly; that all ſinecures ought to be ſuppreſſed, and that the only right the clergy poſſeſſed in the revenues of the church

was limitted to a decent ſubſiſtence. He eſtimated the annual revenue of the church at one hundred and fifty million of livres, two-thirds of which he propoſed to appropriate to religious worſhip, and the other fifty millions to the public ſervice. He concluded his propoſition with remarking, that by a vigorous exertion, the ſum to be thus acquired would redeem the heavy and ſlaviſh tax on ſalt, and the odious revenue obtained by the ſale of offices. Such a propoſition, from an eccleſiaſtic, and one whoſe appointments at the time were very conſiderable, and whoſe talents and rank held out to him the moſt brilliant proſpects in the eccleſiaſtical carreer, could not fail of producing admiration and making a conſiderable impreſſion in favour of the meaſure: the ſpeech was ordered to be printed.

Menwhile the ſubject was diſcuſſed by Meſſrs. Thouret, Garat, Mirabeau, Barnave, Gouttes, and Dillon, in ſupport of the biſhop of Autun's propoſition; it was oppoſed by the archbiſhop of Aix, Mirabeau the younger, and the abbés Monteſquiou, d'Aymar, and Mauri. By the latter it was maintained, that the property of the church was abſolute and co-ordinate with ſociety, which if violated would operate to the diſſolution of property, and of ſociety itſelf, and the return of diſorder and a ſtate of nature; that the eſtates were never held by the nation; that the titles of the clergy were as well eſtabliſhed as thoſe of any private citizens, and by the ſame authorities; that a part was obtained by bequeſt and the reſt by the frugality and economy of the clergy; and that the arguments employed againſt them were drawn from dark and abſtract metaphyſical ſubtleties, in oppoſition to common ſenſe, the evidence of hiſtory, and the univerſal practice of nations. By their opponents it was aſſerted, that the title was defective in the clergy, becauſe they could not alienate by gift or ſale; that the church poſſeſſions really conſiſted of three deſcriptions of acquiſition, thoſe beſtowed by the kings, by corporations, and by individuals; that the foundations by the kings could be made only on the part of the nation, and were in fact either a diſmemberment of the ſtate or an appropriation for its ſervice, in either of which caſes the authority over them was clear; thoſe of aggregate bodies were in the ſame predicament; with regard to the donations of individuals, waving the point of utility, they reſted upon the queſtion—What is property in ſociety? It is a right given by the laws to poſſeſs excluſively what in a ſtate of nature would be common property; and on the principle of the ſupreme law, that the good of the whole ſupercedes the unneceſſary or pernicious claims of a few, placed the matter at a ſimple iſſue, by deciding whether the intention of religious inſtruction was not perverted by thoſe worldl inſtitutions, and their enormous poſſeſſions a burden and an evil to ſociety; that benevolent intentions were always reſpectable, but that the intentions of donors ſhould not be ſet up againſt juſtice, nor their ignorance or ſuperſtition operate to bind poſterity in perpetual error; that foundations multiplied by vanity for the nurture of idleneſs, were grievances; but that ſpecies which for ever accumulates were alſo prepoſterous, ſince they would in time abſorb the whole property of the nation; as for inſtance, if every individual were to have a ſepulchre, there would in time ariſe a neceſſity from the very nature of the abuſe, of overthrowing ſome of the monuments to make room for others.

But it was not till the ſecond of November, after a long and ſtrenuous debate, in which the abbé Mauri ſignalized his eloquence in defending the intereſts of his order, that the aſſembly decreed, that all eccleſiaſtical property was at the diſpoſal of the nation; ſub-

ject to the charge of providing, in a proper manner, for the expence of divine worſhip the ſupport of the miniſters of the church, and the relief of the poor, under the inſpection and according to the inſtructions of the different provinces.

That in the future diſpoſition which ſhould be made for the ſupport of the miniſters of religion, not leſs than twelve hundred livres of income ſhould be aſſigned to any curacy, without including the houſe and gardens dependent on it.

This was ſoon followed by a proclamation from the king, ſtating that his majeſty, at the requeſt of the national aſſembly, had thought proper to ſuſpend the nominations to all benefices, with the ſole exception of curacies; and commanded all tribunals, adminiſtrative bodies, and municipalities, to make known this ordinance, and to reſpect it as the eſtabliſhed law of the kingdom.

Though theſe regulations took place towards the cloſe of the year eighty-nine, yet it was not till the enſuing year was far advanced, that the fate of the clergy was finally determined; each motion was productive of a freſh and vigorous debate; and the oppoſition of the abbé Mauri, though uſeleſs to his order, was highly honourable to himſelf.

Perhaps it will not be diſpleaſing to the reader, if, abandoning the chronological order we have hitherto generally purſued, we preſent him at once with a view of different regulations which were adopted on this important object.

A. D. 1790.] In February 1790, all poſſeſſors of benefices, or of penſions on benefices, were enjoined to declare before the muncipality of the city which they inhabited, or were neareſt to, the number, the title, and the ſituation of the benefices that they poſſeſſed, as well as of all penſions which they enjoyed; under the penalty of forfeiting thoſe benefices and penſions which they omitted to ſpecify.

At the ſame time it was declared, till other future reductions more conſiderable could be made, that in every order throughout the different municipalities of the kingdom, one religious houſe, where there exiſted two, ſhould be ſuppreſſed; two in every municipality where there exiſted three; and three where there exiſted four; and on the thirteenth of the ſame month a decree of the national aſſembly prohibited in future all monaſtic vows in either ſex.

On the twenty-ſixth the penſions of the religious who ſhould chuſe to quit their houſes, were regulated by the national aſſembly. In the mendicant orders, thoſe under fifty years of age were aſſigned ſeven hundred livres; thoſe above fifty, and under ſeventy, eight hundred livres; and thoſe above ſeventy one thouſand livres. In the other religious orders, the members under fifty were alotted nine hundred livres; thoſe above fifty and under ſeventy, one thouſand livres; and thoſe above ſeventy, twelve hundred livres; thoſe religious who were formerly known by the celebrated name of *Jeſuits*, and who ſtill reſided in France, but poſſeſſed not any benefice, or penſion from the ſtate, a ſum equal to that aſſigned to the other religious of the ſame age, were included in this regulation.

The lay brethren, who had entered into ſolemn vows, and thoſe who could prove an engagement formally contracted between themſelves and their monaſtery, were to receive on quitting their houſes, three hundred livres per annum, if they were under fifty years of age: four hundred livres if above fifty, and under ſeventy; and five hundred livres if above ſeventy.

In March following it was decreed, that the religious who ſhould prefer reſiding in thoſe houſes which ſhould be appointed for them, ſhould enjoy penſions proportioned to their age, and in every reſpect conformable to the penſions which had been aſſigned to thoſe who had quitted their houſes.

In expoſing to ſale the maſs of eccleſiaſtical property, not only the maintenance of individuals was to be provided for, but the claims of the private creditors were to be reſpected. The eſtates of the church were burdened with very conſiderable debts. Theſe were ſtated by the committee of finances at one hundred and forty millions, four hundred thouſand livres, or upwards of ſix millions two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. In March the national aſſembly had decreed the alienation of eccleſiaſtical lands to the amount of four hundred millions of livres, or about ſeventeen millions ſterling, to the different municipalities of the kingdom; in the April following, they reſolved that theſe lands ſhould be conſidered free from every mortgage or debt; that the creditors ſhould on no account oppoſe the ſale of them; but at the ſame time they declared the creditors of the clergy the creditors of the ſtate; and pledged the public faith for the punctual payment of the principal and intereſt.

No ſooner had the national aſſembly relieved the fears of the creditors of the church, than they prepared to extinguiſh the hopes of the clergy by alotting thoſe ſtipends which were hereafter to bound their expectations. Theſe were fixed finally in June; and were rather proportioned to the wants of the church in its primeval ſimplicity, than ſuited to the pompous religious eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh church and a magneficent empire. The biſhops and the dignified clergy were reduced in general to leſs than one fourth of their former income. Of the parochial clergy or curates, thoſe of Paris were aſſigned ſix thouſand livres; in towns where the population exceeded fifty thouſand ſouls, four thouſand livres; in thoſe where the numbers extended from ten thouſand to fifty thouſand, three thouſand livres; where under ten thouſand and above three thouſand, the ſalary was limited to two thouſand four hundred livres; in all towns under three thouſand ſouls, two thouſand livres; and in the country from eighteen hundred down to twelve hundred livres, according to the different degrees of population.

The income of vicars was alſo determined from two thouſand four hundred to ſeven hundred livres, according to their rank in the church, and the population of their pariſhes.

Reſolutions which for ever extinguiſhed the ſplendor of the gallican hierarchy and the influence of the church, and reduced to a bare ſubſiſtence an order ſo formidable from its wealth, its numbers, and its power over the prejudices of the great maſs of the poor, could not fail of being canvaſſed with freedom; but the voice of the nation was heard in deep ſolemn reverberations, while the murmurs of the eccleſiaſtical body were ſcarcely heard but in the ſilent receſſes of the cloiſter, in melancholy echoes beneath the vacant arches of Gothic magnifiecence, or in the fierce rage and evanenſcent ſcreams of deſpairing fanaticiſm.

The national aſſembly were not ſo entirely occupied in providing for the neceſſities of the ſtate, by the ſpoils of their irreconcileable enemies, as to neglect the meaſures neceſſary for the future election of national repreſentatives. To facilitate this the aſſembly proceeded to the perfect eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution on a new territorial diviſion of the kingdom; the ancient provinces were already morally defunct; their excluſive pri-

vileges and jurisdictions were annihilated, by the operation of preceding decrees; their extent and limit originally settled by chance or caprice, without any regard to convenience or utility, served only to preserve the remains of feudal ideas; each province had possessed beside what were termed peculiar rights, peculiar laws, and formed in itself a petty sovereignty, with its parliament, metropolis, and jurisdiction; a government so multiform was necessarily perplexed, and productive of disorder and abuses in the affairs of revenue as well as of jurisprudence; beside this radical division of the provinces, there were other fantastical and irregular arrangements in the civil, military, and ecclesiastical administration, which contributed to the confusion; it was divided into governments according to the military order; into dioceses according to the ecclesiastical, and in the judicial order into bailiwicks and seneschalities; and all these divisions without regularity, conformity, or design.

The project of the committee appointed to report upon this subject was presented on the twenty-second of September, 1789; and another plan by M. Thouret on the second of November, and others were offered by Mirabeau, Bengy de Puyvale, and Galland, but that of the abbé Sieyes, equally admired for its ingenuity, accuracy, and the industry with which it was completed, was preferred to all the others, and was adopted by a decree passed the twenty-second of December, and referred to a committee, who finally reported it on the ninth, and it became a law on the fifteenth of January, 1790.

The representation was by this arrangement established upon a combination of three simple elements, territory, population, and public contribution; France was divided into eighty-three departments; each of these into districts, not fewer than three nor more than nine; the districts into cantons of four French leagues square; in each department and in each district there was to be a chief place, or town, where the administrative assembly of the department or district officiate; the electoral assemblies of each department to sit alternately in the chief places of their several districts.

The legislative government proceeds by primary assemblies, electoral assemblies, and a national assembly; the administrative and executive government, by municipalities, assemblies of districts, assemblies of departments, and the king; thus the two great functions of government were kept distinct in their operation, though originating from one common source, the choice of the people.

All voters in a canton, or primary assembly, were to contribute to the public service the value of three days labour; but this was not to exceed twenty sous, or ten pence sterling for one day, or two shillings and six pence altogether; they chuse the members of the electoral assemblies, the judges of the canton, and their bishops and other clergy: —the persons returned in fixed proportions were called electoral assemblies, whose qualification was an annual contribution of ten days labour, and they elect the members of the national assembly, the bishops of departments, and other officers: the number of the representatives to be equal to the number of the departments multiplied by nine, and the qualification of the member to be an annual contribution equal to a mark of silver, or about forty-two shillings sterling, and to possess beside some landed property.*

In the intervals of these momentous discussions, the assembly formally abolished lettres de cachet, arbitrary imprisonment, and appointed a committee to enquire into the state of the prisons, and the offences of persons detained in custody: they abolished distinctions of dress of the different orders in the assembly, and decreed that none of their own

*. For the detail of this constitution see Appendix No. I.

members ſhold poſſeſs peculiar immunities; and in particular they diſclaimed the privilege of franking letters. On the third of November the provincial parliaments were ſuſpended from all their functions; and on the fifth the final blow was given to the hoary errors of the feudal ſyſtem, and the factitious diſtinctions of barbarous pride, by the total abrogation of all titles and heraldic emblems.

The diſorders that had prevailed in various places, and the approaching completion of the regeneration of government, induced the king to attend in the aſſembly on the fourth of February, where he entreated them to ſtem the prevailing commotions and to perfect the great objects of their labours, aſſuring them of his hearty concert in promoting the happineſs of the nation: this ſpeech was ordered to be printed and circulated through the departments on the twenty-third of February, the royal party thinking it neceſſary as a companion to the ſecond addreſs of the aſſembly to the nation, which had been decreed on the eleventh of the ſame month. The addreſs may be conſidered as an authentic juſtification of the meaſures hitherto purſued, and their appeal to the public tribunal; as ſuch it deſerves no inconſiderable ſhare of attention.

The addreſs ſtated, at the ſame time that the national aſſembly received ſuch numerous marks of approbation and congratulation from the various provinces and cities of the kingdom, they could not but be ſenſible of the intereſted murmurs which had been excited by meaſures adopted for the ſuppreſſion of abuſes and the extinction of prejudices. That they conſidered it as their duty vigilantly to guard againſt theſe murmurs, leſt the propagation of them ſhould alienate the minds of the people from their repreſentatives; the effects of thoſe labours, and the object of thoſe views, they proceeded to delineate.

They aſſerted that the national aſſembly, in the midſt of tempeſts, had traced with a firm hand the principles of a conſtitution, which ſecured for ever the freedom of the people. That they had eſtabliſhed the *rights of men*, forgotten and inſulted for ſo many ages. That they had reſtored to the nation the prerogative of taxing themſelves; while they had preſerved the principles of the monarchy in pronouncing the ſovereign inviolable, and the throne hereditary.

That thoſe orders, whoſe antique pretenſions were the objects of ſo much jealouſy, were now loſt in the general name of the citizens; and that an army ſolely compoſed of citizens; aſſembled by patriotiſm, and inſpired by honour, watched over the ſafety, and were active to reſtore the tranquillity of the ſtate.

That the feudal ſyſtem, ſo long obnoxious, was aboliſhed; that the provinces were delivered from a vexatious adminiſtration of juſtice; that all arbitrary diſtinctions were annihilated; and that the national aſſembly, by the new diviſion of France, had effaced the laſt traces of prejudice, and inſtituted, inſtead of a narrow attachment to a particular province, a love for the kingdom in general.

The abolition of a venal magiſtracy, and the reform of the crimnal code, were long and loudly demanded; theſe demands have been complied with; to this may be added, vexatious taxes repealed, immoderate penſions reduced, and an unremitting attention to the finances, which promiſes the moſt effectual relief to their diſtreſs.

"Behold, Frenchmen, our work, or rather your own; for we are only your inſtru-
"ments; it is you who have enlightened, encouraged, and ſupported us through our
"labours; to what an happy epoch are we already arrived; what an honourable inheri-

" tance may you bequeath to your poſterity; all raiſed to the rank of citizens, ad-
" miſſable to all employments, equal in the eyes of the law, free to act, to ſpeak,
" and to write, independent of the will of any man, and only owing obedience to
" the common authority: what condition can be more enviable? Is there a ſingle
" citizen, worthy of that name, who dares look backwards, who would remove the
" ruins, with which we are ſurrounded, to reſtore the ancient edifice?

" But we have deſtroyed every thing! we have acted with too much precipitation!
" exclaim our enemies! It was indeed neceſſary to rebuild every thing; and are thoſe,
" who accuſe our precipitation, ignorant, that tardy and indeciſive ſteps have never led
" to any effectual reform; and that the abuſe which is permitted to remain, becomes
" ſoon the ſupport and reſtorer of thoſe which we flatter ourſelves with having extin-
" guiſhed.

" But our aſſemblies are tumultuous! Of what conſequence is this, if our decrees are
" prudeut? We are accuſed of aſpiring to chimerical perfection? Ridiculous reproach;
" which it is eaſy to perceive is only a latent wiſh to perpetuate abuſes; but it is impoſſi-
" ble, it has been ſaid, to regenerate a nation old and corrupted! It is neceſſary only to
" anſwer, that thoſe only are corrupted who would perpetuate corrupt abuſes; and that
" a nation is reſtored from the day that it is reſolute to be born again to freedom?
" Behold the new generation! How already their hearts palpitate with joy and hope!
" How pure, noble, and patriotic, are their ſentiments! With what enthuſiaſm they
" each day contend for the honour of being admitted to take the oath of citizen! But
" wherefore reply to a reproach ſo deſpicable? Is the national aſſembly reduced to juſtify
" itſelf for not having deſpaired of the people of France?

" We have done nothing for the people; they have dared to aſſert! and yet the cauſe
" of the people is every where triumphant. Nothing done for the people! Has not
" every abuſe that has been deſtroyed, prepared, or aſſured their relief; or was there a
" ſingle abuſe which did not in its conſequence preſs upon them?

" But they complained not! the exceſs of their grief ſtifled their cries. They are now
" miſerable! Rather ſay that they are yet miſerable; but they ſhall not remain ſo long.

" We have deſtroyed the executive power! No: call it the miniſterial power; and
" it is that power which has often degraded, and would have deſtroyed the executive.
" The executive power we have enlightened by pointing out its rights; and we
" have rendered it more noble, by obliging it to reaſcend to the ſource of its au-
" thority, the authority of the people. But it is without force. Againſt the conſtitu-
" tion and the law, this is true; but in ſupport of them it will be more effectual than
" ever it was.

" The people are in arms! Yes, for their defence; and it was neceſſary. But in
" various places, a long train of diſorders have been the reſult.—And can they re-
" proach the national aſſembly with this! Can they impute to them diſaſters at
" which they ſtill ſhudder, and which they endeavoured to prevent by repeated
" decrees?

" We have exceeded our powers! The anſwer is ſimple. Undoubtedly we were
" convened to frame a conſtitution; that was the wiſh, that was the object of all
" France. Was it poſſible to create the conſtitution, or form a body imperfect as it is,
" of conſtitutional decrees, without thoſe powers which we have exerciſed? Let us go

" further; without the national aſſembly France was loſt; without that principle " which ſubmits every thing to a majority of free voices, and which has made all our " decrees, it was impoſſible to conceive a national aſſembly; it is impoſſible to con- " ceive, we will not ſay a conſtitution, but even the hope of irrevocably deſtroying the " ſmalleſt abuſe. This principle is an eternal truth; it has been acknowledged through- " out all France; it is to be found in a thouſand ſhapes in thoſe numerous addreſſes of " attachment, which have encountered on all the roads the crowd of libels, in which " we are reproached with having exceeded our powers. Thoſe addreſſes, thoſe con- " gratulations, thoſe homages, thoſe patriotic oaths; what a confirmation do they not " afford of thoſe powers which our accuſers would diſpute.

" Such are the reproaches, Frenchmen, which your repreſentatives are ſubjected to " in thoſe numerous and crimnal publications which affect to proclaim the grief of our " fellow-citizens. But in vain do our enemies flatter themſelves with the hope of diſ- " couraging us; our ardour redoubles, and it will not be long before you will be " ſenſible of the effects of it."

From the language of the vindication the national aſſembly proceed to hold out the future bleſſings of an army compoſed of citizens, a ſeries of taxes which ſhould reſpect agriculture and induſtry, a clergy equally ſtrangers to poverty and riches, a code of criminal laws dictated by reaſon, by juſtice, and humanity, a code of civil law entruſted to judges choſen by the ſuffrages of the people; and a ſyſtem of national education and inſtruction, which ſhould place the conſtitution under the ſafeguard of the riſing generation. " Behold, Frenchmen," continue they, " the proſpect of happineſs and glory which opens to your view! Some ſteps yet remain; and thence the aſperſions of the enemies of the revolution, who there hope to find you vulnerable. Guard againſt that impetuous vivacity ſo natural to you; dread every kind of violence, ſince diſorder may become fatal to liberty. Liberty is dear to you—you are in poſſeſſion of it—ſhew yourſelves worthy of it; attend faithfully to the letter and ſpirit of the decrees of your repreſentatives, accepted or ſanctioned by the king. Bear in mind the three ſacred words which guard theſe decrees, the nation, the law, the king. The nation, that is yourſelves; the law, that is the free emanation of your will; the king, that is the guardian of the law. Whatever falſe reports may be induſtriouſly propagated, confide ſteadily in this union. It was the king they formerly deceived, now it is you, and the ſenſibility of the king is afflicted by their ſucceſs: he wiſhes to preſerve his people from the arts of thoſe deceivers whom he has driven from his throne, and from whom he will guard the cradle of his ſon; for he has declared in the midſt of your repreſentatives, that he will make the heir of the crown the guardian of the conſtitution.

" As for us, purſuing our inceſſant labours, devoted, conſecrated to the completion of the conſtitution, your work as well as ours, we ſhall terminate it, aided by all the light of France, and overcome all obſtacles. Satisfied in our own conſcience, convinced, and already happy in your approaching felicity, we will place in your hands this ſacred depoſit of the conſtitution under the protection of new virtues, the ſeeds of which, inherent in your hearts, have burſt forth and bloomed with the firſt dawn of liberty."

Whatever advantages the national aſſembly might expect to derive from this addreſs, they neglected not to avail themſelves of every favourable occaſion to promote the proſperity of the nation. The ſcanty pay of the army had long been a ſubject of juſt com-

plaint, and the ſoldiery looked up with confidence for relief from a diſtreſs which was rendered doubly intolerable by the exactions of their officers. The national aſſembly were neither inſenſible to their miſery nor indifferent to the opportunity that offered of teſtifying to that fidelity to their country which they had already proved, as well as to ſecure the attachment of ſo formidable a body. In June a decree was paſſed augmenting their pay about one-fourth, and a ſubſequent decree extended it to the marine.

Though the fortitude and vigilance of the national aſſembly ſeem never to have deſerted them, yet both were ſcarce ſufficient to repel or elude the various difficulties which each hour preſented. A diſpute reſpecting the right of fiſhery on the coaſt of America threatened to involve the courts of Madrid and London in open hoſtilities; both urged their warlike preparations with rival diligence; and the king of France, who conſidered himſelf bound by the family-compact to ſupport the pretenſions of the kindred throne of Spain, and amidſt the armaments of his neighbours to protect the commeerce of his ſubjects from inſult, demanded by his miniſters, of the national aſſembly, the ſupplies neceſſary for equipping fourteen ſail of the line.

The meſſage of the ſovereign, although immediately complied with, was productive of conſequences the moſt important to the conſtitution. In the unſettled ſtate of public affairs, the national aſſembly could not be inſenſible to the numerous embaraſſments with which a war muſt have been attended. The expences of it could not but preſs heavy on a people who had been taught to expect the daily diminution of their burdens; the diſcontent of the majority of the nobility was deep and undiſguiſed; their ſituation called them to military command; the ſoldiers, it was true, had hitherto diſplayed the moſt generous ardour in the defence of the new government; but when once aſſembled in a camp, their officers might regain their former aſcendancy: and thoſe arms which had been provided againſt the foreign enemies of France, might be employed to ſubvert her conſtinution. The example of the revolution was an object of terror to every deſpotic power; the king of Spain, it was preſumed, could not behold the depreſſion of the royal prerogative of the Houſe of Bourbon without ſecret indignation; the intrigues of the baron de Breteuil, who had always poſſeſſed the confidence of the queen, were ſuppoſed to have extended to the court of Madrid; and it was well known that the ariſtocratical party regarded an approaching war with hope and exultation.

Theſe united conſiderations ſuggeſted to the national aſſembly the danger of leaving in the hands of the ſovereign the uncontrouled right of peace and war. It was urged indeed that this right could not with any propriety be ſeparated from the executive power; and the count de Mirabeau, who had hitherto appeared the moſt zealous champion of the pretenſions of the people, ſupported with his elequence on this occaſion the prerogative of the crown. It was in vain that he urged, that the executive power conſiſted in the right of employing the public force; "and what," demanded he, "is war, but "the application of that force?" His arguments, generally ſucceſsful, were oppoſed by the fears and jealouſies of the people; it was aſſerted that the ſubjects in almoſt every war had been the victims of the caprice and ambition of the ſovereign and his miniſters; and that the proſperity of the empire had been continually ſacrificed to the luſt of tranſient conqueſts, or the vain acquiſition of barren laurels. France ſtill groaned under the victories of Lewis the Fourteenth; and every triumph ſerved only to augment the debt, and encreaſe the miſery of the nation.

Though the debate was long and vigorouſly continued, the triumph of the popular party was complete; it was decreed that the right of peace and war belonged to the nation, and that war could not be declared but by a decree of the national aſſembly, originating in a meſſage from the king, and ſanctioned by him. That the care to watch over the external ſecurity of the kingdom, and to maintain its rights and poſſeſſions, was delegated to the king by the conſtitution; that to him were entruſted all foreign correſpondence; the conduct of political nogociations; the choice of agents; the preparation of a war eſtabliſhment, proportioned to that of the neighbouring ſtates; the diſtribution of forces both by land and ſea, and the direction of them in caſe of actual hoſtilities.

But at the ſame time it was provided, on the appearance or commencement of war, either in ſupport of an ally, or in defence of the nation, that the king ſhould communicate without delay to the legiſlative body the cauſes and motives of hoſtilities; and if that body ſhould happen not to be ſitting, that his majeſty ſhould immediately aſſemble it.

By the fourth article the aſſembly, deſirous of acquiring the confidence of Europe, and of extinguiſhing all jealouſies that might have ariſen from the armament they had lately decreed, declared, that the French nation would never embark in any war with a view to conqueſt, nor ever employ her forces againſt the liberties of any people.

This was enforced by the article which followed, and which ſpecified, that if on the royal meſſage, the legiſlative body ſhould judge the hoſtilities commenced a culpable aggreſſion of the miniſter, or of any other agent of the executive power, the author of ſuch aggreſſion ſhould be proſecuted as guilty of treaſon to the nation; and if alſo on the meſſage of the king, the legiſlative body ſhould decide that the war ought not to be commenced or continued, that then the executive power was inſtantly to take the neceſſary meaſures for preventing or terminating all hoſtilities.

Such were the articles that transferred from the crown to the national aſſembly a prerogative which the former had peaceably enjoyed for fourteen centuries; and which it might have probably ſtill preſerved, had not the diſcuſſion of it been introduced at a moment, when diſtruſt overwhelmed every other conſideration, and when the ambiguous conduct of Spain furniſhed ſuch ſerious matter of alarm.

The victory of the popular party over the pretenſions of the crown was but preparatory to that deciſive and ſignal triumph over the nobility which we before glanced at. While titles and diſtinctions remained, founded on any other baſes than thoſe of virtue and talents, the conſtitution and its preamble appeared but an unſubſtantial theory, and an attempt to introduce the civic virtues among the people with ſo glaring a departure from their ſpirit, would have been the exceſs of folly or wickedneſs. It was on the nineteenth of June the celebrated motion was brought forward to ſuppreſs titles of nobility. It was oppoſed with that warmth and vigour which might be expected from men, who combatted in defence of that ſupereminence which had been their pride and inheritance for ages, and which though more frequently acquired by no honorable means, was generally eſteemed as the reward of thoſe actions called heroic; theſe diſtinctions too were confirmed by the inveterate habits of education; and it was no more than reaſonable to conclude, that men educated in effeminacy, without the conſciouſneſs of talents, would exert the laſt efforts of vanity and deſpair to ſave themſelves from an oblivious amalgamation with the ignoble multitude.

This momentous propoſition originated with M. Lambel an advocate of Villafranche, who ſeizing a moment when the aſſembly appeared animated by public ſpirit, exclaimed, that he now ſaw the laſt moment of expiring vanity, and propoſed the abolition of titles. Meſſrs. Preſne and la Fayette mounted the tribune at the ſame inſtant, and the former produced and read the outlines of a decree in perfect accord with the motion, which he had prepared a month before. M. Foucault oppoſed the motion, as tending to deſtroy the moſt powerful motives to emulation—"What, he aſked, would you do with the man whoſe brevet recited—that he was created a count for ſaving the ſtate?" M. la Fayette inſtantly replied, "I would omit the words *created a count*, and inſert only that he had ſaved the ſtate." He was followed by M. de St. Fargeau, who ſaid there was no hardſhip in the meaſure, he was poſſeſſed of ſeveral counties and marquiſates, one title of which he had never uſed, nor did he perceive their utility; the vicomte de Noailles concurred in their inutility, and ſaid that they conferred no diſtinction on thoſe who had no perſonal merit to call forth reſpect; "We do not ſpeak of duke Fox, count Waſhington, or the marquis Franklin, but of Benjamin Franklin, George Waſhington, and Charles Fox. Permit me to add to ſo many excellent motions, one which is to reſcue from diſgrace a large part of our fellow-citizens. Liveries degrade not ſo much thoſe who wear them as thoſe who cauſe them to be worn; poverty and ignorance may in ſome meaſure exonerate the man who wears this odious badge of feudal degradation, but he who cauſes it to be worn is not ſanctioned by the remoteſt degree of utility, he is the pander of his own vanity, and teſtifies by the very act a diſpoſition to enſlave and degrade his fellow-creatures: I move that liveries be aboliſhed." M. Montmorency ſupported the motion, and added another for the ſuppreſſion of armorial bearings; the whole of the motions were formed into a decree by M. Chappelier, in ſubſtance as follows.

The national aſſembly decrees, that hereditary nobility be for ever aboliſhed, and the titles of prince, duke, count, marquis, viſcount, vidame, baron, chevalier, meſſire, eſquire, noble, abbé, and all other ſimilar titles, ſhall neither be aſſumed by nor given to any perſon whatever;—that no French citizen can take any other than the true name of his family;—that he ſhall not wear, nor any more cauſe to be worn, any livery, nor have coat of arms;—that incenſe ſhall not be burnt in the churches but in honour of the divinity, and ſhall be offered to no perſon whatever;—that the titles monſigneur and meſſeigneurs ſhall not be given to any corporate body, nor to any individual, nor the titles of excellency, highneſs, greatneſs, eminency, &c. This decree to take place in Paris on the fourteenth of July, and before three months in the provinces.

Thus in one moment were three hundred thouſand perſons torn from thoſe proud titles inherited or acquired, which had monopolized into their hands all the places of truſt and honor of a great nation, and who were now reduced to a level with the ignoble multitude. Though the voice of prejudice loudly condemned this meaſure, and Europe rung with lamentations over the manes of departed chivalry, impartiality conſiders with aſtoniſhment inſtitutions ſo barbarous in times ſo refined; in the earlieſt traces of government, among the hords in the woods of Germany, the reſpect paid to illuſtrious deſcent ceaſes to be ſurprizing, when the ſtate of ſociety, and military mode of life are conſidered; though it was by this factitious purity of birth, that the barbarian magiſtrate was raiſed to the adminiſtration of juſtice, look to a period more remote and this nobility is found to ſpring from the ignorance of a ſavage life approximating to a ſtage of civil refinement, and car-

rying with it, even into that advanced ſtage the neceſſity of uniting in the perſon of the chief, a ſeverity of education and heroic hardihood which would qualify him to lead his vaſſals againſt an invading foe or to ſpread terror and conqueſt around him whenever ambition or other motives might ſtimulate; in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety ſuch diſtinctions were not prepoſterous: in the republic of Rome, and during her moſt proſperous periods, the order of patricians, which likewiſe originated in ignorance and vanity, repaid the reverence and affection with which they were treated, by their corruption and reſtleſs ſpirit of encroachment on the people's privileges; it was their profligacy which ſubverted the virtue and the love of country that firſt eſtabliſhed the grandeur of Rome, and which finally by dividing the nation into factions, annihilated her freedom and her greatneſs. In different forms and degrees theſe vain diſtinctions had been introduced into every modern government in Europe, and thoſe princes and nobles who from ſurrounding nations beheld with cold indifference the plunder of the Gallican church, and the annihilation of the feudal ſyſtem, now, when titles without meaning or function attached to them, without privilege and in numerous caſes without property to ſupport them, titles moſtly without legal claim, and frequently debaſed and degraded by venal purchaſe, often the price of domeſtic proſtitution—when theſe came to be ſuppreſſed, and not till then, the ſtorm of noble and regal indignation loudly burſt forth, and the alarm-bell of reſiſtance was rung from one end of Europe to the other againſt French innovation: but it was too late, and altho a rage ſo mighty in extent, ferocity, and ſanguinary effects, has not ariſen ſince periods of the cruſades and the reformation, the ſtruggle only confirmed what it was intended to overthrow.

While the popular party within doors ſwept before them the accumulated prejudices of ages, oppoſition daily aſſumed new aſpects and multiplied its ſecret meaſures for their reſtitution abroad; foreign and domeſtic intrigues; the agency of the pulpit and the influential name of the king, and of his miniſters, were employed to undermine the new order of things. We ſhall have occaſion to notice at large, ſome tranſactions concerning the extravagance of the government, which preceded in the order of time the events which we have related, and which contributed to deſtroy the hope and irritate the reſentment of thoſe who fattened on the corruptions of the ſtate, and thence to ſtrengthen that anomalous combination of forces, which were about to diſturb that happineſs which now promiſed to reward the virtuous labours of the national aſſembly.

The activity of the diſaffected every day became more manifeſt, and the rumour of the king's intention to retire from France, though contradicted by his plauſible demeanour, was yet a ſubject of ſilent apprehenſion. The marquis de Favras who had been an officer in the Swiſs guards in the ſervice of the king's elder brother, was detected in a conſpiracy to convey the king to Peronne; and the king's brother was ſuſpected of being at the head of the enterprize; he however had addreſs ſufficient to influence a belief of his innocence, but the marquis was more ſtrongly implicated. He was originally a ſoldier of fortune, but had his mind inflated by a marriage with a petty German princeſs; in 1785 he had engaged deeply in the troubles of Holland, and had engaged a M. Tourcaty to furniſh men for a regiment which he had engaged to raiſe for the patriotic party; the interference of Pruſſia blaſted his projects in Holland, and he turned his attention to the convulſions in Brabant; his patriotic connexions in thoſe countries had not ſhaken the ariſtocratical habits and inclinations of his life, and he was concerned in the deſign of carrying of the king to Metz;

he was at the memorable feaſt of the ſecond of October, and one of the firſt to aſſume the white cockade; and on the fifth had ſolicited M. St. Prieſt to furniſh him and a number of volunteers with horſes to diſperſe the populace. Upon the eſtabliſhment of the king and the aſſembly at Paris, he was charged with the conſpiracy in queſtion; he was to raiſe a regiment profeſſedly for the ſervice of Brabant, but who were to enter Paris by different routes, and to murder ſeveral of the moſt popular men of that period; for this purpoſe he had renewed his connexion with Tourcaty to raiſe men, and through him he became acquainted with a M. Morel, in conjunction with theſe he had applied to M. Chomel a monied man in Paris, to negociate a loan in the name of monſieur the king's brother.

Favras upon being brought to trial was confronted by his agents Tourcaty and Morel, who ſtated the facts as above; they were corroborated by a lieutenant Marquié, formerly a ſergeant of the French guards, who had ſignalized himſelf at the taking of the Baſtile, and by ſaving the lives of the garde-du-corps on the ſixth of October, 1789. Favras had ſome interviews with him but had found him not ſuitable to his views. But a witneſs more formidable was the banker Chomel, who did not pretend to have heard any of the former particulars, but had learned from the marquis of a project for aſſembling all the diſaffected in the Netherlands, and forming an army ſufficient to invade France and reſtore the old order of things. He was condemned and ſuffered death. Prior to his execution however he aſked the juſtice who accompanied him to execution whether if he were to make ſome important diſcoveries it would make any alteration in his ſentence? Being told that he could not expect it, he replied, "In that caſe my ſecret ſhall "die with me."

Another plot for the ſame purpoſe of carrying off the king was formed by the mareſchal Maillébois, but as there is a connexion between this and previous events it is fit to notice them in this place.

A committee had been formed in the early part of the year to enquire into the expenditure of public money, penſions and donations; by whom it was diſcovered that a volume called the *Red-Book* had been kept, in which penſions and gifts were entered in the hand-writing of the comptroller of the finances, and checked by the king. This book was communicated to the committee on the fifteenth of March, accompanied by circumſtances of a moſt ſuſpicious reſerve; the king particularly deſired that the extravagant expences of his grand-father might be kept from the public eye, and a promiſe was given that due reſpect ſhould be paid to the king's feelings:—Nevertheleſs to the great ſurpriſe of Necker, in a few days afterwards the whole book was publiſhed, and upon his demanding in an authoritative ſtyle how they had preſumed to publiſh it without permiſſion of the aſſembly, he was informed "That as to the aſſembly they were confi-"dent of their approbation, but as to the king they were not his repreſentatives."

On this proceeding of the committee there can be no ſecond opinion if their duty was to be the ſtandard of their judgment; the extravagance and iniquity which the book diſplayed could not fail of exciting in the people a love for their repreſentatives and a hatred for the abuſes of the court.

Under the ſhort adminiſtration of Calonne only, it appeared, that independent of their immenſe ordinary revenues, the two brothers of the king had defrauded the public revenue of nearly two millions of pounds ſterling, and of this immenſe ſum the larger part had fallen to the ſhare of the count d'Artois, whoſe debts at the ſame time amounted to near

two millions ſterling, for which the ſame profligate miniſter made the public treaſury reſponſible. Among the remarkable charges was one to an individual for *important ſervices* amounting to ſix hundred pounds ſterling, theſe ſervices were neither more nor leſs than that of *maître d'hotel* to madame de Polignac. To opera-ſingers who had *retired* there were penſions to the amount of near two hundred thouſand livres. Eighteen millions of livres were diſtributed among military favourites. The amount of penſions altogether, being the enormous ſum of thirty-four millions of liveres; a ſum which abbé Mauri, the celebrated defender of the clergy, ſaid was by no means exceſſive.

The publication of theſe abuſes ſorely affected the ſenſibility and popularity of the king and confirmed thoſe charges of unbridled extravagance which had been current againſt the queen; it alſo tended to deſtroy totally the declining reputation of Necker, whoſe altercation with Camus the chairman of the committee, was ſoon generally known, and involved Necker in the obloquy of a diſpoſition to hide from the public abuſes ſo fatal to the public and ſo ſtrongly at variance with his oſtenſible economy and moral character. The whole adminiſtration ſhared in the public odium, the archbiſhop of Bordeaux, la Tour du Pin, and eſpecially St. Prieſt, who incurred the heavy ſuſpicion of treaſonable deſigns from the diſcovery of that plot to which we laſt alluded.

Mareſchal Maillebois had engaged M. Bonne Savardin to carry on a negociation with the emigrants, to carry off the king and effect a counter-revolution; Grand-Maiſon, the mareſchal's ſecretary diſcloſed the whole plot to the committee of reſearch, who took their meaſures ſo adroitly as to ſeize the agent with all his papers, among which were found evidence ſufficent to deſtroy all confidence in St. Prieſt. This plot was more extenſive in its branches and more connected in its objects than that of Favras; his negociations embraced the courts of Turin, Madrid, and Vienna; and the ſtandard of revolt againſt the new conſtitution was to be erected at the head of an army compoſed of Italians, Spaniards, and Germans. Maillebois effected his eſcape.

Conſpiracy and diſcontent were not confined to the metropolis: at Lyons and Toulon the agitation was great, and intrigues had been manifeſted at Marſeilles; a colonel of a royal regiment had openly inſulted the national-guard of that city; they bore the inſult with patent magnanimity, and by ſober remonſtrance procured an order for the removal of the obnoxious colonel and his corps; the tardineſs with which he obeyed the order rouſed paſſions more ardent, and a body of young men ſeized by ſtratagem on the fort in which the military were poſted, expelled them, and their colonel, and demoliſhed it together with the two fortreſſes of St. Nicholas and St. John, on the latter of which a latin inſcription long inſulted that venerable city, to this effect "This tower was erected "by Lewis XIV. leſt his faithful people of Marſeilles ſhould become infatuated with the "love of liberty."

Religion whoſe ſacred influence has been ſo conſtantly proſtituted to the paſſions of ambition, intolerance, and revenge, was now dragged forth from her peaceful ſolitudes, to renew on her ancient theatre in the ſouth, in oppoſition to freedom, thoſe ſanguinary ſcenes which ſhe had before performed at the command of deſpotiſm and bigotry; the prieſts from their altars, ſanctified every meaſure of atrocity againſt the new ſyſtem of government and its adherents, and in the black rage of fanaticiſm, the pious were invoked in the name of God to go forth and ſlay, and the ſolemn benediction of the church was given, by which they were abſolved from their future ſins and every act committed in ſo juſt a cauſe.

At Niſmes, the fever of diſcontent was rapid in its progreſs, and fatal in its conſequences; that city was the reſidence of a numerous nobility, proud of their deſcent, and zealouſly attached to the catholic perſuaſion. It had alſo become the ſeat of a conſiderable body of proteſtants. Religious differences were heightened by political animoſity; and while the catholics regarded with mingled horror and averſion every meaſure of the national aſſembly, the proteſtants looked up with gratitude and admiration to thoſe reſolutions, which reſtored them to religious and civil liberty. Their mutual enmity could not long be confined to ineffectual reproaches; arms miniſtered to their fury: for two ſucceſſive days the ſtreets were deluged with blood; and it was not until ſeveral hundred citizens had periſhed, that the victory of the proteſtants eſtabliſhed tranquillity.

The national aſſembly could not but be deeply afflicted with theſe repeated inſtances of tumult and diſaffection; more firmly to bind the people to the new government, and to unite them in one general cauſe, it was reſolved to have recourſe to the ſolemnity of oaths and compacts. In various provincial towns, civic feaſts had been already inſtituted; and aſſociations had taken place; and it was now determined to concentrate theſe patriotic effuſions in one point of view, and by a general confederation at Paris, to aſſert the preeminence of the capital and to combine the zeal of the kingdom.

To this memorable feſtival, every diſtrict throughout France, every municipal body, every corps of regular or national troops, were required to ſend their deputies; nor was the monarch himſelf to be exempted from that oath, which was to conſecrate the mutual ties between the ſovereign and his ſubjects.

The day fixed for this ſacred ceremony was the fourteenth of July, and the place, the champ de Mars, or field of Mars, a ſpacious plain which joins the ſuburbs of the capital; this piece of ground, the preceding year, was the rendezvous of the troops intended to overawe the capital; its diameter is about eight hundred yards, and bounded on each ſide with lofty trees; in the centre the altar was erected for the religious ceremonies of this auguſt day, the ſpace adjacent was occupied by the national guards, &c. to the amount of many thouſands; and round this ſpace was an amphitheatre of turf of a league in circumference, on which were tiers of benches, forty deep, capable of containing four hundred thouſand ſpectators; at the further extremity is the military academy, through which their majeſties entered. The entrance into the champ de confederation (as it is now called) was through triumphal-arches: the king's throne was placed under an elegant pavillion in the middle, and on each ſide were ſeats for the national aſſembly. Although two thouſand workmen were employed upon this immenſe labour the enthuſiaſm of the Pariſians ſeemed to vie with each other who ſhould contribute moſt aid: the military, clergy, and even the women diſplayed their alacrity to compleat this vaſt work, which was effectually executed to the ſurpriſe of the ſpectators.

A proclamation was publiſhed by the king on the thirteenth arranging the whole order of the proceſſion, and appointing the marquis de la Fayette, major-general of the federation, whoſe orders were conſidered as coming immediately from the king. The Sieur de Gouvion was appointed major-general en ſecond.

The king received the deputies from the eighty-three departments on the thirteenth, who preſented to his majeſty an addreſs full of affection and attachment, to which the

king gave the following anſwer. " I receive with much ſenſibility the teſtimony of " love and attachment which you give me in the name of the national-guards united from " all parts of France.

" May the ſolemn day in which you are to renew in common your oath to the nation, " paſs over without diſſention, and may it ſerve to ſtrengthen the calm, and eſtabliſh " the reign of the laws and of liberty throughout the realm.

" Defenders of the public peace, of the law, and of liberty! conſider that your " firſt duty is the maintenance of order, and obedience to the laws; that the benefit " of a free conſtitution ought to be equal to all; that the more free we are the more " ſerious become offences againſt the liberty and property of others, the more criminal " become acts of violence and outrage, when they are committed by command.

" Report to your fellow-citizens that I wiſh I could ſpeak to them all as I ſpeak to " you here; tell them that their king is their Father, their Brother, their Friend, " that he cannot be happy but in their welfare; great but in their glory; powerful " but in their liberty; rich but in their proſperity; and that he can only ſuffer in their " afflictions. Above all, make known the words, or rather ſentiments, of my heart, " in the humble cottages, and in the retreats of the unfortunate. Tell them that though " I cannot go along with you into their aſylums, I would wiſh to do ſo; and that both " in my affection, and by the laws which protect the feeble; I will watch over them.— " Say in fine to the different provinces of my kingdom, that if circumſtances will per- " mit me to fulfil the wiſh I have formed of viſiting them with my family, the happier it " will make my heart."

The ſhouts of Vive le Roi from the populace, filled the air on this occaſion; and at the metropolitan church Te Deum was performed, by a ſelect band. The electors, the repreſentatives of the commons of Paris; the deputies of the national departments, twelve members of the national aſſembly, and a vaſt concourſe of people attended. The memorable evening which preceded July the 14th, 1789, was deſcribed with all the truth of expreſſion; a ſong of victory announced the fall of the Baſtile, that baleful caſtle ſo long the dungeon of deſpotiſm; the people were exhorted to give thanks to the great cauſe,—him who gave ſtrength to crumble this dread building to ruins; Populi laudate deum, and a grand chorus of thanks concluded the ſervice.

On Wedneſday morning at ſix o'clock, all the perſons appointed to aſſiſt in the proceſſion aſſembled on the Boulevards, and were formed in the moſt orderly manner, accompanied with banners and military muſic. The proceſſion paſſed along the ſtreets of St. Denis, Feronniere, St. Honoré Royale, to the place of Lewis the Fifteenth, where they halted and the detachment of the Paris national-guards opening to the right and left, received into the centre the members of the national aſſembly; they then moved on through the Cour la Reine along the quay to a bridge of boats, over which they paſſed into the Champ de Mars; the numerous bands of muſic now collected into one immenſe band, the various orders took their ſeveral appointed ſituations. Amongſt the reſt, a battalion of Children formed in the proceſſion with a banner on which was written, " The hopes of the nation" they were placed about an hundred paces from the altar, and facing it.

The king and queen entered through the military-ſchool, and took their places in a ſuperb box near the altar; and ajoining thereto was the box for foreign miniſters. As ſoon as all were ſeated, after a ſolemn invocation to God, the oriflamme, or grand ſtan-

dard, and the banners of the eighty-three departments were brought to the platform, and received the benediction, the ſervice being performed by a number of clergy in white robes decorated with the tri-color ribbon, at the head of whom was the biſhop of Autun; high-maſs was then celebrated, and the ſolemnities proceeded.

The major-general firſt advanced to the altar, and laying the point of his ſword on the ſacred ſcriptures, pronounced in the name of the federates, or deputies from the departments, the oath to be faithful to the new conſtitution, after he had concluded, the deputies from the eighty-three departments roſe and ſtretching forth their hands pronounced their aſſent; the preſident of the aſſembly then advanced to the altar and pronounced the oath, to which the members aſſented in the ſame form; the heavy rain prevented the king from leaving his box, where he took the following oath,

"I, Lewis, king of the French, do ſwear to the nation, that I will employ the whole power delegated to me by the conſtitutional law of the ſtate, to maintain the conſtitution and enforce the execution of the law."

The whole multitude, which was ſuppoſed to amount to fifteen hundred thouſand perſons, with uplifted hands pronounced their acceptation; Te Deum was then performed; and never was there an occaſion more impreſſive and ſolemn, never did France ſee ſuch an orcheſtra, or ſo vaſt an audience; the performance was ſublime, and on its concluſion the air reſounded with acclamations of joy. In the ſolemn parts of this grand ceremony the moſt profound ſilence prevailed, order, peace, concord, and pleaſure teſtified the deep intereſt of the ſcene; never did nation exhibit ſo grand a ſpectacle—a king, who but a few ſhort months before was the deſpotic lord over twenty-five millions of men, reſtrained to the duty of chief magiſtrate, while the people from ſlaves were exalted to the condition of freemen.

The ceremony being ended, the proceſſion moved back in the ſame order it came;—the country preſented an uniform ſcene of pleaſure, the fields were covered with tents provided with cold collations, of which the numerous populace partook.

A grand illumination cloſed the triumphs of the day; the only breach of the peace was occaſioned by the folly of ſome perſons who did not chooſe to light up their windows, and the ſo much dreaded maſſacre of this day ended in the maſſacre of ſome thouſand panes of glaſs. And the people in returning to their homes were conſtantly and joyfully exulting that their revolution had been cemented with water inſtead of blood, alluding to the rain that had fallen ſo plenteouſly during the ceremony.

The duke of Orleans returned from England, and ſat in his place as one of the national aſſembly, on this occaſion. He had gained much popularity by an appeal to his country, calling upon them to try him by a fair jury if they had any charge to exhibit againſt him.

This confederation had a very powerful and ſalutary effect on the public mind, to inſpire confidence in the national aſſembly, and enable them to execute the laws; they profited by the calm that confidence inſpired by completing the organization of the judicial department. Judges or juſtices of peace were to be elected in each canton for the determination of petty differences; tribunals for the adjudication of more important cauſes were eſtabliſhed in diſtricts; and a tribunal of caſſation, or court of appeals, was appointed for the whole nation, where, under certain reſtrictions, the proceedings of the other courts were to be reviſed. Courts of criminal juſtice were appointed in each

department, and a high national-court for the trial of crimes againſt the ſtate, completed the edifice. Among the reſt, an inſtitution, perhaps peculiar to that new juriſprudence, boards of conciliati n were appointed in every diſtrict, where the parties in a ſuit were to be cited perſonally, and where every means were to be employed to effect an amicable termination, before the cauſe could be brought to a hearing before the ordinary courts of juſtice. Family arbitrators were alſo authoriſed to terminate petty diſputes between near relations, and the forms preſcribed in all theſe caſes were the ſimpleſt that could be invented. We have already remarked that the trial by jury was only adopted in criminal caſes: an ariſtocratic writer ſhrewdly obſerves on this ſubject, "that the trial by jury would alſo have been eſtabliſhed in civil caſes, if there had not been too many lawyers in the conſtituting aſſembly." This is indeed not the only objection to this new juriſprudence of France; however, the code was deſerving of ſome admiration for its ſimplicity and conſiſtency; for the gratuitous adminiſtration of juſtice; for the eaſy acceſs which the pooreſt citizen, when injured, might have to the means of redreſs; for the diſcouragement which it held forth to litigious and vexatious conteſts: and in this part of the conſtitution other nations may find much worthy of imitation, and many inſtitutions for the obvious eaſe and advantage of the people, the promotion of morality and the love of juſtice.

It was alſo decreed, that the legiſlative body ſhould annually determine the amount of the public expenditure and contributions; that under the king an adminiſtration ſhould be eſtabliſhed in each department, with an inferior one in each diſtrict, for the regulation and collection of the revenue. The police of each city or community was committed to magiſtrates choſen by the citizens.

To replace the ſalt tax, and other odious and oppreſſive impoſts, which had been aboliſhed, the aſſembly impoſed an eaſy tax on land and other immovable property, and a poundage upon perſonal property and annuities; a tax upon patents, and a ſtamp-tax upon contracts and other deeds. Theſe taxes were unproductive, and to ſupply the deficiency of revenue, continual emiſſions of aſſignats became neceſſary; and to ſupply the want of current coin, which had become ſcarce in conſequence of the ſums continually carrying off by emigrants, aſſignats were likewiſe iſſued for ſmaller ſums. But a paper medium, principally depends upon the opinon of its being always convertible into money or goods at its fixed value; in times of public diſorder, however reſponſible the banks which iſſue paper may be, the apprehenſion of danger will operate to draw ſpecie from circulation, and ſubject the paper, which is only its repreſentative, to a depreciation; and this evil will be exceſſive in proportion to the actual danger as well as the imaginary; the evil in France was inſenſibly approaching to both extremes.

Several decrees of leſſer moment, but which reflect credit on the liberality and wiſdom of the aſſembly, were paſſed about this period. That in particular which reſtored to the proteſtants thoſe poſſeſſions of which their anceſtors had been deprived by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and that which aboliſhed for ever all extraordinary taxes on the Jews, deſerve the higheſt praiſe. Theſe were followed by the abolition of the execrable Droit d'Aubaine, which aſſigned to the king the property of foreigners who died in France.

In the fate of Favras the tribunal of the Chatelet had proved themſeves rigid judges, an affair of a more dubious and embarraſſed nature was brought before them; they were

charged by the aſſembly to take cognizance of the tranſactions of the fifth and ſixth of October, 1789; on the ſeventh of Auguſt they brought their report ſealed to the bar of the aſſembly, and in a pompous addreſs lamented the ſevere taſk which their duty impoſed on them; they concluded with informing the aſſembly, that two of its members were among the principal criminals. This denunciation was heard with horror and conſternation; the report of the Chatelet was referred to a committee; and the members accuſed appeared to be d'Orleans and Mirabeau, who it was alleged conſpired to murder the queen and raiſe the former to the throne. The proceedings of the Chatelet were printed, but before the committee could report, the evidence was deemed ſo vague and inconcluſive, that though neither of the accuſed were at this time favourites with the populace, the public voice acquitted them, and on the ſecond of October the aſſembly decreed, that on a full examination there was no cauſe of accuſation againſt them. Some others of note were involved in the proceſs, but this iſſue deprived that tribunal of all future confidence, the affair was dropped, although the ſuſpicions of guilt, as ever is the caſe, were never completely removed from the accuſed.

Whatever motives might have governed the Chatelet, it was aſſerted that the boldneſs of their charge appeared inconſiſtent with the ſlender induſtry which they had employed in the inveſtigation of evidence, during a period of ſo many months; but perhaps both might have been the reſult of that ſpirit of party, which had gradually progreſſed to an exceſs of violence at this period. Three parties principally influenced all public meaſures; the fluctuation in their reſpective numbers, which was from a variety of cauſes conſtant, and the occaſional co-operation of one party with either of the others, may be conſidered as among the cauſes of diverſity and inconſiſtency in many important tranſactions of this time. That party deſignated by the name of ariſtocratic, and which comprehended all thoſe who were attached to the perſon or abſolute power of the king, and thoſe who from perſonal intereſt and religious prejudice were decided enemies to the new eſtabliſhment, had for a long time acted on the defenſive; their irritation had now arrived at the extreme, and from apparent paſſiveneſs they became open aſſailants, and left no means untried to plunge the nation into confuſion. It will not have eſcaped the judicious reader, that the forbearance of this party was unreal, and affected only to cover deſigns which were expected to produce their object by the ſecrecy with which they were conducted and the extent and magnitude of the force they ſhould combine; the repeated attempts to carry off the king, and the departure of numbers of the nobles and of the royal houſhold were ſtrong indications of ſome ſecret cauſe of fear, or of an approaching criſis; their openneſs at this time will be more ſatisfactorily accounted for when the tranſactions abroad come to be developed, particularly the machinations of Calonne at the court of Great-Britain, the favour of which he had ſecured by betraying the ſecret affairs of France, which he became acquainted with while he was miniſter; the tranſactions of the chevalier Dufort, at Vienna, and the ſubſequent conſpirations at Pavia and Pilnitz, will illucidate the courſe of the operations of this party, and teſtify that their zeal and activity was as great as their diſſimulation. It muſt be allowed, that the impatient and irritable temper of the French populace was an engine eaſily wrought upon; the military were a favorite object of ariſtocratical anxiety and ſolicitude; and although they had given repeated proofs of an attachment to the new inſtitutions, a jealouſy which exiſted between the regular army and and the national-guards, afforded opportunities too favourable to the wiſhes

of every ſpecies of malcontents, which none appeared ſo active in fomenting as this party, nor with ſuch unhappy effects. Diſturbances had been excited in Flanders, Alſace, and Lorrain, and at Tholouſe the defection of the army from the conſtitution was wrought to an alarming extent; but the tranſactions at Nancy, as they mark the temper of the ſyſtem purſued with particular clearneſs, deſerve detail.

From the firſt eſtabliſhment of the revolution, the French army had been in a ſtate little favourable to ſubordination. The majority of their officers were of the ancient nobleſſe, and a mutual jealouſy exiſted between them and the private ſoldiers. Every inducement had been employed to ſeduce the ſoldiers from their duty; and when promiſes and blandiſhments, did not prevail, the moſt ſevere meaſures were put in execution. The ſoldiers were frequently ill paid, and yet the moſt culpable profuſion had been exerciſed with the money voted for the ſupport of the army. Such, by the evidence of a party of the national-guard of Nancy at the bar of the aſſembly, was the ſtate of the garriſon in that city. The officers in general were inimical to the new conſtitution, and had made uſe of every temptation to deſtroy the attachment of the ſoldiers to the new arrangements. Theſe means proving unſucceſsful, they withheld the pay of the ſoldiers, and even condemned them to run the gauntlet for demanding neceſſaries. They had endeavoured to perſuade the men, that all theſe acts were in conformity with the orders of the national aſſembly, which refuſed any longer to furniſh them with the uſual allowance of bread, and which was upon the point even of depriving them of the augmentation of pay which had been eſtabliſhed at the revolution.

In the ſame ſpirit the utmoſt pains were employed to produce diſtruſt and mutual abhorrence between the citizens and the ſoldiers. Men were dreſſed in the uniform of the king's reigment then in garriſon there, and employed to wound and inſult the citizens. One of thoſe perſons were taken, and baniſhed from the city at the requeſt of the reigment; at the ſame time, ſome young officers were encouraged by their ſuperiors to behave in the moſt indecent manner to ſeveral of the peaceable inhabitants; and even hired ruffians were engaged for the ſame purpoſe. Several of theſe were arreſted, and a court-martial appointed, at the requeſt of the regiment, for their trial: but M. Bouille, who commanded in the province, had ſet himſelf in appoſition to this meaſure. One of the grenadiers who had been active in theſe proſecutions, was menaced in the moſt inſulting manner by an officer, who ſoon after deſerted to the Auſtrians.

Wearied with theſe repeated indignities, and acts of oppreſſion, the reigment at length revolted, aſſerted loudly that they were wronged of their pay and their allowances, and demanded the regimental accounts. M. Denou threatened with the gauntlet all who preſumed to call for the accounts. The regiment therefore immediately ſeized the military cheſt, and diſpatched a deputation to Paris, to repreſent the facts to the national-aſſembly.

The officers had anticipated the repreſentation of the ſoldiers; too intimately connected with the miniſters and ſome members of the aſſembly, to permit the complaints of the privates to be heard, the deputation from the reigment was arreſted at Paris. M. de-la Tour du Pin, the miniſter of war, made a formidable repreſentation of the rebellious conduct of the regiment. The miſeries reſulting from a want of ſubordination, and

the neceſſity of an example, were echoed through the aſſembly by the counter-revolutioniſts. On the 16th of Auguſt, a decree was paſſed, which authoriſed the commander in chief of the province to reduce the inſurgents by force.

In the mean time the other regiments in garriſon, the Swiſs regiment of Chateauvieux, and the regiment of cavalry called Meſtre de camp, irritated by ſimilar oppreſſions, and much diſorganized by ſimilar circumſtances, had concurred in the rebellion, had ſeized ſome of their officers, and were joined by great numbers of the pupulace.

The decree of the ſixteenth was no ſooner made public than, from knowing the character of the commander in chief, the moſt ſerious conſequences were apprehended by all good citizens. The national-guard of Nancy aſſembled, and offered to the regiments to undertake the part of mediators, and to ſend the terms of their ſubmiſſion by a deputation from their own body to the national aſſembly.—On their repreſentation, the decree of the ſixteenth was repealed, and commiſſioners were appointed for the purpoſe of enquiring minutely into the circumſtances of the caſe, and to puniſh the guilty, and reward the deſerving.

Such an arrangement however did not ſuit the views of the perfidious and ſanguinary Bouille. Without waiting the reſult of the deputation from Nancy, he haſtened with a fatal raſhneſs (as was confeſſed even by his advocates) to enforce the decree of the ſixteenth. He collected all the troops from every part of the ſurrounding country, and ſuch of the national-guards as preferred a patriotic ſubordination to the immediate dictates of their feelings and their reſentments. In ſpite of their offers of ſubmiſſion, he fell upon the regiments of Chateuvieux and Meſtre de Camp; and after putting an immenſe number to the ſword, he completely routed them, and took four-hundred priſoners.

The king's regiment had been detained in their barracks by the exertions of ſome patriotic perſons who urged them to ſubmiſſion. Even when Bouille arrived, they were prevented from acting by the intrepidity and virtue of a young officer of the name of Desfilles. This intrepid young man, after urging his fellow ſoldiers by every motive to ſubmit, aſſuring them that ſooner or later they ſhould experience the juſtice of the legiſlature, placed himſelf before the mouth of a cannon, which they were going to fire. He was forcibly dragged from this dangerous ſituation, but in the ſtruggle received three or four wounds, of which he afterwards died.

The news of this event was received at Paris with horror. As M. Bouille had not exceeded the authority which the national aſſembly had unfortunately conceded to him by the raſh decree of the ſixteenth, they could not legally inflict either puniſhment or cenſure upon him. The populace, however, who were not reduced to any ſuch dilemma, gave a full vent to their feelings; they openly accuſed M. Bouille of treachery, and a deſire to effect a counter-revolution, and even threatened the lives of the miniſters. In a word, the reſentment of the people ſeemed to menace the moſt dangerous exceſſes, which were only prevented by unuſual circumſpection and care. It is only neceſſary to add with reſpect to this tranſaction, that in the month of December following the aſſembly reverſed all its decrees againſt the inſurgents of Nancy, liberated all the priſoners, and recompenſed them as men who had unjuſtly ſuffered: at the ſame time they decreed public honours to the memory of the brave Desfilles, and placed his family under the protection of the ſtate.

After the maſſacre, Bouille had cauſed forty-two of the regiment of Chateuvieux to be ſent to the gallies, twenty-two ſoldiers to be hanged, and one to be broke on the rack, the latter died with heroic fortitude, his laſt words were "Ere long Bouille will prove himſelf a traitor—Vive la nation."—The prophecy was ſoon fulfilled; thoſe who were ſent to the gallies, except two who died fixed to the benches, were delivered by the national aſſembly, and being invited to Paris were honoured with a triumph and a fete by the Pariſians.

M. Necker's popularity was already ſunk. He had not raiſed himſelf in the eſtimation of the people by a pamphlet which he publiſhed on the abolition of nobility, or at leaſt of titles, wherein he ſupported with much ingenuity the ariſtocratical order; but previous to this he muſt have felt the loſs of the public eſteem, and poſſibly had for ſome time meditated a retreat from office. The meaſure was however probably accelerated by the popular clamours on the affair af Nancy, which involved him with the reſt of the miniſters in that tranſaction, though in his particular caſe without any appearance of juſtice. On the fourth of September he ſent a letter of reſignation to the aſſembly, and pleaded his ill ſtate of health, which required his retiring to the baths in Switzerland; though he dropped ſome diſtant intimation of the uneaſineſs he had experienced in his ſituation. The national aſſembly took no public notice of this letter.

Necker has appeared ſo conſpicuous a character in France, that his hiſtory becomes intimately connected with that of the revolution; in the courſe of this work the meaſures in which he was concerned alone have appeared; we have before obſerved that human events are greatly influenced by the actions of individuals; Calonne* has aſſumed to himſelf in one of his works, under a feigned cenſure, the merit of the French revolution; while the French nobility have imputed it to Necker; the truth perhaps is that the profligacy of the former tended to accelerate the criſis; an examination of the character of Necker may perhaps ſhew how far his particular conduct may have contributed to the ſame effect, though of a diſpoſition oppoſite to the former.

Without attempting the circumſtantiality of biography, the character of the miniſter may be traced; the reader will determine upon his meaſures: Originally a citizen of Geneva, and bred to the banking buſineſs, in which he had acquired a conſiderable fortune, his leiſure was devoted to literature for which education had prepared him; his profeſſional habits familiarized him with financial affairs and the arcana of commerce; fortune which enabled him to ſupport ſplendor and hoſpitality ſerved to ſecond in him the ſpirit of ambition, and his houſe became the reſort of men of rank and letters; circumſtances ſo favourable could not but foſter his deſires, and favor that notoriety after which his heart panted.

The immediate means of his entrance into political life are differently ſtated: the noble author of a work which we have before noticed,† attributes his introduction to the French miniſtry to the agency of the marquis de Puſay, an adventurer, who through the intrigues of his ſiſter miſtreſs to mareſchal Maillebois, contrived to become the correſpondent of Lewis XVI. and the counſellor of Maurepas and Sartine. But by others his elevation has been aſcribed to the capacity and equity which he diſplayed in the adjuſtment of certain matters of finance and accounts of the Eaſt-India company which had been ſubmitted to him.

* In his "State of France preſent and future," publiſhed in London, is the following expreſsion:—"Dont peut-etre je ſerai repute la cauſe premiere."

† "Du gouvernment des moeurs."

The first appointment of Necker to the direction of the revenue of France was a phenomenon in the political world. To be either a foreigner, a republican, or an heretic, would appear alone sufficient to preclude all hopes of arriving at such a situation and in such a court; but as a person uniting all these objectionable traits in his character, it was a prodigy: the ingenuity of the Parisians, however, found out that the merit of the man must be transcendant who could arrive at that station under such a combination of difficulties, thence what might have appeared likely to injure him became the means of his popularity.

Necker's appointment to the place of director, did not accomplish the measure of his hopes; he had no direct communication with the king, that duty being attached to the place of comptroller held by M. Taboureau; he was however released from this obstruction, by the resignation of that gentleman, and his own appointment to the place of director-general, a new title with plenary powers, which gave him the entire management of his favourite province; he commenced his carreer with the abolition of the privileges of intendants held by the members of the royal council, whose interference he deemed superfluous and inconsistent with his immediate duty: perhaps also he considered them as in the way of his admission to a seat at the council, where notwithstanding the importance of his official station he had no seat.

His religion appeared to form an insuperable bar to this object of his ambition, for an oath hostile to his creed was a necessary preliminary to his obtaining a seat. It has been insinuated that he had adopted Sully for his model, it is certain that however worthy the object of imitation, that he had at least omitted to make any, or made a false estimate, of an essential character in the political drama; he addressed a letter to the king, wherein he pointed out the inconveniencies attending his absence when questions were under discussion immediately belonging to his department, founded upon principles and calculations the details of which were confined to or could be explained by himself alone.

But the king was not an Henry IV. nor had their connexion originated under circumstances likely to produce either a strong sympathy or a partial cordiality; Maurepas was the minister of that day, and as he had been the instrument of Necker's exaltation, to gratify his enmity against Turgot, so he was now the means of his depression, through motives not more worthy; whatever may have been Necker's true motive, vanity or the the inconveniencies described in his letter, the minister pronounced him arrogant, and he was abruptly dismissed.

This sudden change in his political prospects neither diminished his ardour nor his hopes: the knowlege he had acquired of the financial affairs of France, and the materials which he had collected, furnished him with new means whereupon to found the triple hope of future popularity, literary fame, and his re-establishment in power: he was not disappointed in either of his views, for three years had scarce elapsed from the publication of his works on the finances, when he was recalled to his former station and invested with additional powers.

We have already described the critical state of affairs which gave rise to his recall at this time, and the share he had in the convocation of the notables and states-general; this period appears to have been the crisis of his reputation; for although his popularity and his power were at the highest when subsequently dismissed through the intrigues of Bouille, he was now at the ordeal by which his talents were to be immutably estimated. No

man was ever placed in a ſtation more arduous and difficult, and if he did not ſucceed in extricating France from her misfortunes, the failure cannot be in juſtice wholly attributed to him, when the magnitude and variety of the evils which ſuddenly burſt upon her are conſidered.

His work on the finances had pointed him out as the perſon beſt qualified in the opinion of the nation to reſtore its credit and preſerve it from that bankruptcy which the deteſtable extravagance of the court and Calonne had rendered apparently inevitable. A ſcarcity from the failure of the harveſt of 1788, aggravated the public diſtreſſes; in the midſt of theſe calamities the people had acquired the knowledge of their rights, and Necker had to undertake the great work of reſtoring plenty and order, preſerving the public credit, and ſatisfying the court and clergy, the nobles and the people.

There is a kind of ability which on analyſis proves to be no more than reputation; capable of producing all the effects which men attribute to great talents only—ſuch were the talents of Chatham in another country and Necker in France; a reputation founded on ſlender or accidental circumſtances, which grow into importance by ſingularity or the period at which they ariſe; they overawe cenſure, inſpire confidence, and by leading men to expect favourable events ſometimes contribute to their accompliſhment.

Although acquainted with men of diſtinction, he was deſtitute of the graces which characteriſe the Frenchman; he knew no road to applauſe but through oſtentation and pecuniary diſintereſtedneſs; and it was readily ſeen that though he was not to be corrupted by the views of the court and his aſſociates, that he became flexible to the voice of adulation; with exterior ſternneſs he was exquiſitely ſenſitive and tender; but not that tenderneſs which is founded on reaſon, and that would not extort a tear without a perſuaſion of its ſalutary conſequences; but that tenderneſs which ſupercedes reaſon, narrows the intellect, and limits the judgement to a conſideration of temporary calamity alone. Vanity was his greateſt error, it led him to a perſuaſion that nothing was too difficult for his genius to accompliſh, and an egotiſm that never permitted him to ſuſpect the wiſdom or rectitude of his projects.

It is not then ſurpriſing that he was a prey to prejudice, miſtake, and diſappointment; that in a period abounding with men of ſuperior genius his weakneſſes ſhould be diſcovered, and the ſuperficial foundation of his fame gradually crumbled from beneath him; that he ſhould be found pertinacious of his errors and never willing to believe himſelf capable of a wrong ſtep or an abuſe in policy; that he ſhould be found the oſtentatious patron of philoſophy, and yet the advocate of all the errors that ignorance in the leaſt auſpicious periods had engendered, and that while he profeſſed an adoration of liberty, he bowed with implicit homage to the empty ſymbols of feudal grandeur, and the vain pretenſions of birth and rank.

His advice for allowing to the commons a repreſentation equal in number to the other two orders, and in oppoſition to the deliberate opinion of the notables whom he had purpoſely convoked to conſult upon that expreſs ſubject, has been conſidered variouſly as an evidence of his love of liberty, of his ſelf-opinion, of his averſion to the higher orders, of his inconſiſtency, and as the immediate cauſe of the revolution; without deciding upon his preciſe motives, it certainly procured him the incurable hatred of the nobles. His addreſs to the king on that occaſion has been productive of the like difference of opinion, by his admirers it has been produced as an evidence of philoſophical love of

liberty—" the pleaſures of unlimited power, ſire," ſaid he, " are imaginary; but ſur-
" rounded by the repreſentatives of the people, your majeſty will be releaſed from the
" cares and anxieties, and many of thoſe painful regrets, which render unhappy a prince
" of ſenſibility, ſolicitous for the good of the ſtate and fond of his people." Certain it is that this addreſs completely fixed the enmity of the queen and the whole phalanx of courtiers; nor could his ſubſequent defence of titles and diſtinctions, publiſhed at a period the moſt unfavourable to its object, replace him in the loſt confidence of the nobility, while it ſecured to him the immovable averſion of the republicans, and eſtabliſhed an opinion of his inconſiſtency which if it did not cauſe him to be deſpiſed, rendered him ſuſpected by all parties; one meaſure only was wanting to precipitate him from that elevation which he had ſo fortuitouſly attained, his integrity had remained untainted; his work on the finances, from which he had derived ſo much temporary reputation, was found not to contain a ſingle notice of the expences of the celebrated *Red-Book*, and on its diſcovery by the committee of finance, his anxiety to conceal it and his inſolent demeanour to Camus on its publication, accompliſhed the ruin of his reputation; it was conſidered by the people as ſo outrageous a contrradiction of his aſſerted probity and virtue that confidence at once forſook him in every rank and ſituation.

Intrigue and faction which had proceeded ſo far in the army, were now extended to the marine; in this important department the new order of things was particularly felt by the nobility; that principle in the naval ſervice of a rival nation, which conferred command on thoſe whoſe long practical knowlege and tried experience alone elevated them to command, made no part of the ſyſtem of the old French government; nobility alone was deemed ſuitable to fill thoſe ſituations in an effeminate age, which required the united qualifications of ſcience, practical ſkill in nautical detail, an acquaintance with the peculiar tactics of fleets, and minds unemaſculated by the habits of modern luxury; hence it was not a ſubject of ſurprize to Frenchmen themſelves that, although equal in courage and mental capacity to any other nation, they ſhould be ſo frequently vanquiſhed by the diſcipline and ſkill of their rivals. The national aſſembly had decreed the adherence of the nation to all exiſting treaties, in which the family compact was neceſſarily included. England had been ſome time arming a fleet in conſequence of her diſpute with Spain; a fleet of thirty ſail was ordered to be equipped at Breſt, as it became uncertain how far France might be involved in the expected hoſtilities; and on this critical occaſion it was the progreſs of intrigue became evident from the nature of diſorders which took place among the ſeamen at that port. On the thirteenth of September, while the ſquadron was fitting out with all poſſible expedition, the Leopard frigate arrived from St. Domingo, having on board a part of the refractory aſſembly, who, being diſſolved by the king's governor, hand embarked on that ſhip, at once for their immediate preſervation, to anticipate accuſations, and ſecure friends in the mother country. The admiral who commanded this veſſel had cauſed a ſeaman to be confined for intoxication, and the crew had ſhewn a ſpirit of diſcontent on that account; ſimilar proceedings had occurred upon very ſlight and unuſual pretexts in other ſhips, and the diſquietude became general; the commanders affected to trace the mutiny to the Leopard, the crew of which they alleged had been depraved by their communication with the fugitive paſſengers; othere attributed it with greater plauſibility to the general ſuſpicion which mutually prevailed between the noble commanders and their plebeian inferiors, in conſequence of their recent civil equalization;

a report from the military and marine committee, presented by Menou to the assembly on the twenty first of October, so far fixed blame on the minister of marine, de la Luzerne, that he resigned on the twenty-seventh, and was succeeded by Fleurieu; the archbishop of Bourdeaux also resigned about the same time; and Duport Dutetre was appointed minister of justice; on the sixteenth of November Latour du Pin was superceded by du Portail; the admiral Albert de Rioms resigned about the same time, and a number of other naval officers; and Bougainville, the celebrated circumnavigator, was appointed to the command of the fleet. Tranquillity soon reappeared in the navy, but fortunately for France she was delivered from the necessity of engaging in a naval war at that time, by a convention soon after signed between Spain and England.

It was in the course of the discussions on the affairs of the marine, on the thirty-first of October, that a decree was passed, by which the national flag of France, which hitherto was white, was changed to the tricolor, or flag composed of a blue, red, and white stripe, placed vertically.

The metropolis, which had for some time enjoyed tranquillity, notwithstanding the troubles in the provinces, and the threatening manœuvres on the frontiers, was on the thirteenth of November disturbed by a duel between Castries and Charles Lameth, in which the latter was dangerously wounded; a report was current that he was actually dead, and the people given to suspicion from being witnesses of successive plots, were easily led to conceive the formidable fear of a conspiracy to assassinate successively all the patriotic members of the assembly; an immense crowd was presently assembled at the hotel de Castries, which they proceeded to destroy; la Fayette, with his characteristic vigilance repaired directly to the spot, with his wonted fortitude, addressed the populace, and represented to them the rashness and illegality of their conduct: it is equally to the credit of each party, that they desisted, and on coming out of the house every individual was searched, to evince that plunder was not their object.

We have already stated the reform in the affairs of the national clergy; their discontent gave rise to a series of decrees which were passed in the latter end of the year 1790; in the month of July, among the other ecclesiastical regulations, it was enacted, that every beneficed clergyman should solemnly take an oath, "to watch carefully over the faithful in the parish or diocese which was entrusted to his care; to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; and to maintain, to the utmost of his power, the new constitution of France, and particularly the decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy." Many of the clergy, on the first publishing of this decree, spontaneously offered to take the oath; but in many places the revolution continued a mere dead letter, till the 27th of November, when a more severe decree was enacted, declaring that all such clergy as should neglect to take the oath, should be considered as virtually ejected from their benefices; and condemning to severe pains and penalties all such as should prove refractory. If the reform in the government was salutary and just, so was the policy of this measure, as it certainly went to place the government of the church in the hands of men who were well affected to the new constitution, and to disengage the nation from a number of disaffected persons, who might be dangerous if possessed of power. The consequence was, that many conscientious persons, who had not been well affected to the constitution, resigned their benefices; and indeed the situation of honest men with strict notions of church authority, was rendered extremely perplexing by a

public declaration of the pope, who had the inſolence to interfere in the concerns of a foreign nation by teſtifying in marked terms his diſapprobation of the oath. It is but juſtice to add, that the ſeverity of this decree was in ſome degree mitigated by a ſubſequent law, which aſſigned to the non-juring clergy a penſion of five hundred livres per annum. The king heſitated ſome time before he would ſanction this decree, however, he at length agreed to it.

The year 1790 cloſed with ſome acceſſion of popularity to the national-aſſembly. A ſtatue was decreed to be erected to the memory of Rouſſeau, and his widow was allowed a penſion. Some other popular acts were paſſed; but what conferred upon them the moſt ſolid applauſe was the report of the committee of finances, from which it appeared, that the national receipts exceeded the expenditure by three millions, and that there was upwards of 500,000l. ſterling in ſpecie in the public treaſury. To the immortal honour of the aſſembly, the pernicious and diſgraceful tax of *lotteries* was totally aboliſhed and prohibited. About the cloſe of the year M. de St. Prieſt, miniſter of the interior department, reſigned.

A. D. 1791. The firſt act of the new year was not leſs honourable to the conſtituent legiſlature. Inſtead of indicating (as its enemies inſinuated) an inclination to prolong its ſeſſion, like the long parliament of England, a liſt of articles was introduced, which were neceſſary to be diſcuſſed, previous to the final eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution; after the determination of which, the aſſembly declared its intention of diſſolving itſelf, and reſigning its authority.

The jealouſy of the neighbouring potentates who had looked with mixed emotions of jealouſy, hatred, and rapacity, on the progreſs of the French revolution, now began to teſtify a ſenſe of alarm and apprehenſion at its dangerous effects; and a league was formed againſt the riſing liberties of France, among the moſt powerful nations of the continent. Cordons of troops were advancing from Germany on the north, from Spain on the ſouth, and from Italy and Savoy on the weſt; and France might be ſaid litterally to be beſieged with hoſtile armies. The ſtate of affairs and particularly of Lewis retarded for a while the execution of this plan: but the deſigns of the deſpotic courts never altered; their action was occaſionly interrupted by circumſtances; but their tenor was direct, and their conduct conſiſtent.

The only plea which the conduct of France afforded theſe powers for interfering in her domeſtic concerns, was the claims of the German princes who had eſtates in Alſace and Lorraine. On the ſubverſion of the feudal inſtitutions, the claims of vaſſalage, and mortmain, which theſe princes conſidered as their right, were neceſſarily aboliſhed. It was in vain that the national-aſſembly repeatedly decreed them the ampleſt compenſation. The views of the German courts were different. Alſace and Lorraine afforded the excuſe; but the object of the projected war was clearly not the ſeignorial rights of a few petty princes. The cautious politics of the emperor Leopold, however, led him to purſue the moſt courtly meaſures in treating with France. On the 22d of January the king communicated to the aſſembly a letter from the emperor of Germany, in which that monarch made the moſt unqualified proteſtations of his amicable intentions towards France; but intimated at the ſame time, that, "it was neceſſary that all the innovations that had taken place in conſequence of the decrees of the 4th of Auguſt ſhould be done away, and matters put on the ancient footing."—The king, when he

communicated the letter, treated it merely as an official meaſure of the emperor, a head of the German empire; and obſerved, that he received at the ſame time the moſt pácific aſſurances from the court of Vienna. The aſſembly, however, were not to be impoſed upon by the fineſſe of Leopold; they immediately decreed a conſiderable augmentation of the national force, and that every defenſive meaſure ſhould be expeditiouſly adopted. And the popular party now found it neceſſary to fix private agents at foreign courts.

The hopes of thoſe who were adverſe to the new conſtitution were elated by the proſpect of a counter-revoulution, and the movements of the hoſtile powers; and the reſentments of the refractory and ejected prieſts operated every where upon the fanaticiſm of the populace. At Aix a club or ſociety, calling itſelf "Friends of the king and the clergy," was inſtituted; the members of which, on the 12th of December, indulged themſelves in the imprudent meaſure of wearing the white cokade. In the evening of that day, ſome of the party met with a number of perſons who belonged to a club of oppoſite principles; ſome piſtols were diſcharged, and a riot immediately enſued. The mob haſtened immediately to the priſon, were Paſchalis, an advocate, had for ſome time been confined for ſeditious writings and practices; and, in defiance of the municipality and the national-guard, tore him from his place of confinement, and hanged him with two others of the ariſtocratic party, Meſſrs. Roquette and Dorimont, on the neighbouring trees.

At Lyons, on the other hand, a deſparate but ill-concerted conſpiracy was diſcovered, which had for its object, to corrupt the populace of that city, by diſtributing money among them; to bring back thither the ex-princes; to make that city the retreat of the king, if he could be detached from the national aſſembly; and, if not, the aſſembly was forcibly to be conveyed thither along with him.

In the neighbourhood of Vannes in Brittany the fanatic clergy openly preached againſt the conſtitution: and in one country pariſh, the prieſt, after having celebrated maſs, deſired his congregation to kiſs the crucifix, and gave them abſolution.—"Go now," ſaid he, "and plunge your daggers into the hearts of thoſe impious perſons who have "degraded your holy religion: you are ſaved!" The infatuated multitude, inſtigated by this incendiary exhortation, marched in a body to Vannes. At this place however, they found the Iriſh regiment of Walſh and the national guard of l'Orient prepared for their reception, and they were eaſily repulſed and diſperſed.

The public attention was now occupied with a tranſaction which would have been of little conſequence in any other circumſtances of the ſtate. On the the 20th of February, the preſident of the national aſſembly received a letter from the king, ſtating that his aunts, the daughters of Lewis XV. had left Paris that morning at ſix o'clock, and that, as he was perſuaded that they could not legally be deprived of the liberty which the conſtitution gave to every citizen to travel wherever their inclinations led, he had not attempted to prevent their departure. This report was no ſooner made than Camus propoſed that the civil-liſt ſhould be diminiſhed in proportion to the proviſion which the nation alotted them: this was again oppoſed by Martineau; but the aſſembly, conſidering the circumſtance as unworthy of their notice, paſſed to the order of the day. On the following day, however, the ſubject was renewed by Barnave, who, as the conſtitution committee were then occupied in providing a ſeries of regula-

tions for the government of the royal family, propoſed that they ſhould be inſtructed to preſent to the aſſembly the plan of a decree to aſcertain the right which perſons allied to the throne ſhould have to travel out of the kingdom. The propoſal produced another from Martineau, Goupil, and others, that the law againſt emigrants ſhould extend not only to the royal family, but to all other individuals: and that a reaſonable abſentee-tax ſhould be impoſed, in order to diſcourage emigration in general.

In the mean time the ladies continued their journey, and with a train of carriages preſented themſelves before Moret, and produced to the magiſtrates a paſſport from the king, counterſigned Montmorin, and a declaration from the municipality of Paris, ſtating that they arrogated to themſelves no right to ſtop any perſons travelling through the kingdom. As, however, the municipality of Moret was informed that the matter was then under the conſideration of the conſtitutional committee, they determined to arreſt them. They had no ſooner taken this determination, than a party of a hundred or more of the chaſſeurs de Lorraine, with a number of domeſtics of Montmorin mayor of Fontainebleau, appeared before the gates, forced them open, and made a clear paſſage for the travellers. At Arnay-le-Duc, the municipality was more ſucceſsful: there they effectually ſtopped the progreſs of the royal emigrants, and diſpatched an account of their proceedings to the national aſſembly. On mature conſideration, however, the legiſlature decreed, that "as there was no poſitive law exiſting which ſanctioned the arreſt of meſdames, aunts to the king, it ſhould be referred to the executive power;" and in conſequence of this decree, after ſome delay, they were left to purſue their journey to Rome.

Thus the country was entirely deſerted by all the different branches of the royal family, except monſieur. The people, whoſe juſt fears and ſuſpicions foreſaw innumerable evils in theſe emigrations, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner at the Thuilleries; and a report being ſpread, that the only remaining brother of the king was about to depart alſo, the mob immediately directed their courſe to his palace. and inſiſted on a promiſe not to leave the kingdom. The prince conceded to the wiſhes of the populace, and they diſperſed with every appearance of ſatisfaction and joy.

On the 28th of February an event of a more extraordinary and ſuſpicious nature occured, and unfortunately contributed to encreaſe the jealouſy and diſſatisfaction of the public. On the morning of that day, at the uſual hour of divine ſervice at the royal chapel, a gentleman after walking ſome time in the gallery requeſted of the attendants on the dauphin to be permitted to ſee the prince. As he paſſed into the apartment a poniard of a peculiar conſtruction was diſcovered under his coat; he was arreſted and examined before the mayor of Paris, and committed to cuſtody.

While the mayor was occupied with this affair, intelligence was received of a riot in another quarter. The caſtle of Vincennes had been directed to undergo ſome repair; and as that edifice had formerly been uſed as a ſtate-priſon, the jealouſy of the populace immediately took fire, and their imaginations repreſented to them the horrible ſpectre of a baſtile ſtill more formidable than that which had been demoliſhed. The ſuburb of St. Antoine was preſently in motion, and the object of popular ſuſpicion was powerfully aſſailed. M. la Fayette was no ſooner informed of this commotion, than he proceeded thither, accompanied by a ſtrong party of the national-guard. The populace were eaſily undeceived and perſuaded to diſperſe; but what was the ſurpriſe of the

magiſtrates and the national-guard, on their return to the Thuilleries, to find the gates barred againſt them; and as ſoon as the gates were forced open, the apartments were diſcovered to be filled with a number of men armed with ſword-canes, piſtols, and poniards, who had entered by a back gate which was opened to them by one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber. On enquiry being made by the king, "whence it happened that more than four hundred perſons armed in a ſecret manner had introduced themſelves without leave into his apartments?" he was anſwered, that his nobility, alarmed by the affair of Vincennes, had aſſembled for his defence. The king rebuked their indecent zeal, and aſſured them that he conceived himſelf perfectly ſafe under the protection of the national-guard. The conſtruction put upon this tranſaction by the popular party was, that a conſpiracy had been concerted by the chiefs of the ariſtocracy to take advantage of the firſt commotion, which would neceſſarily draw off the national-guard, to put in effect their long-projected plan of carrying off the king. Whatever might be the motive of the perſons who aſſembled on this occaſion, it gave too much countenance to the ſuſpicions of the people, and cheriſhed that ſpirit of party which it was ſo much the intereſt of the nation to counteract and ſubdue. From thenceforward all of the nobleſſe and others who viſited the court were called *knights of the poniard.*

The beginning of March was dedicated by the aſſembly chiefly for the organization of the army. On the fourth it was decreed, that there ſhould in future be only ſix mareſchals of France, whoſe functions ſhould be entirely military, and whoſe pay was fixed at the rate of thirty-thouſand livres per annum. With regard to the mareſchals of France then exiſting, it was determined, that ſuch of them as ſhould not be retained in actual ſervice of the ſtate, ſhould receive penſions adequate to their actual merits. On the ſucceeding day Victor Broglio addreſſed the aſſembly in favour of his father mareſchal Broglio. He obſerved, "that the decree which had juſt been paſſed ſeemed to menace his reſpectable father, after a long and glorious carreer, with the deprivation of an honor which he had obtained, not from favour, but by merit. His father, he ſaid, always a ſtranger to intrigue, and repulſed from court even for his virtues, had lived among the ſoldiers from the age of fourteen. He was their friend, their patron, their father. On the late unhappy occaſion, he ſtated, that mareſchal Broglio had been drawn from his retreat in the country by the poſitive order of the king—That he was not privy to the aſſembling of the troops near the capital; and ſo little conſcious of the deſign, that on his arrival at court, his firſt addreſs to the king was—'Here are the troops! but where is the enemy?' That he was made acquainted with none of the meaſures of the court, and heard of the diſmiſſion of Necker only through the medium of public report—That when he arrived at Metz, ſo ſenſible had he been of the diſhonorable cauſe in which he had been unconſciouſly engaged, that his ſpirits were ſunk, and his health had been viſibly on the decline—That he was now in ſo dangerous a ſtate, that he was unable to return to his country, but had moſt obſtinately reſiſted every attempt to ſeduce him from his allegiance to it."

In conſequence of this repreſentation, the aſſembly reſolved, that for the preſent nothing deciſive ſhould be decreed with reſpect to the rank of mareſchal of France, ſo far as concerned Broglio; but that he ſhould be ſtill conſidered as preſerving his rank and title in the army. He however ſoon after reſigned and declared for the emigrants; it is not improbable therefore that Victor Broglio was either deceived, or entertained a hope

that by obtaining this liberal deciſion he might overcome his father's ſcruples, and induce him to adhere to his country.

Towards the concluſion of the month ſeveral decrees were paſſed relative to the caſe of a regency; women were excluded from that truſt, as well as from the ſucceſſion to the crown; the regency was declared to belong of right to the next male heir to the crown, during the minority of the king; the perſon of the minor king was not confided to the regent; and he was pronounced to be of age at eighteen. Nearly about the ſame period it was decreed, that every public functionary ought to reſide in whatever place his ſpecial duties were to be performed; and that the king as the firſt public functionary, ſhould be always reſident, during the ſeſſion, within twenty leagues of the legiſlative body; and that if he, or the heir apparent, went out of the kingdom without a decree of the legiſlature, they ſhould be conſidered as having forfeited their title to the crown.

This diſcuſſion was ſucceeded by one of ſtill greater importance to the welfare of the community: This regarded the ſucceſſion to property and the right of determining the diſpoſition of poſſeſſions after death. In the outſet of the debate, a very judicious diſtinction was eſtabliſhed; and it was determined—Firſt, to decide what was proper to be decreed with reſpect to the effects of perſons dying inteſtate; Second, whether any reſtriction ought to be laid on teſtamentary alienation. In this inveſtigation the evils of the then exiſting law of inheritance were ſtrongly depicted; the barbarous and abſurd feudal inſtitution of primogeniture was ſucceſsfully attacked; it was demonſtrated, that no ſuch inſtitution exiſted among the enlightened nations of antiquity, and was unknown in every part of the world but Europe now; that it originated among the moſt ſavage tribes, and in the moſt uncivilized periods; that, in the preſent circumſtances of ſociety, it was warranted by no juſt motive, no inference of reaſon, no excuſe; that its baſis was injuſtice, its conſequences profligacy and crimes; that the heir to a large fortune was generally corrupted by the poſſeſſion of it, and the younger branches devoted to beggary and proſtitution; that its effects in a public view were ſtill more deplorable; and that it was the principal cauſe of that inequality among citizens which produced moſt of the vice and all the miſery that exiſts in ſociety. In fine, the opinion, that an equal diviſion of property ſhould take place among the children or relations of perſons dying inteſtate, ſeemed to meet unanimous approbation, and was ſome time after the diſcuſſion decreed.

On the other topic there was a greater diverſity of ſentiment: In defence of the unlimited power of teſtators, recourſe was had to the ſacred light in which property ought always to be regarded; to the diſcouragement which would be held forth to induſtry, if men were not permitted to diſpoſe of their juſt acquiſitions agreeable to their inclinations. The power of Parents over their children was another forcible argument: to make children independent of their parents, it was ſaid, would annihilate good morals; youth is the torrid zone of human life, and muſt fall the unreſiſting prey of temptation, of debauchery, of uſury, of every exiſting corruption and depravity, if poſſeſſed of a premature and uncontrouled patrimony. The character of a father was repreſented as the moſt ſacred of titles, it is that which the deity himſelf aſſumes. The equal partition of eſtates, was adduced as a proof in favour of that arrangment which left the diſpoſal of his property to the will of the teſtator. In the encreaſe of population, it was ſaid, the landed property of individuals would be ſubdivided into atoms, or the portions would be ſo extremely ſmall as even to baffle the diligence of the collectors of the land-tax.

The arguments on the other ſide were not leſs ingenious: It was ſaid that the queſtion was ſimply, whether the deliberate will of the law or the caprice or paſſions of individuals ſhould be the rule of civil rights? If the law had determined that the equal diviſion of property was for the good of the ſtate, the will of an individual ought not to interfere with the public welfare. Parents were often arbitrary, and this diſpoſition went to obſtruct the public proſperity by creating enmities in the boſom of families, and perpetuating the inequality of fortune among citizens, upon principles which ſuperceded real merit and virtue. It was not however contended that this reſtriction ſhould be ſo abſolute that a parent ſhould not have it in his power to teſtify his affection for a deſerving child, nor to withhold from a child leſs worthy; the object was, to leave a part of the inheritance at the diſpoſal of the teſtator, and to diſtribute a part in ſuch proportions as ſhould ſeem moſt likely to promote the proſperity of the commonwealth.

Of the latter opinion was Mirabeau: but he ſpake no longer from the tribune, which had ſo often reſounded with the thunders of his eloquence, but from the dark and ſilent regions of the dead. While the law of ſucceſſions continued in agitation, he was ſeized with an internal diſeaſe, the ſeat of which was ſaid to be in the pericardium; and at the early age of forty-two was cut off in meridian of earthly glory. During the moſt ſevere part of his illneſs, and even while ſtruggling in the arms of death, he retained his mental vigor and all the ardor of the politician. A few hours before his deceaſe he ſent for Talleyrand-Perigord, and obſerving to him that the law of inheritance was the order of the day in the aſſembly, requeſted him to take down his ſentiments on the ſubject.

They were read to the national aſſembly. His death was ſoon after announced; and it is difficult to ſay whether the affliction with which they heard the news of his death, or the reſpect which they ſeemed to pay to his laſt ſentiments, was more honorable and conſpicuous. Suſpicions were entertained that he died by poiſon; but on opening his body, no proofs were found to ſupport the conjecture; the exceſſes of his youth had undermined a conſtitution naturally vigorous, and deprived France at a critical period of one of her moſt extraordinary characters. His talents were brilliant and the times and his ſituation favorable to diſplay them. Born of a noble but not opulent family, his early education had initiated him in all the engaging and ornamental accompliſhments; his love of pleaſure which is ſo often connected with genius, led him into all the varieties of the ſocial condition, and made him minutely acquainted with the human character; perſecution and diſtreſs had encountered him in early life; it had taught him that danger appears more formidable in the approach than the conflict, and while it induced a commiſſeration for others, it made him firm; a tedious confinement in the Baſtile, had weaned him from the flightineſs of conſcious genius and confirmed him in ſtudious habits; and above all had filled him with an unconquerable averſion for tyranny. With a mind vigorous, and comprehenſive, intuitive and acute, thus ſeverely tried in adverſity, intimate with the intrigues and follies of courts; his deep penetration, his promptitude, his fluent eloquence, his powerful voice, were all adapted to command attention; he united a talent for repartee with the powers of profound reaſoning, ſo that he was always ready to diſconcert or confute; few ſtateſmen poſſeſſed more extenſive views, few orators have been capable of bolder flights, of a more paſſionate addreſs, or a more energetic expreſſion.

But the ſplendor of thoſe talents, which nature and habit appeared to have formed to to govern and direct a popular aſſembly, were clouded by the reputation of his private

life; for although his features were harſh and his perſon clumſy, he poſſeſſed the art of rendering himſelf a favourite of the ſex in a debauched court, and to be more ſucceſsful in his triumphs than thoſe numbers who in the ſame circles with diſpoſitions equally profligate poſſeſſed perſons better formed for ſeduction; hence among the really virtuous he was an object of ſuſpicion and diſlike, by the faſtidious and hypocritical he was abuſed, and treated with reſerve by all whoſe rank did not place them above the vulgar ſeverity of moral cenſure.

His politics though generally clothed with profeſſions of the utmoſt reverence for the public voice and of regard for the people's liberty and happineſs, with laviſh praiſes of their virtues and ſuperiority, were ſtill too viſibly governed by perſonal ambition alone: with paſſions ſtrong and vehement, the conſciouſneſs of his talents buoyed him up with a perfect confidence that he ſhould overcome the conſtant reſiſtance of an evil reputation; thence it is that his politics preſented a perpetual ſtruggle between his love of power and his anxiety to ſecure the public ſentiment, ſo much eſtranged from him by his character; thus it is that the inconſiſtencies which even his great talents could not hide, may be accounted for, and that his ſupport of the abſolute veto ceaſes to be ſurprizing; that while the tribune reſounded and his hearers were inflamed with the name and attributes of liberty, ſober reflection taught, 'that the goddeſs of his adoration was not ſhe who ſpreads equal light and juſticeover all, but that meretricious impoſtor who aſſumes her name, and diſpenſes favours to a ſect or a caſt, or as the reward of proſtitution. That he received the money of the court in the carreer of his higheſt popularity has been aſſerted, and his previous need compared with his ſubſequent profuſion ſupports the poſition; that he had bargained for a ſituation in the adminiſtration was placed above doubt, which accounts for the ardency of his efforts to obtain ſeats for the miniſtry in the aſſembly, notwithſtanding his knowlege of the pernicious example of England; his conduct on this occaſion toward Lanjuinais, who had carried the motion againſt their admiſſion, diſplayed the exceſs of mortification and diſappointment; thenceforward his jealouſy of thoſe who appeared to rival him became conſpicuous, and continued to his laſt illneſs, in which he openly expreſſed an apprehenſion that the democratic party would gain an aſcendancy which would reduce the power of the crown: but he was conſcious that he could never aſpire to be a king, and a monarchy alone could afford hope for talents united with vices, ſince in republics virtue is a neceſſary qualification for public truſt and a conſequence of equality.

Yet as an orator, the faireſt teſtimony to his memory is the amazing power which he poſſeſſed in a numerous and turbulent aſſembly, and his confeſſedly excelling all the efforts of ſo many illuſtrious rivals and contemporaries. The faculty on which he is ſaid to have moſt valued himſelf, was that of improving on the ideas of others, and perpetually drawing even from his adverſaries a copious fund of matter; but as a writer he has been charged with carrying this indulgence to an unworthy extent, he has ſought the aſſiſtance of men who in various branches of ſcience infinitely ſurpaſſed him, and having profited by their liberality, has worn their laurels as his own; a plan of public inſtruction which he had prepared and communicated to many of his friends, and which death prevented him from preſentiug to the aſſembly, was borrowed from a written diſcourſe of Chamfort, a member of the French academy, who afterwards preferred death to a coexiſtence with Roberſpierre, but whoſe modeſty would not permit him to affix the degree of merit to his work which Mirabeau thought worth aſſuming to himſelf.

As a writer he was unequal and ſometimes obſcure; his letters from Berlin exhibit a deep ſagacity and extraordinary diſcrimination, and it has been juſtly remarked that the characters he ſketched there have continued to retain their reſemblance through every ſubſequent ſtage of events; in other inſtances he has not evinced a ſimilar truth, he has been acrimoniouſly ſevere, malignantly ſarcaſtic, and groſsly uncandid; in the gallery of portraits, which conſiſted of characters of his principal contemporaries, he has made ſacrifices to jealouſy and envy that reflect a ſickly ſhade over his talents; he endeavored to make ſome feint reparation by denying that work.

But his title to eloquence cannot be invalidated by the frailties of his paſſions; in the debate upon the title which the aſſembly ſhould aſſume, Mirabeau propoſed that of *Repreſentatives of the People;* but this being objected to upon the ground that the word *peuple* had been always uſed to imply the very loweſt order in France, he replied—"I care not what "ſignification words aſſume in the language of prejudice, here I ſpeak the language of "liberty, and I am ſupported by the old example of the Engliſh and the modern wiſdom "of the Americans: when Chatham compreſſed the charter of nations in a ſingle ex-"preſſion, *the majeſty of the people*—when the Americans declared the rights of the people "in oppoſition to all the traſh that was ſaid and publiſhed againſt them, they ſhewed that "they underſtood the true ſignification and energy of expreſſion which common ſenſe "deſignates, and upon which freedom only ſtamps the value that intrinſically belongs to "it. I perſiſt in my motion therefore—Yes! and in that expreſſion alone which is found "fault with—I mean the French people—becauſe it is a name not ſufficiently reſpected in "France—becauſe it is obſcured and covered with the ruſt of prejudices—becauſe it con-"veys an idea which wounds egotiſm, and pride, and mortifies vanity—bacauſe it is "mentioned with diſdain in the houſes of ariſtocrats—it is for theſe very reaſons I adopt "it, and that we ought to eſtabliſh it, and render it reſpectable in the eyes of miniſters "and courts."

On an occaſion when ſent by the aſſembly at the head of a deputation to the king, the perſons in waiting inſtead of notifying the attendance of the deputies, ſuffered them to ſtand unnoticed in an antichamber; Mirabeau burning with indignation addreſſed the principal officer in waiting, who had been a duke,—"Sir! I *order* you to go and tell the king "that the repreſentatives of the French people are here." He was implicitly obeyed.

But theſe tranſactions were prior to the queſtion of the veto, when the ſunſhine of the court would not waſte a ſingle ray upon him, and the ſmiles of Maria Antonietta were yet too precious to be laviſhed upon popular men. But his ſeduction by the court, nor the more public errors of his life, did not deprive him of that reſpect which was due to his talents, when their luſtre was ſtill bright but could offend no more: during his illneſs his door was beſieged by enquiring citizens, whoſe countenances beſpoke their ſorrow. The magiſtracy of Paris and the national aſſembly decreed a mourning of eight days: by a reſolution of the legiſlature alſo, a public funeral was ordered, and was attended by the national aſſembly, the miniſters, magiſtrates, judges, the national guard of Paris, the ſociety of friends to the conſtitution, or Jacobins, and an immenſe body of ſpectators. The magnificent new church of St. Genevive was conſecrated for the reception of great men, and Mirabeau was the firſt to whom that honor was decreed. As the new church however was not completed, the body was for the preſent depoſited in an ancient church adjoining, by the ſide of the coffin containing the aſhes of Deſcartes.

The next diſcuſſion which occupied the aſſembly, was the organization of the miniſtry, the members of which were declared reſponſible; and it was alſo decreed that no member of the national aſſembly ſhould take any part in the adminiſtration till four years after the concluſion of that legiſlature of which he was a member. The appointment of miniſters was veſted in the king; but their number was to be regulated by the legiſlature. The miniſters then appointed were, 1ſt, A miniſter of juſtice, who was to keep the great ſeal, to execute all laws relative to the ſanctioning of decrees, to preſerve correſpondence with all the inferior departments of juſtice, to ſubmit to the legiſlature all queſtions of juriſprudence; 2d, A miniſter of war, to ſuperintend the regulation of all the troops of the line, to order the movements of the armies againſt the enemy; 3d, A miniſter of foreign affairs, to ſuperintend and conduct all correſpondence with foreign courts, to enforce the execution of treaties, and to have a general care of the political and commercial intereſts of the kingdom; 4th, A miniſter of marine and for the colonies. The miniſter of foreign affairs to have a ſalary of 150,000 livres (about 7,400l.) and the reſt 100,000 livres (about 5,000l.) per annum. The king and the miniſters to compoſe a great council of ſtate, for the due exerciſe of the executive power.

The nobleſſe aſſembled on the borders of Alſace, began now to create ſome alarm in the people. The emigrant army had been reviewed by the prince de Condé: their uniform was black, faced with yellow, with a death's-head ſurrounded with a laurel wreath on one cuff, and a ſword on the other, with the motto, "Conquer or die." The emigrants alſo, it was added, were well received by moſt of the German princes, and every thing appeared hoſtile on the frontiers. As the cardinal de Rohan had taken an active part in ſeducing the people from their duties, an act of impeachment was decreed againſt him and ſome other of the principal emigrants.

With this circumſtance ſeveral others occurred to keep awake the ever-watchful eye of popular ſuſpicion. The king had been always of a turn of mind deeply imbued with the ſuperſtitious terrors which the Romiſh religion is ſo well calculated to impreſs on its devotees; the eccleſiaſtics were not ignorant of this diſpoſition, and as thoſe who were adverſe to the change ſtood in moſt need of protection, and were from ſympathy attached to the monarch, whether he entertained them through prejudice and predelection, or through mere compaſſion, he was ſurrounded with non-juring prieſts, and other perſons of this character; they were ſaid to be received with peculiar cordiality; theſe were new cauſes of alarm, and the people had not forgot the ſingular tranſaction of the Thuilleries on the 28th of February, which in all probability was frequently exaggerated by them. We cannot, therefore, be ſurpriſed at a tumult which took place on the 18th of April, while the royal family was preparing to ſet out for St. Cloud, where they intended to paſs the Eaſter-holidays. The populace, who conſidered this as only foreboding the flight of the king, and a counter-revolution, clamorouſly ſurrounded the carriage, and inſiſted on their majeſties return. It was in vain that Bailly and de la Fayette oppoſed this phrenſy; in vain they exerted themſelves to procure a free paſſage for the carriage. A ſet of orators better adapted to the ears of the common people, exclaimed, "If the king eſcapes, there will be a civil war, and the ſtreets of Paris will "be deluged with the blood of its citizens." The national-guard refuſed to act—"We "know," ſaid the grenadiers, "that we are violating the law; but the ſafety of the "country is the firſt of laws." One of the national guards approaching the king told

him, he acted unwisely in countenancing the unconstitutional priests.—"Who made you "the arbiter of my conscience fellow!" replied Lewis.

The royal family, however, was obliged to return, and the king on the following day repaired to the assembly, where, in a discourse of some length he complained of the insult, and concluded, "I did not choose to repel that resistance by force, which might have "proved fatal to a multitude, who, being misled, imagine they are acting in support of "the law when they are infringing it; but it is of importance to the nation to prove that "I am a free agent. Nothing can be more essential to give authority to the sanctions which "I have granted to your decrees. On that account, therefore, I persist in my intention of "going to St. Cloud, and the assembly must be convinced of the propriety of my re-"solution."

He was answered in a cordial speech by the president; and on his retiring, no further notice was taken of the circumstance. But the king not proceeding as he had resolved, the people remained convinced, that the interruption alone prevented his going to Compeigne, and it was openly asserted without contradiction, that post-horses were laid on that road, sufficient for the conveyance of him, and all his family. The populace were therefore impressed with the most humiliating ideas of the king's hypocrisy, and one of the street orators repeated to several groupes on the nineteenth and twentieth, that, "a "king was clearly a very useless personage—a monster, who devours thirty millions of "livres annually!"

The writers of all parties have done justice to the spirit and propriety which distinguished the conduct of de la Fayette on the 18th. On this occasion he, with the other staff-officers, sent in their resignation, observing, that since the national-guards would no longer obey, he must cease to retain a command which was merely nominal. This event was no sooner known than all Paris was seized with a general consternation; nor could all the jealousy of La Fayette's enemies prevent their soliciting in a body, and under circumstances the most respectful to him, that he would re-assume the command. After some hesitation on his part, and the strongest assurances given on theirs of entire obedience, he agreed on the 24th to comply with their wishes.

Robespierre, who became so conspicuous afterwards, was at this time an obscure individual of the assembly. Danton was not a member, but then the most influential person of the Cordeliers, a club that was considered as the most patriotic, and entirely republican. Marat was also a member of that club, but of no great influence, only among the most illiterate of the populace whose garb, manners, and passions he studied, and in a journal which he published, addressed himself in ordinary language with an extraordinary effect, to their plain understandings.

At this period, the department of Paris prayed the king, to notify to the powers of Europe, his full approbation of the constitution; which he complied with; and at their instance, he dismissed from about his person those obnoxious people who had been a principal cause of the suspicion. The bishop of Senlis, cardinal Montmorency, Villequier and Duras of the bed-chamber were dismissed, and all the priests of his chapel. New assurances of fidelity to the constitution, and of loyalty to the king, passed between the sovereign and the national assembly, and all was quiet.

The measure of an address to the powers of Europe, was a severe trial of the character of Lewis; it was certainly calculated to ensure the peace of France, and as a test of

his own diſpoſition, to enſure the ſecurity of the conſtitution, by defeating the deſigns of thoſe who either doubted his own principles or were inimical by principal to the regal government. Montmorin was at this time miniſter for foreign affairs, and in his official character he read to the aſſembly the circular letter tranſmitted to the French miniſters at foreign courts, as the ſincere ſentiments of the king reſpecting the ſtate of France and the conſtitution, ſtating that the miniſters were required to make it known generally that no doubts might remain. In this letter the following account of the revolution is given—"That which is called the revolution is in fact the mere annihilation of various abuſes "which had inſenſibly accumulated in the courſe of ages, through the indifference of "the people or the abuſes of miniſterial power, but never were part of the power of "the kings.

"Thoſe abuſes were not leſs detrimental to the nation than to the monarch. Under "the happieſt reigns they were attacked by authority, but without being removed. "They exiſt no longer. The ſovereign nation conſiſts of citizens equal in their rights. "There is no power ſuperior to the law—no organ by which the law can ſpeak but "thoſe functionaries ſpecially appointed by the nation to that duty—and the king is the "firſt of thoſe functionaries. Such is the revolution."

To a meſſage ſo well calculated to preſerve peace and reſtore harmony, the aſſembly replied by a numerous deputation, at the head of which was their preſident, and thanked him in terms of the warmeſt praiſe and attachment; but we ſhall have occaſion preſently to lament that a declaration founded ſo apparently in the pureſt virtue and diſintereſtedneſs, was but the prelude to actions the moſt oppoſite and fatally hoſtile to this declaration, to the happy calm which it was likely to produce, and to the peace of the nation and the throne, and to his perſonal ſafety; we ſhall find that at the period when this declaration was made to the aſſembly and to all Europe, that the king was perfectly acquainted with ſchemes for his flight from that country, and the violation of that conſtitution, upon which he had paſſed that eulogy, and which he had ſworn to ſupport; we ſhall find him realizing the ſuſpicions entertained, concerning his journey to St. Cloud, and only divided between the choice of two conſpiracies formed by Calonne and Choiſeuil in conjunction with the combined deſpots of Europe; we ſhall find him acquainted with theſe, and with thoſe ſtupenduous deſigns, which were then forming or formed at Mantua, at Pavia, and at Pilnitz.

Before we enter upon tranſactions ſo momentous, the affairs of the colonies before and at this period demand ſome notice.

Theſe commotions, which agitated the mother country, were trifling when compared with the fatal animoſities which prevailed there. The decree of March 1790 was ſo far from quieting the jealouſies and diſturbances exiſting, that its immediate effect ſeemed to be to kindle the whole of the French Weſt-India iſlands into a flame. Before the arrival of the commiſſioners who were to enforce the decree, a mulatto of the name of Ogé, attempted to excite a rebellion in St. Domingo: his party was, however, defeated: he took refuge among the Spaniards; they ſurrendered him, and he expired upon the wheel. The very troops which had been ſent from France to reſtore tranquillity, became infected with the ſame ſpirit of inſubordination. A regiment of native troops too, which was named the regiment of Port-au-Prince, aſſaſſinated their colonel. The rebellious regiment was embarked and ſent to Europe; but the king's commiſſaries ſtill exerciſed a feeble and dubious authority.

But the very decree of the aſſembly, the ſubſtance of which has been already intimated, proved the moſt deplorable ſource of diſcord. In that decree, parochial aſſemblies were directed to be held previous to the forming of a colonial conſtitution; but no definition was given of the perſons who were to form theſe meetings. The people of colour, not being excepted, concluded naturally that they were virtually compriſed in the law. The moſt violent conteſts enſued, and a deputation was ſent over to the national aſſembly, to demand an explanation.

In May 1791, the matter was warmly agitated in the aſſembly. The advocates in favour of the people of colour urged the declaration of rights, which the aſſembly itſelf had agreed on as the baſis of their new conſtitution, and even appealed to a higher authority, the great fundamental principles of reaſon and juſtice. The colonial deputies, and their abettors, confeſſed that the prejudice againſt the people of colour was abſurd and unjuſt; but they alleged that it was a prejudice which could not be annihilated by a ſingle decree, or be obliterated in a ſhort ſpace of time. That a law which ſhould at once elevate theſe perſons to the ſame rank with the white coloniſts, would expoſe the iſland to the ſevereſt calamities. The aſſembly found itſelf in a moſt difficult predicament. The free people of colour on the one hand, and their dependents, were numerous and wealthy; and, on the other, the whites in the French iſlands were maſters of nearly 200,000 negroes, were poſſeſſed of all the actual power, and had exhibited the moſt alarming ſymptoms of independence. They had already opened their ports to foreign nations, and had threatened to transfer their allegiance to the Engliſh government. The troops which had been ſent had been debauched from their duty, and corrupted in their principles, and little reliance could be placed upon new debarkations. In this dilemma, the legiſlature proceeded gradually, and with extreme caution.

On the 13th of May, a decree was paſſed to quiet the apprehenſions of the coloniſts with reſpect to the liberation of the negroes; and it was eſtabliſhed as a conſtiutional article, "that the legiſlature of the mother country ſhould decide nothing with reſpect to the liberation of the ſlaves, but upon the actual and formal demand of the colonial aſſemblies." This was followed, on the 15th, by another decree equally cautious, and in effect partial to the white coloniſts; which was, that people of colour born of free parents on both ſides, ſhould be admitted into all the colonial aſſemblies; and as to thoſe whoſe parents on one ſide only were free, the legiſlature would not determine any thing till they heard the ſentiments of the colonial aſſemblies.

Thus, by a repetition of the ſame timid policy which had produced the diſturbances, the aſſembly ſtill continued to widen the breach. Neither party was ſatisfied with the decree. The majority of the people of colour were not born of parents who were both free, ſince it happened that a conſiderable number was the off-pring of ſlaves who had been in a ſtate of concubinage with their maſters; and the white coloniſts, on the other hand, found their darling prejudice invaded even by this trifling innovation. The moſt fatal diſcord manifeſted itſelf immediately. The aſſembly ſent over no troops to enforce its own decree. The coloniſts complained, that the decree in itſelf was impracticable. Such a ſcrutiny as it required into the pedigree and extraction of individuals, could not be conducted without offence, without difficulty, and litigation. The white coloniſts repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms, that this laſt decree was a total violation of the preamble to the former; though the aſſembly had ſanctioned the con-

tinuance of ſlavery, they ſtill feared the abolition of the ſlave-trade, and determined to relax nothing in their ſeverity and oppreſſion of the people of colour.

In the mean time, the enemies of the revolution were not inactive in inflaming the minds of both parties. The ſlaves, whether inſtigated by incendiaries, or whether finding the civil authority which held them in obedience almoſt annihilated, ſoon began to take a part in the diſputes; and diſcord, violence, and bloodſhed pervaded every part of the colonies. In Martinico, and the ſmaller iſlands, after much conteſt, order was partly reſtored; but St. Domingo remained a long time a melancholy ſcene of deſolation and civil war.

Every day encreaſed the agitation prevailing inthe mother country; diſquietude was ſeen to invade the habitual hilarity of the French; the counter-revolutioniſts appeared more audacious as they gained in numbers, and the friends of a limited monarchy were now placed in that ſitution which rendered it neceſſary to decide between the reſtoration of the aboliſhed abuſes, and more enlarged or democratical principles; unfortunately their diſnunion among themſelves, a paſſiveneſs which they called moderation, was little calculated to operate to the conviction or the conqueſt of their external anemies, or of thoſe at home whoſe hopes and pretenſions were founded on the baſis of prejudice and arbitrary government; the malcontents on the frontiers, under the prince of Condé and d'Artois, had gained a conſiderable ſtrength by emigration, and with a view to intimidate their adverſaries and encourage thoſe who yet remained attached to the old order of things, reports were induſtriouſly circulated, that the German powers were preparing to join the emigrants, and with a mighty force to reſtore the nobility and clergy. Theſe rumours, though apparently exaggerated, were not altogether to be diſregarded; the aſſembly therefore decreed, that notice ſhould be given to Condé, that his reſidence on the frontiers, ſurrounded by ſuſpected perſons, indicated criminal deſigns, and that if within fifteen days he did not return to France, or depart from the frontiers, with a ſolemn declaration that he ſhould attempt nothing againſt the new conſtitution, he ſhould be proclaimed a rebel, deprived of all right of ſucceſſion to the crown, and incur the penalties of attaint and forfeiture. Theſe ſteps of the aſſembly, though they produced no effect on the external enemies of the revolution, cauſed ſome reſerve in thoſe who ſurrounded the court; experience had taught them the folly of their raſhneſs, but their deſparation or their hopes did not ſuffer them to profit by it; on this occaſion, the court once more aſſumed the appearance of the moſt diſintereſted attachment to the conſtitution, while its ſecret intrigues were carried on with redoubled ardour and activity.

The celebrated Calonne had obtained the confidence of the Britiſh cabinet, by means which if then known to the leading men in France, could not have left the diſpoſition of that court in the leaſt equivocal; we ſhall have occaſion in treating of the French concerns in Aſia, to ſhew that ſo early as the year 1790 the Britiſh government had manifeſted the part which ſhe was determined to take in the French revolution: At this period, through the agency of an emiſſary in the ſuite of the Britiſh miniſter at Paris, Calonne maintained a correſpondence with the queen and her partiſans; he had in conjunction with Bouille formed a conſpiracy, the primary feature of which was the flight of the king and royal family; the barbarities at Nancy ſprung from this ſyſtem ſo deeply contrived; but another plot had been formed as early as the month of March, without any connexion with or even any knowledge on either ſide of the deſigns of the other, though by

a very ſingular concurrence the ſame ends were propoſed to be obtained by nearly the ſame means; the author of this plot was the celebrated Choiſeuil, who had been at every court in Europe ſoliciting aid, and repreſenting it as the common cauſe of kings; it was natural to expect that ſuch a project could not fail of being acceptable to the queen's brother; it was laid before the emperor Leopold, then at Mantua, who was eaſily prevailed upon to adopt and ſupport it with zeal. After arranging the various meaſures for it execution, it was deemed expedient to communicate the particulars to Lewis, and obtain his concurrence and co-operation. Count Alphonſo Dufort, an emigrant of tried fidelity and talents, was entruſted with this dangerous and confidential ſervice; he had various interviews with the emperor, agreed to ſet out for Paris and to return with the king's aſſent.

The detail of Calonne's plot has never been developed, but the particulars of this have been diſcloſed; and when the period at which it was put in motion is conſidered, becomes a ſubject of the firſt curioſity and importance:—It conſiſted of twenty-one articles, which were delivered to Dufort in writing: but he was enjoined to commit them to memory, leſt any intelligence he might receive, or any any accident ſhould render it neceſſary to deſtroy the paper. The firſt article expreſſes the general deſign of reſtoring Lewis to his former authority.

The ſecond that the ſcheme was combined and ſupported by the emperor, the kings of Spain and Sardinia, the Swiſs Cantons, and the circles of the empire; and that there were aſſurances from other powers of Europe that they would not oppoſe.

The third, that the emperor would order 35,000 men to march to the frontiers of Flanders and Hainault; at the ſame time the troops of the circles, to the number of 14,000 at leaſt, ſhould march to Alſace. The ſame number of Swiſs to march towards the Lionnois and Franche Comté. The king of Sardinia will enter Dauphiné with 15,000 men. Spain had already 12,000 in Catalonia, and will augment to 20,000 the army which will threaten the ſouthern provinces of France. Theſe different corps amount in all to 100,000; which being divided into five columns, will preſs on the different frontiers of France, next to the countries to which the columns belong. Thoſe armies will be joined by ſuch of the French regiments as had remained faithful, by ſome armed volunteers who may be depended upon, as well as all thoſe in the provinces who are diſcontented with the preſent government, who will declare for the king as ſoon as the armies approach.

The fourth—that the emperor is aſſured of the king of Pruſſia's good intentions, and has taken upon himſelf the direct correſpondence with the court of Berlin.

The fifth—that care ſhould be taken to keep this coalition ſecret till the moment of exploſion, for which purpoſe partial inſurrections in the interior parts of the kingdom ſhould be prevented.

The ſixth—that as a peace between Ruſſia and Turkey will in all probability take place in July, nothing is to be feared from the diſorders which a continuation of that war might have occaſioned.

In the ſeventh the reaſons are mentioned at length for believing that one hundred thouſand men will be more than ſufficient: the principal is, that theſe armies are to be conſidered only as auxiliaries to the nobility, the troops and the natives of France who will declare for the ſame cauſe as ſoon as the combined armies ſhall appear on the frontiers.

The eighth—that every thing ſhould be ready by the end of Auguſt: a proteſtation by all the branches of the Bourbon family, ſigned by the kings of Spain and Naples, and the prince of Parma, to be publiſhed, and a manifeſto of the emperor to appear ſoon after.

The ninth—that the emperor, though being the ſoul and chief of the enterpriſe, it might be dangeroas for the queen that he ſhould appear to be the firſt mover of it; for whatever is moſt odious in the eyes of the people, or what the aſſembly can make appear ſo, will be imputed to the houſe of Auſtria. For this reaſon, with the emperor's conſent, the proteſtation in the name of the houſe of Bourbon will appear in the firſt place, and his imperial majeſty's manifeſto in favour of the injured princes, and in defence of all crowned heads, will appear with greater efficacy.

The tenth and eleventh entirely regard the proteſtation intended to be publiſhed in the name of the Bourbon family. The king and queen of Naples have ſeen it, and only wait until it ſhall be ſigned by the king of Spain before they ſign it.

The twelfth ſtates, that the king of Sardinia is in the beſt diſpoſition, his troops are ready, and he only waits the ſignal from the emperor.

The thirteenth and fourteenth ſtate, that the diet of Ratiſbon had not yet taken a final reſolution; and that other courts were expected either to co-operate or remain neutral.

The fifteenth entreats the king and queen not to allow this plan to be diſturbed by any new ideas, and that they will be very careful to whom they communicate any part of the ſcheme.

The ſixteenth warns the king to place no confidence in la Fayette, and alſo not entirely to truſt M. de Montmorin. Mention is made of the king's declaration to foreign courts by his ambaſſadors, that it had ſhocked many, but had not impoſed on any perſon of diſcernment with regard to the king's real ſentiments.

The ſeventeenth relates to particular manœuvres intended to miſlead the people's conjectures as to the real deſign.

The eighteenth declares, that a correſpondence has been always kept up with various members of the French parliaments diſperſed in different parts of Europe, who are to unite in the firſt conſiderable town of France that ſhould be in the power of the coalition; and there to compoſe a parliament, to eſtabliſh forms, to pronounce the nullity of the decrees of the national aſſembly, to judge and condemn criminals, and to give all poſſible eclat to that court.

The nineteenth, conſiſts of the warmeſt injunctions and encouragement to their majeſties, it repreſents their ſituation as very different from what it was before the eighteenth of April, before the king was obliged to go to the national aſſembly, before he had ſent the letter to the ambaſſadors; and although it were to be wiſhed that their majeſties had before obtained their liberty, yet in the preſent juncture they are entreated not to liſten to any other propoſals for that purpoſe; that their preſent object ſhould be to leave no means untried to bring the aſſembly into diſgrace, and to raiſe their own popularity; from ſuch meaſures the utmoſt advantage would be derived, when the people, terrified at the entrance of foreign troops into France, ſhould ſee no ſafety but in ſubmitting. It adds, this is the emperor's opinion, and he reſts all his hopes of ſucceſs on a rigid adherence to this plan; nay entreats earneſtly that every other idea may be given up; the

dreadful conſequences that would follow an unſucceſsful attempt to eſcape are anticipated with horror; and the emperor thinks their beſt ſecurity is an army of 130,000 men preceded by threatening manifeſtoes.

The twentieth relates to the duke de Polignac and a perſon in the emperor's confidence who were to manage the correſpondence. And the laſt article is the letter of credence, recommending full confidence in count Dufort.

A plan ſo extenſive, at a period when Bouille was at the head of the army on that frontier which muſt of neceſſity become the principal ſcene of action, and whoſe treachery was unknown to all thoſe whom it moſt endangered, appeared to promiſe indubitable ſucceſs: but, her evil genius, Calonne poſſeſſed an influence in the counſels of the queen which, when exerciſed to ſerve her, once more only helped to deſtroy her; the influence of Bouille over the king operated in the ſame way; and the royal family were for a long time undecided between the two plans. Notwithſtanding the ſecrecy with which Dufort's miſſion had been conducted, Calonne had actually contrived to obtain a perfect knowlege of the project and a copy of the articles above enumerated; his former ſituation, the zeal he had manifeſted, and the confidence of the queen, he thought gave him a juſt claim to be made acquainted with every meaſure taken for the reſtoration of the king's power; and perhaps his jealouſy dictated the remonſtrance to her majeſty which led her to prevail on the king to finally reject the plan communicated by Dufort, who had already returned to Germany with the king's aſſent.

On the eleventh of June, the king and queen, without any attendant, went to the apartments of madam de Rochereuil, a lady in the queen's ſervice; this ſuit of rooms communicated by a corridore with the apartments of the queen, and were ordered to be prepared for another perſon.

On the ſeventeenth Dumouſtier, Maldent, and Valory, who had belonged to the garde-du-corps, were provided with yellow jackets in the ſtyle of couriers; the former for the firſt time had a private conference with the king, but received his orders from a perſon whom he did not know; Valory was diſpatched to Bondy on the twentieth to provide horſes, and the ſame evening Dumouſtier was ſtationed with a coach and four at fort St. Martin; while Maldent entered the palace, where he remained in a private apartment till near twelve; a coach with two horſes having been poſted at eleven in the cour des princes.

Orders were given by the queen about midnight to dreſs the prince and princeſs-royal, and they were conveyed to the apartment which was the rendezvous, where the king and queen with the princeſs Elizabeth were in waiting; there were beſides two ſtrangers, one of whom conducted the two female attendants of the prince and princeſs to the Quais de Voltaire, where having placed them in a carriage, he withdrew, and the ladies were driven to Claye. The other ſtranger conducted the prince, princeſs-royal, and madam de Tourzel to the carriage in the cour des princes, whence they were conveyed to the Carouſel, where the queen and princeſs Elizabeth ſoon after arrived without any attendant, and were handed into the coach by the coachman. The king arrived laſt, attended by Maldent, who mounted behind the coach, which drove immediately to port St. Martin, where a carriage with four horſes waited for them all under charge of Dumouſtier; they drove directly to Bondy, where Valory waited with freſh horſes. The female attendants joined them on the road; and they paſſed unſuſpected near an hundred and ſeventy miles from

Paris, although the king had entered into familiar converſation with different people at ſeveral poſt-houſes where they had occaſion to ſtop.

About eight o'clock on the morning of the twenty-firſt, the flight of the king and royal family was known; the firſt ſenſation was an emotion of conſternation ſurpriſe and indignation, the news ſpread rapidly; the people hurried from all points to the gardens of the Thuilleries and the Luxembourg; all the ſigns bearing portraits of the king, or queen, or emblems of royalty were torn down, and trampled under foot; the ſection of Luxembourg tore to pieces a banner that had been preſented to them by monſieur; even a man whoſe name was Louis, was obliged to eraſe it from his door; and the officer of the guard at the Thuilleries narrowly eſcaped the popular rage. If a teſt had been wanting of the ſpirit and patriotiſm of the nation, none could have been deviſed ſo deciſive or ſatisfactory. The aſſembly received the news with a calmneſs and dignity, ſufficient almoſt to diſcountenance oppoſition. Their firſt care was the public ſafety and tranquillity. They committed to the miniſters the execution of the laws, and the other political functions of the king. A new oath of fidelity to the nation was preſcribed to the military, which was taken by Rochambeau, la Fayette, d'Affry, and all the other officers and the armed force. Couriers were diſpatched to all the different parts of the kingdom, with orders to ſtop the fugitives, and to recommend the preſervation of peace and good order. After theſe precautions the aſſembly, with magnanimous calmneſs reſumed their ordinary labours, and proceeded to the diſcuſſion of the penal code.

Recovered from their firſt ſurprize, the people remarked, that for ſome weeks previous to this event, the emigrations had encreaſed in an unuſual degree, notwithſtanding the recent appearances of a good diſpoſition in the court; that the circulating ſpecie had diſappeared as if by a miracle; that the nonjuring prieſts had been more than ordinarily active though apparently more content; and it appeared that at the ſame period of time attempts had been made to detach the privates of every regiment in France from their confidence in the aſſembly, by a miſrepreſentation of its decrees, and by offers of money; promotion had been offered to non-commiſſioned officers of regiments on the frontiers, and every hour brought forth ſome new evidence of the extent and long preparation of the plot.

The perfidious Bouillé, by a variety of fictions and excuſes, had evaded for a long time the civic oath; but at length he had taken it with ſuch ſpontaneous tokens of zeal as left no room to doubt of his fidelity. He was entruſted with the protection of the frontiers: a truſt which he exerciſed more conſiſtently with his own character and views than with the principles of duty and honour. He either permitted the fortifications of all the frontier towns to run to decay, or aſſiſted in their dilapidation. The garriſons were left without proviſions or ammunition. The national ſoldiery were replaced wherever it was poſſible with foreigners, and the utmoſt pains were taken to ſpread diſunion and diſcontent among the national troops. The place nominally appointed for the retreat of the king, was Montmedy, a fortified town of Luxembourg; but it was generally ſuppoſed that his actual reſidence was to be within the emperor's dominions. Here the emigrants from all quarters were to be aſſembled, and were to act in concert with the powerful ſuccors which were to be furniſhed by Pruſſia and Auſtria, while other diverſions were to be made on the ſide of Spain and Savoy, by the reſpective monarchs of thoſe countries.

Such is the account which is moſt generally believed of the motives and plans of this ill-concerted and unfortunate journey; unfortunate for the country, becauſe it deſtroyed public confidence and doubly unfortunate for the monarch, becauſe it for ever loſt him the love of a people, who, in the moſt diſtreſsful and tumultuous circumſtances of the revolution, were never before known to waver or abate in the perſonal regard which they retained for their ſovereign. The king's intention was not kept ſuch a profound ſecret, but that it was known to Gouvion, one of the officers of the national guard, who communicated it to the mayor and la Fayette: the guard was in conſequence doubled, and ſuch precautions were taken as appeared likely to prevent every poſſibility of effecting the intention. However, the king, the queen, madame Elizabeth, ſiſter to the king, and the whole of the royal family ſuddenly diſappeared. Monſieur and madame who were compriſed in his plan; took the road to Mons; and the king's party that of Montmedy.

Though the majority of the nation, unequivocally evinced their attachment to the conſtitution, the flight of the king was viewed in very different lights, according as the different parties felt their particular prejudices effected by the event. But all concurred, in condemning the temerity of the miniſters who adviſed the king to fly, ſince it involved him in the guilt of an act of perjury. At the firſt dawn of the revolution, two parties only divided the maſs of the people; the friends of previleges and ariſtocracy, and the friends of liberty: but the latter had ſince divided into two, and out of theſe one more dangerous to the ariſtocracy aroſe; the republican party; to whom the departure of the king was a matter of triumph: their hopes were now likely to meet at leaſt a preſent gratification: they enlarged upon the abſurdity of a government which enabled an individual to throw the whole ſtate into confuſion: they repreſented the king as a perjured monſter, whoſe patriotiſm and love for his people would preſently be evinced by his entering France at the head of the hoſtile armies, to ravage the country, and to drench it in blood. The loſs of authority, they ſtated, muſt be ever, to him who once poſſeſſed it, a ſubject of regret; and they exhorted the lovers of liberty, even if the king's flight ſhould be prevented, to make uſe of the opportunity to relieve the nation from a natural enemy. Others who profeſſed to be more moderate preferred a limited monarchy, as at leaſt the moſt expedient form of government, and conſidered it as abſurd in a nation enjoying perfect liberty, to diſpute about the mode or form in which it ſhould be adminiſtered. They conſidered, that even if the republican form was preferable, cuſtom had inured the French to monarchy, and their ſtrongeſt prejudices inclined them to ſupport it: that the nation was not in a ſtate to ſtand the ſhock of a ſecond revolution; they therefore contemplated it as the happieſt event that could occur, ſhould the king by any fortunate chance be reſtored; and foreſaw a train of the moſt formidable evils threatening the kingdom and the people, ſhould he fall into the hands of their enemies. The royaliſts were either ſilent or not to be ſeen.

The hopes of the republicans were damped for the moment by the vigilance of two obſcure individuals. To favor their eſcape, the royal family had provided a paſſport through the regular offices, in the name of the baroneſs de Kroff, for herſelf and ſuite, as travelling to Frankfort. At ſome diſtance from the capital detachments of dragoons had been placed by Bouille, under pretence of guarding ſome treaſure for the pay of the ſoldiers. At St. Menehould, a few leagues from the frontiers, the poſt-maſter, Drouet

who had formerly been a dragoon in the regiment of Condé, recogniſed the queen; the eſcort of dragoons was relieved by a detachment of huſſars, which confirmed the firſt impreſſion of ſuſpicion: he inſtantly determined to ſtop them, but being alone, he was prudent enough not to expoſe himſelf. The carriage having paſſed, and the cavalry preparing to follow at ſome diſtance, he gave the alarm and a crowd collecting expoſtulated with the ſoldiers who became paſſive; meanwhile Drouet, with one Guilliame, ſet off on horſeback for Clermont, where they learned that the travellers inſtead of going to Metz, had taken the road to Varennes; thither they proceeded by croſs-roads with ſuch ſpeed as to reach the inn of *Bras d'Or*, a few minutes before the fugitives; he had ſpread the alarm as he had rode along, and inſtantly informed Leblanc the inn-keeper, that two carriages were on the point of arriving with the king and royal family, who were ſecretly deſerting the nation. The inn-keeper directly ran to a magiſtrate, who ſummoned the municipal officers and the national-guards. Meanwhile the travellers had arrived, and meaſures were taken to enſure their detention; while the magiſtrates proceeded to the inn Drouet and Guillaume ſeized on a waggon laden with furniture, which they threw down at the foot of a bridge over which the travellers muſt neceſſarily paſs to get out of the town. When the carriages had arrived, which was about midnight, the civil officers with the commandant and a few others, ſurrounded the principal coach, and aſked the names of the travellers. The couriers behind anſwered that they were all good patriots, and the queen produciug the paſſport, ſigned by Louis and Montmorin, ſaid with petulance that they were in haſte; the number of perſons collected was now more conſiderable, and ſeveral appeared ſatisfied with the paſſport; but the magiſtrate had reſolved that they ſhould not proceed before morning, and obſerved as a pretext that the paſſport was not ſigned by the preſident of the national aſſembly; he ſignified that the roads were too difficult to travel by night, and urged them to take apartments in his houſe, which they reluctantly aceepted; ſeveral noticed the reſemblance of the king to the portrait on the fifty livre aſſignat, others remarked that the children correſponded in number and age with thoſe of the royal family, and all agreed that it was very extraordinary that a Ruſſian baroneſs ſhould be ſo ſtrongly eſcorted by French troops. A party of huſſars under the command of an aid-de-camp of Bouille arrived, and drew up before the door, and were ordered to perform ſome evolutions; the officer commanding the national-guard ſuſpected their intention was to ſeize on two pieces of cannon which had been a few moments before brought in, he ordered them to be planted at the extremeties of the ſtreet, ſo as to place the huſſars between two fires, and addreſſing the huſſars, ſaid he hoped they were too good citizens to aid the flight of the king or in the injury of their brethren. The officer of the huſſars offered to move his corps, but the national-guard who were now drawn up refuſed to let them paſs; the huſſar officer ſtruck at the officer of the national-guard with his ſabre, the latter evaded the ſtroke, and drawing a piſtol wounded the other. The huſſars looked on at the rencontre with perfect complacency, and when their officer was removed for ſurgical aid, they demanded an officer of the national-guard to command them.

Meanwhile DeLon, a judge of the diſtrict, who had frequently ſeen the king, was ſent for, and on his entering the apartment, ſignified by an expreſſive look to the magiſtrates that it was unqueſtionably he. The unhappy prince ſaw that further diſſimulation would be vain, and addreſſed himſelf with great emotion to the magiſtrates—"Yes, I am your

" king—I have fled from Paris, where I was ſurrounded with poniards and bayonets—
" I have come to my faithful ſubjects of this province in ſearch of liberty and ſafety—
" I mean to proceed no farther than Montmedi—I entreat you not to impede me."

The queen alſo addreſſed them, and conjured all around to ſave her and her children: but the magiſtrate was immovable; he produced a copy of the decree which rendered it unlawful for the king to go to a greater diſtance than twenty leagues from the national-aſſembly, that he had ſworn fidelity to the nation and the law, and that their return to Paris was indiſpenſable, and they were obliged to ſet out.

The news of theſe tranſactions were brought to Paris by Margin a ſurgeon, who had been with ſeveral others active in collecting the national-guards. The ſatisfaction which this evidence of the attachment of the people produced in the aſſembly and capital is not to be deſcribed; the uncommon tranquillity that had ſucceeded the firſt conſternation, was not even now diſturbed; the aſſembly with a moderation that was truly humane and dignified, decreed that meaſures ſhould be immediately taken for the protection of the king, the heir to the throne, and the reſt of the royal family, and Petion, Latour-Maubourg, and Barnave, members, were inveſted with full powers, and ordered to proceed to meet them; Bouille was ſuſpended from his functions, and ordered to be arreſted, but he had fled; two commiſſioners were appointed to examine the inferior agents in the flight, and Tronchet, d'Andre, and Duport, to receive the declaration of the king and queen.

The royal family was eſcorted to Paris by a conſiderable body of the national-guard, who encreaſed in numbers as they approached the metropolis, and public tranquillity was ſo well preſerved, that they entered the Thuilleries on the 25th without any diſturbance, and with no apparent inconvenience but the fatigue of the journey. On the 27th the commiſſioners waited on the king and queen to receive their declarations.

The king aſſigned as his principal motives " the inſults he and his family had received, and the danger he conceived them to be in from thoſe inſults not having been puniſhed. That his deſign was not to have quitted the kingdom, but only to repair to Montmedi, where he would have been better ſituated than in the capital, for oppoſing the attempts of foreign powers, and from whence he could have with eaſe repaired to any other part of the frontiers where his preſence might have been requiſite. That another object he had in view was to aſcertain, what the real diſpoſition of the nation was reſpecting the conſtitution, which had been variouſly repreſented to him, but which he now knew to be decidedly in its favour. That he wiſhed to prove to France and all Europe that he was at liberty; and not a priſoner as was believed by many. That as he had it not in his power to quit Paris publicly, he had left it ſecretly; but without any concert with foreign powers, with his own relations, or any French emigrant. That he had ordered the three perſons who had accompanied him as couriers to provide themſelves with travelling jackets, becauſe they were to be ſent with diſpatches, and that he had not communicated any thing more to them until the day of their departure. That the paſſport was obtained for a foreign country, becauſe there are none given for travelling within the kingdom. That if he had intended to go out of the kingdom, he would not have ordered his memorial addreſſed to the French nation to be made public the day after leaving the Thuilleries, but would have delayed until he had at leaſt paſſed the frontiers."

Monſieur and madam, who had taken a different road, were more ſucceſsful in effecting their eſcape, and arrived ſafe at Bruſſels on the 23d.

[redacted]

Hogg = men
Jacob Bender
[redacted]
Wm. F. Holtzman
Alex. Lottlejohn
Martin Lamer
Ed. Ingle
Hiram Jenkins
Leod. Harbaugh
Robt S Meade
Patric Crowley
Tho- Lamer
Steph. Fraunklin
Nathan Davis

[redacted]

The neceſſity of completing the fabric of the conſtitution became now more than ever apparent, and the aſſembly laboured inceſſantly on the municipal code and the organization of the army. In the mean time every precaution was taken to preſerve the peace of the kingdom; and a decree was paſſed, the ſubſtance of which was, that ſuch of the emigrants as did not return within two months ſhould be ſubject to triple taxes for the year 1791.

The flight of the king ſeemed indeed the ſignal for the emigrants to commence their hoſtile proceedings. M. Gazales and ſome others of the ariſtocratic party ſent in their reſignations to the national aſſembly; troops were levied on the frontiers in the king's name, and many of the former officers of the royal regiments had for ſome time exerted themſelves to ſeduce the ſoldiers from their allegiance by promiſes of advancement and high rewards: their attempts, however, were in general without ſucceſs; a circumſtance which has not been adverted to by thoſe who ſuppoſe the attachment of the French ſoldiery to the revolution to have been entirely venal. As theſe levies were made in the name of the king, he thought it proper formally to diſavow them, which he did in a letter to the national aſſembly dated the ſeventh of July.

The return of the king appeared to make very little alteration in the deſigns of the ſovereigns who were confederated againſt France. Spain, indeed, whoſe political intereſts were more diametrically oppoſite to a rupture with France, renewed on the occaſion its profeſſions of amity. The other courts ſtill kept at a diſtance, and the German frontier was crowded with troops, and every where engaged in military preparations. He muſt indeed know little of public affairs, who can ſuppoſe that ſuch a circumſtance could make any alteration in the intentions of the combined courts. The politics of deſpots are always ſelfiſh; increaſe of territory is ſtill their favourite purſuit. It would be weak to ſuppoſe that compaſſion for the emigrants, ſympathy for the king, or even zeal for the maintainance of royal authority, would be motives of themſelves ſtrong enough to engage them in the expences and difficulties of war. A ſtronger incitement muſt be ſuppoſed; and that could be no other than the diſmemberment of France, and the annihilation of her power. Auſtria, victorious and enriched with the ſpoils of France, might gratify the rapacity of Pruſſia with ſome of the petty ſtates of the empire; and that power, which hitherto ſecretly ſtimulated the combination, would at once be left in poſſeſſion of the uncontrouled dominion of the ocean and the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies.

France, however, ſtill continued in too united a ſtate to warrant any immediate enterpriſe againſt her. Addreſſes breathing the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and attachment to the conſtitution poured in from every quarter. Foreigners reſiding in France ſeemed ſolicitous of the honour of being claſſed among her citizens. The conduct of the aſſembly was not unworthy of the confidence which the nation ſeemed to place in its virtue and patrotiſm. Calmneſs, dignity, and moderation characterized its proceedings. Their conduct was the moſt powerful rebuke on the hypocriſy of Lewis. In oppoſition to the republicans, they tenaciouſly adhered to its conſtitutional decree concerning the inviolability of the king's perſon. Even the emigrants were treated with a degree of indulgence: the prince de Condé himſelf, though profeſſedly in a ſtate of war with his country, did not experience either haſte or ſeverity from the

aſſembly. Duveyrier was ſent as envoy to him and the other princes, to ſolicit their return to the enjoyment of happineſs and ſecurity in the boſom of their country; but to their enternal infamy, this ambaſſador of peace was impriſoned, and inſulted in the moſt barbarous manner.

The unanimity which prevailed throughout France, from the time of the king's return till his acceptance of the conſtitution, was however interrupted by a ſhort but diſgraceful riot at Paris Several efforts had been made by ill-diſpoſed perſons, in the pay of the emigrants, and the hoſtile princes, to diſturb the public tranquillity, by circulating liſts of members of the aſſembly who were reported to be bribed to betray their truſt, and other inſidious manœuvres. Theſe efforts however all proved abortive till the morning of the 17th of July, when the magiſtrates were alarmed by the report that a large body of ſeditious perſons were about to aſſemble in the Champ de Mars, the profeſſed object of whom was to petition againſt the re-eſtabliſhment of the king, a meaſure which the Jacobin club had debated warmly. Two of the magiſtrates were ſent to the ſuburb of St. Antoine, where they had the ſatisfaction to find that the alarm was a falſe one and that every thing was quiet. At eleven o'clock, however, two unfortunate perſons, who had ſecreted themſelves under the altar of confederation, were murdered by the mob, on a ſuſpicion that they had intended to blow it up with gunpowder. Three municipal officers were therefore diſpatched, at the head of a battalion of national-guards to ſeize the murderers and diſperſe the inſurgents. The mob attacked the national-guard, and one man had the audacity to fire on La Fayette himſelf. The man was ſeized; but La Fayette, with great generoſity permitted him to eſcape. The red flag was now diſplayed, and martial-law proclaimed. The national-guard was at length obliged to fire upon the people, who did not diſperſe till about twelve were killed, and fifty or ſixty wounded. It was aſſerted, with what truth it is difficult to ſay, that foreign emiſſaries were diſcovered among the populace diſtributing money, and exciting them to rebellion.

Before we paſs the æra marked by the diſſolution of the conſtituent aſſembly, and take up the tranſactions of the ſecond, or legiſlative aſſembly, it may be uſeful to notice ſome events of French affairs in Aſia, which, though not known in Europe at the cloſe of the year 1791, properly belong to this period of hiſtory, and which may ſerve to illuſtrate ſubſequent events of greater magnitude and importance.

In the Weſt-Indies, the numerous and populous colonies of France felt the ſhock of the revolution, with the moſt unhappy effects; her colonies in Aſia had long before this period fallen into inconſequence from the more ſucceſsful enterpriſes and policy of her great rival; reduced however, as the French power and trade was after the treaty of Mangalore, in 1784, the natives of France who remained in Aſia were very numerous; more conſiderable in numbers than any other nation beſide the Britiſh. Long before the revolution, Pondicherry had been diſmantled by the feeble or corrupt counſels of Lewis the Sixteenth; and the African iſland of Mauritius to the ſouthward of the line was by this prepoſterous policy made the emporium of the French oriental commerce. Pondicherry from being the moſt beautiful, healthy, and happy city in Aſia, became through this unacountable and fatal deſertion, a ſolitary and unproductive ſettlement; although ſituated more advantageouſly than Madras the Engliſh capital on the ſame coaſt, it no longer rivalled it. France poſſeſſed on the Malabar coaſt the ſmall ſettlement of Mahé,

and in Bengal, the handſome and healthy town of Chandernagore; a few ſmaller, but inſignificant villages on the ſea coaſts, and a petty factory on the Ganges, conſtituted all the power ſhe had left, who had at no remote period poſſeſſed the aſcendancy over all the European powers in Hinduſtan.

It has been aſſerted that France diſmantled Pondicherry, in the ſame ſpirit that ſhe negociated the commercial treaty of 1786, to conciliate by conceſſion and preſerve peace by removing jealouſies; whether ſuch was her motive, or the ignorance or corruption of her miniſters produced it, at the commencement of the revolution ſhe had not a ſingle offenſive gun mounted, nor two hundred European ſoldiers in all Aſia, and the ſepahis diſtributed on the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, and in Bengal amounting to about the ſame number, were maintained merely for purpoſes of parade, as the guards of the the mimic majeſty of the governors, whoſe duties were rather of a conſular than political nature; perhaps the gaudy and ſuperfluous pomp aſſumed by the French governors, tho' ariſing from their own vanity, was conſtrued by their jealous rivals as an indication of latent deſigns to regain the influence and power which they had once poſſeſſed; the manners of the French, their cheerfulneſs and urbanity, and the unconſtrained civility and deference which they ſhewed for the perſons and prejudices of the natives, had rendered them peculiarly favoured in all parts of Aſia; the ſupercilious reſerve, diſtance, and arrogance of the Engliſh, and the characteriſtic oppreſſion of their government, contributed to render the prepoſſeſſion in favour of their rivals more ſtrong; the period was now arrived to remove ſuch a ſource of conſtant apprehenſion.

The French had ſuffered their alliances in Aſia to decline; they no longer ſupported agents at the durbars of Poonah, Hyderabad, and Myſore, and the ſovereign of the latter alarmed at this apparent defection of the only power to whom he could look for protection againſt the ambition and hatred of the Engliſh, had ſent ambaſſadors to Paris, with a view to renew the alliance; the financial diſtreſſes of France muſt be ſuppoſed to have prevailed on the adminiſtration to reject the temptations held forth on this occaſion, of large extent of dominion on the Malabar coaſt. Notwithſtanding, the aſſurances of a good underſtanding were given, and a treaty of friendſhip without any military ſtipulations was ratified, and they returned home with a number of able artificers in various branches.

This tranſaction was a ſtrong cauſe of diſquietude to the Engliſh, and Tippoo Sultaun by ſtudiouſly concealing his want of ſucceſs involved his intentions in perplexing myſtery: in the month of June 1789, he marched a body of troops againſt the fortreſs of Cranganore over which he claimed a ſpecies of feudal ſovereignty; this place had been ſome time a ſubject of diſpute between the Dutch, to whom it formerly belonged, the ſovereign of Myſore, in whoſe territory it ſtood, and the rajah of Travancore, an ally of the Engliſh, who had been prompted by the latter to purchaſe the Dutch claim and take upon himſelf the ſovereignty: this ſtroke of policy was calculated to expulſe the Dutch from that coaſt, to defeat the deſigns of the ſultaun, who had long turned his mind to a naval eſtabliſhment, and ultimately to ſecure the monopoly of the whole Malabar trade. Tippoo did not attack the place till the twenty-ninth of December, when he commenced a heavy fire on the principal work, but Mr. Powney an agent of the Engliſh had arrived from Madras, and now ſignified to the ſultaun that the rajah was their ally; he immediately ceaſed hoſtility, and offered to ſubmit his claims to ſuch amicable arbitration as the Engliſh might think proper; but the overland diſpatches from Europe in January 1790, had ſuperceded any diſpoſition which they might have entertained to an equitable adjuſtment.

Tippoo had inceſſantly employed himſelf in urging the Engliſh government to prevail on the rajah to relinquiſh Cranganore, and offered to indemnify him for expences incurred on that account; he ſtill lay encamped in his former ſtation, when on the firſt of March his camp was ſuddenly ſtormed by the rajah; the reſiſtance under all the circumſtances was brave but deſparate; the rajah however poſſeſſed the ſuperiority in an artillery admirably ſerved by Europeans who had been ſecretly detached from Madras.

While Tippoo lay in falſe ſecurity within his lines from December to March, a treaty had been concluded between the Paiſhwah of the Mahrattahs, the Nizam, and the Engliſh, the principle and object of which was the partition of his dominions between the allies; and the public motives aſſigned for commencing the war were —firſt, the attack upon the rajah of Travancore, whoſe cauſe was repreſented as ſacred, he being deſcended from the ancient Zamorins; ſecondly, that Hyder Ali having uſurped the throne of Myſore, and placed the legitimate ſovereigns in confinement, where they were ſtill retained by Tippoo, the allies felt themſelves called upon to expel the uſurper, to reſtore the two hereditary princes, and to reconquer ſuch territories as the uſurpers had annexed to the original dominion of Myſore from the ſpoliation of its neighbours.

It belongs not to the hiſtory of France to detail the operations of this war, which commenced with declarations ſo humane and regardful of the ancient hereditary ſovereigns of India, and which ended in a treaty wherein thoſe ſacred and venerable objects were not ſo much as mentioned; but as the diſaſtrous circumſtances of France preſented a juncture favorable to the allied powers, and the want of a very ſlender ſupport from France rendered the ſubjugation of the ſultaun eaſy, which otherwiſe could not have been accompliſhed; the circumſtances link it with the general effects of the revolution.

Party ſpirit, which has manifeſted itſelf ſo unhappily in Europe, appeared among the French in the firſt moment of the intelligence that a revolution had taken place; the French governors bred up in military habits, and many others ſwayed by prejudices and intereſt, took a deciſive part on the ſide of the ancient government; but the greater number appeared rather to anticipate a republican government that the middle path of limited monarchy, and openly and proudly exulted in the freedom of their counrry. Through this diviſion it was that in the armies of Tippoo Sultaun the French engineers and officers no longer gave his operations that conſequence which they had formerly ſuſtained. The advocates of the ancient French government were openly and avowedly ſupported by the Engliſh governors, and did not therefore join the Sultaun; the friends of French freedom diſdained the ſervice in the warmth of their enthuſiaſm; and a few adventurers of no principle and without capacity were Tippoo's only auxiliaries againſt the moſt powerful alliance Aſia had ever known.

Engroſſed by her concerns at home, the French government appeared to have relinquiſhed all concerns for Aſia; they had ſent general Conway, an officer who had ſerved with the French troops in the American revolution, to Mauritius as governor-general of their oriental affairs, a colonel Dupleſſis commanded at Pondicherry, and the chevalier Montigny at Chandernagore; who were all adverſe to the popular party. The coloniſts however adopted the example of the mother country, and formed municipal councils in the different colonies; they inſiſted on repreſentative adminiſtration, but left the execution of the laws and the command of their few military to the governors.

Some reſiſtance was made at Mauritius to this ſpirit of innovation by governor Conway; Macnamara, a captain of a French ſhip of the line, in conſequence of ſome ſeverity which he had employed againſt the popular party, was maſſacred in the ſtreets of the capital of that iſland, and Conway ſoon after eſcaped.

At Pondicherry, though party ſpirit prevailed, no diſaſters took place until the ſiege and capture after the declaration of war.

But Chandernagore, though inferior in extent and opulence, preſented ſome events, though not productive of bloodſhed, which deſerve particular notice. Montigny who was a colonel in the army, had before the coloniſts took upon them to accomodate the laws to freedom, maintained a ſyſtem in his government much better calculated to enrich himſelf than to render happineſs to the coloniſts; the ſcrutiny which the municipality had made into his adminiſtration had produced unpleaſant diſcoveries, which gave him offence, and having the ſoldiers under his command, he determined to employ force to maintain his authority; the colony is about twenty-ſix miles above Calcutta, upon the river Hoogly, and Montigny, who had maintained a good underſtanding with Cornwallis, applied on this occaſion for cannon and ammunition; Montigny in the mean time had removed to Ghyretty, a ſumptuous palace appropriated for their governors, two miles from Chandernagore, and had carried with him the records, and the military conſiſting of about forty Europeans and eighty Sepahis, under the command of major Fremont, an old and experienced officer; at this place he was ſupplied with two ſix-pounders and powder and ball from Fort-William, and an augmentation of his Sepahis.

Theſe tranſactions took place before the cloſe of the year 1790; about the beginning of the following year the coloniſts had in conſequence of the removal of the military found it neceſſary to form themſelves into militia, or national-guards, Montigny having intimated an intention to ſeize upon ſome members of the municipality; the Engliſh government had been already inſtructed from Europe upon the mode of its deportment towards the French in Aſia, and this military array of the coloniſts was ſeized upon to manifeſt the diſpoſition of earl Cornwallis towards the friends of the revolution. Upon a preſumption that the article of a treaty which prohibited the conſtruction of a foſſe, or ditch, round that colony, forbad by implication the maintenance of any military equipment beyond the number kept for the governor's guard, he notified the colonial municipality, that if they did not ceaſe from their military proceedings he ſhould march a body of troops to compel them. The coloniſts immediately deputed three of their repreſentatives to Calcutta, but their remonſtrance would not be heard unleſs through the medium of Montigny, whoſe functions it was known the coloniſts had ſuſpended upon a charge of treaſon. It is not an unimportant circumſtance in theſe tranſactions to notice, that although the colony might before the revolution have contained about fifteen thouſand, of which nearly a thouſand of both ſexes were Europeans or their deſcendants, that at this period the whole number who had aſſumed the military duties did not amount to two hundred perſons of every colour. Two battalions of Engliſh ſepahis, of twelve hundred men each, ſuddenly paſſed the river Hoogly, from their cantontments at Barrakpore, and appeared before the French colony; feeble in number and taken by ſurprize, the coloniſts loſt no time in diſembarking a few iron guns from two French trading veſſels that lay off the town, theſe were planted in commanding poſitions in the ſtreets, on breaſtworks and traverſes rapidly thrown up, while Cabareux, the preſident for the month, proceeded with a flag of truce

to learn the cauſe and deſign of this hoſtile appearance. The Engliſh officer ſignified that his orders were to ſuppreſs the military parade that was carrying on in the colony contrary to treaty, to reſtrain their licentious proceedings which held forth ſo bad an example to the neighbouring colonies and the natives in general, and to reſtore the king's repreſentative to his legal authority. The coloniſts however peremptorily refuſed to concede in any reſpect; they remonſtrated on the impropriety of the interference of a nation at peace with France, in her internal affairs, and concluded with a wiſh to preſerve an honorable harmony with the Engliſh people, of whoſe regards they would prove themſelves worthy ſhould their new-born liberties be attacked. The Engliſh remained in that poſition for two days, but finding their threats unavailing, decamped and recroſſed the river in the night.

The town once more aſſumed an aſpect of peace; the hoſtile appearance of the Engliſh determined the coloniſts to adopts meaſures of more vigour; they had for ſome time been in poſſeſſion of deciſive evidence of a ſecret correſpondence between Montigny and the Engliſh governor-general; they had diſcovered that the former had received important diſpatches from Europe and Mauritius which had been communicated to Cornwallis, and that ſeveral conſiderable ſums of money had been paid to Montigny from the private agents of earl Cornwallis, Meſſrs. Burgh and Barber of Calcutta, to Vialars a French merchant in that city, the agent of Montigny, and for his uſe.

Though the coloniſts were few in number, and the moſt opulent had removed to the neighboring ſettlements, they were not deprived of men of talents and intrepidity: the moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe was Richemont, procureur-du-roy, who continued to perform the functions of that office under the municipality; he had been bred up under Turgot, and in his various relations private and public proved himſelf a diſciple worthy of ſuch a man; long before the revolution his love of liberty and literary talents had rendered him beloved by the Engliſh in Bengal, he was not leſs admired by his own countrymen, who now recogniſed in his conduct the realization of his long-eſtabliſhed opinions; to him was committed the execution of an enterprize, calculated to relieve the colony from the intrigues of their depoſed governor and to bring him before the tribunal of juſtice in France.

A corvette was expeditiouſly equipped to convey diſpatches, oſtenſibly for Pondicherry and Mauritius, but really for Europe, while the chevalier Montigny and others of the ex-coloniſts were confidently entrenched with their Engliſh artillery at Ghyretty. A ſelect party of thirty perſons, was divided into three, under the guidance of Richemont, Micheli a phyſician, and Maurevert a ſerjeant of the old artillery; one of theſe ſubdiviſions was to fall down the river with the tide, ſo as to reach the front of the palace at the appointed hour; a ſecond was to ſcale the garden walls in the rear, and the main diviſion to approach by the avenue in front, where the cannon were planted. At eleven o'clock at night a rocket from each party certified their punctual arrival at their ſtations; they directly marched forward; the cannon were ſeized without a ſhot fired, and pointed toward the court yard, the ſepahis diſarmed, and every one being provided with torches, they were ſuddenly lighted, which ſerved to inform the parties who had taken poſſeſſion of the ammunition near the water-ſide, the other who had ſeized upon the chevalier and the reſt, of their common ſucceſs; among the captives were major Fremont, and Bretel celebrated for his enormous peculations in the hoſpital of invalids at Paris, theſe and the governor were directly marched priſoners with the cannon to Chandernagore, the ladies eight in number were left to their own diſcretion, and the other gentlemen were detained on parole till

morning. But the moſt important conſequence of this enterprize was the ſeizure of all Montigny's papers, among which were ſeveral in the hand-writing of Cornwallis, completely ſubſtantiating the moſt abandoned delinquency of their captive, and developing the diſpoſitions of the Engliſh government towards the French revolution.

After the delay neceſſary to tranſcribe this treaſonable correſpondence, Montigny was embarked on the corvette, to be ſent to Europe; and had proceeded as far as the mouth of the Ganges, when the corvette was brought to by two Engliſh armed veſſels, on board of which was a conſiderable detachment of European troops under the command of captain Apſley the aid-de-camp of the Engliſh governor-general, who demanded the liberation of Montigny; the French captain refuſed, and the Engliſh veſſels fired into her; whereupon the French officer fired a ſhot and ſtruck his colours, and the veſſel was brought up to Calcutta. Montigny was provided with a paſſage to England by the Engliſh government.

Cornwallis ſoon after proceeded to the command of the army in Myſore, and when on the declaration of war in 1792, all the French ſettlement swere ſeized upon, the coloniſts of Chandernagore, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the original letters of Cornwallis were treated with a ſeverity that exhibited a very extraordinary contraſt with his acknowlegements of the kindneſs which he had experienced from the French when he was himſelf a priſoner at York-town.

Thus ended the French power in Aſia, a power which though ſlender at the commencement of the revolution, is not likely to be reſtored even to that inſignificant conſequence, unleſs ſome great and unforeſeen change ſhould annihilate that aſtoniſhing dominion of its rival, which is now ſuſtained by the breath of opinion only.

The period now approached, when the conſtituent aſſembly were to terminate their labours. A committee had been for ſome time employed in compiling and digeſting into a code the conſtitutional decrees, and on the 4th of Auguſt it was read to the aſſembly by Thouret, and debated article by article on the following days. On the 3d of September it was preſented to the king. He ſignified his acceptance of it in writing on the 13th; and the following day he appeared at the aſſembly, introduced by a deputation of ſixty members, and ſolemnly conſecrated the aſſent which he had already given, and concluded with an oath "to be faithful to the nation and to the law, and to employ the powers veſted in him for the maintenance of the conſtitution, and the due execution of the law."

While the conſtitutional act was in agitation, an additional decree was paſſed, importing that no branch of the royal family ſhould be competent to exerciſe any employment in the gift of the people; and on the thirtieth of September, 1791, having firſt taken the meaſures for the introduction of their ſucceſſors, the conſtituent national aſſembly terminated an uninterrupted ſeſſion of two years and four months, and ſpontaneouſly diſſolved itſelf.

The celebrity of this aſſembly will be as durable as the hiſtory of the French nation: compoſed of a variety of characters, men educated under the moſt ſeducing and impoſing prejudices, and others elevated above the ordinary imperfections and propenſities of vitiated humanity, by the ſuperior influence of philoſophy in a reaſoning age; mixed with men of habits formed under and minds rooted in deſpotiſm, and others of talents the moſt ſplendid with morals the moſt relaxed; called together under circumſtances which

could not have been foreſeen, and to rectify evils which no preceding example could afford principles to proceed by; exhibiting an intelligence ſo general, a diſintereſtneſs ſo predominant; public ſpirit governed by the broadeſt maxims of humanity; moderation in power, and forbearance under injury and provocation,—form ſuch a rare combination of objects deſerving admiration, as no preceding hiſtory can afford; that there appeared ſome blemiſhes in their proceedings is not ſo extraordinary as that they were ſo few, when it is conſidered that the power of an intriguing court, a corrupt nobility, and an opulent and bigotted clergy, were oppoſed to them—that party obſtructed and ſometimes diſtracted their deliberations; and under all theſe difficultes, ſo greatly ſuperior was the good they performed, that the evil into which they were ſometimes betrayed, is obliterated in the beneficence and grandeur of the former.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

WITH the conſtituent aſſembly the power and dignity of the monarchy diſappeared. The new aſſembly conſiſted chiefly of country gentlemen, whoſe experience in political affairs rendered them incompetent to act for themſelves, and made them the paſſive inſtruments of a party, which though not numerous, compenſated for this defect by its talents, activity, and boldneſs: It conſiſted of men of letters, many of whom but not all of the higheſt rank in literature. Many editors of newſpapers, and publiſhers of periodical journals were, elevated to the rank of ſenators; it would be uncandid in the extreme, to conſider all the members of this deſcription, or equally unfit for their new ſtation. The great majority of them were decided republicans; but ſome were mere enthuſiaſts in this ſyſtem, while the object of a few others was undoubtedly to gratify their private ambition, or to ſatiate their private revenge. In this point, however, they were all agreed, that no government but a pure democracy was adapted to the condition of free men, and that France would never be happy and flouriſhing till every veſtige of monarchy was finally obliterated. This point they determined to enforce, and the event of the times put into their hands the means by which it was to be accompliſhed.

Such was the general outline of the firſt legiſlative aſſembly, as it was called, though we muſt except from cenſure ſome reſpectable and independent characters, who fall properly under neither claſſes which we have deſcribed. The aſſembly met on the firſt of October, and the following day proceeded to the verification of their powers. On

the third Paſtoret was elected preſident, and Francois, Garron de Coulon, Cerutti, Lacepede, and Guyton-Morveau, were proclaimed ſecretaries. On the fourth all the members of the aſſembly took the conſtitutional oath in the following terms:

"I ſwear to maintain to the utmoſt of my power, the conſtitution of the kingdom, decreed by the conſtituent national aſſembly in the years 1789, 1790, 1791; and neither to propoſe nor conſent to any thing, during the continuance of this legiſlature, which may be injurious or contrary to it; and to be in every thing faithful to the nation, the law, and the king."

A deputation of the members was at the ſame time appointed to wait on the king, to acquaint his majeſty that the aſſembly was finally conſtituted.

The ſpirit with which the future deliberations of this aſſembly were to be conducted, ſoon began to manifeſt itſelf. On the return of the deputation to the aſſembly on the fifth, the reporter having ſtated that the king had informed them by the miniſter of juſtice, that he would receive the deputation at nine o'clock, one of the republican members adverted to a decree in the month of July 1789, which enacted that the aſſembly and its deputations ſhould correſpond directly with the king, and not through the medium of the miniſters: that decree was therefore re-enacted, and enforced with peculiar rigour.

The king having announced that he would repair to the aſſembly on Friday the twelfth, it was next debated in what manner he ſhould be received. In the decree that followed this debate, a trifling ſpirit was evinced. The moment the king entered the aſſembly, the members were to riſe uncovered; but as ſoon as he arrived at the bar, they were to ſit down and cover themſelves. The king was to be ſeated on the *left* of the preſident, not on an elevated throne, but on a ſimilar ſeat to that of the preſident. Theſe petty formalities were as impolitic as they were inconſiſtent with magnanimity, and utterly unbecoming.

Previous to the arrival of the king on the ſeventh, ſeveral deputations appeared at the bar, among the reſt, one from the commons of Paris, which renewed their proteſtations to maintain the conſtitution inviolate; the king alſo ſent a written notice, that he had appointed Bertrand to be the naval miniſter in the room of Thevenard.

Notwithſtanding the jealouſy which had been manifeſted by the aſſembly on the fifth, and the deſire which they had ſince ſhewn of degrading the regal dignity, yet the firſt meeting between the king and the legiſlature was cordial. The accommodating temper of Lewis did not permit him to ſhew reſentment, and the courteſy and affability with which he entered the hall, rendered the moſt determined republicans reſpectful. The king addreſſed the aſſembly in a judicious and patriotic oration. He pointed out briefly to them the nature of the duties they had undertaken to perform, and recommended ſome objects as requiring inſtant attention. The ſtate of the finances, he obſerved, was ſuch as required ſtrong and ſpeedy exertions to eſtabliſh an enquilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure; to accelerate the aſſeſſment and collection of taxes, and to introduce an invariable order into all the departments of this immenſe adminiſtration. The reviſion of the civil code was alſo an object which he recommended to their care; and the ſimplifying the mode of proceeding, ſo as to render the attainment of juſtice more eaſy and more prompt.

He proceeded to enlarge on the neceſſity of a ſyſtem of national education; on the organization of the army, aud the propriety of reſtoring order and diſcipline. He ſtated his hopes that the nation would not be troubled by any attack from abroad; reccommended, in a ſtile of paternal regard, unanimity and unalterable confidence between the two great branches of government, the legiſlative and executive powers, as he pointedly remarked that the enemies to the proſperity of the country were continually labouring to diſunite them.

The ſpeech of the king was received with unbounded applauſes, and the preſident replied in terms of confidence and reſpect. He complimented the king on his appearance among the repreſentatives of the nation, which he termed a new engagement with the country. He obſerved that the conſtitution, ſo far from diminiſhing the real power of the king, had only placed it on the firmeſt foundation; it had converted thoſe into friends, who had formerly been termed ſubjects; and had made him the firſt monarch in the world. He concluded with expreſſing the wiſh of the aſſembly to co-operate with the benevolent views of the king, to purify the buſineſs of legiſlation, to re-animate public credit, to repreſs anarchy. "Such, ſire," ſaid he, "is our duty, ſuch are our earneſt wiſhes, ſuch are yours; ſuch are our hopes, the gratitude and bleſſings of the people will be our reward."

It would have been a circumſtance truly fortunate for France if theſe ſentiments had been fulfilled, or if this ſpecious harmony had continued unbroken; but it was not the republican ardour of the new legiſlators, which revived the jealouſy between the executive and legiſlative powers; a ſtill more potent cauſe exiſted externally, which we have already noticed at large. The hoſtile preparations of the emperor and the continental powers did not end with the rejection of his plan; the veil of ſecrecy, which they caſt over their proceedings, the vague and obſcure terms in which they expreſſed themſelves, compared with the open boaſts and the imprudent and intemperate declarations of the emigrant princes and nobility, contributed to excite in the minds of the people a variety of ſuſpicions, in which all the perſons connected with the court were occaſionally involved.

To unravel more explicitly the cauſe of theſe fatal jealouſies, and in reality of all the unfortunate circumſtances which afterwards afflicted this unhappy and diſtracted country, it will be neceſſary to have a retroſpect once more to a tranſaction which occured ſome months previous to the period of which we are now treating, but which was then faintly known by the vague inſinuation of rumour, or by the unconnected intimations of ſome whoſe information appears to have been founded upon the moſt competent evidence.

The meeting of great and powerful princes, a writer on the revolution quaintly obſerves, like certain conjunctions of the heavenly bodies, have always been omenous to the peace and happineſs of the world. Towards the cloſe of the ſummer of this year, an extraordinary convention of this kind was held at Pilnitz in Saxony, between the emperor Leopold and the king of Pruſſia, as avowed principals, by whom a treaty was formed, in which other powers were comprehended and afterwards avowed. The profeſſed object of this treaty was ſufficiently profligate and atrocious. It was the hoſtile invaſion of France, and the overthrow of its newly eſtabliſhed form of government. An obſervation here forces itſelf upon the mind on this occaſion, that this conſpiration which

was thus early formed not alone againſt the legiſlative rights of nations, but to ſubjugate and partition thoſe nations of Europe which manifeſted the moſt ardent devotion for freedom, preceded that republican enthuſiaſm which at a ſubſequent period was ſeized upon by the conſpiring kings as a juſtification of this flagrant combination of deſpotiſm, rapacity, and injuſtice. Perhaps the diſcovery of this ſtupenduous ſcheme of ambitious turpitude may be conſidered as a powerful ſtimulus to the republicans to raiſe a counter-project of revolutionary affiliation throughout Europe, in order to counteract and oppoſe the more imminent danger by which they were menaced. Neither can it eſcape attention, that at the period of this convention, the Poliſh conſtitution had been already converted from an elective into an hereditary monarchy, and the period of the flight of the French king compared with that of this convention, would place it beyond queſtion, if there were not other evidence, that the ſafety or ſecurity of Lewis had no ſhare in their motives.

But that the united objects of regal aggrandizement, the obſtruction of free government, and a particular vengeance againſt France, actuated the conſpirators is not a matter of ſimple deduction from concurring appearances; for although the ſpecific articles of the treaty of Pilnitz have not been publiſhed hitherto, diplomatic induſtry has been ſo ſucceſsful as to diſcover the principal actors and the principal facts, and to develope another treaty concluded at Pavia the ſixth of July, 1791, only ſixteen days after the flight of Lewis and twelve after his return to Paris. This treaty, which appears to have been the baſis of that of Pilnitz, was firſt diſcovered by the interception of a circular letter from the emperor to the ſeveral powers of Europe, dated at Pavia in July, wherein he invites them to co-operate in a vigorous reſiſtance to principles ſo obnoxious to the ſacred ſovereignty of kings which had pervaded France, and threatened to extend over the whole face of Europe. A peruſal of the treaty itſelf, which was not publicly known till a later period, will diſcover the means by which theſe formidable terrors were to be encountered, and with what magnanimous regards for the ſovereignty of France.

This treaty declaredly againſt the novel innovations of France, conſiſts of fourteen articles, of which the following is a tranſcript:—

"His majeſty the emperor will retake all that Lewis XIV. conquered in the Auſtrian "Netherlands; and uniting theſe provinces to the ſaid Netherlands, will give them to his "ſerene highneſs the elector-palatine, ſo that theſe new poſſeſſions, added to the palatin-"ate, may hereafter have the name of Auſtraſia.

"His majeſty the emperor will preſerve, for ever, the property and poſſeſſion of "Bavaria, to make in future an individual maſs with the domains and hereditary poſ-"ſeſſions of the houſe of Auſtria.

"Her ſerene highneſs the archduchеſs Maria-Chriſtina ſhall be, conjointly with his "ſerene highneſs her nephew, the archduke Charles, put into poſſeſſion of the duchy of "Lorraine, which ſhall be hereditary.

"Alſace ſhall be reſtored to the empire; and the biſhop and chapter of Straſburg ſhall "be reſtored to their ancient privileges, as well as the other eccleſiaſtical ſovereigns of "Germany.

"If the Swiſs Cantons accede and agree to this coalition, it may be propoſed to them "to annex to the Helvetic league the biſhopric of Porentrui, the defiles of Franche-"comté, and even thoſe of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailiwicks, as well as the "territory of Verſoy which interſects the country of Vaud.

" Should his majeſty the king of Sardinia ſubſcribe to the coalition, Breſſe, Pugey,
" and the territory of Gex, uſurped by France from Savoy, ſhall be reſtored to him.
" In caſe his Sardinian majeſty can make a grand diverſion, he ſhall be ſuffered to take
" Dauphiné, and to become his for ever, as the neareſt deſcendant of the ancient dauphins.
" His majeſty the king of Spain ſhall have Rouſſilon and Bearn, with the iſland of
" Corſica, and the French part of St. Domingo.
" Her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias ſhall take upon herſelf the invaſion of
" Poland, and at the ſame time retain Kaminieck, with that part of Podolia which bor-
" ders on Moldavia.
" His majeſty the emperor ſhall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the
" ſmall forts of Servia, and thoſe on the river Lurna.
" His majeſty the king of Pruſſia by means of the above invaſion of Poland, ſhall ob-
" tain Dantzic and Thorn, and there unite the palatinate on the eaſt to the confines of
" Sileſia. He ſhall beſide acquire Luſace, and his ſerene highneſs the elector of Saxony
" ſhall in exchange receive the reſt of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary
" ſovereign. The preſent king of Poland ſhall retire on a penſion.
" The elector of Saxony ſhall give his daughter in marriage to the youngeſt ſon of
" the grand-duke of all the Ruſſias, who will be the father of the hereditary kings of
" Poland and Lithuania.

Signed—" Leopold, Prince Naſſau, count Florida Blanca, Biſchoffswerder."*

Though this treaty is ſufficiently atrocious, we find that in proportion with their acceſſion of power their projects were amplified and extended; the league of Pilnitz, which was concluded the next month, (it was ſigned the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, 1791,) comprehended projects ſtill more offenſive if poſſible to the dictates of juſtice, and to the peace of Europe. The empreſs of Ruſſia had become a principal; Poland and France inſtead of being ſubdued for hereditary kings, were to be partitioned among the conquerors, and the Germanic circles modelled anew. Myſterious and dark as theſe combinations were, their proceedings and plans were penetrated; a man of letters, animated by the ſpirit of liberty and trembling for the deſtiny of France, communicated an outline of the deſign to ſeveral of the literary men of Europe, through whom it ſpeedily reached Paris.

France at the moment when this royal banditti were plotting againſt her peace, might be ſaid literally to be in a ſtate of internal tranquillity. There exiſted parties, it is true, as muſt exiſt in every country newly reſcued from the dominion of prejudices and abuſes; a large portion of her citizens were deſirous of a republican government, but a ſtill larger portion were decidedly attached to their king, and the intereſts of the great body of the people were a powerful pledge for his ſecurity and their moderation. Had the conſpiring powers been truly ſolicitous for the good of Lewis, they would not have overlooked the danger to which they expoſed him by their public declarations that his cauſe was theirs, and the ſuſpicious ſecrecy of their proceedings; they would have conſidered that plots are calculated to ſucceed in times of confuſion alone; that bad citizens only have need of war, of internal diſtreſs to foſter their purpoſes of profit, power, or revenge; that where a nation is divided into two parties, to threaten the nation is to unite the whole for

* The king of England openly acceded to this treaty in March 1792; and the Stadtholder ſoon after, with a condition that the arrangements of their limits ſhould be made with the emperor, according to the deſire of their high-mightineſſes, before the partition. Spain renounced it before her treaty with France.

common defence; and in the ſpirit of their own Machiavelian policy, they ought to have known, that it is in times of peace and tranquillity, when the people feel themſelves happy, proſperous, and unſuſpicious, that the monarchical authority obtains full ſway, and imperceptibly accumulates power; and that under every ſuppoſed diſadvantage there remained to Lewis an immenſe civil-liſt, and a patronage in all the departments of the ſtate, which afforded to the monarch an extenſive influence.

But if we conſider the conduct of thoſe princes towards Poland, we no longer doubt of their motives, or of their indifference for the ſafety of Lewis or the happineſs of France; in a word their practice was in manifeſt contradiction with their profeſſions—the means employed were the worſt calculated for the ends oſtenſibly propoſed. But we cannot better deſcribe the conduct of the coaleſced powers than in the words of a writer whoſe authority on the ſide of the royal party cannot be queſtioned—the celebrated Calonne, who was himſelf one of the moſt active agents in promoting the conſpiracy and whoſe ſpirit appears to pervade every ſubſequent treachery againſt the freedom of France:—"We ſhall not heſitate to diſcloſe," ſays Calonne, "what no pains have been taken "to conceal: a throne was to be eſtabliſhed, and its fall has diffuſed apparent ſatisfaction; "an oſtentatious deſire was ſhewn of retrieving, but ſoon was evinced the manifeſt pur-"poſe of diſmembering the empire; thoſe who announced themſelves as auxiliaries, ſoon "behaved as invaders; oppreſſion was to be oppoſed, and unbluſhing examples of it "were given; the world was ſcandalized by a ferocious rapacity, when it was of ſo much "importance that it ſhould be edified by ſingular acts of juſtice; and a war which ought "to be a war of general intereſt, honour, and generoſity, is become a war of aggran-"diſement, ſelfiſhneſs, and illiberal views."*

The convention of Pilnitz was not a ſecret in France, though the full extent of the terms and conditions of the treaty were but imperfectly underſtood. It was impoſſible then in the nature of things that it could be known, that a concert of princes was formed for the expreſs purpoſe of invading the country, of overturning the conſtitution, of re-eſtabliſhing deſpotic authority, and that the minds of the people ſhould not be agitated with fears and with ſuſpicions. It was next to impoſſible that a part of theſe ſuſpicions ſhould not fall upon the court. The queen in particular had never been popular, and ever ſince the revolution, candor obliges us to confeſs, her conduct was not guarded with that ſtrictneſs of prudence and reſerve which the circumſtances of the times required. The fatal flight of the king could not be eradicated from the minds of the people, and an imprudent proclamation of Bouille, equal in acrimony to that of one Arnold on a ſimilar occaſion, could not be recollected without reſentment and apprehenſion. The republican party eagerly took advantage of theſe circumſtances; the atrocity of the monarchical combination required not to be magnified, but the whole was laid to the charge of the court and of Lewis.

The ſtate of the public mind and the grand conſpiration abroad were ſeized upon with avidity and alarm by the Jacobin ſociety who at this period had obtained the plenitude of influence and power. The hiſtory of this club becomes intimately blended with that of the revolutioon. We ſhall therefore trace its origin and anticipate its character. Originally it conſiſted of a ſelect aſſociation of literary men, not exceeding forty, who

* Political ſtate of Europe for 1796, by M. Calonne, p. 19.

met in private, long before the aſſembly of the ſtates-general, for the purpoſe of diſſeminating political knowledge among the maſs of the people. There was formed about the ſame period a club of a more enlarged nature, called the Breton club, with which this was incorporated during the firſt ſeſſion of the national aſſembly at Verſailles; upon the eſtabliſhment of the firſt conſtitution, it publicly aſſumed the title of "*The friends of the conſtitution*," and was removed to Paris with the public authorities; its members having augmented, at once from its novelty and the celebrity of the characters who compoſed it; upon the diſſolution of the monaſtic orders, the hall of the Jacobin friars became their place of meeting, and from thence derived the title by which they have been ſince deſignated. While it aſſembled at Verſailles, as well as after its removal to Paris, public topics were ſyſtematically diſcuſſed, particularly ſuch as were to become ſubjects of diſcuſſion in the aſſembly. Their debates were open to the hearing of numerous companies, and the plaudits of the galleries were incitements to general emulation. They had a preſident, ſecretaries, and minutes of proceedings, and appeared in every reſpect as an epitome of the national aſſembly, of whoſe members it was likewiſe principally compoſed.

At this period and after the cloſe of the national aſſembly, its members uniformly conſiſted of the avowed enemies of the ancient deſpotiſm, for the friends of liberty had yet deemed it improper to endanger freedom itſelf by dividing on the modifications under which it ought to be enjoyed; truth therefore was ſpontaneouſly elicited in their diſcuſſions, talents were diſplayed, the public mind was enlightened, and the ſociety was eſteemed as the cradle of the revolution. After the meeting of the legiſlative aſſembly, and the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution, ſeveral members whoſe wiſhes were accompliſhed with what was done, conceiving their meetings no longer neceſſary, retired, and left the ſociety to thoſe who did not think freedom yet ſecurely eſtabliſhed.

The moſt able and diſtinguiſhed of theſe however were republicans, and conſiſted of thoſe who at ſubſequent periods were denominated Girondiſts, Briſſotines, Politiques, the Mountain, and Dantoniſts; theſe in general might be conſidered as the decided enemies monarchy and hereditary diſtinctions, and who ſubſequently fell the victims of men who latterly joined them, and at length converted that which was the nurſery of thoſe principles which finally triumphed in the conſtitution of 1795, the temporary engine of the moſt tremenduous tyranny and proſcription.

It is a common error in calculating upon human affairs, to generaliſe the principles of aſſociations of men like properties of inanimate bodies, but without allowing for the diſſimilar fluctuations and viciſſitudes, the variatious to which the numbers, opinions, and motives of ſocieties and individuals are liable: thus it is that this ſociety has become the byeword of reproach, aud that the good which it performed in the early period of its inſtitution has been blended with the evil of which it was made the inſtrument, when under the ſanction of its liberal fame villains not only violated all its principles but uſurped that deſpotiſm which it was conſtituted to deſtroy: thus it is that hypocrites and the advocates of exorbitant power, under the pretence of humanity, by confounding the virtuous actions of one ſet of men with the crimes of another, under the name of Jacobiniſm, inſidiouſly attempt to wound civil liberty itſelf: thus it is that the enemies of freedom and traitors to virtue attempt to veil their perfidy under a baſe deluſion.

The perturbed ſtate of the public mind was manifeſted in the aſſembly even ſo early as in the evening ſeſſion of the 8th of October, when the miniſters were introduced

into the assembly to render an account of their proceedings. On Montmorin being questioned with respect to the correspondence maintained with foreign powers, he replied, that the intercourse with other nations had ceased during the suspension of the royal authority, and had only recommenced from the king's acceptance of the constitution. "I move," said Lacroix with that impetuosity which distinguishes the nation, "that the "minister for foreign affairs be obliged to answer more pointedly. However the royal "functions may have been suspended, have we ceased to maintain ambassadors at these "courts? These ambassadors must have been acquainted with whatever occurs at their "respective courts, and they ought to have informed the minister."—"It is this corres-"pondence," added he, "which I wish to be laid open." After some altercation, a series of interrogatories was put to Montmorin, and the substance of his replies went to establish his former proposition, that the intercourse with foreign courts having ceased for a time, he had nothing official or satisfactory to produce on that subject; that the correspondence alluded to contained nothing but vague and unsupported rumours, which it would be even *dangerous to reveal;* and that when any thing of certainty occurred, he would not fail to communicate it.

The subject was renewed on the succeeding day, and a decree was passed, ordering that the ministers should be obliged to inform the assembly on these several points, the state and arms of the national-guards destined for the frontiers; the motives for retarding the national Gendarmerie; the neglect in replacing those officers in the troops of the line, who had deserted their corps; the delay in sending arms to the departments of the Haute-Loire, the Haute Vienne, the Haute-Rhin, &c.; concerning the slowness of the recruiting service, the want of provisions in the frontier places, and the neglect in providing arms, &c. On the 11th, the minister at war read a long *memoire* on the actual state of his department, and he appeared to clear up the doubtful points so much to the satisfaction of the assembly that his report was ordered to be printed.

The emigrants still continued to assemble in considerable bodies upon the frontiers, and the brothers of the king to issue hostile proclamations. It became necessary therefore to pursue more rigorous measures, and to take some immediate steps to repel the approaching danger. The first measure which the assembly thought proper to employ on this occasion respected the right of Monsieur to the regency, in case of the death of the king; and, after some deliberation, the assembly passed a decree nearly in the following terms:

"The national assembly, considering that Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, being next in succession to the regency, is absent from the kingdom—In virtue of an article in the second section of the French constitution, decrees that the said Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, is required to return to the kingdom within the space of two months from the day in which the proclamation of the legislative body shall have been published in Paris.

"In case the said L. S. Xavier, French prince, shall fail to return to the kingdom within the period above signified, he shall then be deemed to have forfeited his right to the regency, in virtue of the second article of the constitutional act. The assembly further decrees, that conformably to the decree of the thirtieth of this month (October) a proclamation to this effect shall be printed, affixed, and published, within three days in the city of Paris, and that the executive power shall notify the same to the assembly within the three following days."

On the day on which this decree was paſſed, the public mind was greatly relieved by the report of M. Montmorin, the miniſter of foreign affairs.—It ſtated, at large, the reaſons which induced him to hope for a continuance of the general tranquillity, and contained the anſwers of the ſeveral courts to the general notification from the king, of his acceptance of the new conſtitution. The replies from even the moſt hoſtile of the combined powers were in flattering terms; the emperor and the king of Pruſſia in particular gave the moſt laviſh aſſurances of their amicable intentions towards the king; and the elector of Mentz alone had the honeſty to avow his diſapprobation of the ſtate of affairs in France.

The miniſter next ſtated the meaſures taken by the king with reſpect to the countenance given to the emigrants by foreign powers. The Auſtrian Netherlands principally attracted attention; and, on application to the emperor, the moſt peremptory orders he ſaid had been given, to prevent them from collecting in too great numbers in any one place, from appearing in military array, or being ſupplied with any of the implements of war.

Such were the profeſſions of kings and courtiers, while ſome of them, at the very moment, were purſuing the moſt hoſtile meaſures, and actually ſtudying to find excuſes for commencing a war; while the league of Pilnitz exiſted in its full vigour; and while the diſaffected Frenchmen were privately encouraged by the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, and their adherents, to aſſemble in formidable bodies on the frontiers, and to form the moſt fatal arrangements; and with the knowlege of the French miniſters.

Notwithſtanding this was the actual ſtate of affairs, the crafty Leopold, impreſſed perhaps with ſome degree of apprehenſion, from the ſpirit and enthuſiaſm manifeſted by the French nation, or conſidering the plot as not yet matured for execution, ſtill continued to temporiſe. Agreeably to the intimation of the miniſter, he iſſued a proclamation, forbidding the emigrants to aſſemble in warlike array in the Auſtrian Netherlands; to prohibit their appearing in military uniforms, their engaging recruits, and ſtill more their encouraging deſerters from the French troops. How far this proclamation was complied with, in the ſpirit as well as in the letter, the ſucceeding events ſufficiently teſtified.

While the emperor was thus clandeſtinely making preparations againſt the French nation, the northern powers were more open and decided in their meaſures. Pruſſia, Sweden, and Ruſſia, entered into ſtrict engagements for the reſtoration of the old deſpotiſm of France. The king of Sweden refuſed to receive the diſpatch informing him of the king's acceptance of the conſtitution, alledging as his motive, "his own will and pleaſure not to recieve any miſſion from France." As ſoon as Lewis was informed of this anſwer, he ordered his ambaſſador to renew his application to his Swediſh majeſty; and if Guſtavus ſhould ſtill perſiſt in his refuſal, to quit Stockholm without taking leave. Denmark was ſtrongly ſolicited to enter into the alliance: but, with a degree of prudence which has long characteriſed the preſent adminiſtration of that country, the propoſal was declined. The emperor did not openly and avowedly enter into this new confederacy; his inclination, which ſeemed to have been pacific, really indiſpoſed him to precipitate meaſures, and that duplicity with which his character was ſo remarkably ſhaded, induced him to proceed by the ſame cautious plan that governed his project at Mantua; but, by the convention of Stockholm, it was determined that he ſhould

be appearently forced into the war, by the empreſs inſiſting on his fulfilling the terms of the alliance which exiſted between the imperial crowns.

Thus menaced on every ſide, and unable to conjecture from what quarter the firſt fatal blow was to proceed, ſome allowance may be made for thoſe unhappy jealouſies which the nation entertained, and for thoſe ſevere meaſures towards the emigrants which they were about to adopt. Tremblingly alive on every topic that effected their newly recovered liberties, not knowing whom to ſuſpect, or whom to conſider as their friend, this unfortunate people naturally became the dupes of thoſe who made the moſt laviſh profeſſions in favour of popular liberty, and directed their reſentments, againſt thoſe whoſe intereſt they conceived to be moſt concerned in their oppreſſion—the king and his miniſters.

The conſtituent aſſembly had treated with unexampled lenity the hoſtile proceedings of the emigrants, but at this criſis meaſures more vigorous and more ſevere were required. On the nineteenth of November, therefore, a decree was paſſed, ſtating,—"That the French who were aſſembled in a hoſtile manner beyond the frontiers, were ſuſpected of a conſpiracy againſt their country—That, if after the firſt of January they ſhould be found in that ſituation, they ſhould be declared actually guilty of a conſpiracy, and puniſhable with death—That all the French princes and public functionaries, who ſhould not return before the firſt of January, ſhould be adjudged guilty of the ſame crime—That the high national court ſhould immediataly after that period be called to pronounce judgment on ſuch offenders—That ſuch as ſhould be convicted during their abſence, ſhould forfeit their eſtates and property during their own lives, but not to the prejudice of their children—That all ſuch perſons holding offices or places of truſt, ſhould be adjudged to have forfeited the ſame; and all ſuch being officers in an army or navy ſhould be conſidered as deſerters—All Frenchmen who enliſted men to attack the frontiers were to be judged guilty of high treaſon—No arms or military ſtores were to be tranſported out of the kingdom.

This decree was immediately followed by another, ordering the vacancies in the army to be filled up without further loſs of time. Supplies were voted for putting the kingdom in a reſpectable poſture of defence; and ſome regulations were adopted concerning the military ſchools, amd the organization of the army.

The party diſaffected to the new conſtitution were furniſhed with freſh matter for murmur and complaint by the refuſal of the king to ſanction the decree of the ninth of November againſt the emigrants. His advocates exulted in this teſtimony of conſtitutional freedom exhibited by the monarch, and conſidered it as a proof that he intended to govern ſtrictly agreeable to the principles of the conſtitution. A king, they obſerved, who was not ſincere in his attachment to the new order of things, would have borne the maſk of diſſimulation through the whole of his conduct; ſuch a one would not have hazarded an unpopular ſtep, but would have oſtenſibly joined in the moſt violent meaſures, in the hope that they could not long endure, and that the machinations of the enemies of freedom would ſoon reſtore the ancient depravity and abuſes.

While ſuch were the ſentiments of the courtiers and many moderate and reaſonable perſons, the republicans eagerly embraced the opportunity to declaim againſt the new conſtitution, and monarchical government. It was a conſtitution, they aſſerted, incongruous in itſelf, an hereditary monarchy, and a democratic aſſembly. This very prerogative of

a *veto*, which the conſtitution had conferred upon the king, would be the means, it was urged, of defeating every patriotic meaſure of the legiſlature, while the immenſe civil-liſt enabled him either to bribe its members, or to cheriſh and aſſiſt the enemies of the nation aſſembled in foreign countries.

The exerciſe of the royal veto on this occaſion was certainly an imprudent ſtep, though there is no reaſon to attribute it to any perfidious motive, or to account for it on any other principle than the tenderneſs of the monarch. To deprive at one blow, and by his own agency, his neareſt connections of their hereditary rights, of their revenues, their ſubſiſtence, and to ſubject them to the penalties of death for their miſtaken zeal, while they profeſſed that all their efforts were directed to his ſervice, doubtleſs appeared to him a harſh and ungrateful meaſure; while judging probably of their diſpoſitions, better than they merited, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of perſuading them to abandon their project, and no longer contumaciouſly oppoſe themſelves to what appeared almoſt the unanimous ſentiment of the whole nation. In contemplating the hiſtory of this unfortunate prince and his ſubſequent fate, it is a melancholy reflection that he was leſs the victim of the credulity of his enemies, than of the imprudence and folly of his profeſſed friends. If, inſtead of deſerting their country and their king, the miſguided nobility of France had only for the time conformed to circumſtances, contented themſelves for the moment with that ſtate of dignity and authority which they could ſave out of the general wreck of privileges, and rallied round the throne to ſupport their king in the exerciſe of his conſtitutional rights—could they have conceded with grace, and defended themſelves with candour and moderation—had they only aſſumed the appearance of acting more for the public, and leſs for themſelves, France would never have been the victim to anarchy, the nobility would ſtill have preſerved, if not their titles, at leaſt their fortunes and conſequence; and their monarch would never have fallen a ſacrifice to the ſafety and irritated vengeance of the nation.

Above all things, it is ever impolitic to call in foreign aid to extinguiſh the internal troubles of a nation. It is rarely ſucceſsful; and when ſucceſsful, the end is generally, that both parties are equally the prey of the invader. Had the confederated powers been ſucceſsful in their efforts againſt France, there is little doubt that the very perſons who invited them to the conteſt, would have been the firſt to complain of their tyranny and injuſtice.

In this trying period Lewis addreſſed an affectionate letter to each of the princes his brothers, exhorting them to ſpare him the pain of giving his aſſent to meaſures of ſeverity, by their immediately yielding to the wiſhes of France and their king, and return under the protection held forth to them and in obedience to the laws; but they refuſed "to truſt themſelves in the hands of the invaders of their rights."

Thus at the cloſe of the year 1791, the counſels of the nation were divided, the minds of the people diſtracted by an alarming complication of afflictions already felt and dangers daily more menacing; the public treaſury was exhauſted, and the revenue already inadequate to the inevitable expenditure daily diminiſhing; the public creditors clamorous; the aſſignats circulating with the utmoſt difficulty, but under an encreaſing depreciation; trade ſtagnated, and unprincipled opulence aggravating the public diſtreſs by a monopoly of all the neceſſaries of life; agriculture at a ſtand, and a famine impending; and poverty pervading every part of the country. Diſtreſſing as was this ſtate of affairs in the mother

country, that of the colonies was ſtill worſe. The iſland of St. Domingo was convulſed by the injuſtice of the white inhabitants, who refuſed to admit the people of colour to a participation of rights. The black people took advantage of the diſpute to break their chains; in the northern diſtrict alone one hundred thouſand natives and deſcendants of Africa revolted, and wherever they were oppoſed carried deſolation and death into fields of their oppreſſors; the united paſſions of revenge and fear of further bondange, added fury to their reſiſtance, more than two hundred noble plantations were burnt, and the ſhips afforded the only aſylum from inevitable maſſacre.

Among the calamities that at this time agitated France, perhaps the diſſentions ſtirred up by the clergy was not the leaſt important and grievous, they were increaſed by the preſumptuous interference of the court of Rome; the pope had daringly prohibited them under the moſt terrific anathemas, from conforming to the decrees of the French legiſlature, and from taking the civic oath. In conſequence of which, a decree was paſſed which expelled from their benefices all who paying obedience to a foreign authority ſhould be ſo diſregardful of their duty to their country as to oppoſe its laws. Thus there remained in the heart of France an immenſe body of diſaffected perſons, united among themſelves, obedient to a foreign hierarchy, looking confidently to the king, and poſſeſſing an influence over the minds of the people capable of being turned to the deſolation of the country, and difficult to be ſuppreſſed. We cannot ſuppoſe that ſuch an accumulation of power would be ſuffered to remain unemployed by men impreſſed with a ſenſe of civil and religious wrong, and infatuated by bigotry; in ſome places the prieſts openly declaimed againſt the conſtitution; in others ſecret conſpiracies were formed, foreign correſpondence was eſtabliſhed, and no means left untried to inflame the minds of the populace; every engine of ſuperſtition was employed, every art of eloquence eſſayed, to ſprit them up to revolt; nocturnal meetings were held, nocturnal proceſſions were conducted by the infuriated clergy; the ſhrines of the virgin and the ſaints were dreſſed in mourning, and the ignorant multitude taught to dread the torments of hell if they obeyed the laws, and that the hand of God would protect and the felicity of heaven reward their reſiſtance, the remote parts of the nation blazed with the torch of religious fury, and ſcenes that rivalled the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew were exhibited in various parts of France.

No meaſure of the legiſlative aſſembly has drawn upon them a greater degree of enmity and cenſure at home and of reproach abroad, than the decreee which baniſhed for ever from their country on pain of death the nonjuring clergy. But harſh as this meaſure was, much as humanity muſt deplore the ſufferings of that body, innocent and reſpectable as ſome of them were, the impartial dictates of juſtice muſt declare, and every principle which ſanctifices the authority of law, the ſecurity of ſociety, and the wellbeing of nations, rendered that meaſure neceſſary. And hiſtory at a period remote from the angry paſſions of the day, will diſcover in the clamours of other nations, only the alarmed apprehenſions of a body, whoſe influence had been diverted from the ſerious concerns of a future ſtate, by ſordid views and worldly ambition; who trembling for their dominion over the mind of man, ſhaken to the foundations by ſuch an example, forgot in their common danger the hatreds of ſects and the warring of doctrines, and with a common accord united once more in the cauſe of ſuperſtition and Rome, to ſanction and to ſhade the outrage done to religion by raiſing its prieſts above the laws, and ſanctifying not alone their prejudices but their blaſphemies and crimes.

The firſt ſtep of the legiſlative aſſembly againſt the refractory prieſts, was however leſs violent in appearence, though in reality it was fraught with ſeverity. On the eighteenth of November a ſeries of reſolutions were paſſed, by which it was enacted, that the penſions of the ejected clergy, which had been allowed by the conſtituent aſſembly, ſhould be withdrawn from all ſuch as ſtill refuſed the civic oath. That wherever any troubles were found to exiſt, of which religion was the cauſe or the pretext, the municipal officers ſhould have liberty to remove from the neighbourhood ſuch of the nonjuring clergy as might be ſuſpected of fomenting or favouring ſuch ſeditions, that in caſe of diſobedience to the directory of the department, they might be proſecuted before the tribunals, and impriſoned; and that thoſe who ſhould be convicted of actual ſedition ſhould be liable to two years impriſonment. To theſe decrees, after ſome delay, the king, apparently from conſcientious motives, oppoſed his *veto*, and thus unfortunately increaſed the clamour which was already excited againſt him in every part of the kingdom.

If the general tenor of the replies from the foreign courts to the king's notice of having accepted the conſtitution, be attentively conſidered, it will be impoſſible not to obſerve that remarkable ſtrain of artifice and duplicity which prevaded the majority of them, and particularly thoſe from the moſt powerful ſtates, and thoſe neareſt in alliance with the reigning family. They contained indeed expreſſions of perſonal reſpect and ſympathy for the king, but nothing which could be conſtrued into an approbation of the new order which had been eſtabliſhed in France by the prevalence of popular councils. However, therefore, the court and miniſtry might appear ſatisfied with theſe empty profeſſions, it is certain they were far from gratifying to the people at large. Inſtead of diminiſhing, the inſolence of the emigrants appeared to increaſe. The enrolments in the circles of the Upper and Lower Rhine were carried on with increaſed vigour and alacrity; they were even encouraged to commit acts of violence on the bordering territories of the biſhopric of Straſburg; and an attempt was alſo made by an agent of the princes to corrupt general Wipfen,* who commanded in the department of the Upper Rhine, and to engage him to deliver by treachery the fortreſs of New Briſac into their hands, by which the hoſtile troops might have obtained an eaſy entrance into the territories of France. Impelled by theſe circumſtances the aſſembly decreed on the 29th of November that a deputation of twenty-four of its members ſhould wait on the king to communicate to him, on the part of the aſſembly, its ſolicitude concerning the dangers which menaced the country from the perfidious combinations of armed emigrants, aſſembled without the kingdom, and the fatal conſpiracies which they apprehended internally threatened its domeſtic peace; to entreat him to require the electors of Treves, of Mayence, and the other princes of the empire, to iſſue a prohibition of thoſe hoſtile preparations and enrolments which were openly carried on by the emigrants on the frontiers, and to requeſt that he would embody a force ſufficient to compel them, in caſe of a refuſal.

On the fourteenth of December the king repaired to the national aſſembly; he acquainted them, that he had taken their meſſage into deep conſideration, and that on ſo impor-

* The virtue of this general, which was conſpicuous on this occaſion, was not proof againſt temptation at a ſubſequent period.

tant an occaſion he had thought it his duty to be himſelf the bearer of the anſwer; that he had done every thing to recall the emigrants to the boſom of their country, and to perſuade them to ſubmit to the new laws; had employed both amicable intimations and formal requſitions to divert the neighbouring princes from giving them a ſupport calculated to flatter their hopes and encourage them in their raſh deſigns.

He obſerved, that the emperor had done all that could be expected from a faithful ally; by forbidding and diſperſing all aſſemblages within his ſtates. His meaſures at other courts, he ſaid, had not been equally ſucceſsful, and unacommodating anſwers had been given to his juſt requiſitions. Theſe unjuſt refuſals, he obſerved, called for reſolutions of another kind. As the repreſentative of the people, he felt for their injuries. In conſequence, he had cauſed a declaration to be made to the elector of Treves, that if before the fifteenth of January he did not put a ſtop within his ſtates to all hoſtile diſpoſitions on the part of the emigrants, he ſhould be obliged to conſider him as the enemy of France. The king added, that he ſhould order ſimilar declarations to be made to all who favoured aſſemblages which might menace the peace of the kingdom.

To enable the nation, however, to prepare for that war in which they might find it neceſſary after all theſe precautions reluctantly to engage, the king adviſed an attention to the finances of the country, and the ſtrict obſervance of peace and unanimity. He modeſtly alluded to the violence of thoſe who endeavoured to ſurround with diſguſts the exerciſe of that authority which was intruſted to him—pledged himſelf faithfully to preſerve the conſtitution, and to ſhew to all mankind that he felt how truly glorious it was to be the king of a free people.

But however ſincere the king might be in his declarations, he was not fortunate enough to obtain full credit. The republican party in particular did not fail to take every advantage which the fears and ſuſpicions of the people afforded to excite their deteſtation of the court, and of the little remains of the ariſtocratic faction which exiſted in the kingdom. The negative which the king had unfortunately affixed to the decree againſt the emigrants, and his tardineſs in ſanctioning that reſpecting the nonjuring clergy, the firſt threatning the nation with terror and deſolation from abroad, and the others fomenting the diſtractions into fanataciſm and madneſs at home, afforded them too eaſy a pretext to awaken all the paſſions of the multitude. Addreſſes crowded in from every part of the kingdom, abounding in commendations of the aſſembly, and indicating their diſſatisfaction as to the conduct of the king and his miniſters. Moſt of theſe addreſſes were entered on the journals of the aſſembly, and were ſeconded by inflammatory ſpeeches from the more violent members. Montmorin, unable to withſtand the ſtorm of popular violence, reſigned; Deleſſart was nominated to the department of foreign affairs, and Cahier de Gerville to that of the interior. In the beginning of December, alſo, Duportail was diſmiſſed from his office as miniſter of war, and Narbonne appointed in his room.

Before the concluſion of the month of November, a circumſtance occured which ſerved to put in motion the two remaining parties which were ſhortly to divide the kingdom, the conſtitutionaliſts and the republicans; and its iſſue might have ſhewn in whoſe favour the balance was likely to preponderate. The mayoralty of the judicious and patriotic Bailly terminated in the month of November—The once popular La Fayette appeared as a candidate to ſucceed him, and it was generally underſtood that he was

ſupported by the court—He was however oppoſed by a declared republican, Petion, a member of the jacobin club. It is almoſt unneceſſary to add that Petion was elected mayor of Paris by a great majority.

As conſtant experience had evinced the increaſing credit and power of the Jacobins, it was evident that, by gaining an aſcendancy over the minds of the populace, they were enabled to controul even the aſſembly itſelf; as the only means of averting the dreadful conſequences with which the court was threatened by the principles avowed by the leaders of that club, the friends of the conſtitution and of the monarch endeavoured to counteract its influence, by a new inſtitution of a ſimilar kind, but profeſſing principles more moderate, and conſequently more calculated to preſerve the exiſting conſtitution.

At this period it was that the new Society called the Feuillans, from the convent in which it met, was firſt inſtituted. It was compoſed of ſeceders from the Jacobins, and ex-members of the conſtituent aſſembly; ſuch as Barnave and the Lameths, Duport, Rabaud, Sieyes, Thouret, Chappelier, Taleyrand, Labord, Monteſquieu, Beaumetz, and others. To theſe may be added two hundred and ſixty-ſix members of the exiſting aſſembly, and about eight hundred and eighty other reſpectable citizens.

The republican party and the Jacobins could not behold this new aſſociation without ſecret diſquiet. It was evidently formed to oppoſe them; the ſubject was debated in the Club on the evening of the twenty-firſt of December, and the people in the galleries being irritated by harangues, iſſued forth in a large body and forced their way into the hall of the Feuillans; they commenced with direct threats to ſeveral of the members, with interrupting all diſcuſſion, and at length openly acknowledged that they came thither to effect the diſſolution of the ſociety.

A riot of a ſtill more ſerious nature was threatened on the twenty-third, and Charon the preſident of the Feuillans wrote to the mayor to requeſt that a commiſſaire de police might be ordered to attend the meeting, for the purpoſe of preſerving the peace; but Petion, who was a member of the Jacobin club, could not be ſuppoſed to be extremely ardent in favour of its rival. He excuſed himſelf, by ſaying that he could not command the attendance of a commiſſaire, but that he would take every precaution in his power. At the inſtance of the commander of the national-guard, however, Petion wrote to the commiſſaire de police, and requeſted his attendance. As the members of the ſociety came armed as well as the rioters, a tumult of a very ſanguinary nature was expected: but happily, by the interpoſition of the municipal officer, no violence took place. The rioters imperiouſly inſiſted on the diſſolution of the club, and this by the other party was contemptuouſly refuſed. On the exhortation of the peace officer, however, to ſeparate and depart from the ſcene of altercation, the ſociety afforded the firſt example of moderation, by quitting its hall, and leaving their property to the diſcretion of their opponents.

The majority of the aſſembly had, from theſe circumſtances, an immediate opportunity of manifeſting its diſpoſition towards the new inſtitution. The vicinity of their place of meeting to that of the legiſlative body, and the various committees, afforded Merlin, who had been imprudently attacked by one of the guards, and others of the Jacobin faction, a ready excuſe for inſiſting on their removal; and a motion being made to that effect, it was unanimouſly decreed. Thus was victory at once declared in favour of the Jacobins, and ſucceſs ſerved to encourage them to more violent proceedings.



J.^me PETION.

The conſtitutional party indeed were too late in their adoption of active meaſures. Their more diligent adverſaries had already obtained poſſeſſion of the public mind, and they entered the field only when the conteſt was virtually decided.

Theſe tranſactions afford a tolerably accurate picture of the ſtate of parties in France at the concluſion of the year, 1791. Its ſiuatiton, with reſpect to foreign powers, became more and more critical. The conduct of Leopold was a ſingular tiſſue of inconſiſtency and deception. He pretended formally to revoke the circular of Pavia, in conſequence of the king's acceptance of the conſtitution, and yet exhorted the powers of Europe not to deſiſt from the meaſures concerted between them, but to continue vigilant, and to declare that their coalition had ſtill an exiſtence; but this declaration was directly followed by a letter to the king of France, reviving the claims of the Imperial vaſſals in Alſace and Lorraine; inſiſting that no compenſation could be accepted, but that matters ſhould be reſtored in every reſpect to their ancient ſituation; and acquainting the king that the emperor conceived himſelf not only bound to interpoſe by ſolemn proteſtation, "but alſo to give to the injured all the aid which the dignity of the imperial court, and the maintenance of the preſent conſtitution required."

While ſuch were the pretences of Leopold, it appeared that the German princes, in general, were more than ſatisfied with the mode of compenſation propoſed by the French. The prince of Loweſtein readily accepted of an indemnification, and the prince of Hohenloe, and the prince of Salm-Salm, declared themſelves equally ready to treat upon the ſame terms. The dukes of Wirtemberg, and Deux-Ponts, as well as prince Maximilian, freely negotiated, and only required, what in itſelf it was no more than perfectly reaſonable, the reimburſement of the revenues on the feudal rights in queſtion, from the fourth of Auguſt 1789.

The deſigns of Leopold gradually unfolded. The declaration to the European powers, the ſubſtance of which is given above, was dated the tenth of November, the letter to the king the third of December; and on the 21ſt of the ſame month an official notice was delivered to the French miniſter at Vienna, in anſwer to the French king's notification to the elector of Treves, which more directly manifeſted the hoſtile intentions of the imperial court. It ſtated, that the elector had given notice to the court of Vienna, that he had adopted, with reſpect to the French refugees and emigrants, the ſame principles and regulations as had been put in force in the Auſtrian Low Countries; that notwithſtanding this, the elector was ſtill apprehenſive that the tranquillity of his frontiers and ſtates would be diſturbed by France; and that in conſequence of this notification, the emperor had been conſtrained to order mareſchal Bender to march to the ſtates of his electoral highneſs ſpeedy and effectual ſuccours, in caſe he ſhould be attacked, or even imminently menaced with hoſtile incurſions.

As it was a well known fact that the emigrants to the amount of twenty-three thouſand, were already embodied for offenſive operations in the electorate, and the emperor avowed his reſolution to ſupport the elector, their hoſtile intentions could be no longer miſtaken or palliated. Lewis therefore found it neceſſary to addreſs a letter to the aſſembly, encloſing the notification of the court of Vienna, wherein he expreſſed his regret and aſtoniſhment at the conduct of the emperor, upon whoſe good intentions he ſaid he thought he ought to reckon, and affected to believe his good diſpoſition was perverted by the miſrepreſentations of the elector of Treves. He addreſſed an anſwer to the emperor, reminding that monarch.

that nothing was demanded of him, but what France had afforded an example of, and that the refugees from Brabant had been prevented from aſſembling with hoſtile views on the Auſtrian frontier; at the ſame time he confirmed his former declaration, that if after the period already fixed, the elector of Treves ſhould not have really and effectually diſperſed the hoſtile aſſemblages exiſting in his ſtates, nothing would prevent the king from propoſing to the nation to reſtrain it by force of arms.

Preparations for war were now carried on with redoubled vigour. Rochambeau and Luckner were promoted to the rank of mareſchals, and Lafayette had already proceeded to aſſume the important command on the frontiers. Narbonne, the war miniſter, made the circuit of the fortreſſes to inſpect the works and the ſtate of the army there; new levies were ordered and the whole country aſſumed the garb of war.

Though the ſpirit of the nation was not depreſſed by the proſpect of impending hoſtilities, the ſtate of the finances could not be contemplated without the moſt ſerious apprehenſions. The extraordinary reſources had all hitherto proved inadequate to the public demands. On the twenty-ninth of December, twenty millions were voted, which the miniſter at war informed the aſſembly next day ſhould be all appropriated to make good the deficit of 1791.

On the ſame day Lafond preſented a general eſtimate, being the united reſults of the particular eſtimates of the ſeveral miniſters, of the expences for 1792, amounting to ſix hundred and ſixty-three millions ſix hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand livres;* and an eſtimate of the ordinary reſources, conſiſting of the land-tax, tax on perſonal property, patents, and ſome leſſer impoſts, taken at five hundred and thirty millions. The difference between the two eſtimates, amounting to one hundred and thirty-three millions ſix hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand livres, was to be provided for from the fund of extraordinaries.

A. D. 1792.] Notwithſtanding previous appearances, the year 1792 opened with fair but deluſive omens to the peace of Europe and the liberties of France. Leopold again wavered or prevaricated. Unprepared for the attack from the wants of his treaſury, and the tardineſs of his ſecret allies in advancing funds, he appeared vainly confident that his ſiniſter policy would be ſucceſsful in amuſing the aſſembly; thus, while a cordon of troops was gradually forming on the frontier of the Netherlands, the ſolemn proteſtations of the emperor aſſerted them to be intended merely for the purpoſe of precaution and defence. St. Croix was appointed envoy at the court of the elector of Treves, and was received with cordiality and reſpect. The emigrants were prohibited from continuing their military exerciſes, and the elector pledged himſelf, that within eight days the hoſtile aſſemblages in his dominions ſhould be entirely diſperſed. All military ſtores, and even horſes for the emigrants were prohibited; and he declared, that in every reſpect it was

* The detail of the public appropriations furniſhes ſome important facts to the intelligent reader:—

Eſtabliſhment of the princes,	5,000,000	Roads and bridges,	4,000,000
Military eſtabliſhment,	221,000	High national court and of appeal,	450,000
Foreign affairs,	6,000,000	National ſchools,	1,000,000
Marine and colonies,	43,000,000	Intereſt of public debt,	20,000,000
General adminiſtration,	5,000,000	Life annuities,	100,000,000
Public worſhip,	81,000,000	Perpetual annuities,	300,000,000
Penſions to eccleſiaſtics,	68,000,000	TOTAL	663,671,000

his moſt ardent wiſh to maintain perpetual amity with France. The people, always more ſincere than their governors, willingly ſeconded this diſpoſition; in many towns the emigrants were ignominiouſly expelled by the populace, and the prince of Condé was compelled by the magiſtrates of Worms to leave that city for fear of inſurrection. While their enemies thus appeared to be cruſhed or removed, the apprehenſions of the French for their own frontier were completely diſpelled by the report of the war miniſter on his return from his tour. The fortreſſes he repreſented as being placed in a moſt reſpectable ſtate, and the patriotiſm of the ſoldiery exceeded every expectation that the moſt ſanguine friend of his country could form. The credit of the paper currency experienced an immediate riſe from theſe favourable appearances, and manufactures and agriculture began once more to flouriſh.

The accounts from the colonies were leſs encouraging. The dreadful revolt of the negroes at Cape Francois had indeed produced a temporary ceſſation of the diſſentions which exiſted between the white inhabitants of St. Domingo and the people of colour; and an actual concordat, or agreement, had been entered into by the two parties. The ſucceſſes of the free inhabitants thus united againſt the revolted negroes were brilliant; but every new inſtance of ſucceſs only added to the calamity of individuals, as it was a deſtruction of property. It affords matter for aſtoniſhment, that the moſt ſevere calamities are frequently inſufficient to deſtroy the force of prejudice. That rancorous ſpirit which prevailed in the white coloniſts, that contempt in which they continued to hold the people of colour, was repreſſed, but not extinguiſhed, by the concordat.

While the ratification of this contract was ſtill in agitation, a private quarrel ſerved once more to rekindle the flames of civil war. On the 16th of November, the ſections of Port au Prince were aſſembled for the purpoſe of deliberating on the execution of the concordat, and forming the new provincial aſſembly to which the people of colour ſhould have equal admiſſion with the white inhabitants. At the very moment in which this important queſtion was in agitation, a free negro quarrelled with a white cannonier. The ſoldier drew his ſword; but the ſuperior force of the negro wreſted it from him, and broke it in pieces. For this offence the negro was apprehended; he was immediately tried, condemned, and hanged, in oppoſition to the moſt urgent and humble entreaties of the people of colour, who only requeſted that the execution of the ſentence might at leaſt be ſuſpended.

The conſequence of this cruel and imprudent act was, that the people of colour fired on the cannoniers; the white coloniſts flew inſtantly to arms, and the conteſt was renewed with all its former fury. The ſucceeding day the town of Port au Prince was ſet on fire by ſome unknown incendiaries, and twenty-eight iſlots, making two-fifths of the whole were totally conſumed. The ſubſequent hiſtory of this diſtracted colony is nothing but a repetition of crimes and diſaſters. The iſland, divided into three parties, continued a prey to its inteſtine diviſions. The revolted negroes ſtill maintained their ground. The people of colour either remained undecided and inactive, or took the part of the inſurgents. Even the troops which were ſent over to reſtore tranquillity, were in ſome meaſure corrupted, while the white inhabitants diſplayed unequivocal marks of counter-revolutionary principles, and immenſe numbers fled to the United States of America.

As but little hope appeared of the emigrants returning to their country, and as the veto of the king had cauſed much diſcontent in the nation, the aſſembly proceeded to

ſtronger meaſures, and a decree of accuſation of high treaſon was paſſed againſt the brothers of the king, the prince of Condé, M. Calonne, and Mirabeau the younger; and as, notwithſtanding the profeſſions of the emperor, reports had gone forth that the congreſs was formed by Auſtria aud Pruſſia for the purpoſe of ſubverting, or modifying at leaſt, the French conſtitution, a decree was paſſed by the legiſlature, and immediately ſanctioned by the king, which pronounced every Frenchman infamous, and guilty of high treaſon, who ſhould directly or indirectly take any part in ſuch meaſures, or who ſhould, in any reſpect, unite with thoſe whoſe object was a modification of the exiſting conſtitution.

At this juncture Deleſſart was accuſed, and Bertrand declared by a vote of the aſſembly unworthy of truſt; the king however, who with an inconſtancy that has been attributed to his weakneſs by ſome, and by others to deſign, had continually changed his miniſters as he found them indiſpoſed to his views, now contrary to his uſual practice perſiſted in retaining Bertrand. This ſtep contributed not a little to excite diſcontent, and was made uſe of by the republican party, who had gradually obtained a conſpicuous aſendancy in the aſſembly; the diſaffection of the king was very generally believed and openly aſſerted, and the diſquietude became ſo great, that on the ſeventeenth of February the king deemed it neceſſary to deny, expreſsly in a letter to the mayor and municipality, all the imputations circulated againſt him.

But the external preſſure was too powerful and the meaſures of the king too much at variance, to produce an alteration of the public opinion by the denial of a conduct which it would be fatal to confeſs: the republicans too, who poſſeſſed the greateſt talents, had uniformly evinced a degree of ſagacity, which rivetted to them the public confidence; the people ſaw that though they did not poſſeſs the channels of foreign communication, they had either better information or more honeſty than their opponents; they had penetrated more ſucceſsfully into the deſigns of Leopald, and ſaw that the falſe ſerenity which prevailed at the commencement of the year only preceded a ſtorm; and that it was a mere deluſion created by that crafty prince to lull the ſpirit of France into a fatal tranquillity. Not uninformed of the actual grounds of the treaty of Pilnitz, they ſaw that an alliance of ſuch exent was not likely to vaniſh in vapour; the reaſons ſtill exiſted in which it originated; with this opinion the preparations of Auſtria and Pruſſia entirely correſponded; and while no motive of ſufficient weight had occurred to induce the combination to lay aſide their project, there was an obvious reaſon for the concealment of it, and that was, that it was evidently not yet ripe for execution; at their inſtance it was therefore, that military preparations were unremittedly carried on, that a deciſive anſwer was demanded from Leopold, and a period fixed after which his ſilence was to be conſtrued into a declaration of war.

The court in this extremity amidſt its profeſſions of loyalty manifeſted an unuſual degree of alarm; and mareſchals Rochambeau and Luckner and Lafayette, were called to Paris, to concert with the executive the arrangements proper for the defence of the country; a conſiderable promotion of officers took place, and a marine equipment was ordered, in the expectation that a great naval power would immediately declare for the confederacy.

On the ſecond of March, what had been repreſented only as the factious ravings of the the Jacobins or the viſionary alarms and predictions of theoriſts and republicans, aſſumed the ſerious aſpect of reality: the correſpondence with the emperor was laid before the

aſſembly, and contained a note from prince Kaunitz, dated the fifth of January preceding, ſtating, that although the elector of Treves had ſeriouſly reſolved to enforce the regulations adopted by the emperor againſt the emigrants, ſtill the French king had aſſembled three armies, and that violent declamations had been permitted in the French clubs againſt all the ſovereigns in Europe. The reading of this paper was followed by an extract from the inſtructions given to Noailles the French ambaſſador at Vienna, dated the twenty-firſt of January, in which an explanation was required of the orders given to general Bender, and of the meaning of the expreſſion employed by the emperor—" the ſovereigns united " for the ſafety and honour of crowns."

The moſt important paper, however, was a diſpatch from prince Kaunitz to the imperial chargé des affaires at Paris, dated the ſeventeenth of February; it was dictated in terms of ſtudied ambiguity—the emperor made many proteſtations of his deſire to preſerve peace, but ſtill avowe d the engagements which he had formed with other powers for preſerving inviolate the monarchy of France; while he profeſſed his apprehenſions for the ſafety of the king, the diſpatch was charged with expreſſions ſtudiouſly inſulting to the people, calculated to irritate them and precipate the ruin of him for whom ſecurity was profeſſedly ſought; it enveighed in the moſt unqualified terms againſt the republican ſpirit, and jacobin ſocieties; and inſtead of ſoothing and conciliating the people to the love and care of the king, appeared as if it had been framed to urge them to ſome act deſparation.

Theſe papers were accompanied by a letter from the Pruſſian envoy at Paris, avowing the intimate union and connexion which ſubſiſted between the two courts, and the entire acquieſcence of his maſter in the Auſtrian memorials. By another communication from the miniſter, it was underſtood, that the imperial troops in the Netherlands amounted to fifty-five thouſand, in January, and that as ſoon as they ſhould be joined by the ſeveral bodies which were ordered to march, they would amount to upwards of ninety thouſand. The miniſter concluded by ſaying, that the king had inſtructed his ambaſſador at Vienna to repreſent, that it became neither the dignity nor the independence of France to enter into any diſcuſſion concerning her internal affairs; that the meaſures of Auſtria and Pruſſia, having no explicit object, could only ſerve to create jealouſy and diſtruſt; and that if the emperor was ſincere in his profeſſions, he would ſhew it by reducing his troops in the Netherlands to the peace eſtabliſhment of 1791, and the French would immediately follow the example.

The fallacious calm which had pervaded the nation and thoſe who called themſelves moderates in the aſſembly, was on the publication of theſe diſpatches, changed into a tempeſt of rage and reſentment. The people ſaw the open declarations of the republicans in the aſſembly and the clubs, for ſeveral months paſt verified; the delay of miniſters in communicating the firſt hoſtile information was recollected, and Deleſſart was charged with having betrayed the nation; former pacific communications from foreign powers were treated as forgeries, and the miniſter for foreign affairs as a party in the fraud; to many however war appeared leſs formidable than the treacherous ſtate of alarm and diſquietude and the enormous expences under which the nation laboured.

At this period the meaſures of the court again aſſumed a ſuſpicious aſpect; a degree of public reſerve and private revelry were noticed by many. And while the indignation of the popular party in the aſſembly was directed againſt Bertrand, miniſter of the marine

and Deleſſart, miniſter for foreign affairs, the court, under the influence, as was confidently aſſerted of the houſe of Auſtria, determined on the diſmiſſion of Narbonne from the war department; and of Cahier de Gerville from that of the interior. De Grave was appointed as ſucceſſor to Narbonne, whoſe diſmiſſion was both reſented and reſiſted by the leading members of the aſſembly. Sage moved, "that Narbonne carried, with him the regret of the national aſſembly; and on a motion of cenſure, by Cambon, on the miniſters who adviſed the king to retain Bertrand in his ſervice, after he had loſt the public confidence, Cahier de Gerville was expreſsly excepted. Nothing indeed could be more impolitic in the court than both theſe meaſures. It was as abſurd as it was uſeleſs to endeavour to ſupport the miniſter of marine, however innocent, againſt the voice and feelings of a majority of the legiſlature; and conſidering the temper of the aſſembly and the ſtate of public affairs, the king ought to have rejoiced that any of his ſervants enjoyed a portion of their confidence, and ought certainly not to have ſet them the example himſelf of diſſolving the adminiſtration.

Theſe meaſures were followed, in the ſame ſitting, by the impeachment of Deleſſart. He was accuſed by Briſſot of omitting to give information to the aſſembly of the concert formed among foreign powers againſt the liberty and independence of France; of not preſſing the meaſures proper for the ſafety and defence of the nation; of having given prince Kaunitz details on the ſituation of the kingdom, calculated to convey an improper idea; of having meanly ſued for peace; of having refuſed to obey the decrees of the national aſſembly. In conſequence of a decree paſſed againſt him, Deleſſart was apprehended, and conducted to Orleans to be tried by the high national court. A variety of unfavourable circumſtances ran hard againſt him, and he may indeed be conſidered as having fallen a ſacrifice to the crooked and deceitful conduct of Leopald, and the temporiſing politics of Lewis.

The impeachment of Deleſſart ſo completely terrified the marine miniſter, Bertrand, that he gave in his reſignation, and retired precipitately to England. Thus the miniſtry was at once completely diſſolved, and France was threatened with new cauſes of diſtraction, when the politics of Europe appeared to vibrate once more in favour of peace, by the ſudden death of the emperor of Germany. This event took place on the firſt of March, and from the ſuddenneſs of the attack, and the appearances of the complaint, ſuſpicions were at firſt entertained that he had been poiſoned. The complaint entirely affected the ſtomach and inteſtines, his body ſwelled enormouſly, and his bowels burſt. Malice inſtantly attached his death to the agency of the French, but the examinations of the phyſicians ſoon diſpelled the calumny; a narrative of his diſeaſe publiſhed by authority aſcribed his death to a rheumatic fever; but thoſe who aſſumed to poſſeſs a true ſtate of the facts, aſcribed his death to the exceſſive uſe of cantharides and other ſtimulant medicines which he had been accuſtomed to employ.

As a man, Leopald was of a debauched and ſenſual character; as a prince, he was poſſeſſed of ability; his principles were deſpotic, but in general he made uſe of his power for the good of his ſubjects—His political career, while grand duke of Tuſcany, was for the moſt part marked by wiſdom and moderation. He ſimplified the laws, he remitted the moſt grievous of the public burdens, and his regard to the adminiſtration of juſtice was ſuch, that he allowed, and even encouraged appeals to himſelf, wherever any party conceived himſelf injured in the courſe of a proceſs in the ordinary courts of law. He

had the merit of reſtoring peace to the empire, as well as to Auſtria and the Netherlands, notwithſtanding the diſtreſs and confuſion in which he found them all involved, by the imprudent adminiſtration of his predeceſſor. His political wiſdom and general ſagacity were certainly above the ordinary ſtandard of hereditary monarchs. It has been ſaid, he loved peace, his conduct in uniting with the confederacy of princes againſt the liberties of France may be fairly cited in contradiction to this aſſertion. Leopold might be influenced by family conſiderations, he might be deceived with falſe repreſentations as to the actual ſtate of France; he might be prompted by the money and intrigues of another power, who did not openly appear, but whoſe inſidious policy Europe will long have occaſion to regret. With all his talents, his notorious duplicity rendered him at once an object of univerſal abhorrence and contempt; and it was even aſſerted by an eminent ſpeaker in the Britiſh ſenate, intimately connected with the adminiſtration, that "no man would take his word for a ſingle day," and from this ſentiment from ſuch an authority we may perhaps account for the *delays* which marked his meaſures.

The aſcendancy which the Jacobin club had obtained by their victory over the Feuillans, and ſtill more by the impeachment of Deleſſart, rendered their authority abſolute in every thing that concerned the politics of France. The court ſeemed at this moment to relinquiſh every thought of reſiſtance, and to ſail with the tide. This was ſoon evinced in the appointment of miniſters; Dumourier and Lacoſte, two of the leading Jacobins, being nominated to two of the vacant departments, of foreign affairs and the marine.

Dumourier, from the firſt dawn of the revolution, ſtudied to ingratiate himſelf with the people; and as the Jacobin club was the great theatre of talents and ambition, he ſoon became a diſtinguiſhed member, and by their influence and his intrigues eſtabliſhed himſelf in the important, and, at this period, very reſponſible ſituation of miniſter for foreign affairs.

The French king diſmiſſed the Swiſs guards on the ſeventeenth of March; and on that day the guard appointed by the conſtitution entered upon duty.

The death of the emperor, inſtead of protracting, appears to have accelerated hoſtilities between Auſtria and France. The young king of Hungary was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne, when he deſired a conference with the Pruſſian miniſter, Biſchoffswerder, and directed him to inform his maſter, that he was determined ſtrictly and literally to adhere to the convention of Pilnitz. The preparations on the part of the French, in the mean time, were carried on with alacrity; and the new miniſter, Dumourier, declared in the Jacobin club, that he would, in his negociations with Auſtria, direct them to the point of obtaining, without delay, a ſolid peace or a deciſive war.

On the 22d of March a decree of ſequeſtration was paſſed againſt the property of the emigrants, ſaving however the right of creditors to be reimburſed their demands; and ſuch as returned within the ſpace of one month were to be re-eſtabliſhed in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, ſubjected, however, to a proportionate tax to defray the expences of the armament, which their emigration had occaſioned. By an additional decree, they were deprived of the rights of active citizens for two years after their return to France; and ſuch of them as ſhould not return within a month, were deprived of thoſe privileges for ten years.

The ſucceeding day, the king announced the appointment of three more of the popular party to the miniſtry, Garnier, miniſter of juſtice, in the room of Duport du Tetre; Roland, miniſter of the interior, inſtead of Cahier de Gerville; and Claviere, miniſter of finance, in the room of Tarbe. The two firſt miniſters were members of the Jacobin club, which at this period ſeems to have poſſeſſed the ableſt men and the entire confidence of the nation. The vigorous meaſures purſued by the aſſembly had alſo the happieſt effects both upon public credit and upon the minds of the emigrants, upwards of four hundred having paſſed through Liſle, on their return, in one day.

About this time a circumſtance occured of no ſmall importance to France, and particularly in her preſent ſtate; this was the death of the king of Sweden, who had been a very active enemy to the formation of the conſtitution. He was ſhot at a maſquerade by Ankerſtrom, who had been a captain in the guards; but a number of others, among whom was the king's private ſecretary, and many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed nobility were engaged in the plot. This murder was attributed to various cauſes.—Perſonal inveteracy, as the regecide had recently been diſcharged from the ſervice. The king had lately overthrown the liberties of the nation, and rendered himſelf arbitrary; ſome ſuſpected the nobles had taken this meaſure to revenge themſelves.—Others laid his death to French influence; but Ankerſtrom at his execution declared he killed him as a tyrant. Its immediate effect was the withdrawing a powerful ally from the confederacy. The ſucceſſor to Guſtavus was a minor, and a regency was appointed, at the head of whom was the duke of Sudermania the late king's brother; who exhibited a rare character for a prince, a man devoted to peace and civil liberty.

This period is alſo remarkable for the introduction of the Guillotine, which was invented by a ſurgeon of that name.

The anſwer to the requiſition made at the court of Vienna, was ſubmitted to the aſſembly on the twenty-ninth of March by the new miniſter Dumourier, and amounted almoſt to a declaration of war. Prince Kaunitz, in a memorial dated the eighteenth of March, in the name of the king of Hungary, ſtates that he had adopted fully the political ſyſtem of the late emperor, and would explain himſelf with the frankneſs becoming a great power. He recriminated on the French the charge of aſſembling troops upon the frontiers, and ſignified that other princes beſide the king of Hungary might perhaps think it neceſſary to aſſemble ſtill greater numbers to maintain their internal peace againſt the example of France and the criminal machinations of the Jacobins. The reſt of the paper was in a ſimilar ſtyle of haughtineſs and outrage, aud concluded with obſerving that the ſound and principal part of the nation, in other words the ariſtocracy, would conſider as a conſoling proſpect the exiſtence of a concert, the views of which were worthy of their confidence. Notwithſtanding the indignation which ſo inſolent an addreſs muſt neceſſarily have produced, Dumourier, with great temper, entreated the aſſembly to wait in tranquillity for the categorical anſwer of the court of Vienna, which he expected in the courſe of a few days: and this recommendation of the miniſter was unanimouſly aſſented to.

The vigorous and ſpirited conduct of Dumourier extracted from the king of Sardinia a more moderate and favourable reply. He aſſured the miniſter in general terms, that his troops were actually below the peace eſtabliſhment, and that he permitted no hoſtile aſſemblages of the emigrants within his dominions.

On the ſixth of April, the committee of public inſtruction moved the ſuppreſſion of the monaſtic orders; one of the popular eccleſiaſtics, moved an additional decree to aboliſh all diſtinction of dreſs both eccleſiaſtical and monkiſh. And it was ſolemnly decreed, that all eccleſiaſtical marks of diſtinction, except in the celebration of divine worſhip, ſhould be aboliſhed.

The aſſembly on the nineteenth afforded another example of enlightened and liberal policy. In the evening ſitting a letter was read from Meſſrs. Baur, merchants of Marſeilles, which announced that Marchand commander of the Solide, had diſcovered four new iſlands in the Indian ſeas, of which he had taken poſſeſſion in the name of the French nation, and of Lewis the Sixteenth. The iſlands were full of people, and abounded in animal and vegetable productions. The ſpeech of Lueſnay, on this occaſion, is worthy of being recorded.

"It is a great problem," ſaid he, "whether the diſcovery of America has been uſeful to Europe; but certainly America has greatly ſuffered by the diſcovery—The iſlands diſcovered by Marchand are peopled—if there was but one man there, he is maſter of the iſle which he inhabits. With what right can people, who renounce all conqueſt, take poſſeſſion of an iſland which does not belong to them by any poſſible title? Citizens, the moment to prove our attachment to the principles of our conſtitution is come—Let others, if they pleaſe, carry to theſe ſavage iſlands, as they have been hitherto denominated, the arts, the riches, and the vices of Europe! Let us remain faithful to the declaration of the rights of men, and let us take care not to make an attack on the natural liberty, which we have recogniſed, and which we have been the firſt to proclaim."

This opinion was crowned by general plaudits, ſeveral times reiterated, and the aſſembly cloſed the diſcuſſion.

The period now approached when the intereſted and barbarous politics of a combination of deſpots was to deluge Europe with blood, to bring on a great and populous nation the moſt dreadful outrages, and to involve in a general ruin an unhappy and pious prince, whoſe greateſt crime, poſſibly was being the dupe of their criminal intrigues.

What the caution of Leopold would at leaſt have deferred, was precipitated by the ardour and violence of a young king: Yet even he (if we may credit the repreſentation of Noailles, the French ambaſſador at Vienna) was urged to a premature declaration of his intentions by the other powers.

The diſpatch of Dumourier to the king of Hungary was accompanied by an affectionate letter in the king's own hand-writing to his nephew, entreating him by every motive to ſtop the effuſion of blood, and aſſuring him that the conflict could only prove ultimately fatal to him, the king of France. With ſo little ſucceſs however was this application attended, that the reply of the imperial miniſter ſeemed only to breathe an increaſed ſpirit of inſolence and pride. The miniſter avowed openly the concert of princes againſt the conſtitution of France, and inſiſted on certain terms, upon which alone the courts of Berlin and Vienna could with-hold from hoſtilities. Theſe terms were—firſt, to guarantee the feudal rights of the German princes in Alſace and Lorraine; ſecondly to reſtore Avignon to the pope; and the third condition was the moſt ſingular of all, ſince, as it was indefinite, it muſt be modified according to that conſtruction which the demandants might prefer, and was incapable of any other definition. The terms of the

condition were, "That the neighbouring powers ſhall have no reaſon for the apprehenſions which ariſe from the preſent weakneſs of the internal government of France." For the reſt, Noailles was referred to the official note of the eighteenth of March, which has been already noticed.

As the intentions of the combined courts could be no longer doubted, it was reſolved in council to declare war againſt the king of Hungary. Perhaps, notwithſtanding the provocation which had been given to the French nation, it would ſtill have been moſt politic to have been leſs precipitate, and to have compelled Auſtria to appear in every view in the character of the aggreſſor. Such at leaſt we are aſſured was the opinion of La Fayette. But in one point the ariſtocratical and republican parties perfectly agreed, that a war alone could eſtabliſh or terminate their hopes; and the hopes of the king and his miniſter appear to have been governed by the ſame ſentiment, for the reſolution in the council for war was propoſed by Dumourier and warmly ſupported by the king. The propoſal for declaring war was made, by the French king, to the aſſembly on the twentieth of April, when war was decreed againſt the king of Hungary and Bohemia, amidſt the applauſes of the whole legiſlative body, and of a numerous croud of ſpectators.

The motives alleged by the French nation, in their declaration for commencing hoſtilities, were—

That the court of Vienna, in contradiction to repeated remonſtrances, continued to grant open protection to the rebel ſubjects of France, who were preparing to carry fire and ſword into the boſom of their country.

That it excited and formed a concert of princes againſt the independence and liberty of France.

That the king of Hungary and Bohemia, in his official notes of the eighteenth of March and ſeventh of April, openly avowed, and refuſed to renounce this concert.

That notwithſtanding the propoſal made to him on the eleventh of March, to reduce on both ſides the troops on the frontiers to a peace eſtabliſhment, he continued and increaſed his hoſtile preparations.

That he inſulted the ſovereignty of the French nation, by preſenting to it conditions as the only terms by which peace was to be obtained, among which was the confirmation of the feudal rights of the German princes, having poſſeſſions in France, though the French nation had always continued to hold out indemnifications to them.

Beſides theſe inſtances, the French declaration mentions the contempt with which the ultimate requſition of the king was received, in not condeſcending to anſwer it, &c. The aſſembly declares ſolemnly its intentions of adhering to the principles of the conſtitution, in not undertaking any war of conqueſt, and hopes that, under the preſent provocations, the nations of Europe will not conſider the war which they are now obliged to commence in defence of their liberties as an infringement of that principle.

The politicians of France upon the commencement of hoſtilities, received aſſurances of powerful ſupport from the Belgic provinces, which had ſo lately been in a ſtate of revolt, and were, at this period, generally irreconciled to the dominion of Auſtria. The operations of the campaign were precipitated alſo upon this account, and their meaſures haſty and ill concerted were attended with the ſucceſs that might reaſonably be expected.

The ſpecific mode in which the Auſtrians were to be attacked, appears not to have been much better concerted than the general plan—their untrained ſoldiers were parceled out in ſmall diviſions, under commanders with whoſe merits they were little acquainted, and ſome of whom were actually diſaffected to the popular cauſe. This plan, was to divide the enemy's forces, and on the twenty-eighth of April three parties of French entered the Auſtrian Netherlands in different parts. A body conſiſting of ten ſquadrons of cavalry, under the command of Theobald Dillon, an able and experienced officer, and a field mareſchal, was directed to march from Liſle for Tournay. Another of ten thouſand men, under lieutenant general Biron (formerly the duc de Biron), was to preſent itſelf before Mons, in order to prove the diſpoſitions of the Auſtrian ſoldiers, and ſtill more of the inhabitants of the country, from whom conſiderable aid was expected; and a third detachment of twelve hundred, under the command of general Carl, was to proceed to Furnes. Valenciennes was the place of general rendezvous for the troops which mareſchal Rochambeau was to draw from the garriſons, to ſupport the body under Biron.

The French appear to have had bad intelligence, and to have been deceived both as to the numbers and the diſpoſition of the enemy. At Tournay Dillon found a ſtrong body under general count d'Happencourt ready to receive him, and ſtrongly poſted. The national troops, not yet accuſtomed to ſuſtain the fire of regular ſoldiers, were thrown into diſorder almoſt on the firſt attack. The general made every exertion to rally them, and was obſerved in the front of the line, exhorting them to keep their ranks. Unfortunately in the midſt of the confuſion, ſome perſon actuated either by cowardice or treachery, exclaimed,—"Sauve qui peut!" and the voice appeared to proceed from the ſpot where Dillon ſtood; a general cry of "Treaſon, treaſon, we are betrayed!" ſpread from rank to rank; the panic became univerſal, and the whole party fled before the purſuers in the utmoſt diſorder, even to the gates of Liſle. The unfortunate commander, Dillon, was murdered almoſt as ſoon as he entered the city, and his dead body torn to pieces by the ſoldiers and the mob. Their ſavage fury had ſcarcely ſatiated itſelf upon this victim of popular deluſion, before a party of the Royal Cravate, (a regiment of cavalry) ruſhing precipitately towards Liſle, overtook Berthois, an officer of engineers, beyond the Porte de Five. They no ſooner ſaw him, than ſome of them exclaimed, "There goes another of theſe traitors! and inſtantly fell upon the unhappy gentleman, who, after receiving ſeveral ſhots, fell from his horſe; and the body being ſuſpended from a lamp-iron, every ſoldier of the party diſcharged his piece at it as he paſſed. It was alſo ſaid, that Chaumont, aid-de-camp to general Dillon, a prieſt under the ſuſpicion of being a ſpy, and four Tyroleſe priſoners, were alſo killed. It however afterwards appeared that Chaumont had only been miſſing, having been left for dead upon the field of battle, and that one or two perſons only, beſides the general and Berthois, loſt their lives in the affray.

The diviſion under Biron took poſſeſſion of Quievrain on the twentieth, without oppoſition, and marched towards Mons in three columns. The general reached Boſſu without meeting any perſon except ſome travellers, who informed him of a grand movement of the Auſtrians. At the end of the village of Boſſu, he was oppoſed by ſome hulans whom he diſperſed by a few diſcharges of cannon. As ſoon as he came within ſight of Mons, he could diſcover that the heights before the city were occupied by a very con-

ſiderable body of troops, advantageouſly poſted, which it appeared afterwards, were commanded by the baron de Beaulieu. The Auſtrians, it was evident, were more numerous than the French, and the general could diſcover ſome manœuvres which announced an intention to turn his right. Thus ſituated, Biron determined to wait the news of the attack towards Tournay. About five in the evening, however the enemy attacked a part of his right wing at the village of Vannes—The French conducted themſelves with great ſkill and firmneſs, and the Auſtrians were repulſed with ſome loſs.

At length Biron received information from mareſchal Rochambeau of the defeat of general Dillon, and determined to retreat in the morning. Towards ten o'clock at night he ſaw the fifteenth and ſixteenth regiments of dragoons mounted on horſeback without orders, and proceeding to the left of the camp, where they formed a column. He purſued them alone and unarmed, but was carried away with the column, which was in a quick trot, and crying out, they were betrayed. In this manner the general was carried for more than a league, before he could prevail on his flying troops to obey him; He ſucceeded at length, and brought them all, except thirty or forty, back to the camp: but the deſerters proceeded on to Valenciennes, reporting, that they were betrayed by Biron, who had deſerted to Mons. On the thirteenth at day-break Biron began his retreat, and arrived without moleſtation at Quievrain. Here he left Fleury with a part of his troops, and went to conduct the army to the camp they had occupied before Quievrain. He ſcarcely, however was arrived at this place, before the battalion of national-guards, who covered Quievrain, were diſpoſſeſſed by the hulans; Biron now conceived that the only means of ſaving the camp was to attack Quievrain, which he did with the forty-ninth regiment, and carried it; but to keep it, ſome ſupport was neceſſary; and the reſt of the army, and the infantry in particular, were ſo exhauſted with fatigue, that they were utterly unfit for ſervice. The general therefore found himſelf under the neceſſity of abandoning his camp and train to the enemy, and of making a precipitate retreat to Valenciennes. Mareſchal Rochambeau poſted himſelf with ſome ſquadrons on the heights of St. Sauve to favour the retreat, which was accompliſhed; the French ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs in this expedition, but more by hunger and fatigue than by the ſword of the enemy.

The only one of the three parties, which ſucceeded, was that under general Carl, and which conſiſted of only four thouſand infantry and two hundred and forty cavalry. This ſmall party preſented themſelves on the twenty-ninth of April before Furnes, and the commander deſired a conference with the magiſtrates; in the courſe of which, he informed them, that the French were not come to make war on the Flemings, but to treat them as friends and brothers. The magiſtrates offered to deliver up the keys of the gates, but this was declined. The failure of the general plan obliged Carl to retreat to Ghywilde, and ſoon after to Dunkirk, with no other fruit from his expedition.

So ill concerted had the meaſures of the French miniſtry been, that Rochambeau complained that "the plan of Biron's expedition was publiſhed in all the journals before he knew it officially;" and ſays, in his letter to the king, that "the miniſters, and particularly the miniſter of war, wiſhed to play the whole game, and make him only a piece to be moved about at will." On this account, and becauſe he diſapproved of offenſive war, he deſired permiſſion to reſign; and after ſome delay, mareſchal Luckner was appointed to the command of the northern army in his ſtead.

Notwithſtanding the repulſe of the French, on their attempt to penetrate the Auſtrian frontiers, it was ſome time before the enemy was in a condition to retailate. On the ſeventeenth of May a body of Auſtrians, to the amount of three thouſand, attacked Bavai, and took the garriſon, amounting to eighty men, priſoners; but intelligence was no ſooner brought of the attack, than Noailles with a van-guard of cavalry was ſent to the relief of the town. Mareſchal Luckner in perſon accompanied this advanced guard; and mareſchal Rochambeau followed to ſupport him with a body of infantry. The expedition of the Auſtrians was, however, only a predatory excurſion, and they had retreated two hours before the arrival of Luckner, and took with them a quantity of forage, which, in effect, appeared to be their principal object.

If was a part of the plan concerted in the French cabinet, that all the French troops could be in motion about the ſame time, and form if poſſible a general rendezvous in the centre of the Auſtrian Netherlands. Agreeably with this plan Lafayette was to be at Givet by the thirtieth of the month; the orders had reached him only on the twenty-fourth, and though in moſt reſpects ill appointed, by extraordinary exertions he provided ſeventy-eight pieces of artillery by the twenty-ſixth, and on the ſame day diſpatched Narbonne, who with a heavy train of artillery performed a march of fifty-ſix leagues over ground generally bad, in five days, and arrived in time at Givet. The reſt of the troops were equally punctual, and after driving in the enemy's patroles, arrived on the appointed day. Gouvion took poſt at Bouvines, half-way to Namur, on the firſt of March; and every thing appear to promiſe the greateſt ſucceſs. The failure of Biron and the cruel fate of Dillon reached the army at this place, and excited the livelieſt indignation, as it did at Paris likewiſe; the objects of this diviſion were thus fruſtrated, but they continued to advance gradually on the enemy. On the twenty-third Gouvion was attacked at Humphine near Florennes, by a ſuperior body of the enemy, his force amounting only to four thouſand men. The Auſtrian advance-guard was twice repulſed; but Gouvion perceiving their ſuperiority of numbers, diſpatched his baggage to Philipville, where it arrived with only the loſs of twenty tents, for which he had no means of carriage, and effected his retreat in perfect order. In the action the French loſt three cannon, had twenty-four men killed and ſixty-three wounded.

On the eleventh of June the Auſtrians attacked the advance-guard of Lafayette, at Griſelle near Maubege; Gouvion who commanded penetrated their deſign, and diſpatched his equipage to Maubege, and commenced a retreating fight, in which his infantry being covered by hedges, annoyed the enemy, while the artillery cut up their columns. A hurricane prevented the main body from hearing the ſignals, but as ſoon as intelligence was received in camp, Narbonne marched a reinforcement with which he took the enemy in flank, while Lafayette advanced with the main army The Auſtrians were driven from the field, leaving behind their killed and wounded; they were purſued more than a league beyond the poſition of their advance-guard, and the French reoccupied their former poſt. In the courſe of the action the lieutenant-colonels of the regiment of Cote d'Or were were killed, and Gouvion, enraged that an ammunition-cheſt did not come up in time, went to expedite it with a huſſar, towards a houſe not in ſight of the enemy, and there was killed by a rolling bullet.

The hopes of the emigrants had been much elevated by the tranſactions in the northern army; to their emiſſaries the falſe alarm in Dillon's army has been attributed; the fourth

regiment of huſſars, and ſome other ſoldiers, deſerted from Straſburg, and ſerved further to raiſe the expectations of a counter-revolutionary ſpirit in the people; in this inſtance however they were deceived, for the ſoldiers finding themſelves betrayed by their officers, returned in a body to their duty.

The concerns of the war, and the conteſts of party, occupied the national aſſembly ſo completely, that little was effected in the buſineſs of legiſlation from the commencement of the year. They however paſſed a decree which ordered the burning of the parchments, writings, and pictures, relative to the pedigrees of the nobility. A decree paſſed about the ſame period for educating at the expence of the nation thoſe children who had been ſent from St. Domingo to France, but whoſe parents or relations had been diſabled by the troubles from remitting money for their ſupport, was truly laudable. Some laws were alſo made reſpecting the crime of deſertion. The decree, however, for the ſuppreſſion of privateering was calculated in every view to reflect honour on a civilized nation. War is a ſtate ſo naturally pregnant with evil, as to induce the benevolent mind to wiſh for every mitigation of its calamities; and the plunder of individuals, uſeful to the world and hoſtile to none, is a ſhameful practice, calculated entirely to pervert the morals of a people, and to render them in every inſtance baſe, ſanguinary, and ferocious.

But we approach a period, in the events of which theſe inferior meaſures are loſt. When treating of the flight of the king, we intimated that the nation was not in a ſtate to bear a ſecond revolution. It was impoſſible in the claſh of parties at home, the combinations abroad, the corruption and intrigues ſupported by both, and the diſtraction conſequent to ſuch a ſtate of things, that there ſhould not be a ſubverſion of order and of property. It was impoſſible that a new government, in many inſtances oppoſite to all former principles, ſhould be eſtabliſhed without the moſt violent convulſion of the whole ſtate. The firſt conſtitution was a ſufficient deviation from the habits and prejudices of the French; and many men friends to the broadeſt principles of repreſentative government were of opinion that to attempt to carry further the democratic ſcheme, was to endanger the liberty they had already achieved.

The moſt diſtinguiſhed of the republican party thought differently, and they did not foreſee that they themſelves muſt ſhortly loſe the power which they were about to aſſume, and that men of daring views and diſpoſitions, devoid of principle, and ſuſceptible of the baſeſt corruptions as well as the blackeſt crimes, would be enabled to take the lead, and forcibly exclude them from the authority which they occupied.

The events of this period are minutely intereſting, and aſtoniſhing collectively; and the intereſt increaſes as events progreſs: there is a conſiderable degree of difficulty in the attempt to abſtract from the multitude of facts, the volumes of contradictory opinions and accounts promulged concerning thoſe facts, one uniform and conſiſtent chain of narration; perhaps the very nature of the tranſactions involve them in confuſion; the events themſelves from this period, are perplexed by their frequent contradiction, iſſuing with rapidity and executed with impetuous celerity, at times accompliſhing their objects by the boldneſs of the deſign, at others palſied by intrigue or meaſures equally bold ſuddenly and more promptly executed; perhaps it is in the ſources of the events and the characters of the actors we ſhall be beſt able to comprehend the tranſactions themſelves.

The influence of the jacobin ſociety has been already noticed, and the high and encreaſing credit of the republicans; their numbers in the firſt national aſſembly we before obſerved were few, and they had expreſſed a diſquietude, which ſoon grew into jealouſy, at ſome changes which had taken place in the conſtitution itſelf and the ſurprizing alteration in the temper of ſome of thoſe who had been the moſt ardent in the cauſe of liberty—Barnave, the Lameths, and others, had become at once objects of regard at court, and from being its moſt zealous opponents its moſt ſtrenuous advocates in the aſſembly.

Theſe united conſiderations only ſtimulated the republicans to ſeek every means of producing alterations ſuitable to their ideas in the conſtitution; thoſe who were content with the conſtitution had generally retired, and the legiſlative aſſembly contained a conſiderable majority impreſſed with thoſe ſentiments concerning the imperfections of the conſtitution. By one of thoſe fortuitous occurrences which frequently ariſe in momentous periods, the court was as hoſtile to the conſtitution on account of the reſtraints it impoſed, as the republicans for the looſeneſs and inſufficiency of theſe reſtraints; each party was diſſatisfied, but from the moſt oppoſite motives, and their efforts directed inceſſantly to the ſame point at length produced the deſtruction which they ſought, but without accompliſhing the object which was to replace the ruin.

To depict the progreſs of this extraordinary combination would require volumes, the leading features may mark the character of the whole: notwithſtanding their popularity for talents and integrity, the political principles of the republicans had not gained a majority in the nation, nor even in Paris; but there happened to be in the capital a number of the moſt determined republicans, many of whom had openly declared for a republic upon the flight of Lewis, but whoſe voices at that time were drowned in the murmurings of compaſſion and the dignified ſentiments of humanity. Danton is ſaid to have been the firſt to conceive and form the bold project of the republic, his character we ſhall touch upon at a ſubſequent period. But there were others, whoſe lives having been devoted to political ſtudies, had without any concert with Danton and others, long turned their attention to the ſame object; Condorcet, Briſſot, and Thomas Paine, had eſtabliſhed a gazette entitled *Le Republicain*, in the very firſt number of which they openly unfolded their principles; they held out the flight of the king as a dereliction of the crown and a proof of the inutility of the office; they appealed to the memory and feelings of thoſe who witneſſed the diſtraction and diſtreſs which prevailed before his flight and after his reſtoration, and the delicious and tranſporting tranquillity which prevailed while he was abſent; they were no leſs explicit on the perſonal conduct of the king, who had violated the law that reſtricted him to twenty leagues from the legiſlature, —that which declared deſertion an abdication, —the oath which he had taken to ſupport theſe laws and the whole conſtitution, and they contraſted his declaration upon his flight with his ſubſequent declarations and meaſures. The reiteration of theſe ſelf-evident truths, the promulgation of of ſimilar principles in gazettes of unequal merit which multiplied daily, the ſpirit of enquiry that had ſucceeded the ſpirit of doubt, and above all the irritation of the public mind from the external preſſure of war, had produced a fluctuation in the public opinion which finally ſettled with thoſe whoſe talents had excited admiration, and whoſe conduct and principles diſplayed a ſublime magnanimity, and a humanity ſo diffuſive as to embrace the good and warm the ſelf-love of every individual.

The court was not inſenſible to the ſeverity of the diſcuſſions to which it was expoſed, but was blind to the change of the public ſentiment; ſurrounded by characters which ſoothed its vanity and flattered its hopes, it thought that by filling the public offices with ſervile or intriguing men, and keeping within the letter of the conſtitution, the law would be ſufficient to render its authority ſecure. With this perſuaſion the court making the extreme uſe of the powers veſted in it the more effectually to carry into execution its treaſonable deſigns, had blinded the public by the diſmiſſion of one ſet of miniſters, and the choice of others, always profeſſing to comply with the wiſhes of the people: but theſe changes became ſo frequent as to preclude deception, and it was openly made known to the court, that the king, to prove his attachment to the people, ſhould chuſe his miniſters from among thoſe whoſe private virtues were known, and whoſe patriotiſm was not equivocal.

Dumourier, like Mirabeau, whoſe vices were too great to attach the confidence of the diſcerning to his talents, ſaw that meaſures muſt be adopted to ſooth the popular feeling, adviſed the admiſſion of ſome popular men to the adminiſtration; accordingly Roland, a man of auſtere morals and the ſimpleſt manners, was called to the home department; Servan, author of a popular work written before the revolution, called *The citizen ſoldier*, was appointed miniſter of war; and Claviere a Geneveſe to the management of the finances; the laſt of theſe only belonged to a popular club, but their deciſive preference for republican government was as well known as the moderation of their temper and the purity of their lives; in thus driving before the ſtorm the king acted with prudence, and had his diſpoſition to profit by the advice of thoſe men been ſincere, no meaſure was more likely to reſcue him from his embarraſſments; but it was only the expedient of deſparation ſupported by the intrigue of Dumourier, who placing a fond reliance on his own ability, thought to manage the government by the principles of military tactics.

The proceedings of the adminiſtration were however looked up to with that confidence which the probity of the principal members was calculated to inſpire; but this confidence was not durable: how proſpects ſo fair ſhould diſappear, will no longer appear extraordinary when the mode of proceeding at a period ſo critical comes to be conſidered, and we are furniſhed with the facts from an authority as illuſtrious as unfortunate,* who was a principal though inviſible actor in the politics of this era.

Lewis the Sixteenth, behaved to this miniſtry with the greateſt good-humour—He was not preciſely ſuch a perſonage as he has been induſtriouſly repreſented by thoſe who were intereſted in degrading him. He was neither that ſtupid ſot which he has been held out to be for the purpoſe of exciting contempt, nor that polite, good and affectionate character for which his friends have extolled him. Nature had formed him in a common kind of mould: he would have acted well in an obſcure ſituation; but he was depraved by a royal education, and loſt his moderation at a critical period, in which his ſafety could have been affected only by the aſſiſtance of genius or virtue. A common mind, educated at a court, and taught from the cradle the art of diſſembling, acquires many advantages in its commerce with mankind. The art of diſcovering to each no more than he would wiſh him to know, is only a habit, to which conſtant exerciſe gives the appearance of addreſs; and a man muſt be born an ideot, in order to appear a fool in a ſimilar ſituation. Lewis the Sixteenth had beſides a good memory, and a great ſhare of

* Madam Roland.

activity; he never was a moment unemployed, and read a good deal. He had the moſt perfect and minute knowledge of the treaties made by France with the neighbouring powers; he was well acquainted with its hiſtory, and was the beſt geographer in the kingdom. Knowledge of names; the juſt application of them to the phyſiognomies of the perſons of the court to whom they belonged; acquaintance with all their private anecdotes, had been extended by him to every individual, who had at all diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the revolution; and no one of any quality or deſcription could be mentioned to him, of whom he could not give ſome kind of information founded on their private hiſtory. But he was without ſtrength of character, confined in his views, twiſted as it were his feelings by ſuperſtitious prejudices and jeſuitical principles, and was literally afraid of hell, the horns and hoofs of the devil, and excommunication; with all this it was impoſſible he ſhould be any thing but a poor creature of a king. If he had been born two hundred years earlier, and had had a reaſonable wife, he would have made no more noiſe in the world than other princes of his line, who have paſſed acroſs the ſtage without doing either much good or evil: but aſcending the throne amidſt the diſſoluteneſs of the court of Lewis the Fifteenth, and the diſordered ſtate of the treaſury, and ſurrounded by corrupted men, he was drawn on by a giddy woman, who joined to Auſtrian inſolence the forwardneſs of youth, and to the arrogance of grandeur the intoxication of the ſenſes, and the carleſſneſs of levity; and who was herſelf ſeduced by all the vices of an Aſiatic court.

Lewis the Sixteenth too weak to hold the reins of government, which was now falling headlong into ruin, and crumbling to deſolation, haſtened his own by faults without number, continually floating between the fear of irritating his ſubjects, and his wiſh to keep them within bounds, and unable to govern them, convened the ſtates-general, inſtead of reforming the expences, and regulating his court. After having himſelf unveiled the ſpring, and ſhewed the way to innovation, he hoped to ſtop its progreſs, by affecting a power againſt which he had furniſhed arms, and againſt whom he had himſelf given inſtructions for reſiſtance.

No other means were left him, than to ſacrifice with a good grace a part of his authority, in order, by means of the other, to ſeize the whole, on a proper occaſion, which he was not however likely to do; ſince he gave himſelf up to the moſt deſparate intrigues, the only ſort familiar to thoſe whom he choſe for his adviſers, under the protection and patronage of his wife. He had taken ſome pains to impreſs the popular miniſters whom he now choſe with the idea that he placed confidence in them; and he was ſo ſucceſsful, that for three weeks after their appointment Roland and Claviere delighted with the apparent good diſpoſitions of the king, thought only of the happineſs with which the nation was about to be bleſſed and the completion of the revolution. When a doubt of the king's diſpoſition was ſuggeſted, Roland replied, "If he is not an honeſt man, he "is the moſt arrant cheat in the kingdom; diſſimulation can hardly go ſo far."

At this period the ſittings of the councils might be called decent in compariſon with what they became afterwards; but they were at that time puerile, conſidering the great intereſts which were at ſtake. Each of the miniſters who had papers to ſign went to the king on the council day to arrange this particular buſineſs before the council began. They all went afterwards into the council hall, where, after the decrees had been ſigned, which the miniſter of juſtice preſented, debates took place reſpecting the operations of

government, internal order, relations with foreign powers, peace or war. The king suffered his miniſters to talk; in the mean time he read the Gazette, the Engliſh newspapers in their own language, or wrote letters. The ſanction of the decrees, however, fixed his attention; he did not give his ſanction readily, but never refuſed. When a decree was preſented for the firſt time, he put off ſanctioning it till the following council, when he came with his mind made up.

With reſpect to objects of great political concern, he often eluded examining them, by turning the converſation on different ſubjects, or on matters peculiar to each of the miniſters. If the buſineſs turned on war affairs, he talked about travels; if it was a diplomatic diſcuſſion, he began a hiſtory of the manners of the country in queſtion, or made enquiries about its ſituation and produce; if the examination of the ſtate affairs led him into details of agriculture and rural economy, he queſtioned Roland about his works, talked to Dumourier about his anecdotes, and ſo with the reſt. The council in ſhort was little elſe than a coffee-houſe, where every one learned the news of the day, and amuſed himſelf with trifles; there was no regiſter kept of the deliberations, no ſecretary to minute them. After three or four hours converſation the council broke up, without having done any thing except putting ſome ſignatures, and this took place three times a week.

Such was the mode of proceeding while the combined enemies of France were forming their immenſe plans of partition, when an army of one hundred thouſand Auſtrians, Heſſians, and emigrants were advancing into the French territory, and Lafayette with only eighteen thouſand men in his camp to oppoſe them; and the other generals either ſhut up in fortreſſes, or with ſmall bodies of ill provided and wretchedly equipped troops detached over the conntry. The queſtion of war had been warmly diſcuſſed; but it was unavoidable; the decrees for the camp and reſpecting the clergy renewed the heat and blew it up to animoſity; the court ſaw in theſe meaſures the fruſtration of its machinations; but the king was too much fortified in his reſolution to declare his refuſal directly; under various pretexts he deferred it from day to day for fifteen days. The urgency of the meaſure at length became ſo evident as to overcome in all appearance the politic ſcruples of Dumourier, for the ſix miniſters were at length unanimous. During theſe diſcuſſions Dumourier preſerved his uſual intimacy with the king, as his morals were more in uniſon with the court, his viſits were conſtant to the private parties of the queen. The delay of the ſanction was now underſtood as a poſitive refuſal.

The republican party in the mean time were indefatigable in their declamation on the exiſtence of what they termed an Auſtrian committee, or a combination of courtiers under the protection of the queen, to betray the republic to the houſe of Auſtria, and as the ex-miniſters Montmorin and Bertrand were charged with being at the head of this combination, they determined on the proſecution of their calumniators. An unfortunate ſtep which was taken by La Riviere, a judge of the peace, in citing Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, three deputies of the aſſembly, and among the moſt clamorous of the accuſers of Montmorin, to appear before him, rather injured the cauſe it was meant to ſerve. A decree of accuſation was paſſed againſt La Rivere, and Genſonne and Briſſot undertook to prove the exiſtence of the Auſtrian committee.

As the character of the king was implicated in the charge of this traitorous combination, he wrote himſelf to the aſſembly, requeſting that the truth of the report might

be fully inveſtigated, and if deſtitute of foundation, that the inventors of it might be brought to puniſhment—But this interference of the king was cenſured as unconſtitutional, and the application was heard only with a murmur of diſapprobation.

The Engliſh cabinet beheld the proceedings at Paris with ſilent ſatisfaction; but from the diſpoſition of the people they dared not yet openly declare for the confederacy, the exultation expreſſed by the friends of liberty in England, the writings deſſeminated to explain the power of the people, excited miniſterial fears for the ſafety of the Engliſh govsrnment; a great portion of the nation appeared much intereſted in the prevalence of republican power in France, and temporiſing meaſures alone ſuited the ſtate of affairs. In conſequence a proclamation was iſſued prohibiting "dangerous doctrines." This was ſoon after followed by another proclamation to prevent any Britiſh ſubject aſſiſting either party in the preſent war. The laſt order was given in conſequence of a repreſentation made by Chauvelin, the French miniſter at that court, of the motives which had induced the meaſures undertaken by France, at the ſame time hoping that the Engliſh, having no intereſt in the internal government of any foreign power, would remain neuter; mean time the confederated kings were uſing every poſſible means to increaſe their numbers.

On the twenty-ſecond of May, Genſonne and Briſſot brought forward their accuſation againſt Montmorin and Bertrand: but the only fact on which they could reſt was a paſſage in a letter from Montmorin to the French miniſter at Vienna, in Auguſt 1791, in which he ſays, "The beſt men in the national aſſembly. ſuch as Barnave, Lameth, Duport, and thoſe who have the greateſt influence, are now acting in concert with the true ſervants of the king, to reſtore to his majeſty the authority neceſſary to carry on his government." On the firſt and ſecond of June, the ex-miniſters ſubmitted their defences in writing to the national aſſembly who referred them to a committee.

A report was now circulated, that on the twenty-third of May the king intended ſecretly to abſcond from Paris; and Petion, the mayor, wrote to the commandant-general of the national-guard, communicating his ſuſpicions, and entreated him to employ every meaſure of obſervation and prudence. The letter of Petion produced an immediate reply from the king, directed to the municipality of Paris—His majeſty treats the report as a new and horrible calumny, intended only to excite the people to inſurrection, and to force him to quit the capital—He however aſſures them, the efforts of theſe traitors ſhall be in vain, "While France," ſays he, "has enemies to encounter at home and abroad, it is in the capital my poſt is to be eſtabliſhed. I commit myſelf," he adds, "without reſerve, to the citizens of Paris and the national guard—Surrounded by them, and ſtrong in the purity of my intentions, I ſhall wrap myſelf up in tranquility, fearleſs of all events."

Petion anſwered the letter of the king. He mentioned having received information from different quarters reſpecting the king's intended flight, but he omitted to ſpecify the evidence on which he grounded his ſuſpicion. That the king, harraſſed as he was by the diſſatisfaction of the metropolis, might indeed meditate a ſecond flight, is by no means improbable; that even ſuppoſing the ſuſpicion not well founded, Petion might receive information to that effect, either from ill-intentioned or credulous perſons, is equally to be believed; but in either caſe, the evidence on which the fact reſted ſhould have been brought forward.

Notwithſtanding this defect of evidence, the king's intention to withdraw himſelf appears to have obtained ſome degree of credit; and as the body-guard, which had been alotted to the king, by the conſtitution, was particularly ſuſpected of inciviſm, it was diſbanded by a decree of the aſſembly on the thirtieth of May, and the province of defending the perſon of the king was committed to the national-guard of Paris. A decree of accuſation was alſo paſſed againſt the commandant Briſſac. At the ſame ſitting two of the deputies attached to the court, Frondiere and Calve, were committed priſoners to the Abbaye, on a charge of inſolent conduct towards the aſſembly.

The refuſal of the king to ſanction the decree againſt the refractory clergy, only ſerved to provoke a meaſure of ſtill greater ſeverity againſt theſe unhappy perſons. On the twenty-ſixth of May a decree was paſſed, authoriſing the baniſhment of any nonjuring prieſt, on a petition preſented to the directory of the diſtrict by twenty citizens. The eccleſiaſtic was, in ſuch caſe, to declare to what foreign country he meant to retire, when he was to be furniſhed with a paſſport and quit the diſtrict in twenty-four hours. To this decree alſo the king, after ſome deliberation, affixed his veto.

The national-guard of Paris did not eſcape the ſuſpicions of the republican party. They ſtill feared or affected to fear the Auſtrian committee. To protect the capital from its external enemies, it was propoſed on the ſixth of June by the military committee—"That a camp of twenty thouſand men ſhould be formed under the walls of Paris—that to complete this levy, every canton in the kingdom ſhould be obliged to contribute five men, one of whom was to be a horſeman; and that they were to aſſemble at Paris before the fourteenth of July, the day of the celebration of the general confederation, at which, to augment their patriotiſm, they were to aſſiſt." This propoſal, which was firſt ſuggeſted by the miniſter of war Servan, was received with infinite diſſatisfaction by the national-guard and volunteers of Paris; and the king refuſed to ſanction the decree.

Nearly about the ſame period, a propoſal was made to the national aſſembly, by the ſection of Croix Rouge, that, as the neceſſity was urgent for arming the whole nation, in the preſent critical moment, and as the ſcarcity of fire-arms, and their immenſe price, rendered it impoſſible for many patriotic citizens to obtain a ſupply, the deputation requeſted the aſſembly to order an immediate fabrication of pikes over the whole ſurface of the empire. It was however, ſome weeks before Paris was formally armed in this manner, by a decree of the aſſembly.

Whether driven to deſparation, or encouraged by the ſupport which he experienced from ſome of the moſt ambitious characters, and particularly from La Fayette, is uncertain; but the king ſeemed now ſpiritedly to vindicate his authority againſt his opponents. The event proved that this reſolution was untimely taken. He ſhould have permitted his moſt violent adverſaries more completely to expoſe themſelves; he might even perhaps have made a ſelection from thoſe who were not the moſt favourably diſpoſed to the court, and, by friendly and ingenious conduct, might have convinced them of the ſincerity of his intentions, and might have made the beſt uſe of their influence with the people. The miniſter Roland was perhaps of this deſcription; and as he carried with him to retirement the regret of many unimpeachable characters, we can only believe that the king was himſelf deceived with reſpect to his intentions, or that the monarch did not, at leaſt, act that ſteadily upright part which the exigences of the

times required; but the king unſheathed the ſword on the twelfth of June, when he announced to the aſſembly the diſmiſſion of Servan, Claviere, and Roland; this ſtep was taken at the deſire of Dumourier, whoſe application of a conſiderable ſum of the public money to the uſe of madame de Beauvert his kept miſtreſs, had excited the remonſtrance of the moral Roland; Dumourier aſſumed the war department, Mourges and Naillac ſucceeded Roland and Claviere.

This change however was accelerated by a letter which Roland had addreſſed to king, ſome days before; this letter in a variety of reſpects is an important document, the prophetic admonitions which it diſplays concerning the conduct of the court, the vigour and frankneſs of the ſentiments, and what renders it curious as well as important is that it was the production of the miniſter's wife: it was as follows.

Sire,—The preſent ſtate of affairs in France cannot be of long duration. It is a criſis at its higheſt degree of violence, and muſt terminate in a ſhock that intereſts your majeſty as much as it does the whole empire. Honoured with your confidence, and placed in a ſituation in which it behoves me to ſpeak the truth to you, I venture to do it without diſguiſe: it is an obligation under which your majeſty's ſelf has laid me. The French have formed a conſtitution, and it has produced malecontents and rebels. The majority of the nation approve it, and have ſworn to maintain it at the expence of their lives. They have conſidered the war with ſatisfaction, as the grand teſt for eſtabliſhing the conſtitution; yet, buoyed up by hopes, the minority have exerted their united efforts againſt it. Hence ariſes that inteſtine conflict with the laws, that anarchy which all good citizens lament, and of which ill-diſpoſed people have not failed to take the advantage, in order to countenance their aſperſions againſt the new government. Hence thoſe opinions which are every where ſpread abroad, and every where fomented; for in no part is indifference of opinion to be found. Either the triumph or the change of the conſtitution is the cry of all; they labour either to maintain or new-model it. I ſhall only touch upon what the preſent circumſtances of things require, and, with the utmoſt impartiality ſhall ſuggeſt an idea of what turn affairs may be expected to take, and what meaſures would be prudent to adopt.

You enjoyed, ſire, great prerogatives, and which, indeed, your majeſty conceived to be inherent in royalty. Bred up under the idea of preſerving theſe prerogatives, you could not ſee yourſelf deprived of them with ſatisfaction. Theſe ſentiments, which are natural to the human heart, have had their full influence on the minds of the anti-revolutioniſts.

They have, therefore, depended upon being ſecretly favoured by your majeſty, until circumſtances permitted an open declaration in their behalf. This poſture of things could not but be evident to the whole nation; and it was ſufficient to put men upon their guard. Your majeſty has then been ever under the neceſſity of either yielding to the force of habit, and to particular inclination, or to make ſacrifices dictated by philoſophy, and called for by neceſſity.

Every thing has its term of duration, and that of uncertainty has at length arrived. Can your majeſty openly ally yourſelf with the pretended reformers of the conſtitution? or is it incumbent upon you generouſly to devote yourſelf entirely to promote its triumph? Such is the true ſtatement of a queſtion, the ſolution of which the preſent ſtate of things renders of inevitable neceſſity.

As to the metaphyſical queſtion, "Whether the French are ripe for liberty?" it is foreign from the ſubject before us; for it is not our buſineſs to conſider what we ſhould become in a century hence, but to ſee what the preſent generations are capable of.

In the midſt of the fermentations of the four laſt years, what has taken place? Privileges burdenſome to the lower order of the community have been aboliſhed; the ideas of juſtice and equality have been univerſally ſpread. The acknowledgement of the rights of the people, which has been ſolemnly allowed, is become a ſacred doctrine in politics. The hatred againſt the nobles has been long ſince inſpired by the nature of the feudal ſyſtem: it is now encreaſed by their manifeſt oppoſition to the conſtitution. The people conſidered theſe nobles in an odious light, on account of the oppreſſive privileges they enjoyed; but they would have forgot their hatred on the abolition of theſe privileges, if the conduct of the nobility, ſince that period, had not given every reaſon for men to conſider their rank with diſtruſt, and to oppoſe it as an irreconcileable enemy to their welfare.

The public attachment to the conſtitution increaſed in like proportion. The people not only derived eſſential advantages from it, but were perſuaded that ſtill greater benefits were preparing for them, ſince thoſe who were accuſtomed to oppreſs them were endeavouring with ſuch earneſtneſs to deſtroy or to modify it. The declaration of rights is become a political goſpel, and the French conſtitution a religion; in the defence of which, the people are ready to periſh. Thus their zeal went ſo far as to ſupply the place of law; and when its influence was not ſufficient to reſtrain the diſturbers of the public peace, the citizens took upon themſelves the taſk of puniſhing them. Hence the poſſeſſions of the emigrants have been expoſed to the ravages incited by vengeance. Hence ſo many departments were under the neceſſity of ſeverely treating the clergy whom the public opinion had proſcribed, and of whom ſome would have been victims to its reſentment. In the colliſion of intereſts, every ſentiment aſſumed the tone of paſſion. Our country is not a mere word, created by warmth of imagination; it is a being to which we offer ſacrifices, to which we are the more attached by the very ſolicitude it brings upon us, und which we love on account of the benefits we hope to derive from it; thus every injury offered to our country proves the means of encreaſing our enthuſiaſm.

To what a height did this enthuſiaſm riſe, when the machinations of foreign enemies were added to thoſe of the domeſtic foe, in order to perpetrate all that could be conceived wicked and fatal? The fermentation is extreme in the various parts of the empire; it will burſt upon us with a dreadful exploſion, unleſs it be calmed by a well-founded confidence in your majeſty's intentions. But this confidence will not be eſtabliſhed by mere promiſes and proteſtations; it can reſt upon facts only. The French nation know their conſtitution can ſuſtain itſelf; that government will have all neceſſary aid, whenever your majeſty, wiſhing well to the conſtitution, ſhall ſupport the legiſlative body, by cauſing their decrees to be executed, and remove every pretext for popular diſſatisfaction, and every hope of the malcontents.

For inſtance, two important decrees have been iſſued; both eſſentially concern public tranquillity and the welfare of the empire; their not being ſanctioned gives birth to miſtruſt; if it be poſtponed, it will create malcontents; and it is my duty to ſay, that in the preſent effervescence of the people's minds, diſcontent may lead to any thing. It is no longer time to recede—it is no longer time to temporize. The revolution is

eſtabliſhed in the public mind; it will be completed by the effuſion of blood, if wiſdom do no guard againſt evils which can yet be prevented.

If force were recurred to in order to reſtrain the national aſſembly; if terror were ſpread through Paris, diſunion and conſternation in its vicinity, all France would riſe with indignation; and, diſtracted by the horrors of a civil war, ſhe would diſplay that gloomy energy, the parent of virtues and crimes, ever fatal to thoſe who provoke it: Public ſafety and your majeſty's individual happineſs, are cloſely linked; no power can divide them: diſtreſſes and certain misfortune will gather round your throne, if it do not reſt, through yourſelf, on the baſis of the conſtitution, and be eſtabliſhed on peace, which the maintenance of that conſtitution would at leaſt produce in our favour. Thus the ſtate of the public mind, the circumſtances, political reaſons, your majeſty's own intereſt, render it indiſpenſable for you to join the legiſlative body, and to concur in the nation's will. The nation conſiders as a neceſſity what principles point out as a duty; but the natural ſenſibility of this affectionate people holds out another motive. You were cruelly deceived, ſire, when wicked men endeavoured to excite uneaſineſs and miſtruſt in your breaſt, injurious to this kind people, this people ſo eaſily affected.

By being perpetually taught not to confide in the nation, your own conduct alarmed them. Let the people ſee that you are willing the conſtitution ſhould take its courſe, the conſtitution to which they have united their happineſs, and you will ſoon become the object of thanks.

The conduct of the clergy in many parts of the kingdom, the pretexts they furniſh for commotions, occaſioned a wiſe law to be enacted againſt thoſe diſturbers of the peace. Let your majeſty's ſanction be given to it. The public tranquillity and the ſafety of the clergy ſolicit it. If this law be not put in force, the departments will be obliged to ſubſtitute ſevere meaſures, as they have univerſally done, and the people will ſupply its place by violence.

The attempts of our enemies, the fermentations in the capital, the extreme diſquietude ariſing from the conduct of your guard, and which the teſtimonies of ſatisfaction given to that body contained in your proclamation (a meaſure truly impolitic under ſuch circumſtances) ſtill keep up; the ſituation of Paris, its proximity to the frontiers, all contribute to ſhew the neceſſity of a camp in its neighbourhood. This meaſure, the wiſdom and urgency of which are allowed by thinking men, waits only for the ſanction of your majeſty. Why ſhould delay create an appearance of regret on the part of your majeſty, when diſpatch would deſerve gratitude on ours? Already have the machinations of the ſtaff of the Pariſian national-guards againſt this meaſure cauſed men to ſuſpect that they act under ſuperior influence; already the clamours of certain outrageous demagogues raiſe ſuſpicion; already the public opinion expoſes the intention of your majeſty.

A little more delay, and the afflicted people will imagine they perceive in their king the friend and the accomplice of conſpirators.—Good heaven! are the powers of the earth ſtricken with blindneſs, and will they never attend to any councils but ſuch as lead them on to ruin? I am aware that the language of truth is ſeldom well received in courts: I am likewiſe ſenſible, that, as her voice is hardly ever heard there, revolutions become neceſſary. Above all, I am bound to ſpeak the truth to your majeſty, not only as a citizen ſubject to the laws, but as a miniſter honoured with your confidence, or inveſted with functions that imply it; nor do I know what can prevent me from fulfilling

a duty which I feel to be incumbent on me! With the ſame intentions, I ſhall repeat my obſervations to your majeſty on the utility and neceſſity of executing the law, which preſcribes that there ſhould be a ſecretary of council. The law ſpeaks ſo powerfully, that the execution of it ſhould immediately follow.

It is neceſſary, for the ſake of reſponſible miniſters, to uſe means to eſtabliſh ſedateneſs, wiſdom, and caution, in the deliberations of council. Signed,—ROLAND.

Slander, the common weapon of violent parties, had always followed the diſmiſſion of miniſters, and Roland who belonged to no party, thought it his duty to ſupercede the induſtrious miſrepreſentations of the court emiſſaries, by laying a copy of the letter before the aſſembly, by whom it was received with the livelieſt praiſe, and ordered to be printed. The diſmiſſion of the miniſter, which was the only alternative to the confirmation of the decrees, proved to be a meaſure highly injurious to the court; admiration centered on the grave and ſagacious miniſter, and odium on the court. Addreſſes were now daily ſent into the aſſembly, and of a very intemperate character; on the ninth of June the inhabitants of the ſuburb of St. Antoine, amounting to upward of twenty thouſand, armed with pikes, and headed by Santerre a brewer, preſented an addreſs on the ſubject of the camp, and filed off through the aſſembly.

At this period, with good intentions but little wiſdom, Lafayette addreſſed a long letter to the aſſembly from his camp at Maubege, dated the ſixteenth of June, in which he draws a formidable picture of the dangerous ſtate of the nation, from the conduct of internal and the efforts of external enemies; he accuſed the Jacobins of criminal deſigns, and attributes to them a conſiderable portion of the public calamities; at the ſame time he addreſſed a letter to the king, expreſſive of ſimilar ſentiments.

The ſituations of the miniſters now became too dangerous to be any longer deſirable. The politic Dumourier wiſhed to retrieve a portion of his loſt popularity, and again attempted to court the favour of the Jacobins. He made a poſitive demand of the king, either to ſanction the decree for the camp near Paris, or to accept his reſignation. The king, however, remained ſtedfaſt to his purpoſe, and the miniſter reſigned; he was followed by the reſt, and on the eighteenth of June, general Chambon was appointed miniſter for foreign affairs, Lajard miniſter of war, Montceil of the interior, and the finances was kept vacant. Dumourier, in a letter to the aſſembly requeſted leave to repair to the army, and concluded by wiſhing that the fate of Gouvion might ſpeedily demonſtrate his attachment to his country.

The agitation produced by the letter of Lafayette, and the determination of the populace of St. Antoine to preſent an addreſs to the king, demanding the ſanction of the decrees; the threats thrown out in ſome of the prints, that they would plant as the tree of liberty an aſpin in the garden of the Thuilleries, prepared the minds of the people for ſome extraordinary occurrence. The meetings of the Jacobins and Cordeliers were ſcenes of unuſual turbulence; on the eighteenth of June the former declared their ſittings permament, in order to watch with vigilance plots which they alleged were in train to overturn their liberties; they propoſed that Lafayette ſhould be ſent to Orleans as a traitor, and others wiſhed him to be declared an enemy to France. Without doors the ſame ſpirit of diſorder hourly encreaſed; and on the morning of the twentieth, Rœderer procureur-ſyndic, appeared at the bar of the aſſembly and informed them, that contrary to the laws there exiſted in the city and ſuburbs a moſt formidable aſſociation of armed men, who threatened to proceed to the Thuilleries to preſent petitions to the king and the aſſembly.

While the aſſembly was debating whether they ſhould receive this deputation or not, an immenſe multitude, led by St. Heruge and Santerre, preſented themſelves before the hall; by their own report they amounted to eight thouſand, but probably much exceeded that number. After a tumultuous debate they were admitted. Their orator indulged in a long and violent declamation againſt the king and the whole conduct of the court, and when he had concluded the whole filed through the hall, the proceſſion not being ended in leſs than two hours.

In the mean time an immenſe crowd had collected round the palace and garden of the Thuilleries. There was however a ſtrong military guard in the palace, but the king would not permit force to be employed to repel them. At four o'clock the populace were computed at forty thouſand, and the gates of the Thuilleries were thrown open to them. At the moment of their entrance the royal family were at dinner, and on their attempting to force the door the king roſe to prevent the guards from uſing violence againſt them, and ſaid calmly, "I will go to them, I will prevent them from breaking the door." On the inſtant that it opened, a pike which had been thruſt againſt it to force it open, would have killed the king, but a chaſſeur turned the weapon aſide with his hand. One of the mob now advanced, and inſiſted upon the king's wearing the red cap, which was the enſign of the Jacobins; and another preſented him a bottle, and deſired him to drink the health of the nation. Some of the attendants offered to bring a glaſs; but he refuſed the offer, and immediately drank out of the bottle.

The mayor of Paris at length arrived; he exhorted the mob to preſerve moderation, and aſſured the king that he had nothing to fear—"The man," replied the monarch, "who has a clear conſcience, fears nothing;" and, taking the hand of a grenadier who ſtood by him, he applied it to his breaſt, and ſaid, "There, friend, feel my heart whether it beats quicker than uſual."

To the inceſſant demands of the populace, the king replied, that it was his firm intention to preſerve the conſtitution; and to the torrents of abuſe, and the repeated threats againſt his life, he anſwered in a pathetic tone—"Alas! if my life would ſecure the good of my country, how willingly would I offer it as a ſacrifice."

The approach of night delivered the king from this dreadful perſecution; the mayor embraced the opportunity to perſuade the people to diſperſe, and between eight and nine o'clock the palace was cleared of theſe unwelcome intruders.

During the whole of the tumult, the princeſs Elizabeth continued cloſe by the ſide of her brother, as if ſhe was born to be the victim of her generous affection, and to partake in all his misfortunes. On the firſt breaking in of the rabble, the queen fainted, and with her children, was accidently ſeparated and conveyed to the apartments of the king's phyſician. As ſoon as ſhe recovered, in her deſtraction ſhe attempted to penetrate to the king; but was ſtopped in her way thither, by the mob breaking into the council-chamber. Fortunately Lajard, the miniſter at war, and general Wittinghoff had retired to the ſame ſpot; Lajard formed a kind of a rampart of the great council table, which he placed againſt the door, with a double row of national-guards before it. Behind the table ſtood the queen with her children, the princeſs de Lamballe, and ſome other ladies. In this ſituation ſhe remained the whole time, comdemned to hear the moſt indecent reproaches, and the fouleſt imprecations, from the meaneſt and moſt depraved of her ſex.

On the first entrance of the mob into the palace, a deputation was sent from the national assembly, with orders to exert themselves for the preservation of peace; and during the course of the tumult, this deputation was renewed three times.

The events of the twentieth of June were a plain prelude to the downfall of monarchy, and men of reflection foresaw many of those evils which have since happened to this devoted country. From this moment all respect to authority, all order and subordination ceased; a momentary shame indeed appeared at first in the Parisians, and the directory of the departments, which was composed of some of the most respectable persons in the kingdom, at the head of which was Rochefoucault and Talleyrand, who determined to take every step for preventing the repetition of simular outrages. The conduct of Petion on this occasion could not be viewed without suspicion. One of the first steps of the department therefore was to publish a declaration, "That the events of the twentieth could not have taken place, if the laws in being, and particularly those relating to the public force, had been better known to the citizens, and better observed by the magistrates charged with the execution of them." To this declaration Petion published a very voluminous answer, calling upon them to commence a prosecution, and protesting him innocent in general terms. The department next published an advertisement to the people of Paris, exhorting them to peace and subordination, and intimating that there existed a secret connexion between the external and the internal foes of the public tranquillity. At the same time a petition to the national assembly, complaining in very strong terms of the outrages of the twentieth, was signed by the most respectable of the inhabitants; and several addresses were received from different departments, to the same effect.

The violence of the Jacobins has risen to the greatest height since the twentieth, and Lafayette had been a constant object of denunciation; that general therefore conceived it expedient to present himself at the bar of the assembly. When he arrived at his hotel several battalions of the national-guards waited upon him, a tree of liberty ornamented with ensigns and cockades was planted before his door, and every appearance bespoke the public attachment to a long esteemed friend. He appeared at the bar, and assigned as his reason for coming to Paris, the shame and indignation of the army at the recent outrages, which he said must have encreased to an alarming degree had he not thought it his duty to moderate their resentment against the factions, by assuring them that he would appear alone before the representatives of the nation, and demand in their name, that order, obedience, and respect for the laws should be restored: he avowed his letter of the sixteenth, entreated the assembly to save the country from ruin, by dissolving the factious clubs, and inflicting exemplary punishment on the promoters of the late disgraceful riots. The ardour and intrepidity which the whole public life of Lafayette has displayed in the cause of civil liberty has rendered even the errors of his judgment in some degree entitled to a tender regret, in the present instance his conduct appears not to have been governed either by wisdom or prudence, and though it may be called gallant it must be acknowleged that his enemies were too well justified in comparing his conduct to that of Monk, though he did not profit so much by experience as those whom he denounced. His want of knowlege in the dispositions of his countrymen is more remarkable than his mistaking the human character; the unshaken adherence of his army to their country reflected the highest credit on their virtue and left him much reason to regret his rashness.

Indignation filled the Jacobins on his arrival, his hatred of them only invigorated their reſentments; the appellation of Cromwell and Monk were re-echoed againſt him from a thouſand preſſes, and the popular diſlike proceeded ſo far as to burn him in effigy. In the aſſembly he was violently attacked by Iſnard, Gaudet, and others; and was defended by Ramond. Finding however that no good was to be effected in Paris, and learning that a deſign was formed to put him in arreſt, he left that city on the thirtieth and proceeded directly to the army.

That the officers of both armies felt a degree of reſentment at the indignities offered the king is evident, from a letter of mareſchal Luckner to the king, which was communicated to the aſſembly on the twenty-ninth by the miniſter of war. In that letter the mareſchal declares his approbation of the conduct of Lafayette, and ſays, "The indig-" nation of the ſoldiers, ſire, was terrible and ſudden, and the army admire the courage " of their king."

That a plan had been formed for the removal of the king from Paris appears beyond doubt, and the deſign of the meaſure was ſaid to have originated with Lafayette and his friends, which conſiſted of many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the moderate party, of the ſeveral aſſemblies, and of thoſe who formerly compoſed the club of the Feuillans, or *friends of the conſtitution*, among whom was the venerable Rochefoucault, whoſe opinions were deciſively in favour of the republican form of government, but who deemed the French nation not ſufficiently enlightened to render that form of government then ſuitable for them; that the opinions and intentions of this party were well known needs no other evidence than the letter of Roland, which emphatically warns againſt the danger of encouraging it. The intention of this party was to eſtabliſh a chamber of nobles; but the members of the aboliſhed nobility were not to be permitted to become members of it; the new nobility was to be compoſed of men ſelected for their virtues and talents from the body of the nation. The court is ſaid to have adopted this plan only with a view to divide the nation. It tended only to divide thoſe of the republicans who were moderate, and the nobles who were violent from the court; and to ſtrengthen and concentrate the force of the republicans. It procured for Lafayette the incurable hatred of the whole ancient nobility, without exciting the gratitude of the court; and it accelerated the miſfortunes into which he was now daily more deeply ſinking.

The Jacobins, although they retained their violence and a conſiderable degree of authority with the unthinking, felt a ſenſible decreaſe of reſpectable opinion; and they were equally adverſe with the court to the propoſed encampment, which in the hands of the late republican miniſters, whoſe attachments and principles united them without concert to Briſſot and a band of philoſophical politicians; narrowed their authority and would have overawed the populace of the ſuburbs; they therefore rejoiced in the diſmiſſion of the authors and the obſtinacy of the court.

On the ſame day, the miniſter of juſtice communicated a plan which the king propoſed as a ſubſtitute for the two decrees which he had refuſed to ſanction—With reſpect to the protection of the capital, it was the propoſal of the king to levy forty-two new battalions, to be ſtationed not at Paris, but between that city and the enemy, ſo as to form a ſecond line behind the army then on the frontiers, and as to the danger apprehended from the refractory prieſts, the miniſter aſſured the aſſembly, that it was the ſtrict in-

tention of the king to enforce the execution of the laws againſt all diſturbers of the public peace.

The aſſembly perſiſted however in their decree, and the *federates*, for that is the name which was beſtowed on theſe new levies, were invited by the Jacobins to repair to Paris without any lawful authority. On the firſt of July, on the motion of Jean de Brie, it was declared by the aſſembly, "that the country was in danger." Several other reſolutions were paſſed, ordering all citizens, having been national-guards, ſhould be on permanent duty, and every officer at his poſt.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting in the metropolis, the armies of France had made ſome progreſs in the Auſtrian Netherlands. On the eighteenth of June Courtray ſurrendered after a ſhort reſiſtance to the arms of mareſchal Luckner; and about the ſame period, Carle took poſſeſſion of Ypres and the country adjacent. La Fayette's army had alſo advanced and gained poſſeſſion of St. Ghiſlain and the key of Mons. Mareſchal Luckner ſoon afterwards entered Menin.

The triumph of the French, however, was not of long duration. On the ſixth of July, the king announced to the aſſembly, that one enemy more was added to the confederation againſt French liberty—That the inſidious conduct of the king of Pruſſia had long indicated hoſtile intentions, and that he was now in the act of marching fifty-two thouſand men to co-operate with the king of Hungary. About the ſame period, the aſſembly received advices from mareſchal Luckner, ſignifying, that the numbers of the enemy were ſuch, that it was impoſſible for him to proceed farther into the territories of Auſtria, without the riſk of being cut off from a communication with the army of Lafayette; that the Pruſſians and Auſtrians were proceeding againſt him in two columns; that in conſequence of theſe circumſtances he had ordered his camp to be raiſed, and was himſelf retiring towards Valenciennes, and Lafayette towards Givet. A ſubſequent diſpatch announced the actual retreat of the armies; and that in breaking up the camp of Courtray, ſome of the enemy having got poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs, they had fired upon field mareſchal Jarry, who, to prevent the repitition of ſimilar outrages, had ſet fire to the ſuburbs and conſumed ſeveral houſes. The conduct of Jarry was conſidered as diſgraceful and injurious to the cauſe of France, and he was, in conſequence of it, diſmiſſed from his command.

The motives which induced the victorious generals to abandon thus haſtily the Netherlands, have been ſince publicly explained. Soon after the appointment of mareſchal Luckner to the northern army, it was generally underſtood that the plan and operations of the campaign were entirely left to the generals themſelves: and yet it has ſince appeared, and was confirmed by Luckner himſelf, that they retreated only by the expreſs orders of the court; and thus it forms an article of charge againſt the unfortunate monarch, not to be extenuated, as it almoſt proves the exiſtence of a conſpiracy in the court, moſt fatal to the liberties of the nation.

On the fifth of July, the king informed the aſſembly of his intention to celebrate the approaching anniverſary of the confederation. He expreſſed his hopes that this feſtival would more ſtrongly cement all good patriots in their country's cauſe, and diſappoint the attempts of the factious. On the following day the directory of the department of Paris, after a long ſitting, pronounced the ſuſpenſion of Petion from the office of mayor, and of Manuel, the procureur of the commune. The federates about this period arrived

at Paris in conſiderable numbers, while every circumſtance announced the agitation of the public mind.

The extreme points on which the two parties differed, were that of pure democracy on the one part, and the inſtitution of an upper chamber, ſimilar to the Britiſh houſe of peers, on the other. Such an inſtitution, as a remnant of ariſtocracy, was regarded by the French with almoſt as much abhorrence as abſolute monarchy itſelf; while the eſtabliſhment of it was conſidered as the great object with the court, as a preliminary ſtep to the annihilation of liberty. The middle party was ſtill numerous; and it was judged that there were many who might ſecretly incline either to the court or the republicans, who yet would be well diſpoſed to ſacrifice ſomething of their prejudices to the preſervation of peace and order. On the ſeventh of July, at the moment when Briſſot aſcended the tribune, to pronounce a diſcourſe on the means of ſecuring the ſtate againſt all its enemies, Lamourette the patriotic biſhop of Lyons, requeſted to be heard for a few minutes. After expatiating on the neceſſity of union, and moſt particularly among the members of the national aſſembly, he ſaid, "let us make a ſacrifice of our "paſſions and prejudices in the moſt ſolemn manner, on the altar of our country; let "us give a great example to Europe, and inſpire our enemies with terror; there is nothing "incompatible but vice and virtue: I move that the preſident put a queſtion in theſe "terms—Let all who hold in equal deteſtation a republic and two chambers, and who "wiſh to maintain the conſtitution as it is, riſe!"

The words were ſcarcely pronounced, when the whole aſſembly, by an inſtantaneous impulſe roſe from their ſeats; the two parties advanced and embraced each other, and declared their purpoſe of adhering to the conſtitution. A deputation, with the biſhop of Lyons at their head was immediately appointed to convey the joyful intelligence to the king, and the adminiſtrative bodies were charged to communicate it without loſs of time to the citizens. The biſhop on returning to the aſſembly, informed them of the ſatisfaction which the king had teſtified on being informed of what had paſſed. He had however ſcarcely finiſhed, when the approach of the king was announced; he was received with loud applauſes; he was accompanied by his miniſters, and placed himſelf without ceremony by the ſide of the preſident, and addreſſed the aſſembly:—

"Gentlemen,—No ſpectacle can be more affecting to me than that general re-union of opinion and ſentiment which has now taken place. This re-union I have long deſired —at laſt my wiſh is fulfilled; the nation and the king form only one. The conſtitution will now become that point of union, around which all Frenchmen will aſſemble, in order to protect it, and the king will always ſet them the example."

To this the preſident replied:—"Sire,—this memorable epoch muſt inſpire with the greateſt pleaſure all the friends of liberty. It is a dreadful epoch for its enemies—henceforth the nation is invincible. In vain tyrants conſpire againſt liberty."

Both theſe ſpeeches were received with the loudeſt applauſe. The king made ſome efforts to anſwer, but was ſo much affected that he could only ſay, in a tone which indicated the utmoſt emotion, "The pleaſure that I fell is delicious." He then retired, accompanied by a deputation, and the aſſembly roſe, amidſt the exclamations of Vive la nation! Vive la liberté!

Thus ended this memorable motion; this well-meant but fruitleſs effort to reſtore harmony and tranquillity. It is aſſerted to have been the ſpontaneous act of the biſhop of

Lyons, without any previous concert with any party whatever. The triumph of the conſtitutionaliſts was complete, and by moſt of the ardent ſpirits of both parties it was approved of earneſtly for the moment; and it was calculated in every event to have a temporary good effect; it afforded an opportunity to all who were fond of peace to diſengage themſelves from the trammels of party, and to this we may in a conſiderable degree attribute the delighful tranquillity and harmony of the feſtival of the confederation.

Had the court acted with conſiſtent candor, had it even acted with common prudence, and the combined powers been governed by honeſty, juſtice, or even a reſpect for the ordinary forms and maxims of civilized war, the diſſentions which had ſo unhappily diſtracted France might have terminated here. But unfortunately for the peace of the nation, and the monarch, the authority of his private counſels and the diſpoſition of his profeſſed friends in arms, were too firmly fixed, to be ſwayed by collateral conſiderations.

The reconciliation of the ſeventh of July was conſidered by many as in ſome meaſure intended as a compromiſe of the parties, relative to the affair of Petion and Manuel; and indeed the king, the very ſame evening, wrote to the aſſembly, intimating, that though to decide on their fate was a part of his conſtitutional prerogative, yet as the matter perſonally concerned him, he choſe rather to refer it to the determination of the aſſembly. By his own party he was much blamed for this ſacrifice of his prerogative, but the action correſponded well with his love of peace; and he was doubtleſs wrought upon by the ſcene in which he had been ſo lately called upon to act; the ſame evening the king announced that he had appointed De Joly to the home department.

Notwithſtanding the favourable appearances of the ſeventh, new events aroſe to create ſuſpicions and it was ſoon found that the executive power, had once more entirely loſt the confidence of the king; and the clamour was ſo great in the aſſembly, that all the miniſters ſo lately appointed, except De Joly, reſigned on the tenth.

Addreſſes from different parts of the kingdom crowded into the aſſembly in favour of the mayor and Manuel; and the aſſembly, after ſome debate, pronounced them guiltleſs. —Delrau conjured the legiſlative body to act with more dignity and deliberation. He painted in ſtrong colours the diſgraceful outrages which were acted in the Thuilleries on the twentieth of June. He accuſed Petion of encouraging ſedition, and of a want of reſpect for the hereditary repreſentative of the nation.

During the firſt weeks of July, the federates arrived in Paris in ſmall companies. They were courted by both parties, but moſt aſſiduouſly by the Jacobins. The number of the federates preſent, however, on the fourteenth of July, is ſaid not to have exceeded fifteen hundred. That day, as we have previouſly intimated, paſſed in tranquillity, and the confederation was celebrated, with the uſual magnificence. The concourſe of people aſſembled has been ſtated at four hundred thouſand. The national aſſembly met at nine o'clock, and proceeded to lay the firſt ſtone of the column of liberty, to be erected on the ruins of the Baſtile. Before this ceremony was concluded, the king arrived, preceded by a numerous detachment of horſe, a party of the troops of the line, five hundred national volunteers, and the Swiſs guards. He was accompanied by the queen, madame Elizabeth, the prince and princeſs royal. The ſix miniſters walked by the ſide of the king's coach.

A palm tree overſhadowed the altar of liberty, and near it a pyramidal monument was erected to the memory of thoſe who had expired on the frontiers, in the defence

of their country. Between the altar and the Seine a poplar was planted, hung with escutheons, and other remnants of heraldic folly, which was set on fire by the priest who performed mass at the grand altar, in allusion to the destruction of the feudal system.

Though the king was in general well received, the day did not pass without some degree of mortification to him. Several of the populace, armed with pikes, repeatedly shouted, *Vive Petion! Vivent les Jacobins, a bas le department, a bas le veto.* At about six o'clock the king and the national assembly renewed their oath to be faithful to the constitution, and the royal family immediately afterwards returned to the Thuilleries. The federates on this occasion behaved with much order and loyalty; they appeared to join cordially in the shouts of *Vive le roi!* and some are even said to have testified by their acclamations their disapprobation of the factions.

One of the most serious evils which the government at this crisis experienced, was the frequent change of ministers; and it is a fact, almost unparalleled in the annals of any other nation, that France had witnessed no fewer than twenty-six ministers move across the stage of public affairs in rapid succession, in the short space of six months. A few days after the confederation, a new administration was announced, which consisted of De Joly as minister of justice, St. Croix for foreign affairs, Duboucage for the navy, d'Abancourt minister of war, Champion for the home department, and Leroulx de la Ville for that of finance.

This change appeared calculated to increase the difficulties, rather than to heal them; the ministers were all of at least a doubtful disposition toward the freedom of their country, and some were known to be adverse to the most prevailing politics; and it was not the least singular of all the appointments at a period so critical, when the enemy were advancing in all points on the country, that Abancourt, the nephew and pupil of Calonne, should be placed at the head of the war department.

In consequence of the decree of the national assembly, that the country was in danger, the king, on the twentieth of July, published a proclamation, in which he says, "Remember, that this is no longer the period for discussions and discourses; it is that for brilliant actions. All Europe is leagued to combat you; re-unite yourselves to oppose the compact—It is at the barriers of the empire you must oppose steel to steel;—You, in superiority to them, have your own great interest to defend, and the passion of liberty, which raises man above himself, and changes him into the hero. Fly to your camps—when the state is in danger every citizen is a soldier. All France will no doubt be covered with battallions.

"Administrations, magistrates, warriors, citizens, here is the period to extinguish in one fraternal sentiment, the hatreds which weaken and divide us. Here is the epoch to confirm our liberty for ever, by confirming the empire of our laws, without which there can be only disorder, and a tyrannous anarchy, a thousand times worse than cruel despotism.

"It is the king who calls you; a king proud to command a brave people, who conjures you in the name of the liberty which he loves, and the equality, which he like you, is resolved to maintain, to rally under the colours of the country; to assist him in giving force to the law against rebels within and without; to swear with him to conquer or die for the rights of the nation, and bury yourselves in the ruins of the empire, rather

than ſuffer that it ſhall be outraged;—than foreigners or rebels ſhall give laws to France; and rather than to wound by a diſgraceful capitulation the honour of the French name."

Whatever effects this proclamation might have had to excite the people to oppoſe the invaders of their country, it did not lull them into ſecurity and confidence reſpecting what was deemed the machinations of the cabinet of the Thuilleries, which, they inſiſted, was acting in concert with thoſe of Coblentz and Vienna; theſe ſuſpicions were expreſſed by the *Mountain* in the aſſembly. An addreſs was reported by Gaudet from the commiſſion of twelve, expreſſive of theſe jealouſies, on account of various inſtances in which the king ſhewed his reſpect for the emigrants; in his chooſing ſuſpected miniſters; and while the people ſeemed divided, he did nothing to re-unite them. This was to be preſented to the king; but Briſſot thought meaſures preparatory would be better, obſerving that precipitation would alienate a great part of the nation, eſpecially charges not ſufficiently proved to carry conviction. He therefore moved that the extraordinary commiſſion collect all the proofs of the king's having incurred the penalty of forfeiture. This motion was adopted in preference to the other and the commiſſion inſtructed to report.

On the twenty-ſecond of July, agreeable to a decree of the national aſſembly, the proclamation was made in all the ſections of Paris, "that the country was in danger." Three guns were fired from Pont Neuf every hour, from ſix in the morning till night. Picturеſque ſcaffolds, repreſenting fortifications, were erected in different parts of the city; on each of them a tent was erected decorated with the national colours, in which ſat the officers appointed to regiſter the new levies for the frontiers, and the camp to be eſtabliſhed at Soiſſons. The proclamation was made in a ſolemn manner by the municipal officers on horeſeback; and the whole ceremony had ſuch an effect on the minds of the populace, that in a few days ſeveral thouſands had enrolled themſelves.

In the mean time the federates arrived from all parts in conſiderable bodies; thoſe from the ſouthern provinces were the moſt fierce, both in conduct and appearance; and from the circumſtance of the majority of them coming from the neighbourhood of Marſeilles, the appellation of Marſeillois had been indiſcrimininately applied to this deſcription of volunteers. From the firſt moment of their arrival they manifeſted a turbulent diſpoſition; and D'Eſpremenil, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the parliament of Paris as the advocate of the people, and in the conſtituent aſſembly as the champion of the throne, fell under their anger on the terrace of the Feuillans, but was reſcued from death by the intervention of a member of the aſſembly and ſome grenadiers of the national-guards, after he had received ſeveral wounds.

The Jacobins had occupied much debate on the treaſon of Lafayette, and innumerable inflammatory addreſſes were preſented to the aſſembly againſt him; a principal object of complaint was his having quitted the army without leave; and it was moved that the miniſter of war ſhould be interrogated, whether Lafayette had received an order authoriſing his journey to Paris on the twenty-eighth of June, but the motion was rejected. On the twenty-firſt of July, Laſource pledged himſelf to the aſſembly, that Lafayette had propoſed to Luckner by means of Bureaux de Puſy, to lead his army againſt the capital; and Briſſot, Gaudet, Genſonne, Lamarque, and Herault were appealed to, and demand made that Luckner and Puſy ſhould be ſummoned. Dumolard defended the general. But the

above members and Delmas laid a certificate of the charge on the table, in which they alledged, that on the ſeventeenth of July, at the houſe of the archbiſhop of Paris, the mareſchal Luckner being queſtioned on the ſubject, he anſwered, "I do not deny it; "it was Bureaux de Puſy who propoſed it to me; he who has been I think three times "preſident of the national aſſembly: I replied to him, I ſhall never lead the army I "command but againſt our external enemies; Lafayette is at liberty to do what he plea- "ſes, but if he marches to Paris, I will march after and drub him. Puſy then ſaid, but "the king is in danger! Thus much he ſaid to me, and they made me other propoſals "more horrible."

Expreſſions ſo pointed, atteſted by members of acknowleged probity, could not but be deemed ſerious; on the twenty-ninth of July, Bureaux de Puſy produced at the bar copies of the letters carried to Luckner, with the anſwers; from theſe it appeared that Lafayette had intimated his intention of proceeding *alone* to Paris.

On the following day a letter was received from Lafayette dated at Longwi, July twenty-ſixth, fourth year of liberty, in which he ſays.

"The miniſter for the home department has ſignified to me an act of the legiſlative "body of July twenty-firſt, and the information which ſix of its members have "ſigned.

"If I were queſtioned reſpecting my principles, I ſhould ſay, that a conſtant pro- "claimer and defender of the rights of man, and the ſovereignty of the people, "I have every where and always reſiſted authorities which liberty diſavowed, and which "the national will had not delegated; and that I have every where and always "obeyed thoſe of which a free conſtitution had determined the forms and the limits. "But I am queſtioned reſpecting a fact—Did I propoſe to mareſchal Luckner to "march to Paris with our armies? To which I anſwer in four words—*It is not true.*

"LAFAYETTE."

The letter of mareſchal Luckner himſelf was no leſs deciſive againſt the teſtimony of the ſix members of the aſſembly. He denied in ſtrong terms that ever any propoſal was made to him for marching to Paris, and lamented that any ſuch conſtruction ſhould be put upon a converſation, which it was evident theſe gentlemen muſt have miſunderſtood. The deciſion upon the charges, therefore, was deferred to the eighth of Auguſt, when a long and tumultuous debate took place; Jean de Brie made the report, which concluded with propoſing a decree of accuſation; which was oppoſed by Vaublanc, and upon a diviſion the propoſition of accuſation was rejected, by four hundred and ſix voices againſt two hundred and twenty-four.

This deciſion proved, and ſeveral others, that however influential the ſpirit of party in the metropolis, the aſſembly was not deſtitute of moderation in its proceedings. The effect of this deciſion, however, was a greater degree of reſentment againſt Lafayette out of doors; and the reſtoration of Petion, was a counter-triumph to the popular party, and the ſignal for the reſignation of the Paris directory.

The diſtraction and alarm in Paris became every day more extreme; numbers of ſtrangers appeared in all public places, and the condnct of thoſe who were attached to the court in the arrangement of their perſonal concerns, beſpoke either their apprehenſions or their deſigns; theſe circumſtances did not eſcape the obſervation of the clubs, nor of thoſe who were ſo entirely detached from all political attachments, as to be indifferent to the

prevalence of either, provided their own property and perſons were ſecure; this deſcription of perſons is very numerous in all countries, and are in times of peril the moſt dangerous, ſince their paſſions exclude every conſideration but that of ſelf-love, and render them the obſequious tools of the moſt powerful; the banks, the houſes of trade, and all the haunts of diſſipation, gambling, and idleneſs, appeared particularly affected by the ſtate of alarm which ſpread through all ranks and conditions, without any common agreement on the cauſe. No diſpoſition of the mind is more contagious than fear, and excluſive of the diſtreſſes which agitated the people of Paris, from the ſtagnation of buſineſs and the re-action of ſuſpicion on the people from the court, the long menacing appearance of the hoſtile powers had now grown into the moſt formidable object of immediate terror.

An inſulting and ſanguinary manifeſto, iſſued at Coblentz on the twenty-fifth of July, by the duke of Brunſwick, reached Paris; the emperor and the king of Pruſſia in their joint proclamation had aſſerted, that "the king was not ſincere in accepting the conſtitution;" this manifeſto inſinuated the ſame thing; unfortunately the public meaſures and the private deportment of the king and court rendered it neceſſary to be very partial to the king to queſtion the aſſertion.

The unfortunate Lewis was placed in circumſtances the moſt difficult by this conduct of the general of the combined armies, and in preſenting a copy of it to the aſſembly, inſtead of repelling the imputation of perjury, queſtioned the authenticity of the manifeſto itſelf. The king's letter abounded with patriotic profeſſions, but the diſingenuity of this affected doubt produced ſuch an effect on the aſſembly, that a motion made for printing it was rejected by a large majority, and Iſnard declared the notoriety of the matter to be ſuch, that "the king could not but know that what he aſſerted was not true."

This fatal manifeſto accompliſhed the total overthrow of the French monarchy; on the firſt of Auguſt it was read by the preſident, and excited a glow of general indignation; it merits the record of hiſtory, becauſe it affords the moſt lively warning to the friends of the human race and of civil liberty, becauſe it exhibits the black implacability of deſpotiſm, while it conſigns its authors and ſupporters to perpetual execration.

"Declaration of the reigning duke of Brunſwick Lunenburgh, commander of the combined armies of the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, to the inhabitants of France.

"Their majeſties the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, having entruſted me with the command of the combined armies, aſſembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two ſovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

"After arbitrarily ſuppreſſing the rights, and invading the poſſeſſions of the German princes in Alſace and Lorrain; after having diſturbed and overthrown in the interior part of the kingdom all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the moſt daring attacks, and having had recourſe to the moſt violent meaſures, which are ſtill daily renewed againſt the ſacred perſon of the king, and againſt his auguſt family; and thoſe who have ſeized on the reins of government have at length filled the meaſure of their guilt by declaring an unjuſt war againſt his majeſty the emperor, and by invading his provinces of the Low Countries. Some of the poſſeſſions belonging to the German empire have been equally expoſed to the ſame oppreſſion, and many others have only avoided the danger by yielding to the imperious threats of the domineering party and of their emiſſaries.

" His majeſty, the king of Pruſſia, united with his imperial majeſty in the bands of the ſtricteſt defenſive alliance, and as a predominant member himſelf of the Germanic body, could not refuſe marching to the aſſiſtance of his ally and of his co-eſtates. It is in theſe double relations, that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of Germany. To theſe high intereſts another important object is added, which both the ſovereigns have moſt cordially in view; which is, to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France, to put a ſtop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to reſtore the king to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to ſafety, of which he is now deprived; and to place him in ſuch a ſituation, that he may exerciſe that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

" Convinced that the ſober part of the nation deteſt the exceſſes of a faction which has enſlaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when ſuccours ſhall arrive, to declare themſelves openly againſt the odious enterprizes of their oppreſſors; his majeſty the emperor and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, earneſtly invite them to return without delay into the paths of reaſon and of juſtice, of order and of peace. It is with this view that I the underwritten, general commandant in chief of the two armies, do declare:—

" 1ſt, That, drawn into the preſent war by irreſiſtible circumſtances, the two allied courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themſelves by making conqueſts.

" 2dly, That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they ſimply intend to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family from their captivity; and to enſure to his moſt chriſtian majeſty that ſafety which is neceſſary for his making, without danger and without obſtacles, ſuch convocations as he ſhall judge proper, and for endeavoring to enſure the welfare of his ſubjects, according to his promiſes, and to the utmoſt of his power.

" 3dly, That the combined armies ſhall protect the towns, burgs, and villages, as well as the perſons and property of all thoſe who ſhall ſubmit to the king; and that they will concur in the immediate reſtoration of order and police throughout all France.

" 4thly, That the national-guards are called upon to preſerve, proviſionally, tranquillity in towns and in the country; to provide for the perſonal ſafety and property of all Frenchmen until the arrival of the troops belonging to their imperial and royal majeſties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being perſonally reſponſible: that on the contrary, ſuch national-guards as ſhall fight againſt the troops of the two allied courts, and who ſhall be taken up with arms in their hands, ſhall be treated as enemies, and puniſhed as rebels to their king, and as diſturbers of the public peace.

" 5thly, That the general officers, the ſubalterns, and ſoldiers of the regular French troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to ſubmit immediately to the king, their legitimate ſovereign.

" 6thly, That the members of departments, diſtricts, and municipalities, ſhall be equally reſponſible on pain of loſing their heads and eſtates, for all the conflagrations, for all the murders, and for all the pillage which they ſhall ſuffer to take place, and which they ſhall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent within their reſpective territories; that they ſhall alſo be obliged to continue their functions, until

his moſt chriſtian majeſty, when ſet at full liberty, ſhall make farthe r arrangements, or until further orders be given in his name.

" 7thly, That the inhabitants of towns, burgs, and villages, who ſhall dare to defend themſelves againſt the troops of their imperial and royal majeſties, and to fire upon them, even in the open country, or through half open doors or windows of their houſes, ſhall be puniſhed inſtantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houſes ſhall be demoliſhed or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the ſaid towns, burgs, and villages, who ſhall readily ſubmit to their king, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their majeſties, ſhall be immediately under their ſafeguard and protection; and their eſtates, their property, and their perſons, ſhall be ſecured by the laws, and each and all of them ſhall be in full ſafety.

" 8thly, The city of Paris and all its inhabitants, without diſtinction, ſhall be called upon to ſubmit inſtantly and without delay to the king, to ſet that prince at full liberty, and to enſure to his and to all royal perſons that inviolability and reſpect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to ſovereigns; their imperial and royal majeſties, making perſonally reſponſible for all events, on pain of loſing their heads, purſuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the national aſſembly, of the department, of the diſtrict, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, juſtices of the peace, and others whom it may concern: and their imperial and royal majeſties farther declare, on their faith and word of emperor and king, that if the palace of the Thuilleries be forced or inſulted, if the leaſt violence be offered, the leaſt outrage done to their majeſties, the king, queen, and the royal family, if they be not immediately placed in ſafety and ſet at liberty, they will inflict on thoſe who ſhall deſerve it, the moſt exemplary and ever-memorable avenging puniſhments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and expoſing it to total deſtruction; and the rebels who ſhall be guilty of illegal reſiſtance, ſhall ſuffer the puniſhments which they ſhall have deſerved. Their imperial and royal majeſties promiſe, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices with his moſt chriſtian majeſty, to obtain for them a pardon for their inſults and errors, and to adopt the moſt vigorous meaſures for the ſecurity of their perſons and property, provided they ſpeedily and ſtrictly conform to the above injunctions.

" Finally, their majeſties not being at liberty to acknowlege any other laws in France except thoſe which ſhall be derived from the king, proteſt beforehand againſt the authenticity of all kinds of declarations which may be iſſued in the name of the king, ſo long as his ſacred perſon, and that of the queen, the princes, and of the whole royal family, ſhall not be in full ſafety; and with this view their imperial and royal majeſties invite and entreat his moſt chriſtian majeſty to name a town in his kingdom, neareſt to the frontiers, to which he would wiſh to remove, together with the queen and the royal family, under a ſtrong and ſafe eſcort, which ſhall be ſent for that purpoſe; ſo that his moſt chriſtian majeſty may in perfect ſafety ſend for ſuch miniſters and counſellors as he ſhall be pleaſed to name, order ſuch convocations as he ſhall think proper, and provide for the reſtoration of order and the regular adminiſtration of his kingdom.

" In fine, I declare and promiſe in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cauſe to be obſerved, every where, by the troops under my command, good and ſtrict diſcipline, promiſing to treat with mildneſs and moderation, thoſe well diſpoſed ſubjects

who ſhall ſubmit peaceably and quietly, and to employ force againſt thoſe only who ſhall be guilty of reſiſtance or of manifeſt evil intentions.

" I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the moſt earneſt and forcible manner, not to make any oppoſition to the troops under my command, but rather to ſuffer them every where to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the aſſiſtance, and ſhew them all the benevolence which circumſtances may require. Given at general quarters at Coblentz, the twenty-fifth July, 1792.

Signed—" Charles Guillaume Ferdinand, duc de Brunſwick Lunenburgh."

It is impoſſible to combine with ſuch an expoſition of ſanguinary and atrocious deſigns one idea of a generous or juſt intention, either towards France or its deluded monarch: that Lewis was not ignorant of the combination, a recurrence to the principles of the plot of Breteuil, communicated to him by count Dufort, will place beyond doubt; the principles and plans therein laid down are clearly developed in this manifeſto; that the deluded monarch might not himſelf be diſpoſed to ſuch ſanguinary threats, benevolence will believe; that he was perſuaded that the threatened cruelties and deſolation would not be realized, charity will conceive; but while ſuch threats of mighty violence hovered over the alarmed nation, we no longer wonder that the preſence of affliction and the approach of greater ruin, ſhould rouſe the people and drive them to deſpair, and that the apparent and declared cauſe of their danger ſhould become the firſt object of their reſentment.

The republican party thus acquired new acceſſions of vigour and of authority; and on the third of Auguſt the fatal die was caſt, when Petion, at the head of the ſections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the aſſembly to demand the depoſition of the king. The propoſal was reſiſted for ſome time, but it was followed by others of the ſame nature on the ſixth and ſeventh. A petition lay on the altar of the Champ de Mars, and was preſented by a countleſs multitude on the ſixth, who were preceded by a pike crowned with the red cap, with an inſcription upon it, " the depoſition of the king."

In compliance with theſe repeated requiſitions, the aſſembly at length determined to come to a deciſion on this difficult and dangerous ſubject, and the fatal tenth of Auguſt was appointed for the diſcuſſion. A number of the aſſembly, however, had exhibited ſome proofs of caution and temperance which did not coincide with the impetuoſity of the Jacobins, and the urgency of their cauſe. The recruiting for the armies was carrying on; the federates had been detained on various pretences in the metropolis; the paſſions of the people were much inflamed.

No alternative now appeared but flight or to repel force by force; preparations were made for both; the Thuilleries was put in a ſtate of defence. The dreadful Rubicon was now paſſed, and no hope of the return of harmony or peace remained. A ſolemn gloom overſpread the palace. Loyalty and friendſhip were now put to the ſevereſt teſt; the approach of the duke of Brunſwick was looked upon with terror by the people and with hope by the court; and the queſtion was not, who will conquer, but who will die in the defence of the king or the liberties of his country. Amidſt his accumulated misfortunes, a ſmall and firm band retained their attachment to the king, and upon different motives devoted themſelves to his defence. Among theſe might be counted ſome of the remnants of the ancient ariſtocracy, who made this laſt ſacrifice to their principles, and whoſe errors, when united with ſuch diſin-

tereſted virtue, became reſpectable. Some had been among the moſt forward of thoſe who united in the firſt efforts to meliorate the condition of their countrymen, but equally remote from anarchy and deſpotiſm, now dreaded the evils which impended on a total alteration of government; ſome were the perſonal friends of the fallen majeſty of France; ſome from gratitude, ſome from prejudice; ſome pregnant perhaps with improbable hopes, and ſome in the phrenzy of deſpair, crowded round the tottering ſtandard of royalty; by this phalanx the king was obliged to ſtand if he could not ſecure a retreat with his family.

Among theſe were the Swiſs guards, thoſe unhappy men ignorant but brave, whom the baſe and mercenary policy of a country, reputed free, ſuffers to be tranformed into the inſtruments of deſpotiſm and the ſervile ſupporters of regal wickedneſs and pomp; by repeated decrees of the aſſembly, this body of troops had been conſiderably reduced, and even on the ſeventh of Auguſt the king had been obliged to diſmiſs three hundred of them. The departure of the whole had been decreed, but the king with that inconſiſtent and fatal duplicity which appeared at times to breathe the pureſt attachment to the laws and yet betrayed by his reluctant compliance with them the pain they gave him, had upon various pleas, and among others that the arrangement of the aſſembly was contrary to the treaty with the Helvetic body, left the decree unexecuted. The number of the Swiſs that remained previous to the tenth of Auguſt, was about ſeven hundred; on theſe the court placed the ſtrongeſt reliance.

A number of gentlemen, aſſembled from different parts of the country amounting to upwards of a thouſand had been formed into a corps, upon whoſe gallantry great dependance was placed; but as all theſe were not deemed adequate, Mandat commander of the national-guard joined thereto ſelect detachments amounting to about three thouſand men, and to theſe were added the horſe gendarmerie amounting to about a thouſand more; the whole including artillery amounting to upwards of ſeven thouſand men. Mandat, conceiving himſelf performing an agreeable and uſeful ſervice to the monarch, had waited on the mayor, and repreſenting the apprehenſions of the court ſignified alſo the unuſual force collected in the palace, and obtained from him a written order to repel any attack. No appearance in Paris on the morning of the ninth indicated more than the ordinary declamatory hoſtility againſt the court, but the military preparation carrying on there, the buſtle and the number of cannon ſpread a lively ſentiment of alarm through the capital; the application to the mayor had alſo been noiſed abroad, and at length reached the clubs and the aſſembly, where the moſt tumultuous debates took place.

The aſſembly had manifeſted a deſire to proceed with ſolemn deliberation in the diſcuſſion deſigned for the tenth, and the moderation which it had diſplayed on the charges againſt Lafayette was a very ſafe criterion to govern the moderation of the royal party; but they ſaw no objects beſide thoſe of danger, and the very precautions for ſecurity accelerated their deſtruction. The people were no leſs anxious on the ſubject to be diſcuſſed, and their impatience became violent when they were informed of the hoſtile appearances at the Thuilleries; numbers crowded thither and ſatisfied themſelves of the truth; the avenues leading to the aſſembly were thronged, and Vaublanc and ſome other members attached to royalty, complained that they had been ill-treated and menaced on their way to the hall. The mayor was called to the bar, and after ſtating the various cauſes of the public apprehenſion, aſſured the aſſembly that ſuch was the diſorder, he could not with

the means he poſſeſſed inſure the public tranquillity; that the people alarmed at the force aſſembled in the Thuilleries, threatened to ring the alarm bell, attack the palace, and to avenge themſelves on the authors of their diſtreſſes.

The factious, thoſe wretches of which every country produces ſome, and in France where deſpotiſm and grinding taxes had rendered them numerous, were now active to ſtir up that diſorder in which the baſer paſſions moſt frequently triumph; the popular voice re-ſounded with the danger threatened by the military at the palace, and rumour aided by fear and credulity, had magnified their number and imputed their deſign to maſſacre the people and deſtroy the city of Paris. At the Thuilleries all became conſternation and diſmay, but ſome ſhew of order was preſerved. About eleven o'clock at night the mayor was ſent for, and he repaired to the palace, where he remaind till ſome hours after mid-night. At twelve o'clock the awful alarm-bell was heard, and was anſwered from the ſeveral ſections; the drums ſoon after beat to arms, and the ſtillneſs of the night and the dumb haſte of the people flying from different quarters preſented a ſcene of portentous horror. In this moment of confuſion the mayor was not to be found, the municipality were abſent, and no means appeared to ſtem the diſorder; a few perſons from each of the ſections accidentally and promiſcuouſly aſſembled choſe from the perſons preſent a new municipality, to the excluſion of thoſe who were abſent, Danton, Manuel, and Petion only excepted. One of their firſt meaſures was to ſend for the commander of the national-guard; Mandat was at that time occupied in aſſigning to the troops their ſeveral ſtations, and heſitated ſome time before he obeyed the order; a new meſſage more preſſing arrived, and Rœderer procureur-ſyndic with two other municipal officers prevailed on him to obey the conſtituted authorities; he left the palace about four o'clock, and proceeded to the town-houſe attended by a ſingle aid-de-camp.

The aſſembly, which ſat all night, about two o'clock in the morning had received information that Petion was detained againſt his will in the palace; the preſident thought proper to diſpatch a meſſenger for him thither, and he ſoon after appeared. He arrived at the municipality before Mandat, who on his entrance expreſſed ſome ſurpriſe at finding the municipality compoſed of different perſons from thoſe he expected. He was interrogated upon the deſign of the armament, and ordered priſoner to the Abbaye; but as he deſcended the ſtairs, one of the populace drew a piſtol and ſhot him through the head. Santerre was appointed to the command a few days after.

The king had not cloſed his eyes the whole of this eventful night; indeed the children were the only part of the royal family who retired to reſt. At ſix o'clock on the morning of the tenth it was thought expedient that the king ſhould review the troops. He accordingly proceeded through the yards of the palace, and was received with loud acclamations by the Swiſs, which was echoed by the greater part of the national-guards. The artillery however, and the battalion of the ſection of Croix Rouge, ſhouted vive la nation! others vive Petion! The king has been ſaid to have much diſguſted the national-guards on this occaſion, by the marked attention which he paid the Swiſs; and the artillery, who had from the firſt evinced an extraordinary zeal for freedom, are ſaid to have warned the Swiſs againſt any violence to the people.

As the national-guards were deprived of their commander, and conſequently at that moment were governed by no effective authority, the example of the artillery ſoon

became contagious, and their conduct evinced how little dependence was to be placed upon their attachment to the king.

As ſoon as the king returned from reviewing the troops, the gentlemen who were in the palace formed themſelves into regular companies of life-guards; and as the moſt of them were trained to arms, they formed in an admirable manner for the protection of the interior of the palace, and, animated by enthuſiaſm and deſpair, would undoubtedly have made a moſt gallant defence, had the king remained at their head. The national-guards within the palace were addreſſed in ſtrong and pathetic terms by the king and queen. And every man appeared to profeſs his intention to die for the monarchy.

At eight o'clock Rœderer entered the council chamber where their majeſties were, at the head of the department; and his firſt words were "No perſon ſhall interpoſe between the king and the department." He requeſted to ſpeak with the king and queen in private; he proceeded to repreſent the imminent danger which at this moment impended over their majeſties and all that were attached to them; he aſſured them that very few of the national-guard were to be depended upon, and that the majority were totally adverſe to them. That inſtead of defending the palace, they would inſtantly join the aſſailants; that the number of the inſurgents was ſuch that it was inſanity to oppoſe; and entreated that they would repair, as to the only aſylum which was open to them, to the national aſſembly. The queen whoſe force of mind was generally more diſpoſed to reſiſtance than ſubmiſſion, oppoſed with vehemence Rœderer's propoſal, and exclaimed—"that ſooner than remove ſhe would be nailed to the walls of the palace." But the habitual gentleneſs of the king's character induced him to comply. They ſtrictly forbade their ariſtocratic friends to accompany them; but it was with grief and reluctance that they ſubmitted to the command of their beloved maſter, to ſeparate themſelves from his perſon in the hour of calamity and danger.

The king met with no interruption in croſſing the Thuilleries to the ſtaircaſe leading to the terrace of the Feuillans; but there he was detained near a quarter of an hour by the populace, who mingled with the groſſeſt abuſe the moſt alarming threats againſt his perſon. The directory of the department at length prevailed on the multitude to give way, and one of the moſt forward of the inſurgents ſnatched the prince-royal out of the queen's arms and carried him to the aſſembly.

The legiſlative body, at the moment their majeſties entered, were engaged in a tumultuous debate, on the motion for ſending a deputation to conduct the king and the royal family to the hall. As ſoon as he entered, the king ſeated himſelf by the ſide of the preſident, and addreſſed the aſſembly in theſe words: "I am come hither to prevent a great crime—Among you, gentlemen, I believe myſelf in ſafety." The king and queen were accompanied by their ſon and daughter, and the princeſs Elizabeth—A voluntary deputation of the members had proceeded to the door of the hall to introduce them.

A ſingular debate took place almoſt immediately on the entrance of the royal family. It was obſerved by a member, that according to the conſtitution, the deliberative functions of the aſſembly were ſuſpended by the preſence of the king. It became therefore a matter of ſome embarraſſment to know where to diſpoſe of the unfortunate monarch; ſome were for placing him at the bar, others in the galleries. The king with

his family then retired to the benches deſtined for the miniſtry; but this was ſtill objected to; at length it was obſerved, that they might be accommodated in a ſmall box, about ten feet ſquare, on the right hand of the preſident, which had been appropriated to the editors of a newſpaper, at that time well known under the title of the Logographe.

It was an unfortunate circumſtance for the king's friends, that they had not received orders to capitulate, when the purpoſe of their military array was defeated by the king's removal to the aſſemby; beſide the prevention of ſo much bloodſhed, there is much reaſon to believe, that the event would have proved more favourable to the king. This omiſſion has been imputed to his duplicity, from a wiſh in the king to ſecure two chances —the reſtoration to his former power, ſhould the party within the palace obtain all the aid that had been promiſed by the municipality and that was expected from the national-guards, and prove finally victorious; and at the worſt that by taking ſhelter in the aſſembly, he ſhould eſcape with life. This account of his motives, though ſpecious, is moſt probably no more than one of thoſe uncharitable inſinuations which the malignity of party ſo frequently deſcends to; the conduct of the king is more naturally to be aſcribed to the confuſion and anxiety which at ſuch a criſis would deprive the firmeſt minds of their functions. Removed from the preſſure of danger men may reaſon upon the motives of actions, but experience turns diſguſted from the futility of ſuch cold ſpeculations. To complete the calamity, time was not allowed to remedy the omiſſion; the aſſembly had diſpatched a deputation to the palace, but the king and his family had ſcarcely taken their ſeats in the box aſſigned to them, when a dreadful cannonading ſhook the aſſembly; ſome members roſe from their ſeats, and appeared diſpoſed to ſeek ſafety in flight, but the preſident calling them to order, reminded them that every man ſhould now be at his poſt. The king took occaſion to aſſure the preſident that he had left ſtrict orders with the Swiſs not to fire upon the people; but a member obſerved that if the decrees of the aſſembly had been executed ſuch orders would not have been neceſſary.

While the opponents of the monarch ſpared no meaſure to expoſe his weakneſs and bloat them into crimes, his advocates have not ſpared imputations on their adverſaries, evidently the brood of hatred and malevolence, while the armed preparations at the Thuilleries is either paſſed over in ſilence or aſcribed to accident; the attack on the palace has been aſcribed to a deſign on the life of the monarch, whom nevertheleſs we find paſſing unmoleſted though unguarded, through the midſt of the populace to the aſſembly; in like manner much pains have been taken to exonerate the Swiſs from the charge of having commenced the maſſacre by firing on the populace; but truth has riſen ſuperior to the efforts of this blind deception, and by fixing on them the fatal aggreſſion, left no room to juſtify them, and without approving their puniſhment, in a degree vindicates the vengeance that they provoked. A moment prior to the tremendous fire which ſhook the aſſembly, the gate of the palace had been thrown open to admit the deputation, the populace were crying out to the Swiſs to forbear from hoſtility and with outſtretched arms ſoliciting them to embrace as brothers; in this fatal moment the approach of the deputation had cauſed a preſſure of the croud to make way for them, and great numbers were irreſiſtibly protruded within the area of the palace, and the Swiſs received the fatal order to fire! The deſtruction was horrible, and the populace enraged to deſparation tumultuouſly ruſhed forward over the bodies that had fallen, the greater part of the national-guards and the artillery joined the people, and turned their arms on the Swiſs and the corps of courtiers;

the latter had already formed as well as they could, part with and part without arms, in military array; though they had it no longer in charge to defend the perſon of the king, with great imprudence they preſerved thoſe diſtinctions which were become ſo odious to the people, and marked them out for vengance. The moſt loyal among the national-guards were diſpirited by the loſs of their commander, and diſguiſted by the flight of the king. Murmurs circulated among them; the purport of which was that they were inevitably betrayed, and that with ariſtocrats on the one hand, and with the Swiſs on the other, they were between two fires. Even the Swiſs themſelves were completely diſcouraged. Their commander in chief Affry, was abſent, having proteſted againſt violent meaſures; Bachman, ſecond in command, and his adjutant, had accompanied the king to the national aſſembly; the captains of the companies were either not at their poſts, or doubtful of the courſe they ſhould purſue, ſo that the regularity and compactneſs of military evolutions was loſt in tumult and promiſcuous efforts of offence and reſiſtance.

The number of the inſurgents has been ſtated at about twenty thouſand effective men. The crowd of idle ſpectators who followed them, for curioſity, is not to be eſtimated. The moſt active conſiſted chiefly of the inhabitants of the ſuburbs, with ſome hundreds of the Marſeillois, and other federates, who were certainly the moſt daring, and contributed moſt to the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe. They were promptly marſhalled in tolerable order by a Pruſſian, a ſoldier of fortune, of the name of Wieſtermann, and were armed ſome with ſpears, ſome with muſkets, and had with them in the centre not leſs than thirty pieces of cannon.

The conteſt chiefly lay between the Marſeillois and the Swiſs. Either way a ſemblance of duty appeared to diſarm the national-guard, and withhold ſome of them from active meaſures. The gendarmerie were in the ſame ſituation, and a party of them who had their ſtation near the coach-houſes, were at one time raked by two fires from the Swiſs and the popular party, and out of one hundred men, loſt twenty-five in this humane inactivity. After a moſt gallant reſiſtance of more than an hour, in which the Swiſs were frequently victorious in different parts, they were overpowered by numbers, were obliged to give way. The enraged populace, purſued the fugitives with the rancor of revenge, and the victory was converted into a maſſacre. The number and the fury of the national-guards encreaſed every inſtant, and the ſight of the dead bodies and the enthuſiaſtic exclamations of their wounded fellow-citizens, inſpired them with an inſatiable rage againſt the Swiſs, every one of whom within the palace was put to death; a ſmall party of ſeventeen had taken refuge in a veſtry-room, upon being diſcovered ſhouted out vive la nation! but unavailingly, they met the ſame fate. Another party attempted to eſcape through Marſan-court; about eighty were killed, the remainder ſecreted themſelves in hay-lofts, and in other lurking places; ſome lent them clothes to diſguiſe themſelves, and theſe generally eſcaped, but ſeveral died of hunger and fatigue.

The gentlemen who remained in the palace ſaw no alternative at this formidable criſis, but to proceed as well as they could to the national aſſembly. The only poſſible road was through the queen's gate; they rallied all the Swiſs whom they found diſperſed in their way, and as many of the national-guard as ſtill remained attached to them. The number of the fugitives might amount to five hundred; but as only one perſon could paſs-through the gate at a time, they were expoſed to a continual fire from ſeveral battalions ſtationed at about thirty yards diſtance; and as the red uniform of the Swiſs attracted particular notice, they were ſtill the greateſt ſufferers.

Of the remainder ſome eſcaped by the gardens, and others in ſmall parties made good their progreſs to different parts of the city, where, upon diſperſing, they were ſecreted and ſaved by the humanity of individuals. Of this fine body of Swiſs, the whole number that ſurvived the vengeance of the people did not amount to two hundred. Theſe, by a decree of the aſſembly, were put under the protection of the ſtate.

The defenceleſs victims, who were found in the palace, were all involved in one promiſcuous maſſacre. The gentlemen-uſhers and pages, without diſcrimination. Streams of blood defiled the edifice of the Thuilleries from the roof to the foundations. The maſſacre was followed by a general pillage of the palace. Some cheſts containing ſecret papers and aſſignats, and even ſome of the royal plate, were taken and brought into the hall of the national aſſembly.

The reſentment which the reſiſtance of the Swiſs had excited was directed even to the porters at the coffee-houſes and hotels, who go under the general appellation of Swiſs, and ſeveral of them were murdered. Carl, lieutenant-colonel of the foot gendarmerie, was killed in the afternoon on coming out of the Logographic lodge where the royal family were, and d'Hermigny, a colonel of the gendarmerie, met his fate in the ſquare before the Hotel de Ville.

Of all the victims of popular phrenſy on this memorable day, none was more lamented than Clermont Tonnerre; no man had rendered more eminent ſervices to the cauſe of liberty in the commencement of the revolution than this unfortunate gentleman; but, he was one of thoſe, who attached themſelves to the court after the completion of the conſtitution. His attachment to limited monarchy had rendered him odious to the populace. On the morning of the tenth he found his houſe ſurrounded by a mob, under the pretence that arms were ſecreted there: at the ſame time he received an order to appear before the committee of his ſection, on a charge of being concerned in a plot to ſecure the flight of the king by force; and he was likewiſe accuſed, though without any appearance of juſtice, of concurring with, and favouring the deſigns of the court. While he remained there, his houſe was ſearched and his innocence acknowledged. Conſcious of the rectitude of his own intentions, he had the imprudence to venture to return through the midſt of the mob, whoſe violence he reſtrained for a conſiderable time by the charms of his eloquence and addreſs. A ſervant whom he had diſmiſſed for ſome offence is ſaid to have embraced this opportunity to gratify his revenge, by continuing to exaſperate the fury of the multitude. It is to be lamented that his efforts were but too ſucceſsful.

During theſe ſcenes of deep calamity, the aſſembly continued their deliberations unremittingly; the events that ſpoke ſo ſtrongly to the heart, the retroſpect of thoſe unavailing meaſures of forbearance and perſuaſion, of warning and rigor, which had been unavailingly employed to promote the harmonious co-operation of the court; the rapid ſucceſſion of plots, and derangements of miniſtry, and above all the external dangers, which loudly called for vigour, declared the neceſſity of placing the force of the nation in hands ſubject to effectual control and reſponſibility, and who by an unequivocal diſpoſition to reſiſt invaſion and ſecure the national liberty, would command the confidence of the people and the legiſlature.

A ſeries of decrees were drawn up upon theſe important circumſtances and paſſed, and the authority veſted by the conſtitution in the king was revoked and ſuſpended. It next

became neceſſary to make known to the nation the cauſes of the events that had taken place, and the ſituation and motives of the aſſembly; for this purpoſe Condorcet drew up a very eloquent memorial entitled "an expoſition of the motives of the aſſembly," which was circulated through the departments and the armies; it recapitulated the various ſteps that had characteriſed the latter periods of the revolution—the intrigues of the court, the encouragement of the emigrants—the correſpondence with external enemies, and the maintenance of agents hoſtile to the new order of things in the departments and armies—the open countenance given to fanatic prieſts; thus encouraging foreign and domeſtic, civil and religious war—the refuſal to ſanction decrees deſigned to ſupport or repreſs theſe dangers and diſorders—the concealment of foreign combinations, and endeavors to leſſen their importannce and to perſuade to a diſbelief of their reality—that the repetition of theſe meaſures at length demanded an enquiry, in which the criminality of the court was proved, but the miniſter only could be puniſhed—the means of defence rendered nugatory in the moment of a delaration of war—the public money ſecretly laviſhed in ſupport of perſons armed againſt the country abroad and to ſow diſcord in the armies at home—the generals made to diſtruſt each other—the treachery of thoſe counſels which could, after the ſecurity that the king had found and the ſatisfaction he had expreſſed at the attachment of the populace on the twentieth of June, promulge a proclamation the next day expreſſing a contrary ſenſe of intended violence—circular letters from the executive calculated to ſow diſtruſt on the eve of the federation, when delegates from all the departments were about to teſtify to the enemy the unanimity of the people—a dark procedure in the court of the Thuilleries purpoſed to infringe the inviolability of the repreſentatives and to render the judiciary ſubſervient to a ſecret authority—miniſters rapidly changed—a declaration of the enemy dooming to death the repreſentatives, the magiſtrates, and the public functionaries, affected to be conſidered as a forgery, while the families of the conſpirators at Coblentz whence it originated, formed the habitual ſociety of the court—writers paid out of the national treaſure to defame liberty and the legiſlature—the national-guards attempted to be alienated, and foreign guards retained in open diſregard of repeated decrees, and at length turned to the deſtruction of the people: truſt could no longer be repoſed in hands which had ſo much abuſed it, and no means appeared ſo proper to repair the evil as a recurrence to the ſupreme will, as directed by the conſtitution; the people were therefore invited to meet in primary aſſemblies, and to form a national convention. By a ſubſequent decree the convention was appointed to meet on the twentieth of September.

On the following day the miniſters appointed by the king were declared to have forfeited the confidence of the nation, and a new executive council was appointed, and conſiſted of Roland for the home department, Servan for that of war, and Claviere of the finance. Le Brun was nominated miniſter for foreign affairs, Danton miniſter of juſtice, and Monge of the marine.

A decree of accuſation was afterwards paſſed againſt D'Abancourt, the late miniſter of war, for not having diſmiſſed the Swiſs guards and other crimes, and this was ſoon after followed by another againſt La Porte, the late intendant of the civil-liſt.

Thus in one ſingle day was deſtroyed an edifice which had employed the firſt abilities of France for three ſucceſſive years in its erection.

After much deliberation, the hotel of the miniſter of juſtice was choſen as the habitation of the fallen monarch and his unfortunate family; but on the repreſentation of Manuel, who ſtated, that in that ſituation the municipality could not charge themſelves with being reſponſible for the perſon of the king, the place of confinement was changed to the temple.

Theſe great events mark a diſtinguiſhed epoch in the hiſtory of the revolution, but they afford only that external light which is thrown upon public events by the caſual or partial obſerver; time, which will yet further develope the ſecret ſprings of the French afflictions, has already diſcloſed the deſigns of the court and the cauſe of the fatal ſcenes of the tenth of Auguſt. We have before noticed the ſtate of the army under Lafayette at the beginning of Auguſt, which amounted only to eighteen thouſand raw troops, to oppoſe to one hundred thouſand, compoſed of Pruſſian veterans, Auſtrians, barbarous Heſſians, and deſparately brave emigrēs; between Maubege and Maulde, the force under Dillon was as inconſiderable; Cuſtine was ſhut up at Landau, Kellerman at Wiſſemburg; while the enemy appeared at all points, and no means ſufficient to oppoſe them; the Heſſians and emigrants were to paſs the Rhine, the Auſtrians to penetrate to the department of the north, the Piedmonteſe to invade the ſouth, the ariſtocracy to unite round the court and in their ſeveral departments, while the duke of Brunſwick was to proceed by Chalons to Paris; that theſe deſigns were perfectly underſtood by the court would need no better evidence than facts already noticed and which have been given at large in the expoſition of the motives of the aſſembly drawn up by Condorcet; but even that paper does not wholly and clearly diſcloſe the meaſures of the court, whoſe purpoſe was to eſcape, and the preparations for which we have before in ſome degree noticed as exciting the apprehenſions of the Pariſians.

This plan was formed by a perſon who had held a high office under the conſtitution, and was ſupported by the municipality of Paris after the diſmiſſion of Petion; and Lafayette is ſaid to have promiſed it the moſt effectual ſupport; the king and royal family were to proceed ſecretly to Gaillon, the villa of the archbiſhop of Rouen, twenty leagues from Paris, the preciſe diſtance allowed by the conſtitution. They were to paſs from the Thuilleries through the houſe of La Porte, intendant of the civil-liſt, which was ſeparated only by a wooden partition and communicated on the oppoſite front with the old Louvre, in a court of which coaches were commonly ſeen about midnight, belonging to parties that ſupped with La Porte. On the night propoſed for the eſcape none were to be invited, but two coaches were to be ready for the royal fugitives, who were to have no attendant whatever beſide one female and two confidential male friends dreſſed as domeſtics, one of the latter behind each carriage. They were to leave Paris at the uſual hour that perſons who ſup in the city repair to the country. The three thouſand Swiſs, whom the king had been obliged to ſend out of the capital, were diſtributed at certain ſtations from Pontoiſe to Paris. The king's guards, who had alſo been lately reduced but who ſtill reſided in the capital, were all under the command of count de Hervilly, to whom they were attached; he conſtantly remained near the royal family; their horſes were in the ſtables at Verſailles, and were to be taken thence on the night appointed, and to meet the royal family within a league of Paris and eſcort them to Pontoiſe, where two regiments of Swiſs were ſtationed to meet them, theſe with the other Swiſs and the guards were deemed ſufficient to cover the flight.

At Gaillon the king was to have wrote to the aſſembly, and inform them of the motives for his *removal*; if hoſtile meaſures ſhould be taken againſt him, he was to remove directly to Fecamp on the ſea coaſt, where the commiſſary of marine had been ordered to provide a veſſel completely equipped and provided to tranſport the royal family whereſoever they ſhould deſire. M. la Fort, an intelligent general officer, left Paris in July for Normandy, on purpoſe to ſurvey Gaillon, its environs, and the coaſt, and to ſound the diſpoſition of the inhabitants; he had returned to Paris on the fifth of Auguſt with a report wholly favourable to the enterprize, and the night of the ſeventh was fixed for the execution of the enterprize; the moſt profound ſecrecy was preſerved as to the particulars; and the deſign was in no reſpect betrayed but by the meaſures that were neceſſarily taken for its performance; and the buſtle and diſquietude viſible in the conduct and countenances of the principal perſons about the palace. This plan which in all human probability would have been completely executed, was interrupted by the apprehenſions of the queen, who would not repoſe any confidence in the commandant of the troops in Normandy, he being a deputy. On the evening of the ſixth there had been a conſiderable diſquietude in Paris occaſioned by ſome vague ſuſpicions ſuggeſted by perſons who uſually ſupplied the court with various articles, and had not received their uſual orders; the queen prevailed on the king to ſend a meſſage to the chief perſon concerned in the enterprize to ſuſpend the meaſure to the laſt extremity; this circumſtance drew all thoſe engaged in the plot, who were at a diſtance, directly to the capital; and the apprehenſions of the court encreaſed with the approach of that day upon which the queſtion of ſuſpenſion was to be diſcuſſed. The appearance of ſo many ſtrangers at ſuch a period alarmed the ſubordinate agents of the police, who communicated their fears to the magiſtrates and the clubs; and accounts for the confuſion in the capital on the ninth of Auguſt.

The clubs had not been indifferent to theſe events; they took meaſures to alarm the people; and declared that a civil war was to be apprehended from the moment that the king ſhould be ſeparated from the legiſlature; their ſurmiſes and ſuſpicions made up for their deficiency of information, and they declared although they did not know the manner, the place, or time of flight, that ſuch was the intention of the royal family; and the federates, between whom and the national-guards a jealouſy had prevailed, were by this alarm completely united.

There is no poſitive certainty of the king's intention to renew the project of flight on the night of the ninth, although there is reaſon to ſuſpect it; for all the members of the diſmiſſed body guard were equipped on that evening, and the count de Hervilly their commander was one of thoſe, that attended the royal family all that night, and to the aſſembly the next day; the events of that morning diſſipated for ever all their beſt hopes.

The concert on the frontier was conſiderably affected by the tranſactions at Paris; the duke of Brunſwick had already entered the frontiers, Clairfait entered the Low Countries, and planted himſelf on the right of the Pruſſians; a ſecond column commanded by Hohenloe, one of emigrants, and another of Heſſians were in the rear of the Pruſſians.

The phrenzy of the populace did not ſubſide for ſome days after the ſtorming of the palace. It aſſumed indeed not the formidable aſpect of a general inſurrection, but it

was not leſs dreadful in its effects. Several atrocious aſſaſſinations were committed, and among others the reſpectable Rochefoucault fell a victim to his attachment to the king, being implicated in the plan for his flight. After having, with the reſt of the department, been concerned in the ſuſpenſion of Petion and Manuel, he found it no longer ſafe to remain in Paris. He retired to his own eſtate, upon the alarm occaſioned by the reſtoration of Petion, and the conſequent loſs of aſcendancy of his party in the commune of Paris, but his ſteps were carefully tracked, and he was ſcarcely arrived before he was put to death,

The rage of the mob on the days ſucceeding the tenth of Auguſt, was not confined to the living objects of their reſentment; they demoliſhed every veſtige of art which had the remoteſt relation to monarchy or ariſtocracy: even the ſtatue of Henry IV. ſo long the idol of the patriotic party, was broken in pieces, merely becauſe it was the ſtatue of a king. The buſts of Necker, Lafayette, Mirabeau, and all the leading members of the conſtitutional party, were alſo ſought out and demoliſhed.

Information was given the aſſembly, of a correſpondence carried on between Lafayette, in which the princeſs of Lambelle, and Meſdames de Tourzelle, were concerned; in conſequence of which they were both arreſted; their anſwers appearing equivocatory, they were ſent to priſon, with ſome other ladies of the houſhold.

On the night of the twelfth the aſſembly, apprehenſive of a formidable oppoſition from the army of Lafayette, diſpatched three commiſſioners of their own body to counteract the movements of that general. Lafayette, however, by a ſingular accident, was previouſly appriſed of the events of the tenth. He had ſent Darblais, one of his ſtaff officers, with diſpatches to the war miniſter. On the morning of the eleventh, he advanced almoſt within ſight of Paris, when he was met by a grenadier of the national-guards, who appriſed him of his danger, and adviſed him to change horſes aud return with all poſſible ſpeed. At Sedan, on his way back, he found Lafayette, who, after ſtating the facts to the magiſtrates of that town, adviſed them, in duty to the king and conſtitution, to arreſt the commiſſioners, who accordingly, on their arrival there, were ſeized, and detained in priſon fron the fourteenth to the twentieth.

In the mean time Lafayette returned to the camp; and immediately diſtributed among the battalions the following letter:—

"Citizen ſoldiers, it is no longer time to conceal from you what is going forward: the conſtitution you ſwore to maintain is no more; a banditti from Marſeilles, and a troop of factious men, beſieged the palace of the Thuilleries; the national and Swiſs guards made a rigorous reſiſtance, and for want of ammunition they were obliged to ſurrender.

"General d'Affry, his aids-de-camp, and his whole family were murdered.

"The king, queen, and all the royal family eſcaped to the national-aſſembly; the factious ran thither, holding a ſword in one hand, and fire in the other, and forced the legiſlative body to ſuperſede the king, which was done for the ſake of ſaving his life.

"Citizens, you are no longer repreſented; the national aſſembly are in a ſtate of ſlavery; your armies are without leaders; Petion reigns: the ſavage Danton and his ſatellites are maſters. Thus, ſoldiers, it is your province to examine whether you will

reſtore the hereditary repreſentative to the throne, or ſubmit to the diſgrace of having a Petion for your king."

The general, at the firſt moments when this communication to the ſoldiery was made, found their diſpoſitions not unfavourable, but he ſoon diſcovered that attachment was only to be expected from a ſmall circle of his friends. Apprehenſive therefore, that in the ſpirit of revolt, which his army manifeſted, his life would be inſecure, or that he would certainly be delivered up into the hands of his adverſaries, on the nineteenth of Auguſt he left the camp in the night, accompanied only by his ſtaff and a few ſervants. They took the route of Rochefort in Liege, which being a neutral country, they hoped to paſs unmoleſted; but an Auſtrian general, of the name of Harancourt, being ſtationed there with an advanced party, arreſted the fugitives, contrary to the law of nations, and ſent them priſoners to Namur. Theſe unfortunate exiles have ever ſince been detained the victims of tyranny, and confined in the noiſome dungeon of Olmutz, for no other crime, or rather under no other pretext, than that of having been members of the national aſſembly of France.

General Arthur Dillon, influenced by the counſel, and perhaps by the character and example of Lafayette, ſeemed at firſt inclined to imitate his conduct; and by the orders which he publiſhed to his army on the thirteenth, he excited ſo ſtrong a ſuſpicion againſt him, that a decree was actually paſſed for his ſuſpenſion. He however was ſo fortunate as to retract in time; and upon the arrival of the commiſſioners of the aſſembly at Valenciennes, he found means ſo completely to conciliate their eſteem, that the decree was repealed, and he was again reinſtated in his full authority.

The politic Dumourier, who had aſſumed the command at Maulde, ſaw from the firſt the party which it was neceſſary to embrace, and anticipated the wiſhes of the aſſembly, by applauding the new revolution even before the arrival of their commiſſioners: by this fortunate ſtep he gained the entire confidence of a great part of the republicans, which he had loſt by his conduct in the miniſtry, and in conſequence was afterwards appointed to ſucceed Lafayette in his command.

Mareſchal Luckner took the ſame decided part. In his letter to the aſſembly, he even inſinuated that it was the treachery of the court which had compelled him to retreat in the midſt of victory from the Netherlands; and added, "that now the king was depoſed, he hoped he would not be ordered to retire when he next entered the Auſtrian territories."

Generals Biron, Monteſquieu, Kellerman, and Cuſtine, all ſubmitted to the authority of the aſſembly, and of the proviſional council of ſtate, and took the republican oaths, as well as the ſoldiers of their reſpective armies.

Though the force of Lafayette had been trifling in compariſon with that of his adverſaries, as it did not exceed twenty thouſand men, ſtill he contrived to keep the Auſtrians and Pruſſians in check, and they had made but little progreſs towards the ſubjugation of France. They had advanced rapidly in the end of July and beginning of Auguſt, the confuſion terror and diſmay, however, which the tranſactions we have juſt narrated had produced, encouraged the combined armies to puſh their enterpriſes, and the firſt conqueſt atchieved was that of Longwy. On the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, general Clairfait preſented himſelf with an army of ſixty thouſand men before that fortreſs. The ſiege laſted about fifteen hours, during which time the enemy kept up a continual

and heavy fire of bombs and artillery. The commandant reported, that the magiſtrates and citizens, terrified by the bombardment, had inſiſted upon a ſurrender, and that he had only complied with their requiſition; nothing leſs than treachery in a commander could compel a garriſon of two thouſand five hundred men, well appointed, in a place ſtrongly fortified, and defended with ſeventy-one pieces of cannon, and excellent caſements, to ſurrender upon ſo ſhort a ſiege. Upon further inquiry theſe ſuſpicions were confirmed, being purchaſed by a conſiderable ſum of money, for which, Lavergne the governor was ordered to be tried by a court-martial: and a decree of the aſſembly was paſſed, that whenever it ſhould be retaken, the houſes of the citizens ſhould be razed to the ground, and the magiſtrates perſecuted for high treaſon.

The capture of Verdun almoſt immediately ſucceeded that of Longwy. It was ſummoned by the duke of Brunſwick on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, nor did the example of the puniſhment to be inflicted on Longwy deter the inhabitants from becoming the dupes of their apprehenſions. As Longwy, therefore, was loſt by the treachery of the commander, Verdun was reduced by the cowardice of the citizens. Diſtruſtful of the inciviſm of the officers after the affair of Longwy, the aſſembly, by their decree, veſted power in the municipality to controul the deliberations of the council of war. Beaurepaire, the governor, was deſirous of defending the town to the laſt extremity; but the municipal officers were determined in favour of a capitulation, and there was imminent danger that the ſoldiers would be attacked by an enemy within as well as without the walls. The municipality oppoſed the commander and propoſed to capitulate, the Pruſſian troops entered on the ſecond of September; but the governor, too brave to ſuffer the ſuſpicion of not performing his duty ſought refuge from diſhonour in death.

Ambition and jealouſy had deceived the nations of Europe in the flattering expectation, that France who had been the object of hatred or fear to one or all of them, would fall an eaſy prey by her diſtractions to the rapacity of her rivals; her firſt diſtreſſes were ſubjects of ſecret exultation, her ſucceeding proceedings were heard with covetous joy, and the ſubſequent progreſs from the diſburthenment of debt to her enfranchiſement from the hoary bonds of ſervitude and error, inſpired the ſovereigns of Europe with an anxiety ſo extreme, that their views originally dictated by rapacity, ſettled in reſentment and fear; their hopes wholly perſonal and ſeparate in the firſt inſtance, were no longer flattered by the weakneſs they had vainly foreſeen, but the cauſes of their diſappointment furniſhed motives for further pretenſions and more ſanguine hopes; the projects which have been developed illuſtrate theſe remarks, and every day teſtified the watchfulneſs of the European ſovereigns, and their eagerneſs to ſeize upon the ſlighteſt pretexts for openly joining in that league of hoſtility in which they had ſecretly engaged.

The Engliſh court, had from the firſt dawn of the French diſtreſſes participated to the utmoſt in that malignant joy, and by the proceedings of the governors in her foreign poſſeſſions, ſo early as the beginning of the year 1790, deſignated the part ſhe had reſolved to act; the policy of her cabinet, however, was ſtudiouſly guarded in Europe; that hatred which had been aſſiduouſly nouriſhed to foſter the incurable reſtleſſneſs of her ambition, was counteracted in an immenſe degree by the very ſpirit of freedom ſo much the favorite ſentiment of the Engliſh people, and from whom it had in ſo conſiderable a degree extended to France. The knowlege of theſe truths, while it awakened all the fears of the Engliſh monarch, called for the circumſpection of his miniſters; the temper

of the people reſtrained the court from open hoſtility, but no occaſion was left uneſſayed to promote the general combination againſt France and to convert the people to the views of the court. We ſhall in the courſe of this work have occaſion to illuſtrate theſe obſervations much at large; the ſuſpenſion of Lewis offered an opportunity for the firſt overture of that policy which they had reſolved gradually to unfold, by the recal of the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, which was done by a note addreſſed to the proviſional council, to this effect:

"In the abſence of lord Grenville, mr. Dundas declares, that his Britannic majeſty is afflicted with the deepeſt grief for the events which have lately taken place at Paris, both on account of the intereſt which he takes in every thing that concerns their moſt chriſtian majeſties, and of his deſire to ſee the kingdom of France tranquil and happy. As it appears that the exerciſe of the executive power has been withdrawn from the hands of the king, his majeſty thinks his ambaſſador has no occaſion to remain in Paris any longer; this ſtep being taken to manifeſt his intention of remaining neutral as to the internal government of France. He expreſſes his majeſty's ſolicitude for the king and queen; he expects their perſons will be protected from every kind of violence, the commiſſion of which would excite univerſal indignation in Europe."

To this the proviſional council expreſſed in reply, their regret at the recal of the ambaſſador, the ſatisfaction they felt at the neutral declaration, and their deſire that a mutual ſpirit of intercourſe might be preſerved; but no notice was taken of what concerned the royal family.

About the ſame period a decree was paſſed againſt Lafayette, declaring him guilty of high treaſon. Barnave, Alexander Lameth, and ſome others of the conſtituent aſſembly who had entered into the profeſſed views of the court, were committed to priſon on a charge of counter-revolutionary deſigns, founded on ſome of the ſecreted papers found in the Thuilleries. Deleſſart, the friend and confident of Necker, was beheaded at Orleans, for concealing the information poſſeſſed by the government concerning the treaty of Pilnitz from the aſſembly. Dangremont, the late paymaſter of the king's guards, ſuffered at Paris on the firſt of September, for having excited the Swiſs to fire on the people. La Porte, intendant of the civil-liſt, was executed at the ſame time, for maintaining a correſpondence with the enemy, and diſtributing money to writers in favor of monarchy, and againſt the revolution. Duroſoy and ſome others ſuffered for ſubordinate treaſons.

The capture of Longwy, and the approach of the Pruſſians, ſpread an inſtantaneous alarm through the metropolis, and even the aſſembly itſelf partook of the contagion. The rumour was, that the enemy intended to leave the fortified places behind them, and proceed immediately to Paris; and this was followed by continued reports that the duke of Brunſwick was within a few hours march of the capital. At this diſaſtrous moment, ſuſpicion lodged in every heart, and terror was depicted upon every countenance. Danton who had raiſed himſelf by his abillities and boldneſs to the ſituation of miniſter of juſtice, and certainly projected the plan of diſmiſſing the old municipality on the night of of the ninth of Auguſt, ſtood forth in the aſſembly on this memorable emergency. He obſerved, that there were more than eighty thouſand ſtand of fire arms in Paris, in the hands of private perſons: with theſe he propoſed to equip a volunteer army, who, inſtead of waiting for the approach of the enemy, ſhould ſally forth well prepared to meet the danger.

Accordingly an arret was directly publiſhed, directing the barriers to be immediately ſhut—all horſes fit for ſervice on the frontiers to be ſeized—all citizens to hold themſelves in readineſs to march againſt the enemy at a moment's warning—aged and infirm citizens to give in their arms for the uſe of the able and unprovided—ſuſpected perſons and cowards to be diſarmed—twenty-four commiſſaries to proceed to the armies and departments to announce and execute this decree—the military committee not to ſuſpend its ſittings—the alarm guns to be fired and the general beat, to announce to the ſections the danger of the country—the national aſſembly and executive power to be notified of the decree; which concludes wirh an energetic appeal to the people on the dangers that ſurround them, the treachery within and the combination without, formed to reduce them to ignominy and ſlavery; conjuring them rather than give up their towns to bury themſelves in their aſhes.

We have had but little occaſion, ſince the termination of the conſtituent aſſembly, of which he was a member, to mention Robeſpierre. He had, however, ſince that period, occupied the ſtation of public accuſer, and at the time of which we are now treating, was at the head of the Jacobin club, and had been choſen, as well as Marat, a member of the new commune, on the night of the ninth of Auguſt. Since the affair of the tenth of Auguſt, Petion had loſt part of his influence with the populace, and Robeſpierre had proportionably riſen in their eſteem. In the Jacobin club, this man had been unremittingly clamorous for the trial of the ſtate priſoners; and by his endeavours to ſatiate the barbarous revenge of the populace, he gained upon their affections.

The decree for raiſing the people and arming en-maſſe, which had been paſſed on the ſuggeſtion of Danton, had produced the moſt aſtoniſhing enthuſiaſm; the young men crowded to the depots of regiſtry, and an army was already collected at Paris, whoſe departure was fixed for the frontiers on the ſecond of September; among theſe new levies were many who had loſt friends and relatives on the tenth of Auguſt, and who were now burning with enthuſiaſm and vengeance; the popular harangues may be ſuppoſed not to have ſoothed thoſe violent paſſions, and it has been urged that Marat and Robeſpierre had excited the volunteers to avenge themſelves on the traitors in Paris, before they ſhould march againſt the Pruſſians. From whatever ſource it proceeded the ſentiment became general, and the imprudent if not worſe conduct of the commune, in ordering the troops to aſſemble in the Field of the Confederation, to march in a body againſt the enemy, gave birth and vigour to outrages that make humanity ſhudder.

The alarm guns were fired, the tocſin ſounded, and the people aſſembled in large numbers—It is a debt due to juſtice, however, to exonerate the citizens in general from the crimes of that day. The majority of the people, though greatly agitated by the alarm which was given, repaired not to the rendezvous, but, as if by inſtinct, to their reſpective ſections, and there entered their names as the ſoldiers of liberty.

A conſiderable multitude, however, was brought together, partly of the Marſellois and the remnant of the other federates, and partly of an immenſe multitude attracted to the ſcene by their curioſity. It is however uncertain, after all that has been ſaid on this fatal day, whether the maſſacre was a preconcerted meaſure, or the ſpontaneous impulſe of a part of the populace. Certain it is, that the reſolutions of the aſſembly were ſcarcely announced, when a number of voices exclaimed, "that they were ready to devote themſelves to the ſervice of their country, and to march againſt their foreign enemies; but

they muſt firſt purge the nation of its domeſtic foes." Without further deliberation, a party of armed men proceeded to the Carmes, or convent of the Carmelites, where a number of the nonjuring prieſts were detained till an opportunity ſhould occur of putting in force their ſentence for baniſhment; and there, in cold blood, the remorſeleſs aſſaſſins ſacrificed every one of theſe defenceleſs and probably innocent men.

From the Carmes they proceeded to the Abbaye priſon, in which were confined the Swiſs officers and thoſe arreſted for treaſonable offences againſt the nation on the tenth of Auguſt. The murderers proceeded with a kind of method in their crimes. They impanelled a jury, nine of whom, it is ſaid, were Italians, or aſſaſſins from Avignon, and the other three French. Before theſe ſelf-conſtituted judges the wretched priſoners underwent a ſummary examination. The watch-word that pronounced the culprit guilty was "Il faut le largir," (he muſt be ſet at liberty) when the victim was precipitated from the door, to paſs through a defile of miſcreats differently armed, and he was cut to pieces with ſabres, or pierced through with innumerable pikes. Some they acquitted; and theſe were declared under the protection of the nation, and accompanied to their homes by ſome of the banditti.

The whole of the ſtaff-officers of the Swiſs guards were maſſacred, except their commander d'Affry. He had been a democrat from the firſt of the revolution, and when urged by the queen to aſſume the command in the Thuilleries on the tenth of Auguſt, had proteſted againſt it and voluntarily abſented himſelf. The aſſaſſins continued the whole night of the ſecond at the Abbaye, and the priſon of the Chatelet, whence they proceeded to the priſon La Force, where the ladies of the court, who were arreſted on the tenth of Auguſt, were confined.

In the dungeon was the beautiful and accompliſhed princeſs de Lamballe, the friend and confidante of the queen. When ſummoned to appear before the bloody tribunal, ſhe was in bed, and was informed by the perſon who delivered the meſſage, that it was only intended to remove her to the Abbaye. She begged, in return, to remain undiſturbed, ſince to her one priſon was as acceptable as another. Being informed that ſhe muſt appear directly before the tribunal, ſhe dreſſed in haſte, and obeyed the ſummons. In the courſe of her interrogation, no crimination againſt the queen and the royal family could be extorted from her, and it is ſaid it was the intention of the judge, to acquit her. As ſhe was conducted, however out of the priſon, ſtupified with horror at the mangled bodies that lay around her, ſhe received a blow on the head with a ſabre, which produced inſtantly a violent effuſion of blood. In this ſituation ſhe was ſupported by the arms by two men, who forced her to continue her progreſs over the dead bodies. As ſhe fainted every moment from loſs of blood, like Cæſar ſhe was ſolicitous to fall in a decent attitude; and when at laſt ſhe became ſo enfeebled, as to be able to proceed no further, her head was ſevered from her body. The mangled corpſe was expoſed to every kind of indignity, and the head, fixed upon a pike, was carried to the Temple and ſhewn to the unfortunate queen who fainted at the horrid ſight. It was afterwards carried in triumph round the ſtreets of Paris, and particularly to the Palais Royal, where it was recognized, by her relations. Madame de Tourzelle and her daughter, and ſome other ladies, who were confined in the ſame priſon, were ſpared, though under accuſation.

Theſe dreadful maſſacres laſted the whole of the ſecond and third of September. At the Abbaye priſon one hundred and fifty-nine were maſſacred; at the ſeminary of St. Firmin, ninety-two unfortunate victims ſuffered; at the convent of the Carmelites, one hundred and forty-one; at the Hotel de la Force, one hundred and ſixty eight; at the Chatelet, two hundred and fourteen; at the Conciergerie, eighty-five; at the Bicetre, one hundred and fifty-three; and at the cloiſter of the Bernardins, ſeventy-three; all amounting to the ſhocking number of one thouſand and eighty-five, beſides ſome others at the Saltpetriere, and on the Pont-au-Change; including however, a conſiderable number of felons, who were impriſoned for forging aſſignats, and for other crimes. Montmorin, the late mayor of Fontainbleau, though he had been acquitted by a jury, was murdered in the ſight of the deputies. During this period of general confuſion and horror, ſeveral miſcreants availed themſelves of the circumſtance, to gratify their private animoſity, and ſome individuals were aſſaſſinated in different parts of the city. The number of the aſſaſſins has been variouſly reported. They were at firſt ſuppoſed to amount to many thouſands; but the general opinion is, that they did not exceed two hundred. It is evident however, that the national aſſembly conſidered them in a formidable view, or they would have taken ſome more effective meaſures than that of ſending commiſſioners from time to time, to diſſuade them from their violence. It is probable that the number would at firſt be greatly exaggerated, by report, and that the multitude who followed, from curioſity or the hope of plunder, greatly exceeded thoſe who were actually engaged in the murders.

It was in vain that the deputies diſpatched by the aſſembly exhorted the populace. —Petion and Manuel exerted themſelves to avert this ruin—and members of the Mountain, who had been otherwiſe deemed furious, were conſpicuous in ſnatching as many victims as they could from the common and indiſcriminate ruin; among theſe were Fallieu and Danton, who at the riſk of their popularity took every method to prevent theſe foul miſdeeds but in vain. Roland wrote repeatedly to Santerre; and the national-guards were all ready in their ſections, waiting the orders of the commander in chief to diſperſe the mob; but Santerre declared he could by no means whatever prevent theſe atrocities.

The ſanguinary character of Marat, has attached much of the ſuſpicion of theſe cruel ſcenes to his contrivance; a few low villains could ſcarcely have perpetrated ſuch deeds without the ſupport of ſome ſuch authority, and between him and Robeſpierre perhaps all that partook of ſyſtem in the tranſactions lay. But there can be no doubt that there exiſted the prediſpoſing cauſe to which we have alluded—the widows and orphans of the tenth of Auguſt, the parents, and brothers of thoſe cut off, attributed their death to the court and the ariſtocracy. What in foreign wars produces only ſorrow and tears, in civil broils produces wrath and fury.

The committee of Surveillance of Paris had been active in their purſuit of thoſe who had been actors or abettors on the part of the court, ſome had already undergone the laſt puniſhment. Others in vaſt numbers were arreſted, and many who had only been ſuſpected from their affinity to the ariſtocracy or other accidents. The priſons were indeed gorged with them, and the progreſs of trial was ſo ſlow that it required the labour of years to go through the proceſs of trial; the people rendered jealous by repeated plots and treachery, conceived the criminals were favoured by the judges, that "crimes had

wings and the law limped over them." Unhappily the ferment occaſioned by news from the frontiers rouſed theſe feelings to fury, and concentred them all in the terrible paſſion of revenge; the repulſe of the French armies—the capture of Longwy and Verdun, were conſidered but as the preludes to that ſentence of deſolation and deſtruction pronounced by Brunſwick upon the devoted people and city of Paris—the general cry was in correſpondence with this terror, "ſhall we leave the priſons of Paris, filled with the "murderers of our friends, and our ſurviving wives and children to be butchered by the "tyrants, who are coming to their protection?"

Indeed there is a very powerful evidence to induce this opinion—M. de St. Meard, a ſuſpected perſon, was confined in the priſon of St. Germaine, he found means to ſpeak to a ſoldier, who was among the deſperadoes—"If you are a prieſt or a conſpirator of the palace of M. Veto," ſaid the ſoldier, "you may expect no mercy." I am ſure not to be accuſed of theſe things, ſaid St. Meard, but I paſs for ſomewhat of an ariſtocrat. "O that's nothing, ſaid the ſoldier, there are honeſt men of all claſſes, the preſident is an honeſt man and no fool." St. Meard avowed himſelf a royaliſt and was acquitted.

The example of Paris was fatally imitated in other places, particularly at Verſailles. The priſoners who had been confined at Orleans for ſtate offences, were ordered thither by the national aſſembly on the eighth of September. The preceding evening a party of aſſaſſins proceeded from Paris, moſt of them in poſt-chaiſes, and, as ſoon as the priſoners arrived, maſſacred them on the ſpot. The inhabitants of Verſailles ſtood ſtupified with horror, and even the detachment which had guarded the captives fron Orleans, ſtood paſſive ſpectators of the maſſacre. Thus periſhed the duke of Briſſac, the biſhop of Maudes, and about thirty others. At Lyons alſo ſome priſoners were maſſacred on the ninth.

The anarchy which ſucceeded the tenth of Auguſt was not ſoon compoſed. On the ſeventeenth of September the *garde meuble*, was robbed of an immenſe quantity of jewels, and other valuable effects, the greater part of which have never been recovered; it appears, however, that a great part of the jewels of this depot, were removed by other hands than the inſurgents, ſince later diſcoveries have traced ſome of the moſt valuable to Amſterdam, whither they were ſent by perſons in connection with the court.

Before we cloſe our account of the proceedings of the national aſſembly, it is proper to mention a decree which was propoſed by a diſtinguiſhed member Jean Debrie.—The ſubſtance of this ſingular propoſal was, "to levy immediately a corps of twelve hundred volunteers, whoſe particular object ſhould be to attack the commanders of the hoſtile armies, and the kings who were the authors of the war; that theſe volunteers ſhould be equipped in a manner the beſt adapted to the purpoſe, and that on each a penſion for life of two thouſand livres per annum ſhould be ſettled, with the reverſion to their deſcendants to the third generation."

The motion was oppoſed by Vergniaud and others, and a kind of previous queſtion moved upon the occaſion, viz. to refer the matter to the committee of ſafety.

The diſcuſſion was curious and important—It was obſerved by the opponents of Jean Debrie, that the propoſal was unworthy a free and enlightened nation; that aſſaſſination was an expedient againſt which all the generous feelings of humanity revolted; that it might be practiſed as well in a bad as in a virtuous cauſe, as well by the tyrant as by the moſt partiotic ſpirit; that in the preſent inſtance it would infallibly produce repriſals;

that if a band of tyrannicides ſhould be formed by France, whole brigades would be formed by the enemy, for the purpoſe of exterminating her commanders.

In reply to theſe obſervations it was urged, that of all the calamities that afflict human nature, *war* is moſt to be deprecated and deplored; that any expedient which could be deviſed for preventing ſo great a crime and ſo dreadful an evil muſt be laudable. Kings, it was ſaid, are the ſole authors of wars; to gratify their caprice, their avarice, or ambition, they in cold blood devote millions to miſery and to death: unfeeling cowards, they repoſe at home in ſecurity and luxury, remote from the danger, and feaſt upon the miſeries they have occaſioned. Which then is the leſſer evil? To devote one man to death, or to expoſe whole nations to ruin, to devaſtation, to wretchedneſs, to ſlaughter? The guilt of war lies wholly with kings; the puniſhment falls entirely upon the innocent ſubjects: if king's were but once aſſured that puniſhment would inevitably follow their crimes, if their perſonal ſafety was as much dependant on their regard for the happineſs and peace of their ſubjects, as that of the ſubjects upon their obſervance of the laws, wars would be for ever at an end,

With reſpect to repriſals it was allowed, that ſuch a decree would certainly provoke them; but it was urged on the other hand, that the combined kings could not be more exaſperated againſt France than they already were. that they had already adopted a plan of aſſaſſination, and of the baſeſt and moſt deſpicable kind, it was not the manly open avowal of juſt vengeance for injuſtice and cruel aggreſſion, but the ſecret deadly treachery of guilt, which ſteals into the unſuſpicious boſom of domeſtic quiet and by ſowing jealouſies and hatreds, by employing religion and the name of god, employs the very precepts of morality and virtue with daggers and poiſon, that ſets neighbor at war with neighbor and converts the tenderneſs of ſocial affection into animoſity and remorſeleſs hate, that blows up thoſe reſentments into fury, and in the moment of combuſtion ſtanding aloof and out of danger enjoys the common ruin it has created; that whether the decree were paſſed or not, every means would be employed for the deſtruction, or, what would be more fatal, corruption of thoſe inveſted with authority or command; and that even the duke of Brunſwic's manifeſto was in ſubſtance a decree to that very effect, and breathed a ſpirit of ſanguinary and perfidious daring that called for retaliation. The arguments in its favor were allowed to be too fatally juſt, but it was urged, that France ſhould rather ſpurn than imitate the baſe example of tyrants, and relying on her own bravery, obtain the additional glory of overwhelming her enemies and ſecuring her liberties without employing the ſame barbarous means of offence. The propoſal was virtually rejected.

The advances of the combined army ſince the tenth of Auguſt had been rapid and formidable. On the thirtieth Dumourier called a council at Sedan, of all the general officers who were then in that diſtrict, Dillon having been ordered from Valenciennes on purpoſe to aſſiſt at it. He explained the diſtreſſed ſtate of the French army, and obſerved, that after taking poſſeſſion of Longwy, the enemy had proceeded to Verdun, and it was yet uncertain whether they would or not undertake the ſiege of Monimedi. The Pruſſian army amounted to full fifty-five thouſand choſen men; Clairfait with ſixteen thouſand had taken poſt at Chiers, to the right of the Pruſſians; and a ſecond column of Auſtrians, commanded by prince Hohenloe, advanced to their ſupport, and were followed by the Heſſians and emigrants, whoſe numbers were conſiderable.

In this council it was determined that the French were by much too weak to face ſo immenſe a force; or to prevent it from paſſing the Meuſe, which was fordable in ſixty-nine places from Verdun to Stenay. In the mean time general Dumourier had diſpatched general Galbaud with two battalions of infantry to ſupport Verdun. On the thirty-firſt the Auſtrians took Stenay, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh with the vanguard, conſiſting of five battalions of infantry and fourteen ſquadrons of cavalry, commanded by Dillon; the national-guard of Stenay made good their retreat, joined Dillon, and took poſt near the commander in chief at Mouzon.

Dumourier's whole force at this period was not equal in number to the ſingle diviſion commanded by Clairfait. With this ſmall army, the only reſource that preſented itſelf to the French generals was to take poſt in the thick foreſt of Argonne. On the third of September Dumourier fell back to Grand Pré, and Galbaud not being able to throw his force into Verdun, had retired and took poſt in a ſtrong poſitition at Bieſme.

The military genius of Dumourier was here diſplayed; his army was ſmall in number, and occupied much ground, but the paſs of Bieſme was of the firſt importance, as it commanded the direct road to Paris; the force under Galbaud was not ſufficient for its maintenance, and Dillon therefore marched thither with a ſtrong detachment. This paſs ſo memorable in future hiſtory, is in the midſt of the foreſt of Argonne, which occupies a range of near fifty miles. The ſurrounding country is picturesque, and covered with gardens, orchards, and vineyards. A deep valley with hills riſing on each ſide, runs through its whole length, with defiles eaſily defended at intervals, which muſt of neceſſity be forced before an enemy could croſs the valley; and afterwards the woods muſt be penetrated, and ſteep acclevities climbed, over alternate rock and bruſh-wood, before the paſs could be gained. On the moſt important of theſe defiles, lies the great road from Clermont to Paris, and there Dillon took poſt and encamped, and on the elevated points around had conſtructed batteries which effectually commanded the paſs; from the lofty precipices the whole landſcape is ſeen ſtretching away to Clermont, where the proſpect terminates with the mountain of the Vache. Galbaud on the moment of Dillon's arrival had abandoned the paſs in deſpair. It was fortunately reſumed in ſufficient time, and upon this circumſtance the fate of the campaign depended.

The ſpace occupied by ſo inconſiderable a force now exceeded thirty miles; but reinforcements were every moment expected, and it became the firſt conſideration to maintain this important poſition till theſe ſhould arrive. On the fourteenth the enemy attacked Grand Pré, and the whole of the army under Dumourier was ſeized with ſuch a panic as obliged him after a ſhort conflict to retreat towards St. Menehould; the Auſtrians however loſt in this affair a number of men and among them the prince Charles de Ligne. On the ſeventeenth Dillon was attacked in his ſtrong poſition at Bieſme, but though the aſſault was intrepid the enemy was ſeverely repulſed, with little loſs on the part of the French. The errors of the enemy at this famous paſs, which has been pertinently denominated the Thermopylæ of France, appear to have been as extraordinary as the talents of the French were conſpicuous; the duke of Brunſwic, though he poſſeſſed Clermont, which is within two leagues of this paſs, had blindly neglected to ſeize it; nay ſuffered Dillon to take poſſeſſion of it within ſight of his videttes. When it was completely occupied, and the French troops refreſhed, he ſurveyed it with the king of Pruſſia from the adjacent heights, attacked it, and diſcovered his error. The Pruſſians next advanced againſt

Chalons, and encamped on the heights of La Lune; but Dumourier in the mean time was reinforced from Pont-ſur-Sambre. Bournonville had alſo raiſed the camp at Maulde, and joined the army with thirteen thouſand men, and Kellerman ſoon after arrived with the ſouthern army. A ſecond error was committed by the enemy there, inſtead of attacking the French before they were thus reinforced, they unaccountably waited till the twentieth of September, when the French were firſt enabled to arreſt their progreſs, and commence a brilliant carreer of conqueſt.

On that day Kellerman, whoſe diviſion conſiſted of not more than ſixteen thouſand men, was attacked by a body of troops greatly ſuperior both in number and diſcipline. They repeatedly attempted to ſurround Kellerman, but Dumourier conſtantly preſented his diviſion with a ſteady front, and fruſtrated their manœuvres; the action, with a furious and inceſſant cannonade on both ſides, continued fourteen hours; at ten o'clock at night Kellerman by a maſterly operation took an advantageous poſition on the enemy's right, in the preſence of the enemy. All parties agreed in admiration of the ſteadineſs of the French line, and of that determined valour which ſtood with ſucceſs the aſſault of the beſt diſciplined troops in Europe. The artillery of the enemy made not the ſmalleſt impreſſion upon the French line, while the ſoldiers of the enemy could be kept to the guns only by the diſcipline of the cane. The troops of Kellerman's diviſion too, upon whom the whole brunt of the action lay, had encamped on their ground only the preceding night, after forced marches day and night, and through the moſt tireſome roads. The general in relating the particulars of this action to the war miniſter, ſays, —" I ſaw whole ranks ſwept away by the exploſion of three ammunition-waggons ſet on fire by a howitzer, without the leaſt confuſion or the line being broken; a part of the cavalry, and particularly the carabineers, were for a long time expoſed to the moſt galling fire, and ſhewed themſelves models of courage and firmneſs—the French nation, after what I have ſeen yeſterday, may be ſatisfied that the beſt diſciplined troops cannot excel thoſe who devote themſelves to the cauſe of civil liberty."

On the ſame day general Dillon was again attacked at Bieſme; but having poſted under cover of the wood, a long file of muſqueteers who galled the enemy's flanks ſo ſeverely on their approach, that after a ſmart diſcharge of their howitzers, they retreated with the utmoſt precipitation, without having hurt a ſingle man of the French. This and the former repulſe extremely mortified Brunſwic. and left him no alternative but to make the circuit of the foreſt by the way of Varennes.

The advantages of theſe actions were ſtriking and durable; the French troops learned to think leſs of the enemy and to confide in their own bravery; it proved to them alſo the advantages of order and military obedience, and taught them to place ſome reliance upon the ſkill of their generals, and to reſiſt thoſe diſgraceful panics, which had proved ſo fatal in the beginning of the campaign, and had been chiefly produced by traitorous emiſſaries. Their ſituation notwithſtanding was ſtill encumbered with delicacy and danger. The Auſtrians and Pruſſians were nearly thrice their numbers; and yet held both Clermont and Varennes; the Pruſſian hoſpitals were eſtabliſhed at Grand Pré, and their camp on the heighths of La Lune was ſo judiciouſly fortified as to be conſidered impregnable. Thus on every ſide but the ſouth the French were completely encloſed, and on the ſide that was open the inclemency of the weather had rendered the roads, always bad, now impaſſable. But thoſe latter evils, in any other circumſtances ſo formidable, together

with the barrenneſs of the country, proved to be the moſt favourable circumſtances for the French by their effect on the enemy.

The paſs which general Dillon ſo fortunately occupied, proved an inſurmountable obſtacle to the duke of Brunſwic's penetrating by the neareſt route to Paris; and finding it impoſſible to diſlodge the French, he ſet out by the foreſt of Varrennes and Grand Pré, a circuit of about fifty miles, and in the evening the French took poſſeſſion of their ground. The length of this march and the great inclemency of the ſeaſon laid the foundation of that fatal diſeaſe, which afterwards proved more deſtructive than the ſwords of the French. To complete their misfertune, the rivers were ſo ſwollen that their ſupplies were almoſt entirely ſtopped, and the combined army was actually without bread for four days, the want of which the ſoldiers very imprudently endeavoured to ſupply by the unripe grapes of Champaigne.

During theſe important actions, the preparations at Paris were carried on with aſtoniſhing vigour to repel the enemy hourly expected; ſo confident were the enemies of the revolution of their ſucceſs, that a report which had been circulated in the Netherlands, of the entire capture of Dumourier and his army was univerſally believed. The aſſurances of the emigrants alſo, had foſtered an opinion, that the combined army would be generally joined by the people, and by ſoldiers from the army, who would deſert through the want of diſcipline, or the unſkilfulneſs of their generals, and that they never would be able to ſtand an attack from veteran troops.

It is ſomething ſingular, that the confederate kings who profeſſedly made war upon the conſtitution of 1789, ſhould now (after the loſs of ſo much blood and treaſure, after having wantonly diſturbed the peace of France, and done irreparable injury to their own ſubjects) deſire only as *their ultimate object the re-eſtabliſhment of that conſtitution*. It is a fact ſcarcely to be credited, that the ſame duke of Brunſwic, who in the month of July, proſtituted his name by affixing it to the diſgraceful manifeſto, in which he profeſſed his intention of reſtoring to the king of France the full exerciſe of his former functions; in which he pronounced an irrevocable ſentence of death upon all the members of the national-aſſembly, and other public functionaries acting under the conſtitution; that in the month of September he ſhould acknowledge the full authority of the French nation to give laws to itſelf; that he ſhould entreat only for the perſonal fate of the king; that he ſhould with his own lips requeſt it as a favour, *that any place whatever might be aſſigned him* (the king) in the new order of things; and that by his confident Manſtien he ſhould ſay to Dumourier—"Make him your king under the ſtricteſt limits. Do not content your-
"ſelves with tying him up like the king of England—Make him a king of Mahrattas—
"Make him a ſtadtholder—Make him the principal *tax-gatherer* of the country—Give
"him only a place—that is all we aſk—and then we ſhall have it in our power to form
"a pretext for retiring."

Colonel Thouvenot anſwered, "that the will of the French republic would not yield to any foreign influence, and that the repreſentatives of the nation, to whom the valuable depoſit of its honor and glory were committed, would perſiſt in maintaining decrees which had been ſanctioned by the general opinion. The duke terminated the conference by ſaying he would tranſmit to general Dumourier a memorial on the ſubject. This memorial was in effect a third manifeſto worthy of the two former, and contained the imperious demand to reſtore the king. The truce was immediately broken—a new conference

was requeſted by the Pruſſians, but Dumourier agreed to it only with a condition that it ſhould not delay the operations of the campaign.

Humiliating as this condition was he acceded to it, and the duke of Brunſwic ſought to effect by negociation what he had failed to atchieve by talents or valour. The Pruſſians, however, had time to bury their dead, and the French uſed every means that their high fortune favored to ſtrengthen their army by reinforcements and ſupplies of every kind. The converſations at any of the interviews of the generals have never been fully diſcloſed; certain it is that efforts were made to bring about a compromiſe for the ſafety of the king; but the national deputies Carra and Sillery having arrived with the decree which for ever aboliſhed monarchy, put a ſtop to all ſuch diſcuſſions. The aſtoniſhment of the Pruſſian chiefs was now raiſed even beyond all former admiration of the French valor, by witneſſing the enthuſiaſtic unanimity with which the decree was received by the troops under arms.

The conferences, therefore, between the generals, from which ſo much was expected, ended only in the retreat of the Pruſſians, who were ſoon after followed by the armies of Auſtria and Heſſe-Caſſel. The firſt poſt abandoned by the Pruſſians was the paſs of Grand Pré; this was on the 30th of September.

The commiſſioners of the army ſay "the enemy are retreating as faſt as they can, but they are harraſſed by our army; during the laſt two days we have taken four hundred men, beſide ſeveral waggons loaded with proviſions—the road behind them is ſtrewed with dead bodies—the camp which they have quitted reſembles a burying ground—above three hundred horſes, half eaten, have been found in it—the priſoners and deſerters all agree that they have more than fifty men ſick in each company—the ſoldiers were often ſix or ſeven days without taſting bread. Dumourier's army is in the beſt ſtate poſſible; all the officers and ſoldiers are animated with a deſire of conquering; the general by the able manœuvres he employed, and the poſition he took, has finiſhed a campaign which will form an epoch in the annals of France. One will ſcarcely believe that he dared to make a retreat with ſeventeen thouſand men in the face of an army of eighty thouſand, to take ſuch a poſition as enabled him to ſtop their progreſs, to effect a junction with the different bodies which came to his aſſiſtance, that placing himſelf directly between the Pruſſian army encamped at Liron and La Lune, oppoſite the latter, he ſhould contrive by the camp of Bieſme, which he took poſſeſſion of, at the ſame time to check twenty thouſand Heſſians encamped at Clermont. By continually harraſſing the enemy and intercepting their convoys he has been able to detain them in the moſt barren part of France, and to oblige them at length to retire ſhamefully from the country, with an army diminiſhed one third in battle, by diſeaſe, deſerters, and priſoners loſt."

The retreat of the enemy was ſlow, encumbered as they were with ſick, and waſted with hunger and fatigue. Their route was towards Verdun. Bournonville harraſſed them in the rear, and Dillon kept the Heſſians in check at the foreſt of Argonne. It has been inſinuated that, that more than once Dumourier might have interrupted their progreſs, and even poſſibly might have made priſoners of both the king and general; and it has, from this circumſtance, been ſurmiſed that a ſecret treaty exiſted between the generals. It muſt however be remembered, that the French army was ſtill inferior in number to the enemy, and the general was perhaps impreſſed with the conſideration of how much he muſt riſk by a defeat at this important criſis.

It does not appear that the Pruſſians in their retreat made any conſiderable halt at Verdun; and the garriſon which they had ſtationed there ſurrendered on capitulation to general Dillon on the twelfth of October. The Pruſſian commander at this place had ſome very free converſation with general Dillon, in which he intimated the ſtrong deſire his maſter had for peace and amity with the French nation; and in a previous converſation with the duke of Brunſwick, general Galbaud, commander of the French artillery, and ſome other officers, the ſame ſentiments were ſtrongly expreſſed by the duke, who wiſhed to extenuate and endeavored to diſavow the malevolence and ferocity of his manifeſto: but the cruelty that he had already exerciſed, on Georges a member of the aſſembly who had fallen into his hands, his barbarity to the inhabitants of the Voſges, and the rapacity which he countenanced among his troops, ſpoke more forcibly than the mean and humiliating duplicity of this prince when diſcomfiture and diſaſter had taught him the exceſs of his temerity and extravagance. Nothing could more clearly demonſtrate the weakneſs and vacillation of the court of Berlin, and its generals, than ſuch a perfidious mode of proceeding after ſuch pompous particularity in their threats, and ſuch deſpicable meaſures of terror in the firſt moments of ſucceſs. A monarch unprovoked, commencing war upon principles avowedly contrary to all that had ever been conſidered ſacred in the rights of nations, breathing denunciation and cruelty, acting upon thoſe threatenings, and in the reverſe of fortune humbly ſeeking a ſubterfuge to retract its proclaimed purpoſes, ſoliciting a ſhield from the object of its perſecution—and after all with conſiſtent baſeneſs renewing the ſame hoſtility again. Poſterity will conſign theſe monſters to the caverns of infamy with the Alvas, the Borgias, and Pizzaros. In other reſpects the policy of thoſe poliſhed barbarians was perfectly conſiſtent; in the cartel for an exchange of priſoners, the hapleſs and deluded emigrants were excepted to by the French, and given up to ſlaughter by the Pruſſian general, who had countenanced them as ſoldiers fighting in the cauſe which he had embraced as juſt, but delivered them up as rebels.

The recapture of Longwy followed that of Verdun on the twenty-ſecond of October, on which day it was taken poſſeſſion of by general Valence, though in fact the capitulation was ſigned on the eighteenth. The Pruſſian army immediately evacuated the territories of France; and the country was ſolemnly proclaimed to be no longer in danger. General Dumourier had for ſome time been abſent from his army; his active mind was occupied with ſtill bolder projects, in the execution of which we ſhall have ſpeedily to follow him.

The conduct of the Pruſſians and Auſtrians, during their invaſion of France was cruel and deſtructive as their manifeſto was barbarous. The rigid diſcipline of the cane and the ſcourge ſerved indeed to reſtrain within the boundaries of military obedience, ſome wretched and paſſive inſtruments of deſpotiſm, unhappy human machines: but the plunder of the enemies, even though unarmed and defenceleſs, is, it ſeems, no infringement of the articles of civilized war! The contributions levied by the duke of Brunſwic, upon the credit of notes payable by the king of France, when he ſhould be reinſtated in his functions, has been with juſtice characterized as royal ſwindling.

But the unfortunate villagers of Voſges were treated with a ſeverity that renders all the hypocritical declarations of thoſe perfidious invaders deteſtable. Though ſituated on a mountain and well calculated to form a poſt of ſome ſtrength, ſtill its fortifications were in ſuch a ſtate that it would be folly in the inhabitants to have attempted to reſiſt an

army. Having however been greatly harraſſed by detached marauding parties of the enemy, the villagers reſolved to defend their property againſt ſuch parties in future. though not to reſiſt a regular ſummons. The next detachment therefore which came in this irregular manner, was very bravely repulſed; but immediately returning with a ſtrong reinforcement, the peaſants, after a gallant effort were compelled to ſubmit. As they were not dreſſed in the uniform of ſoldiers, theſe brave men were judged to be exempt from the laws of war. They were dragged to the head-quarters, tied to the tails of horſes; and before they were carried away, were compelled to ſet fire to their dwellings with their own hands, by which much property and ſeveral lives were deſtroyed. A mother threw herſelf at the feet of the barbarous conquerors, and entreated permiſſion to carry with her her two infants. Her entreaties were diſregarded, and the unoffending babes periſhed in the flames.

Of all theſe tribes of plunderers, however, none were equal to the Heſſians in dexterity, adroitneſs, or in the extent of their depredations. Theſe devoted ſlaves, who are actually ſold, like the negroes on the coaſt of Africa, to the beſt bidder, by their rapacious chief, ſeemed to carry with them to the war all the diſpoſitions incident to a ſtate of ſlavery. Plunder was their ſole object, nor could any thing deter them on any occaſion from the purſuit of it. Wherever they came, like a ſwarm of locuſts, they left a barren wilderneſs behind them. Every article that could be removed, and that was of the leaſt value, was carried away—Not only the money and the plate, but even the clothes and the furniture of the inhabitants were purloined—They ſtripped without mercy the miſerable emigrants themſelves, and plundered the nobility of France who ſerved in the combined armies, with as little remorſe as thoſe whom they denominated rebels.

The conduct of the French ſoldiery was in general much more reſpectable in this inſtance; they abſtained religiouſly from plunder, and, as they endured the want of every neceſſary with fortitude, were cautious of injuring the rights of others. Their political fanaticiſm, however, ſometimes betrayed them into ſhocking exceſſes, the moſt flagrant inſtance of which occurred at Rhetel in the beginning of October. Two battalions of volunteers being ſtationed at that place, four deſerters from the Pruſſian army came to offer their ſervices, and were received by the officers. In the courſe of the day, however, ſome diſpute aroſe between theſe men and ſome of the ſoldiers, when an alarm was inſtantly ſpread among the volunteers, that they were ſpies; the reſt of the ſoldiers immediately ſeized theſe unhappy men, and in defiance of their officers, in defiance of juſtice and entreaty, cut them to pieces.

General Dumourier on this occaſion gave a ſalutary example of ſeverity. He degraded the two battalions, ſtripped them of their military accoutrements and uniforms, and obliged them to deliver up the immediate delinquents. The battalions, with a returning ſenſe of honour, acknowledged the juſtice of the ſentence; but entreated that inſtead of being broken they might be ſent upon ſome ſervice of more than ordinary danger, to expiate their crime; and of their own accord delivered up to the ſentence of the law ten of their body, who were at once the cauſes and the agents in this horrid tranſaction.

The ſieges of Thionville and Liſle are conſpicuous circumſtances in the hiſtory of this campaign. The former is a ſmall but ſtrong fortreſs, and was entruſted to the com-

mand of Generel Felix Wimpfen, whoſe reply to the ſummons of the Auſtrian general was, "You may deſtroy the fortreſs, and not leave one ſtone upon another, but you cannot burn the ramparts." It reſiſted during the whole campaign, and held in check a force which was ſaid to amount to twenty-eight thouſand men; and which in ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies the beſieged frequently harraſſed and diſtreſſed. The town was relieved by the general retreat of the enemy; and the victorious garriſon and commander received all the honours and applauſe which a grateful country could confer.

The city of Liſle was threatened early in September, and on the twenty-third the electors of the department of the north, who were aſſembled there, tranſmitted a public act to the legiſlative body, in which they ſwear, that "they would be buried under the ruins of the town, rather than abandon their poſt." As the poſſeſſion of this city was conſidered by the Auſtrians of the utmoſt importance to their views, no expence was ſpared to effect its reduction. On the twenty-ninth the duke of Saxe-Teſchen, who was appointed by the court of Vienna to this comand, ſummoned the town to ſurrender, on pain of being delivered up to the horrors of war. The anſwer of the council general of the commons was at once modeſt and ſpirited: "We have juſt renewed our oath to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and equality, or die at our poſt. We will not perjure ourſelves." On that day the Auſtrian batteries began to play upon the town, and were directed for upwards of a week to that quarter which was inhabited by the poor claſs of citizens. The principal motive for this proceeding was evidently, that by diſtreſſing them in particular, they might be rendered mutinous and ſeditious, and induced to riſe upon the magiſtrates and commanders, in order to force them into a capitulation. In this the enemy was diſappointed; for on the contrary, inſpired with a degree of heroiſm proportioned to their danger, theſe very citizens cauſed the keys of the city to be carried into the great ſquare and hung upon the tree of liberty; and at the ſame time paſſed a reſolution, that whoever preſumed to remove them for the purpoſe of delivering up the city, ſhould be puniſhed with inſtant death. This ſpirited reſolution the citizens of Liſle ſupported with (what ſhould always acompany true patriotiſm) order and diſcipline. They formed themſelves into ſeveral companies, to each of which were aſſigned its proper functions and ſtation. Every precaution was taken to prevent the miſchievous effects from the bombardment, and a number of women and children were conſtantly employed in knocking out the *fuſes* to prevent the exploſion. The city, however, was ſoon reduced to a heap of ruins; and the inhabitants were compelled to take up their reſidence in temporary huts, or in vaults and cellars, which were formed into a kind of caſemates, by the immenſity of rubbiſh heaped upon them. The churches and public buildings were almoſt all deſtroyed; but the valour, patriotiſm, and virtue of the inhabitants increaſed with their diſtreſs; and as ſoon as a family was driven from its habitation by the devaſtations of the artillery, it was hoſpitably incorporated with another. To the ſixth of October at noon the fire was inceſſant; ſhells, red-hot balls, and every inſtrument of deſtruction, were ſhowered upon the devoted city. The princeſs Chriſtina, ſiſter to the duke of Saxe-Teſchen, with her whole court, attended to view the brilliant ſpectacle, and in the hope of enjoying the triumph of conqueſt. It is even ſaid that the princeſs herſelf applied the match to ſome of the engines of deſtruction. As the garriſon was too ſmall to waſte its force in ſallies, nothing of that kind was attempted but its courage and indefatigable aſſiduity are beyond encomiums; and mareſchal Rualt, the

commander, deſerves to be recorded with every mark of reſpect. It is computed that the Auſtrian batteries fired upwards of thirty thouſand red-hot balls and ſix thouſand bombs upon the city, excluſive of the fire of one of the fineſt battering-trains that ever appeared in the field. Notwithſtanding this, the whole loſs of both garriſon and people did not exceed five hundred, three-fourths of whom were women and children. The Auſtrians had flattered themſelves with being able to maintain this poſt, ſhould they have ſucceeded in their plan for its reduction, notwithſtanding the retreat of the combined armies: but finding themſelves utterly deceived in their expectations, on the ſeventh and eighth of October they began to break up their camp, and the ſiege was raiſed.

The arms of France, at this period, were victorious in every quarter. The king of Sardinia had long been regarded as hoſtile to the revolution. He had been among the firſt to encourage and aſſiſt the emigrants; he had acceded to the treaty of Pilnitz; he had arreſted the French ambaſſador Semonville on the frontiers, on pretences allowed afterwards to be groundleſs; he had encreaſed his armaments in Savoy, and filled the fortreſs of Montmelian with troops; and after the affair of the tenth of Auguſt he had held a congreſs of the foreign miniſters, to deliberate on a plan for invading France. That plan was, however, deferred. It was upon theſe reaſons that the national aſſembly, on the ſixteenth of September, declared war againſt the king of Sardinia; and about the twentieth general Monteſquieu entered the territories of Savoy, preceded by the following laconic proclamation, "In the name of the French nation; war againſt deſpots; "peace and liberty to the people." He deſcribes his march as "a triumph"—He was every where received with joy, and troops flocked to his ſtandard from every part—A deputation from Chambery waited on him almoſt as ſoon as he paſſed the boundary, and on the twenty-firſt he proceeded with a detachment to take poſſeſſion of that city. The municipality waited for him at the gate in their dreſs of ceremony to deliver up the keys; and teſtified, in warm terms, the eſteem in which the people of Savoy held the French nation—At the Hotel de Ville he received the homage of all the citizens, and invited them to an entertainment he had prepared for the purpoſe—As a mark of confidence, he left the Hotel de Ville in the cuſtody of their own town guards, a circumſtance which was received with every expreſſion of ſatisfaction and regard by the citizens—after this the whole country of Savoy ſubmitted without reſiſtance; he then bent his ſteps to Geneva.

The conqueſt of Savoy had ſpread an inſtant alarm over the neighbouring ſtates, and the ariſtocratic faction in Geneva in particular felt no inconſiderable portion of uneaſineſs. From the neighbouring Swiſs cantons this party demanded a garriſon of one thouſand ſix hundred men, while a democratic party in the city were clamorous for placing the republic under the protection of the French. Monteſquieu preſented himſelf before the city; the ariſtocracy were alarmed; they extended the olive-branch to the French general, and the diſpute terminated with the diſmiſſion of the Swiſs garriſon, and the withdrawing of the French troops from the vicinity of Geneva.

The democratic party in Paris, conſidered the conduct of the general on this occaſion, as very ſuſpicious; it was alleged to be the effect of bribery, and charges of peculation were at the ſame time laid againſt him by a faction at Paris, which induced him to retire to Switzerland.

At the head of another body of troops general Anſelm, who had been bred an eccleſiaſtic, croſſed the Var, and on the twenty-ninth of September took poſſeſſion of Nice. In this enterprize he was ſupported by the co-operation of admiral Truguet with nine ſail of the line. The city was evacuated by the Piedmonteſe immediately upon the appearance of the French. Villa Franca, the fortreſs of Montalban, and the whole country of Nice immediately ſubmitted. Upon the firſt arrival of the general, his popularity among the Piedmonteſe was conſiderable, and they appeared warmly attached to the revolution; but the exceſſes of that general ſoon produced a diſaffection, which occaſioned his diſmiſſion and confinement.

An affair which took place at Onaglia, contributed alſo to injure the popularity of the French in Sardinia. On the twenty-third of October admiral Truguet arrived in that port, and iſſued a proclamation inviting the inhabitants to an union with the French nation; captain Duchayla was ſent under protection of a flag of truce to preſent it to the magiſtrates, and the admiral followed with his ſhip, ordering the other veſſels to keep well off the ſhore. The people feigned to receive the boat with friendſhip; but at the moment Duchayla was preparing to addreſs them, he was aſſailed by a volley of muſquetry, in which an aid-de-camp of mareſchal Lahoulier, two midſhipmen, and four ſeamen, in the ſame boat were killed, and the captain himſelf and the adjutant-general wounded.

The magiſtrates affected to excuſe themſelves, but the admiral reſolved to inflict ſignal puniſhment for this treachery; as ſoon as the boat was out of further danger, the troops under mareſchal Lahoulier were landed, and ordered to attack the town on one ſide, while the ſquadron dropped their anchors within piſtol-ſhot, and battered it to ruin; the place was delivered up to plunder, and ſet on fire in ſeveral places.

The conqueſts of Cuſtine in the circle of the Upper Rhine, were not leſs brilliant than thoſe of his colleagues. It was with conſiderable difficulty, from the badneſs of the roads, and the quantity of rain, that he could collect his army at Landau by the twenty-ninth of September. On that morning, however, he proceeded towards Spires, which he reached on the following day. He found the Auſtrians drawn up in order of battle before Spires, having on their right an eminence, which is above the gate that looks towards Worms, a ravine before them, and their left extended among ſome gardens ſurrounded with thick hedges. In this poſition the general did not heſitate to attack them, and ſoon forced them to retreat within the walls of the city. Having tried for a ſhort time to force the gates with cannon, and perceiving the ardor of his troops, general Cuſtine propoſed to cut them down with axes, and the propoſal was eagerly received by the ſoldiers. The gates were ſpeedily demoliſhed, and the French ruſhed into the town with their uſual impetuoſity; but the enemy, who had taken poſſeſſion of all the adjacent houſes, commenced a heavy and deſtructive fire upon them, almoſt as ſoon as they entered. Fortunately general Cuſtine had taken the precaution to place at the head of the columns ſome howitzers and eight pounders, which enabled him to rally his troops, who were in ſome degree diſordered at firſt by the violence of the diſcharge of muſquetry from the houſes. The Auſtrians had, however, apparently no intention of maintaining their ground; they immediately retreated, and left Cuſtine maſter of the city. The French on this occaſion took upwards of three thouſand priſoners, beſides a great quantity of cannon, and howitzers.

The capture of Worms by Neuvigner, with a detachment from Cuſtine's army, immediately ſucceeded that of Spires, and the movements of the French were ſo rapid, that the enemy had not found it poſſible to remove their ſtores; and an immenſe quantity therefore of every kind was found in this place. Cuſtine laid the biſhop, the chapter, and the magiſtrates under a heavy contribution; the loſs of the Auſtrians in men was alſo conſiderable.

On the nineteenth of October, in the midſt of heavy rain, general Cuſtine by forced marches arrived before Mentz. The ſtate of the fortreſſes was previouſly well known to him; and the garriſon amounted to about ſix thouſand men. On the twentieth he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, who anſwered that he meant to defend the town, but requeſted till the twenty-firſt to conſider. In the mean time the garriſon never ceaſed their fire; but to end it, Cuſtine again wrote to the governor; a capitulation was agreed upon, the chief article of which was that the garriſon ſhould not ſerve in the war for the ſpace of one year; and on the twenty-firſt the garriſon marched out with the honors of war.

Frankfort fell into the hands of this victorious commander on the twenty-ſecond of October. In conſequence of the protection and aſſiſtance which this city gave to the emigrants, Cuſtine thought proper to impoſe on the magiſtrates a fine of one million five hundred thouſand florins; but on their repreſentation he was afterwards induced to remit the five hundred thouſand.

The enlarged and ardent ambition of the general would have penetrated to Coblentz, that noted receptacle of the enemies of French liberty: in this daring project he complained that he was diſappointed by the tardineſs and inactivity of Kellerman. He wiſhed that general to paſs the Sarre and the Moſelle, directly to Treves and Coblentz, and to leave a ſmall party to watch the motions of the Pruſſians in their retreat. Kellerman however vindicated himſelf by ſtating, that after Dumouriez left him, he had no more than fifteen thouſand men under his command, and Valence no more than fourteen thouſand; the Pruſſians amounted to upwards of fifty-five thouſand men, and conſequently he was neither able to penetrate ſuch a body, nor did he think it ſafe to leave the French territory open to their incurſions.

The general diſappointed in this favorite meaſure, ſtill proceeded to extend his conqueſts in the dominions of the prince of Heſſe. By the union of the Pruſſians with the Heſſians and Auſtrians, however, a check was put upon his career before the termination of the campaign. On the ſecond of December the Pruſſians appeared before Frankfort, a plot had been previouſly concerted between ſome of the burghers and the Pruſſian commander for the admiſſion of a body of troops to ſurprize the French garriſon, one of the gates was accordingly betrayed, and the French to the number of fifteen hundred were butchered with circumſtances of cruelty and torture unſurpaſſed; thoſe who eſcaped the firſt ſlaughter were taken in cold blood the next day, their hands chopped off with axes and ſent with the bleeding ſtumps naked to Mentz. The principal actors in this ſavage treachery were Heſſian ſoldiers purpoſely diſguiſed as peaſants and carpenters, provided with ſharp axes with which they hewed down the doors of every houſe to which the French had retired for refuge or to maintain reſiſtance; the French ſcattered and betrayed as they were ſold their lives dearly, they rallied in ſuch parties as accident threw together, and with ſuch weapons as firſt preſented themſelves; but the body of troops that entered to ſup-

port the enterprize, were too powerful for effectual reſiſtance. After the ſurrender of the city the French lines were attacked, and a ſmart action took place; the gallantry of the French was highly diſtinguiſhed; for although the Pruſſians amounted to fifty thouſand men and theFrench only to twenty-three thouſand, the latter maintained their ground in a ſharp conflict of five hours, and by able and ſteady evolutions took a ſtrong poſition in a wood, where they kept the enemy completely in check.

Perhaps the whole hiſtory of mankind ſcarcely includes a picture ſo ſtriking, of the ſurpriſing effects reſulting from the enthuſiaſm of liberty, as the ſtate of France at this moment preſented. Actuated by this ſpirit, the haſty levies of undiſciplined peaſants were at once converted into regular armies. Battalions, compoſed chiefly of beardleſs boys, chaſed from the field the diſciplined legions of Germany and Pruſſia; and though checked by no military ſyſtem, no code of war, no ſtable authority, this principle alone was ſufficient to retain them in order and ſubordination. Even the female ſex partook in the general patriotiſm, and many of them proved equal in courage and conduct to ours. Not only the ſiſter of general Anſelm, and the two miſs Fernigs, who ſerved as aids-de-camp to general Dumourier, and another young woman who acted as aid-de-camp to Cuſtine; but many others of the French women, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the moſt heroic exertions; and even the artillery was frequently ſerved by female patriots, who, regardleſs of natural or habitual weakneſs and imbecility, by their ſpirit and activity compenſated for the want of that force and vigour which has hitherto been excluſively attributed to men.

The period now approached when the aſſembly was to accompliſh its relinquiſhment to the people of the exerciſe of their power on the ſerious queſtions involving the fate of the king. Their acts ſince the tenth of Auguſt principally conſiſted of meaſures preparatory for the approaching convention, or of a defenſive kind. Among their laſt acts, however, was one in its nature deeply connected with the morals and happineſs of ſociety. It was the law concerning marriage and divorce. The abuſes which ſprung from the barbarous feudal inſtitution of hereditary deſcent by primogeniture, the vice and miſery produced by the incongruous and unequal diſtribution of property under this monſtrous regulation, the ſupport which its exiſtence had furniſhed to tyranny and injuſtice, pointed out the neceſſity of aboliſhing it at a very early ſtage of the revolutiom; but there ſtill remained to be cured evils partly originating in the ſame ſource, and ſupported by prejudices and errors of another and equally pernicious character. The amazing fabric of the Romiſh church, had in a ſeries of ages gradually combined a ſyſtem of maxims and principles of diſcipine calculated to maintain an abſolute dominion over every paſſion and feeling of man. Thoſe maxims which originally appeared but as rules of practice, had by the cunning and luſt of power that has in all ages marked the prieſthood, been converted into articles of faith; thus the civil inſtitutions of ſociety were conſtituted ſacramental rites, and the functions became neceſſarily attached to thoſe whoſe lives by being devoted to the ſervice of religion, had obtained in dark times that reverence from ſuperſtition which was due to the deity only. Thus the form of marriage from being a ſubject of civil ordination was ordained a ſacrament; and the ceremonial from being a virtuous contract entered into in the name of God and according to law, was made to aſſume the appearance of necromancy, with its ſymbolical lights, ſprinklings, and rings, emblematical of divinity, purity, and eternity. An irregular but incoherent fanaticiſm, the ordinary effect

of truth breaking in upon vigorous but defective intellects, had rent the veil which for several ages had ſanctified this ſuperſtitious mummery; but though the impoſition was expoſed, and diſarrayed of its titular ſanctity, the form and practice was retained by the prieſthood even of the moſt rigid of the reformed, without any remarkable exception but that of the quakers.

America among the numerous lights which her revolution had thrown upon the theory of free governmet, furniſhed the firſt example of the civil reſtoration of the primitive marriage ordination; and as the Americans had derived much of their theory from French writers, ſo they in return appeared eager to improve upon American practice. Accordingly the marriage contract was made wholly civil, and committed to the magiſtracy, and the law was made to embrace the power of divorce and the concerns of the offspring.

The care of female children was wholly confided to the mother, as well as the males to their ſeventh year, at which period the latter were to become the particular objects of paternal care; it was provided, however, that any other diſpoſition mutually agreed upon by the parents ſhould be legal, ſo that it ſhould not be incompatible with their happineſs or the diſtributive equality of property. In diſputed caſes arbitrators were to be choſen from the neareſt kindred. The parents were to contribute equally to the maintenance of the children, in proportion to their property, whether under the father or mother. The parties divorced could neither of them contract a new marriage for one year.

The intention of this law appears to has been directed by benevolence; to nations of leſs ſenſibility, whoſe ideas and education are not regulated with the ſame regard for domeſtic happineſs, who do no like the French make every ſocial purſuit ſubordinate and inſtrumental to the freedom, chearfulneſs, and reciprocal diffuſion of happineſs and the conſtant aſſociation of the ſexes—to ſuch nations this law will appear fraught with violence to maſculine ſuperiority, and with danger to femenine weakneſs, but without reflecting that the habits of aſſumed ſuperiority, while they obſtruct ſocial enjoyment, produce that very weakneſs, which is not to be found where auſterity and diſtance is not maintained.

But it muſt be acknowleged that the hatred of abuſes, and of every thing belonging to the ancient regimen, appears in this and other inſtances to have been carried to an extreme of refinement. Perhaps that part of the law of divorce which makes incompatibility of temper a ſufficient cauſe, is liable to conſiderable abuſe, notwithſtanding the control under which it operates. Another circumſtance marks the rapid change from devotion to the rejection of cuſtoms long ſanctified in the mental lethargy of deſpotiſm. The rector of the church of St. Laurent invited the aſſembly of their ſection to attend the funeral ſervice to be performed for thoſe patriots who had fallen on the tenth of Auguſt, but the doctrine of purgatory had loſt it advocates, and the following anſwer was ſent to the rector.

"The matyrs of liberty, our brave brethren, who fell on the tenth of Auguſt, have no need of being excuſed or recommended to a juſt, good, and merciful God; the blood which they have ſhed for their country, effaces all their faults, and gives them a claim to the beneficence of the deity.

"What—ſhall we go and offer up our prayers to the divinity, that he may not condemn our brethren to the puniſhments of enternal fire? This would be offering an inſult to him—it would be telling him that he is the moſt ferocious, the moſt abſurd, and the moſt ridiculous of all beings. God, ſir is juſt: our brethren conſequently enjoy a perfect happineſs, which nothing can deſtroy: bad citizens alone can doubt it.

"Shew us upon your altar-pieces the glorious victims of liberty, crowned with flowers, and occupying the place of St. Criſpin and St. Evenſin.

"Subſtitute ſongs of liberty for the abſurd hymns aſcribed to that ferocious David—that crowned monſter—that Nero of the Hebrews, whoſe leaſt crime was his having aſſaſſinated a huſband, in order that he might ſleep more conveniently with his wife. We ſhall then unite with you in celebrating together that God, who imprinted on the heart of man that inſtinct which excites in him the love of liberty."

About this time the national aſſembly, conſidering the urgency of determining the fate of the clergy who had refuſed to take the oath preſcribed by law, decreed, "that all ſuch who do not depart the kingdom within fourteen days after the notification of the decree by the ſection, wherein they reſide, ſhall be ſent into perpitual exile, to that part of South America called Cayenne.—Each clergyman conforming to this decree, is allowed three livres for every eight leagues, and will receive a paſſport, containing his deſcription and place of deſtination. Non-compliance after receipt of the paſſport, or returning from baniſhment, to be puniſhed with ten years impriſoment. Perſons infirm and above ſixty years of age were exempted from the operation of this decree."

On the twenty-firſt of September the aſſembly met for the laſt time: Francois of Neufchateau acquainted them that as a deputation was about to wait upon them from the convention, he would move that after having cloſed their proceedings they ſhould repair to the Thuilleries and pay their reſpects to the repreſentatives of the nation. The motion was unanimouſly agreed to. The preſident ſoon after announced the attendance of twelve commiſſioners from the convention, who entered the hall with reiterated applauſe.

Gregoire, biſhop of Bloiſe, ſpoke in behalf of the commmiſſion—"Citizens, the national convention is conſtituted. We are deputed to inform you thereof." The preſident replied—"The enthuſiaſm inſpired by your preſence, is a proof of the impatience with which the legiſlative aſſembly waited for you. We are going to wait on the convention, to aſſure it of our profound reſpect and ſubmiſſion to its decrees." — The preſident then ſaid—"The legiſlative aſſembly declares that its ſittings are cloſed."

Thus terminated after a year's exiſtence, that ſtormy legiſlature, under which, ſaid Briſſot, public ſpirit made ſuch a rapid progreſs, and the French nation marched with giant ſtrides towards a republic. The character of this aſſembly has been variouſly eſtimated, but the characters have been dictated by hoſtile prejudices, and appeared rather as cariacatures than likeneſſes. By the royaliſt it has been repreſented as undermining the throne without intermiſſion—by the factious and diſorderly, as meanly obſequious to the will of the court—but the diſpaſſionate obſerver alone conſiders it as neither one nor the other, though bearing external appearances of both; in truth, like all bodies of men in unſettled times, it exhibited verſatility in its principles and meaſures; but theſe changes were not ſo much the effect of immediate weakneſs, of inſtability in the aſſembly itſelf, as of the influence of external events. Their ſituation was novel, their duties were complex, arduous and difficult; they had a conſtitution to ſupport, ſecretly oppoſed by its principal agent; an internal combination of noble and ſacerdotal diſaffection to counteract; and foreign intrigue ſecretly fomenting the fuel of ſedition and diſcord, and pervading ſociety —in league with the court, ſpreading corruption even into the aſſembly itſelf.

Its meaſures could not then be the reſult of foreſight, for they were generally expedients dictated by neceſſity; theſe expedients were alſo varied, and ſometimes oppoſite, but they

were likewiſe the reſults of the variform oppoſition which they had to reſiſt. There were in it a number of members whoſe habitual ſtudies, whoſe philanthropy, whoſe energy, diſpoſed them for every ſentiment in favor of freedom, and the treachery of which they were witneſſes not only ſtrengthened their opinions but incited to their practical realization.

There were were no doubt weak men in the aſſembly, and ſome whoſe hearts glowed by the benignity of philanthropy, had contemplated the immediate perfection of ſociety, forgetful that ages of oppreſſion had rendered the nation yet incapable of an order ſo pure and ſimple. There were alſo men whoſe hot ſpirits flamed with ambition, and who thrown into active life by the convulſions of the revolution, appeared born for the perpetuation of diſorder. Of the latter however, the aſſembly did not afford ſo many as the convention which ſucceeded it; but their connection with a number of ſimilar characters in the capital, rendered their activity and power over the public paſſions, of the moſt ſerious importance in ſuch critical circumſtances.

The ſpirit of party, which had in the early progreſs of the revolution been directed by different paths to the correction of abuſes, had in the moments of ſucceſs been wrought up by contention into an emulation for power; the former diſcrimination of royaliſts, conſtitutionaliſts, and republicans gradually diſappeared beneath the encreaſing danger of the country and the machinations of the court; the conſtitution aſſailed by the executive whoſe power it limitted, and hy the republicans who ſaw in it the means of reviving and perpetuating the national evils, was abandoned to the weak ſupport of a few ſincere men and a ſmaller number of courtiers acting under the maſk of moderation.

The great majority of the aſſembly were republican; upon principle, the conduct of the court had converted many others, and the popular clubs and publications had ſo entirely engroſſed the public mind, as to leave no predominant paſſion but that of conſtituting a republic. Upon this point all diſcuſſion centered from the period when the foreign powers had unveiled their deſigns; the purpoſed flight and conſpiracy, fruſtrated by the affair of the tenth of Auguſt, opened the field to a new diviſion of parties, which greatly influenced the ſubſequent fortunes and misfortunes of France.

Many of the important tranſactions of the revolution are involved in myſtery to foreign nations, becauſe the characters and titles of parties which produced them have been conſtantly confounded, either through the artifice of opponents, or the miſappropriation of general deſcriptions to diſtinct and diſconnected perſons and claſſes of men. In ſketching the hiſtory of the Jacobins, we noticed the changes which that ſociety had frequently undergone by the retirement of ſome and the acceſſion of other members, and we have noticed that contention which took place upon the eſtabliſhment of the rival club of Feuillans, or *friends of the conſtitution*, compoſed principally of the earlieſt members of the Jacobins. Theſe and ſucceeding changes are highly illuſtrative of the events of the ſeveral periods, becauſe they completely eſtabliſh this great truth, that the revolutionary progreſs was not the effect of any uniform plan, nor of the union of any one body or claſs of perſons, but the inevitable effect of various efforts—of bodies variouſly compoſed—fluctuating in number and influence—oppoſed by other bodies, often compoſed of individuals who had on other occaſions ranged on that ſide to which they were now oppoſed. Thus the Jacobin club in the progreſs of the revolution had on its liſt of members almoſt every name that has been diſtinguiſhed by talents or patriotiſm. For ſome time prior to the feaſt of the confederation in 1792 its popularity had conſiderably declined. Boiſſer-

ous declamation and artful violence had ſupplanted perſuaſive and enlightening eloquence, the paſſions were addreſſed at the expence of reaſon; ambitious and ſupple demagogues had taken the place of philoſophers and patriots. Robeſpierre who had no other field for his reſtleſs ſpirit to range in, by his excluſion from the ſecond legiſlature, had bent all his energies to the acquiſition of power by the inſtrumentality of that popular ſociety; the critical nature of the times perhaps may have given life to the black paſſions of this extraordinary character, and others who are almoſt forgotten in the ſupremacy of his crimes. His vigilance and activity, his ardor and audacity, had procured him the preeminency and guidance of this club, and at the ſame time a vaſt influence in the ſections of Paris; but whether it was from hatred of this violence, from ſuſpicion of the perſons who produced it, or from jealouſy of their power, or perhaps all together, a ſchiſm took place, by which the Jacobins loſt the great talents and reputation of thoſe members who were deſignated by the title of the Gironde party.

From the moment of the ſeparation of the Gironde from the Jacobins, the ſeeds of an unextinguiſhable jealouſy were ſown; and the emulation of party and the race for power was purſued with redoubled ardour. The call of the federates to Paris was a meaſure of the Gironde, and it put them in poſſeſſion of that power which decided the iſſues of the tenth of Auguſt. Their ſucceſs on this occaſion was aided by the co-operation of Danton and Manuel, with whom they had no intercourſe but as legiſlators; but the Jacobins, jealous of their ſucceſs had employed their utmoſt induſtry to fraternize with the federates. The name and the hall of the Jacobins were favourable to their wiſhes; the Girondiſts now held no public club; and the invaſion of the frontiers and the embodying the people en-maſſe accompliſhed the union that was deſired, and which was completely eſtabliſhed by the fatal ſecond of September.

Thoſe attrocities were in themſelves ſufficiently horrible to demand the ſevereſt ſcrutiny after the authors, and the Gironde party had been peculiarly eager to proſecute the enquiry and to denounce the perpetrators. This zeal of theirs was attributed to their reſentments againſt the Jacobins, whoſe leaders were generally believed to have contributed if not abetted the maſſacre. The hatreds of the two parties were thereby encreaſed, and produced charges of ſecret correſpondence and deſigns to reſtore the king againſt the Gironde, who retorted with accuſations of tyrannical deſigns againſt their opponents.

Thus two parties were formed inveterate in their hatred of each other, but agreeing in a common reſolution againſt the reſtoration of royalty, and for the eſtabliſhment of a republic: they concurred without preconcert in taking the power from the hands of the king, but they ſtruggled to ſecure it reſpectively in their own. But it is neceſſary to mark ſome further diſtinctions of party, which particularly in the convention have been confounded with theſe. Another party has been frequently conſidered as the ſame with the Jacobins; the *mountain*, ſo called from its occupying the elevated ſeats to the right hand of the preſident, at firſt by accident but afterwards from choice. This party was firſt led by Danton, whoſe powerful voice and energy of mind, gained him ſo much regard in the aſſembly. In the convention this party was compoſed of Rebeſpierre, who always attached himſelf to the moſt bold and popular characters, Camille Deſmoulins, Thuriot, Bazire, Billaud, Chabot, Fallien, Marat, and others not exceeding ſeventy members of the convention. But though theſe generally acted together, they were not all members of the

Jacobins; Danton though he occaſionally viſited that club, was himſelf the leader of the Cordeliers, its rival in revolutionary energy, and ſubſequently in violence, when Marat who was alſo a member had obtained the command of a furious populace.

The left ſide of the convention has been alſo called the Gironde, although ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members on that ſide, as Briſſot, Condorcet, Kerſaint, Louvet, Buzot, Rabaut, Laſource, Barbaroux, Carra, and others were repreſentatives of other departments; the repreſentatives of that department were Gaudet, Genſonne, Vergniaud, Ducos, Fonfrede, Duplantier, and Lacaze, and indeed all men of talent; their union appears to have been the mere effect of ſentiment, and few of that ſide ſeem to have acted on any occaſion by preconcert, for on the important tranſaction of the trial of the king, we ſhall find them very much differing from each other, and even oppoſed on very important points. The utmoſt number of thoſe who were in any caſe conſidered as of the Gironde party, did not exceed one hundred and fifty, and even among theſe were actual members of the Jacobins, as Louvet and Buzot: but it was the art of Robeſpierre when any member voted on a different ſide from himſelf and the mountain, to ſtigmatize him as a member of the Gironde, who he alleged were in league with Orleans.

It is eaſy to conceive what influence this ſtate of things muſt produce on the fate of the king. The Gironde were proud of their appellation of true republicans, and they profeſſed the moderation that belongs to that character; but ſuch was the ſtate of their circumſtances that there appeared no means to preſerve their honor but the moſt inflexible ſpirit of juſtice in the convention; for many people yet affected to diſbelieve or really doubted the ſiniſter deſigns of the court, and if he ſhould by intrigue or the treachery of their opponents be acquitted, they who had defeated the deſigns of the tenth of Auguſt, and prevented the flight, would be in the eyes of the people deemed guilty of the worſt of treaſons.

The oppoſite party ſaw the ſituation of their opponents, but equally bent on obtaining power, they dreaded the acquittal of the king more than the Gironde; whom they deſpaired not of diſcomfitting by the intrepidity and reſources which they poſſeſſed in a ſuperior degree.

It is deſerving of remark, that the ſame imputation has been attached to the Cordeliers, from the circumſtance of Laclos being a member of that club, and the unceaſing friend of Orleans. Marat and Robeſpierre have been likewiſe charged with acting under the ſame influence; but however deſerving of reproach the moral character of Philip duke of Orleans, and his vices do not appear to have been in any degree greater than thoſe of his relations, there has not yet appeared any evidence to authoriſe the remoteſt belief, that he entertained a deſign on the throne: his early vices indeed furniſh a lively warning to public men of that diſtruſt which they never fail to attach upon the character; it is more than probable that had his life been diſtinguiſhed by acts of virtue, he might ſtill have lived a proſperous citizen. But his ſituation from every circumſtance was beſet with difficulty and danger; hated by the court for his love of liberty, which he had manifeſted long before the revolution; hated by enthuſiaſts for his relation to the Bourbons; ſuſpected by the virtuous on account of his early debaucheries; ſuſpected by numbers who were aſtoniſhed at the ſacrifices he made; thus he became ſuſpected by every party, becauſe in fact he voted uniformly independent of any, and was conſequently at times oppoſed to dif-

ferent ſides; upon an examination of his conduct and his ſpeeches through his whole political life, their uniformity and conſiſtency are remarkable, and thoſe who have been moſt active in fixing opprobrium on his character at laſt are reduced to one point, his conduct upon the trial of the king; which after all will be examined by poſterity, and produce the enquiry, wherein did his conduct differ from that of the Gracchii? But the reſentments and jealouſies of party, and the thirſt of power, common to both of the factions, now about to conſume in their contentions every former ſource of power and every future fear of rivalry, unhappily embraced characters in whoſe fall the brighteſt powers of genius were united with the moſt exemplary virtues; and preſents to freemen the great and never to be forgotten truth, that deſpotiſm which is ſo baleful to the exiſtence of morals, in its overthrow produces alſo the deſtruction of the advocates of virtue itſelf; for among the cauſes of the fatal contentions that diſtracted France, the machinations of the external enemy and the agents of fallen royalty muſt be conſidered as the authors of many jealouſies. Every revolution has exhibited the treachery of ſtruggling deſpotiſm; the aſſaſſinations committed in the revolt of the Batavians from the yoke of Spain, and of the Helvetians by their German tyrants, are ſcarcely ever intruded on the obſervation of riſing generations, becauſe literature in its moſt flouriſhing abodes has hitherto been obliged for its exiſtence to an obſequious deference for the ſenſitive feelings of men inveſted with power, and humanity has too readily concurred in eraſing from her inſtructive pages thoſe tranſactions which reflect diſhonor on the human character. Even the American revolution ſo recently accompliſhed has exhibited the ſame ſanguinary ſpirit, the ſame ſecret and deadly treachery, oppoſed to its virtuous ſtruggles againſt tyranny; the proſcriptions, maſſacres and burnings, the remorſeleſs butcheries of Wyoming and Egg-harbour already appear as the fables of a remote and barbarous age; they excite no ſympathies they provoke no caution, they afford no moral! Nor was this revolution, ſo cloſely interknit from its example and effect, with that of France, free from that contention — that cooperation againſt deſpotiſm, and that ſtruggle to poſſeſs its power, which has characteriſed all others, and which appears to be a component part of human nature. Even before her independence was yet eſtabliſhed, this ſpirit of two factions prevailed, the one ſupporting maxims of government allied to deſpotiſm, diſſimilar in external appearance but always producing it; the other zealous for the ſimpleſt and moſt diffuſive principles. It was in the moment when the ſeal was yet warm on the bond of her independence, that this extraordinary avidity, this luſt of rule and authority was moſt conſpicuous—Ah! has it yet ceaſed to operate? Happy had it been for France, had Briſſot and his great compatriots practiſed that moderation which philoſophy taught them, and which was ſo concordant with the purity of their lives; had they like Franklin been content with the glory of overwhelming the tyrant—with the immortality they had obtained, and retiring from agitations of ambition, truſted like him to the progreſſive improvement of the human mind for the promotion and ſecurity of liberty and happineſs.

NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THE meeting of the national convention, which was to produce ſo many important events, to be the ſcene of actions the moſt extraordinary that hiſtory has hitherto had to record, at its firſt ſitting amounted to no more than two hundred members; it had proceeded at firſt to the verification of their powers, and having declared itſelf conſtituted prepared to receive the laſt act of the aſſembly. Exactly at noon on the twenty-firſt of September thoſe who had exerciſed the legiſlative power entered the hall as ſimple citizens, and were received with general acclamations. The preſident was addreſſed by Francois of Neufchateau.

"Repreſentatives of the nation, the Legiſlative aſſembly has ceaſed from its functions: The late members of it haſten to be the firſt in giving to the nation an example of ſubmiſſion to the laws which you may decree. They congratulate themſelves upon depoſiting in your hands the reins of government. They have reſolved, that their firſt act as ſimple citizens, ſhall be that of ſerving as a guard to the national convention, and of offering them the homage of their reſpect, in order to give to all the French an example of bowing before the majeſty of the people, whom you repreſent.

"We congratulate ourſelves, that, upon our voice, all the primary aſſemblies adhered to the invitation we gave them. By electing you, that have conſecrated the extraordinary meaſures, which the ſafety of twenty-four millions may require, againſt the perfidy of one man. The motives of diviſion ought to ceaſe. The entire nation is repreſented, and you are about to eſtabliſh a conſtitution upon the baſis of liberty and equality. The end of your efforts will be to give to the French liberty, laws, and peace; liberty, without which the French can no longer live; laws, the firmeſt foundation of liberty; peace, the only end of war.

"Liberty, laws, and peace; theſe three words were written by the Greeks upon the gate of the temple of Delphos; you will impreſs them upon the entire ſoil of France. You will maintain eſpecially between all the parts of the nation the unity of the government, of which you are the centre and the preſervative bond, and thus will you accumulate the benediction of your fellow-citizens."

The firſt preſident choſen was Petion, and Condorcet, vice-preſident; Briſſot, Laſource, Camus, Vergniaud, Rabaud, ſecretaries.

This body, upon whom ſo many weighty concerns devolved, was compoſed of a number of characters already diſtinguiſhed in the two preceding aſſemblies; among whom were Petion, a diſtinguiſhed advocate of the city of Chartres, and Robeſpierre the elder both of the conſtituent aſſembly; Danton, Merlin, and Chabot of the legiſlative. Thomas Paine, whoſe illuſtrious writings ſo much promoted the cauſe of freedom in the American revolution, and in his developement of the deformity of the Engliſh government, had been elected by four departments, L'Aiſne, L'Oiſe, Puy de Domme, and Pays de Calais, he choſe the latter. Dr. Prieſtly, whoſe writings and ſufferings had likewiſe obtai ned him an election for the departments of Rhone and Loire and L'Oiſe, declined the honor.

In order to preſerve government and peace, the convention proceeded to declare, "that thoſe laws which were not abrogated, and thoſe powers which have not been ſuſpended, ſhould be proviſionally preſerved and ſupported; and that the taxes ſhould be collected as formerly."

A committee was appointed to reviſe and new model the conſtitution, conſiſting of Sieyes, Thomas Paine, Briſſot, Petion, Vergniaud, Genſonne, Barrere, Danton, and Condorcet; and committees were progreſſively appointed for the ſeveral concerns of Agriculture, Finances, Colonies, Commerce, Decrees, Diplomacy, Departments, Domains, Accounts, Police, Liquidation, Military, Petitions and Correſpondence, Public Inſtruction, Supplies, and Public Security.

On the following day a ſeries of decrees were paſſed, confirming this reſolution. All public acts ſhall be dated "The firſt year of the French republic." The ſtate ſeal was to bear the inſcription of the French republic.—All citizens were declared eligible to all vacant places; and even the judges might be elected from among the ordinary citizens. The diſtinction eſtabliſhed by the conſtituent aſſembly between active and paſſive citizens, was aboliſhed,

This buſineſs was ſcarcely terminated, when Collot d'Herbois, appeared upon the tribune, and reminded the aſſembly, "that there was one declaration which could not for a moment be deferred—viz. the eternal abolition of royalty in France." It was in vain that Bazire and other members intreated the convention to proceed with more dignity and deliberation in ſo important a queſtion; it was in vain they urged the neceſſity of giving at leaſt the ſanction of a diſcuſſion.—The abolition of royalty was voted by acclamation, and the houſe adjourned.

In the courſe of the ſucceeding ſittings, the convention reſolved, "that the French republic no longer acknowledges princes; that therefore the rentes appanageres ſhould be alſo ſuppreſſed." The word "republic" was alſo ordered to be ſubſtituted in the oaths and other public acts, in the place of the word "nation."

The convention was ſcarcely aſſembled, when its peace was diſturbed by the appearance of factions, the moſt diſaſtrous to the country. On the twenty-ſixth of September, Laſource denounced Robeſpierre and Marat as aſpiring to the dictatorſhip, and they were at the ſame time charged by Roland, and upon apparently not the worſt grounds, with being indirectly at leaſt concerned in the maſſacres on the ſecond and third of September, and a wiſh to renew thoſe horrid ſcenes. It ſhould be mentioned, to the honour of the convention, that a committee was appointed to enquire into the facts relative to the maſſacres; but unfortunately the predominant influence of the Pariſian mob deterred them from proſecuting the enquiry as ſtrict juſtice demanded.

The miniſter of juſtice, Danton, gave in his reſignation on being elected a member of the convention. Roland requeſted permiſſion to do the ſame, but retained his office for ſome time longer, at the requeſt of the convention. The ſtatement of the finances by the miniſter Claviere, was clear and able. He recommended economy in the various departments, and with an honourable attention to the morals of the people reprobated lotteries.

The war miniſter, Servan, ſoon after reſigned, and was ſucceeded by Pache. The executive arrangements then ſtood as follows:—

Dominique Joſeph Garat, the younger, miniſter of juſtice, and keeper of the ſeal of the republic; Gohier ſecretary-general of this department—The other principals of the offices were, Salais of the correſpondence, De l'Aigle of the law, Rondonneau, of the archives, and Dalmaſay ſecretary to the miniſter.

Jean Maire Roland, miniſter of the interior; or ſecretary for the home department—This office was divided into ſix diviſions, the principals of which were the following perſons, viz. Champagneux, Faypoult, Coqueau, Le Camus, Guillaume, and Duterage.

Pierre-Maire-Henri Le Brun, miniſter of foreign affairs; Rouhiere ſecretary-general of this department, and Durey treaſurer—This office was alſo divided into ſix departments, the principals of which were the following perſons, viz. Muret, Boisjollin, Baudry, Colchen, Mendouze, and Geoffroy.

Etienne Claviere, miniſter of the revenues; Jacquemont, ſecretary to the miniſter—This office was divided into many departments, but the *premiers commis*, were, Fieux, Antoine, Cyalis de Lavaux, Bergon, Boizot, De La Roche, Deſrotours, Le Grand, Hennet, Moreau, Le Peintre, Armenaut, Leroi, and Goulard.

Gaſpard Monge, miniſter of the marine—The principal ſecretaries in this office were, Perigni, Adet, Genge, Daudibercaille, and Micoud d'Umon.

Jean-Nicolas Pache, miniſter of war; Davielle was firſt ſecretary of this department—The others were, Haſſenfrats, Dhillerin, Penote, and Chalon.

Santerre, commandant-general of Paris.

Several of the firſt ſteps of the convention were marked by raſhneſs. Lafayette, it might be fairly ſaid, had forfeited their confidence by adopting and avowing principles diametrically oppoſite to thoſe on which they thought proper to found the new edifice of government. But againſt Luckner there was no ſpecific charge. Yet Luckner was denounced as an enemy to the country; and finally, he was diſmiſſed the ſervice; his crime appears to have been duplicity and a ſilly egotiſm perhaps the effect of age, but which rendered him unfit for the military ſervice, at this period. General Dillon had agreed to an armiſtice which the prince of Heſſe, at a criſis that he might have made priſoners of the Heſſians; for which he was denounced and accuſed, though he afterwards had ſufficient addreſs to procure a reverſal of the decree. General Monteſquieu was one day diſmiſſed from his command, but the next he was reinſtated in it.

On the twenty-ſecond of September, the penſions granted by the conſtituent aſſembly to the ejected clergy were ordered to ceaſe, with an exception in favour of thoſe above fifty years of age, whoſe penſions however were not to exceed one thouſand livres per annum. On this occaſion, Manuel roſe to propoſe, that, as royalty was aboliſhed, the order of prieſts, and all religious eſtabliſhments, ſhould be aboliſhed along with it; the propoſal was rejected.

The unmeaning titles of Monſieur and Madame were relinquiſhed, and that of "citizen" ſubſtituted in their ſtead. The croſſes of St. Louis, which had been given to the knights of that order, were ordered to be ſurrendered to the ſtate, not as patriotic donations, but as a reſtitution. The ſudden diſſolution of the judicial boards was a more ſerious meaſure, and appeared ſo dangerous and raſh to all perſons in the leaſt accuſtomed to order and government, that Thomas Paine, who by the enemies of civil liberty, has been termed an anarchiſt in principle, deprecated the haſty adaption of the decree, and entreated that the tribunals might be gradually changed, inſtead of releaſing the nation at once, though for a ſhort period, from the ſalutary reſtraints of law.

The decree which renounced conqueſt, and which limited the operations of war to the ſimple principle of ſelf-defence, was worthy of an enlightened age and an enlightened people, and will be ever recorded to the honor of that body which enacted ſo juſt and politic a law. The conqueſt of Savoy occaſioned a lengthy diſcuſſion of this ſubject, in which it was urged, that having entered that country at the ſolicitation of the people, and to avenge the perfidy of their ſovereign, great delicacy was required in the conduct which ſhould be purſued. The enemies of the revolution would not fail to aſperſe the convention as violating that decree; on the other hand, the nation having acceded to the wiſh of the Savoyards, their liberties ought to be inſured, from every apprehenſion of again reverting under tyranny. To this it was anſwered, that the decree was not violated by the extenſion of freedom to the Savoyards, that out of ſix hundred and fifty-five communes, five hundred and eighty had expreſsly charged their deputies to demand an actual union, ſeventy had given unlimited powers, and one only had oppoſed the meaſure by demanding the eſtabliſhment of a ſeparate republic; that theſe facts were the beſt reply to aſperſions, and the honor of France the ſafe guarantee of that freedom which ſhe ſhould extend into the dominions of her enemies; that the treachery of the combined powers would be ſupported by ſuch a conſtruction of the decree, and by its impolicy France be deprived of the means of a juſt retaliation. In every other reſpect her decree has been preſerved inviolate. It was decreed to be incorporated into an eighty-fourth department.

On the ninth of October it was decreed, that all emigrants taken in arms ſhould be put to death in twenty-four hours after they had been declared guilty by a military committee; and that all foreigners, who, ſince the fourteenth of July, 1789, had quitted the ſervice of France, and entered into that of the enemy, ſhould be conſidered as armed emigrants. The ſeverity of this decree, was however exceeded by that of the twelfth of November, which extended the penalties of death to what they termed reputed emigrants, or thoſe not immediately engaged in hoſtilities.

By a further decree of the twenty-ſeventh, thoſe unfortunate emigrants, who had returned, in the hope of finding pardon and relief in the boſom of their country, were ordered to depart in twenty-four hours, and the penalty of death was awarded againſt ſuch as ſhould fail inſtantly to obey.

Another decree it is neceſſary to notice, as it has excited more attention than almoſt any other proceeding of the national convention, and has been made the pretext of hoſtility by the baſe hypocriſy of the enemies of freedom even after they had already commenced the war. We allude to the decree of fraternity of the nineteenth of November. The circumſtance, in which this reſolution originated, was an inſurrection in the bailliwick of Darmſtadt, in the territories of the duke of Deux Ponts, at that period at war with

the French nation. The people, headed by the magiſtrates and principal inhabitants of the diſtrict, had declared their wiſhes to be united to France, and ſolicited her protection againſt their former maſter. To have acceded to the requeſt, would have been acting agreeably to the law and practice of nations; but with their uſual enthuſiaſm, and without deliberation, the convention with the applauſe of the galleries, paſſed by acclamation a decree in the following terms:

"The national convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and aſſiſtance to all thoſe people who wiſh to procure liberty; and they charge the executive power to ſend orders to the generals to give aſſiſtance to ſuch people as have ſuffered, or are now ſuffering under the hand of tyranny, for the attainment of liberty."

A haſty error is not eaſily explained, that almoſt every government (and deſpotic governments more particularly) *do actually* take advantage of the diſquietudes and inſurrections of the people in other ſtates, in plain terms do *fraterniſe* them, is a truth that cannot be denied; but it is only the circumſtances of the caſe that can determine a free ſtate in the adoption of ſuch a meaſure. A general law upon the ſubject was, therefore liable to be, as it in fact has been, miſconſtrued. It was conſidered as no leſs than a direliction of their own principles, while the French people was ſuffering from the unjuſt principle of foreign nations preſuming to regulate its domeſtic concerns, to countenance the interference by its own example!

About this period alſo the principality and biſhopric of Porentrui, comprehending the memorable paſs of that name which commands the communication between Germany and Swiſſerland, and the paſſage of the Rhine, ſent a deputation to Paris, and was at the requeſt of the people incorporated with France.

France became at this ſeaſon more tranquil than could be expected. Happily the greateſt attrocities were confined to the vicinity of the metropolis; but in ſome inſtances the ſoldiery conducted themſelves in a diſorderly and ferocious manner. On the ninth of October the firſt diviſion of the national Gendarmerie arrived at Cambray; and they ſcarcely arrived before they proceeded to the priſons, and ſet at liberty all who were confined, except Canone d'Hercique, who was charged with a robbery; the ſecond diviſion however, who arrived on the tenth, beheaded him. The officers of the ſecond battalion of volunteers, who were in the garriſon of the citadel, cauſed the gates to be ſhut, to prevent a communication with the ſoldiers and the Gendarmerie; but the ſecond lieutenant, Beſambre, who was one of the moſt active in endeavouring to confine them to their duty, fell a victim to their fury. He was accuſed by his own ſoldiers to the Gendarmerie, who dragged him along the eſplanade, and after ſtabbing him in ſeveral places, cut off his head, as well as that of a captain Le Gros, of the ſixth ſquadron of cavalry.

We return with ſome ſatisfaction, to the brilliant triumphs of Dumourier, and the humiliation of thoſe deſpotic powers who were certainly in no ſmall degree authors of the calamities of France.—On the twelfth of October, general Dumourier repaired to Paris to concert meaſures for the winter campaign, and after a ſtay of only four days, he returned to the army to make the neceſſary arrangements, and to prepare for entering the Auſtrian Netherlands. From the period when the ſiege of Liſle was raiſed, the Auſtrians had continued to retire before the victorious French. Within their own

territories, however, they determined to make a ſerious ſtand, and there they began to collect their ſcattered forces. The firſt reſiſtance which Dumourier experienced, was at the village of Boſſu, which is ſituated about a league from the ſince celebrated poſt of Gemappe. At this place the general repreſents the enemy to have taken an excellent poſition; but they were unable to withſtand the excellence of the French artillery and the ardour of the dragoons. The Auſtrians were in number from eight to ten thouſand; and they had one hundred and fifty killed, a great number wounded, and two hundred taken priſoners: the French loſt only twenty. This action took place on the fourth of November, and the Auſtrians were ſo little in expectation of an attack, at that time, that the officers had juſt prepared a very ſplendid banquet, which the French arrived juſt in time to take poſſeſſion of.

From Boſſu Dumourier proceeded, early the next morning, towards Mons, and ſoon came in ſight of the enemy, ſtrongly poſted on the heights of Gemappe, about a mile and a half from that town. The Auſtrian poſition was well choſen and highly capable of reſiſtance, their right was covered by the village of that name, and by the river which overflowed the plain; and their left by thick woods. Three rows of redoubts roſe one above another like the ſeats of an amphitheatre, upon which were mounted nearly one hundred pieces of cannon. Had the general therefore truſted to the artillery in this engagement, as he had done at La Lune, the advantage of the ground was ſo infinitely in favour of the enemy, that he muſt probably have been defeated. Here the enthuſiaſm of the French character proved an excellent auxiliary to the ſkill of the general. The army, which was principally compoſed of young men, had been long ambitious of a cloſe engagement, and the generals of the diviſions repeatedly preſſed him to lead them on to the attack. The general ſecretly favoured the deſign, but he reſtrained their ardour only in the hope of increaſing it.

The French paſſed the night within ſight of their adverſaries. At ſeven in the morning of the ſixth, a very heavy cannonade commenced on both ſides, and continued till ten without much effect on the part of the French. As he went along the bottom of the line, the troops teſtified the utmoſt impatience to charge the enemy with their bayonets. The general however contented himſelf with ordering colonel Thouvenot, adjutant-general, to attack the village of Carignon (which was neceſſary to enable him to aſſail Gemappe on that ſide), and at the ſame time approaching the batteries, to produce greater effect, while Bournonville attacked that place in front and carried it.

The number of French who formed for the cloſe attack amounted to about thirty thouſand, and the Auſtrians are computed at the loweſt to have been upward of twenty-four thouſand, three thouſand of which were cavalry. The right wing of the French, conſiſting of the van guard, was commanded by generals Bournonville and Dampierre; and the centre by generals Egalité, Stetenboffe, Deſporets, and Drouet. The infantry formed almoſt inſtantaneouſly, and the general preſenting himſelf in the front of the line, the muſic, by a ſignal previouſly appointed, began to play the celebrated Marſeillois ſong, the day was remarkably ſerene, and the muſic was diſtinctly heard—it was awful—On ending the animating chorus, the ſoldiers ruſhed impetuouſly on with ſhouts of "Vive "la nation!" The firſt line of redoubts was inſtantly carried. The cavalry of the enemy however advancing at this criſis, with a view of flanking the French, had cauſed ſome confuſion, but the general diſpatched young Egalité to repel this attack, and ſupported

him moſt opportunely by a detachment of chaſſeurs and huſſars—At the ſame moment ſome diſorder appearing in Bournonville's cavalry, general Dumouriſr rallied them himſelf, and in the mean time the left wing, which conſiſted chiefly of the Belgian volunteers, had obtained poſſeſſion of Gemappe, and the centre carried the ſecond line of redoubts.

After a ſhort reſiſtance on the heights, the enemy were panic ſtruck at the impetuoſity of the French; at about two o'clock they retreated with the utmoſt precipitation and diſorder to Mons. The French in this engagement experienced the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance from the Hungarians, through whoſe ranks they could only force their way by cutting down their opponents. The loſs of both parties in this action have been differently eſtimated—It muſt have been great, for there has ſeldom been a field more obſtinately conteſted; that of the Auſtrians muſt have exceeded the loſs of the French, ſince an enemy who flies in the early part of the day always ſuffers conſiderably; but Dumourier probably overrated their loſs in killed and wounded when he ſtated it at four thouſand, as he eſtimates his own at only nine hundred.

The buſineſs of this day ſerved to inſpire the Auſtrians with the ſame reſpectable opinion of French valour, which was entertained previouſly and acknowledged by the duke of Brunſwick. Some ſignal acts of bravery were performed; the young general Egalité acquired much reputation; and ſuch was the enthuſiaſm of all ranks, that Baptiſte, Dumourier's valet-de-chambre, rallied and brought up to the charge a regiment of dragoons and two battalions of national-guards, who had been repulſed; and a lieutenant of the name of Bretiche had killed ſeven Hungarians, and received forty-one ſabre wounds; he was afterwards preſented to the convention and honoured with a civic crown.

The victory of Gemappe was deciſive as to the fate of the Netherlands. The general inſtantly ſummoned the city of Mons, which on the ſucceeding morning ſurrendered, and was taken poſſeſſion of by general Bournonville. From Mons Dumourier proceeded to Bruſſels, which he entered on the fourteenth of November. On the heights of Anderlecht, adjoining to the city, the rear of the enemy, amounting to about ten thouſand men, commanded by the prince de Wirtemberg, affected to make a ſtand, but it was probably only intended to favour the retreat of the governors and civil authorities from Bruſſels. After a conteſt of ſix hours, the Auſtrians followed their main army, and the general entered Bruſſels in triumph. The moderation and wiſdom of Dumourier was equal in every reſpect to his military excellence. He informed the citizens, that it was his intention carefully to abſtain from interfering in the internal government of the country. A proviſional legiſlative aſſembly was choſen, among whom were the duc d'Urſel, baron Walkiers, and other diſtinguiſhed patriots.

It is a ſingular fact that general Dumourier had promiſed the French miniſtry that he would keep his Chriſtmas at Bruſſels. This aſſertion, which was really founded on an actual knowledge of the ſtate of the enemy, but was at the moment regarded as the extravagant boaſt of a vain-glorious man, was more than realized, for he anticipated the performance of his engagement by five weeks.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting, Tournay, Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp, opened their gates to general Labourdonnaye. Louvain and Namur, after a faint reſiſtance by

the Auſtrian general, Beaulieu, were taken by general Valence; Oſtend was entered by the French fleet on the fifteenth of November; the citadels of Antwerp and Namur reſiſted for a ſhort time, but the former capitulated on the twenty-eighth of November to general Miranda, and the latter on the ſecond of December to general Valence: in a word, the whole of the Auſtrian Netherlands, Luxemburg only excepted, were ſubjected to the victorious arms of France before the concluſion of the year.

On the eighteenth of November, general Dumourier received a flag of truce from the prince de Saxe-Teſchen, conveying a propoſal on the part of general Clairfait for a ſuſpenſion of arms during the remainder of the winter ſeaſon. To have acceeded to this propoſal, and to have diſbanded a part of the army, and put up the reſt into winter quarters, would have been wiſe conduct in the French, and was that which there is reaſon to think the inclinations of the general would have led him to purſue. He however returned a verbal anſwer, "that he would only ſend general Clairfait's letter to the executive council of the republic, and in the mean time ſhould continue the operations of the campaign."

As it is probable that the determination of the executive council was in favour of a winter campaign, the active genius of Dumourier loſt no time in following up his ſucceſſes, and purſued the flying enemy into the territory of Liege. On the twenty-firſt of November he proceeded with an advanced guard of five thouſand men to Tirlemont, where the whole of the enemy's army was encamped behind the city, with an advanced guard of three or four thouſand men, on the heights of Cumptich. He attacked with his irreſiſtible artillery this advanced guard, which was reinforced by five thouſand men, but undertook nothing. At break of day on the twenty-ſecond, the whole of the Auſtrians decamped from Tirlemont, after having loſt in this action not leſs than four hundred of their braveſt troops. General Dumourier halted only one day at Tirlemont, and on the twenty ſeventh overtook again, almoſt at the gates of Liege, the rear guard of the Imperialiſts, amounting to twelve thouſand men, and commanded by general Staray. The French drove them ſucceſsfully from ſix villages, and at laſt from an entrenchment. The conflict laſted four hours, in which the Auſtrians loſt their general Staray, an immenſe train of artillery, and five or ſix hundred men killed and wounded, beſides innumerable priſoners and deſerters. On the following day the French general entered Liege.

Such was the triumphant career of this extraordinary man—but his glory had gained its zenith; and he fell ſoon after a prey to the depravity of his habits and of a faction whoſe views were like his own confined to perſonal ambition. Under the influence of this party, the war miniſter Pache is ſuppoſed to have acted; and every criminal means, appear to have been practiſed to diſtreſs and harraſs the gallant ſoldiers of liberty. While immenſe ſums were voted by the convention, the army was deſtitute of every neceſſary of life. Unprovided of mattreſſes or coverlets, or even ſtraw to repoſe on, theſe brave men, who gained thoſe immortal battles, in a rainy and inclement winter, were compelled to ſleep on the wet ground; and ſome of them to avoid the evils which muſt be conſequent from ſuch a ſituation, actually laſhed themſelves to the trunks of trees, and ſlept in a ſtanding poſition. The ſoldiers were almoſt literally naked, without coats, without ſhoes; and their arms were deſtroyed from want of cloaks to cover them from the wet. The conſequence was, that numbers of the men periſhed, and ſtill

greater numbers deſerted and returned home. The general's own words are ſtrong—"To retard and cruſh my ſucceſſes," ſays he, "the miniſter Pache, ſupported by the criminal faction to whom all our evils are to be aſcribed, ſuffered the victorious army to want every thing, and ſucceeded in diſbanding it by famine and nakedneſs. The conſequence was, that more than fifteen thouſand men were in the hoſpitals, more than twenty-five thouſand men deſerted through miſery and diſguſt, and upwards of ten thouſand horſes died of hunger."

If this ſtatement be juſt, it will be eaſy to account for the ſubſequent misfortunes and overthrow of the French army in Flanders. That party, however, had not failed to recriminate on the general, and have aſſerted that he was bribed to betray the cauſe of the republic—That he entered into ſecret and crimnal treaties with the king of Pruſſia, in an early ſtage of the conteſt, and ſolely with a view to his own advantage. He made a wanton ſacrifice, it is ſaid, of his own ſoldiers at Gemappe, by his injudicious diſpoſition of the army on the attack, that the ſkill of the generals under him and the valour of the troops which he endeavoured to repreſs, gained that victory againſt his expectation, and that he afterwards took every means to enaich himſelf, and injure the public cauſe. Of theſe mutual accuſations it is impoſſible to form a correct judgment; the teſtimony of the eye witneſſes, ſhew that the army was moſt ſhamefully neglected during the winter campaign; and was certainly, as Dumourier aſſerts, in want of every neceſſary.

Dumourier deſcribes the calamities that attended the army at this ſeaſon with great force and ſo far we may place credit on his ſtatements; there is much reaſon alſo to believe that Pache was inſtrumental to this diſtreſs, through the guidance of the Jacobin ſociety who had conceived, from the conſtant practice of Dumourier as a courtier, ſuſpicions of his principles; this jealouſy encreaſed with the hatreds of the two parties in the convention, from the circumſtance of Dumourier's intimacy with many of the members of the Gironde. Dumourier, however, appears not to have poſſeſſed the confidence of the latter; but in his viſit to Paris he had aſſociated with its members excluſively, perhaps owing to that attachment which is excited by ſimilar acquirements; they being uniformly men of high literary endowments.

Liege is deſcribed as "the tomb of Frenchmen," the fatigues the army had undergone, the wants of every kind, had produced the moſt fatal diſtreſs; and the troops died not only of diſeaſe but hunger; and this all conquering affliction produced an inſubordination and marauding that no other circumſtances could palliate.

The cantonments of the army extended from that city to Aix-la-Chapelle, and the preſſure of neceſſity had driven thoſe who could leave the camps into the principal cities and towns, ſo that the ſoldiers were nearly deprived of commanders, and the villages of the line became ſcenes of ravage. This accumulation of evils prevented the general from puſhing on to Cologne as he propoſed, with a view to compel Clairfait to paſs the Rhine. However he determined to ſecure the Meuſe, and for this purpoſe Valence with fifteen thouſand men compoſing the army of the Ardennes, was ordered to join him, and poſted on his right at Stavelo, Malmedy, Spa, Verviers and Huy. D'Harville with eighteen thouſand, occupied the Meuſe from Givet to Namur; and Miranda occupied the left from Tongres to Ruremond with eighteen thouſand. The reinforcements which arrived were placed in the garriſons of the Netherlands; and the whole line along the Meuſe amounted to upwards of ſixty five thouſand men.

Dumourier was desirous of seizing Mæstricht, as with his force and the possession of that fortress he could command the whole country between the Rhine and Meuse. He had likewise been desirous of throwing a garrison into Juliers, but the executive would not permit it, lest the enemy should in consequence take possession of Manheim, also belonging to the elector palatine, which might be fatal to Custine in Alsace. To preserve the Meuse he deemed it indispensable to possess Gueldres, Venloo, Mæstricht, or Juliers, but the executive would not permit any infraction of the neutrality of those places.

Whether it was through the disgust of offended pride, through hatred against those who now opposed him and appeared to sway the fate of France, or through designs previously formed, Dumourier now first visibly displayed that temper of disaffection which plunged him from the lofty rank of glory to which had attained. Beside the obstruction of his plans of war, his reputation was tainted with imputations of peculation; the contracts which he had formed for the supply of the army, were publicly asserted to have been marked by enormous frauds, and it was even mentioned that he should be called to Paris and tried for the mal-appropriation of the public money.

The trial of the king was now approaching; the short experience which he had of the convention only displayed to him the impossibility of attaining to that consequence which his military actions taught him to expect, and his ambition to pant after; his sentiments no longer conveyed the ardor of the republican, nor the simplicity of manners that he had for some time affected; he had taken possession of the palace of the prince bishop of Liege, and frequently exulted in the reflection that his levées surpassed in number and brilliancy those of De Castries in the plenitude of the regal power; and he took every opportunity to sound the dispositions of the officers and the army towards the king. But disappointment and disgust succeeded all these efforts, his staff were so entirely adverse to any consideration of the subject, that he saw no alternative but to hasten to the capital, and attempt something there. He accordingly applied for leave to go to Paris, upon the ostensible purpose of concerting a solid plan for the campaign, and to enter into an explanation of the contracts which he had made, and obtain the repeal of the decree which rendered them null—The leave of absence was for some time refused, but was at length sent, and he arrived on the first of January.

While such were the operations of the armies and enemies of the republic, the time of the convention was employed in debates respecting the trial of Lewis XVI. An extraordinary commission was appointed of twenty-four members, who were authorised to examine and arrange the body of evidence against him. Louis was separated from his family, and the whole of the unhappy prisoners in the Temple were guarded with redoubled vigilance. On the sixth of November, Valazé, one of the commission of twenty-four, made a report of accusation against the king.

The question, which embarrassed most his accusers was, Whether the king was not invested by the constitution with perfect and legal inviolability; and whether, consistently with justice, he whom the law had solemnly pronounced to be above the reach of any legal process could be brought to trial.

It was argued that the king was inviolable so far as the execution and exercise of the legal authority extended; that even the ordinary errors of the king through a mistaken zeal for the public safety, or the exercise of private opinion, could not legally subject him to any concern or punishment. But it was not upon any of these grounds that his

was liable to the juſtice of the nation, but for having violated that conſtitution, which, preſerved pure and unbroken by him, would have ſecured that inviolability—that the queſtion was not now whether that conſtitution was to be preſerved and ſupported; that had already been determined; but the queſtion was, whether the king had not in various ways, contrary to the oath, himſelf violated the conſtitution, and endeavoured to deſtroy the liberty of the nation. This therefore was a new caſe, and all that appeared now neceſſary to decide upon, was the various particulars of criminal deſigns of which he was accuſed.

The evidences of the monarch's participation in the ſchemes againſt the new order of things, were too ſtrong to be palliated, and the arguments for form, were ſoon loſt in the ſuperior weight of the facts produced, and the fatal effects which any heſitation on the exhibition of the proofs muſt cauſe on the public mind.

The principal ſource of this evidence was brought to light by the events of the tenth of Auguſt; an iron cheſt had been contrived in the wall of the Thuilleries. The workman who executed it, was alone privy to the ſituation and exiſtence of this ſecret work. The enthuſiaſm of the revolution had ſuggeſted to the artiſan that ſuch a contrivance could not be favourable to liberty, and he had communicated to Roland, when appointed miniſter of the home department, the important ſecret, and conducted him to the *ſpot*; upon opening it an immenſe collection of the king's private papers were found in it, and ſuch as confirmed in the ampleſt form, all the allegations that had from time to time charged upon the court. Many of theſe were in cypher, and others couched in terms of ambiguity, upon which no evidence could be reſted; among them were:—

1. A receipt from Bouillé, dated Mayence, October 15, 1791, containing an account of the expenditure of the ſum of nine hundred and ninety-three millions iſſued for the formation of a camp at Montmedy. This money had been diſtributed among the following perſons, viz. Monſieur, the comte d'Artois, the prince de Naſſau, the duc de Choiſeul, Demandell, Bon, Hamilton, Laſſale, Weyman, and ſeveral other general officers and private perſons.

2. Another ſigned Choiſſeul-Stanville, atteſting the receipt and diſtribution of ſixty thouſand livres.

3. A letter ſtating that the diamonds of madame Elizabeth had been tranſmitted on the twenty-ſecond of June, 1791, to an officer of huſſars who had carried them to the brothers of the late king.

4. A paper proving that the editor of the "Poſtillion de la Guerre" (a news-paper) had received eight thouſand livres from the civil liſt, and the "Logographe" no leſs than the ſum of ſixty thouſand livres, during the ſpace of three months only.

5. A great number of letters, &c. proving that Louis Capet was a monopolizer of corn, ſugar, and coffee; theſe monopolies were made in foreign countries; the treaſurer of the civil-liſt ſuperintended the buſineſs, and was ordered to advance to the amount of three millions.

6. A new order of chivalry introduced under the name of "Chevaliers de la Reine:" the decoration of this order conſiſted of a medal, one ſide of which was adorned with the portrait of the queen; the other had the following inſcription:—"Magnum "reginæ nomen adumbrat."—Several perſons had received this decoration, notwithſtanding an expreſs decree forbidding the creation of any new orders of chivalry.

7. A bundle of papers, which prove that a perſon of the name of Gilles had received twelve thouſand livres in order to pay a band of ſixty men, againſt the expreſs letter of the conſtitution, which forbids the king to raiſe or maintain any armed men without the permiſſion of the legiſlature.

8. A carton full of proofs that Louis Capet had continued the pay of ſuch of his body guards as had emigrated to Coblentz; that a number of conſpirators were conſtantly aſſembled at the Thuilleries: that Bouillé had the audacity to repair there ſince the invaſion projected in 1791; and that, from the day that the ci-devant comte d'Artois had been decreed to be in a ſtate of accuſation, Louis the Sixteenth had aſſigned a penſion of two hundred thouſand livres to his children.

On the eleventh of December the monarch was ordered to the bar of the convention, previouſly to the entrance of the accuſed, the preſident thus addreſſed the members: "repreſentatives, you are going to exerciſe the right of national juſtice. You are reſponſible to all the citizens of the republic, for your conduct on this occaſion. Europe obſerves you; hiſtory will collect your thoughts and actions; an incorruptible poſterity will judge with inflexible ſeverity: act therefore conſiſtently with the new functions which you are going to fill; let ſilence prevail, and let the dignity of your ſeſſion evince the majeſty of the French people. It is about to give, by you, their organ, an awful leſſon to kings, and an example for the franchiſement of nations."

He then addreſſed the galleries thus:

"The national convention confide in your abſolute devotion to your country, and your reſpect for the repreſentatives of the people. Remember the awful ſilence which prevailed on the return of Lewis from Varennes."

Lewis was then introduced to the bar, and the act of accuſation was read; and the king ſummoned was by the preſident Barrere, to anſwer to each ſeparate charge. The priſoner was permitted to ſeat himſelf at the bar, and the trial proceeded:—

Q. Louis, the French nation accuſes you of having committed a multitude of crimes to re-eſtabliſh your tyranny, and deſtroy her freedom. That you, on the twenty third of June 1789, attempted the ſovereignty of the people, by ſuſpending the aſſemblies of their repreſentatives, and expelling them with violence from the places of their ſittings. This is proved in the proces-verbal entered at the tennis-court of Verſailles, by the members of the conſtituent aſſembly. On the twenty third of June you wanted to dictate laws to the nation—you ſurrounded their repreſentatives with troops—you preſented to them two declarations, ſubverſive of all liberty, and ordered them to ſeparate. Your own declarations, and the minutes of the aſſembly prove theſe attempts—What have you to anſwer?

A. No laws were then exiſting to prevent me from it.

Q. You ordered an army to march againſt the citizens of Paris. Your ſatellites have ſhed the blood of ſeveral of them, and you would not remove this army till the taking of the Baſtile, and a general inſurrection announced to you that the people were victorious. The ſpeeches you made on the ninth, twelfth, and fourteenth of July, to the deputations of the conſtituent aſſembly, ſhew what were your intentions; and the maſſacres of the Thuilleries riſe in evidence againſt you—What have you to anſwer?

A. I was maſter at that time to order the troops to march; but I never had any intention of ſhedding blood.

Q. After theſe events, and in ſpite of the promiſes which you made on the fifteenth, in the conſtituent aſſembly, and on the ſeventeenth in the town-houſe of Paris, you have perſiſted in your projects againſt national liberty; you long eluded the execution of the decrees of the eleventh of Auguſt, reſpecting the abolition of perſonal ſervitude, the feudal government, and tythes. You long refuſed acknowledging the rights of man: you doubled the number of the life guards, and called the regiment of Flanders to Verſailles; you permitted, in orgies held before your eyes, the national cockade to be trampled under foot, and the white cockade to be hoiſted, and the nation to be ſlandered. At laſt, you rendered neceſſary a freſh inſurrection, occaſioned the death of ſeveral citizens, and did not change your language till after your guards had been defeated, when you renewed your perfidious promiſes. The proofs of theſe facts are in your obſervations of the eighteenth of September, in the decrees of the eleventh of Auguſt, in the minutes of the conſtituent aſſembly, in the events of Verſailles of the fifth and ſixth of October, and in the converſation you had on the ſame day with a deputation of the conſtituent aſſembly, when you told them, You would enlighten yourſelf with their councils, and never recede from them—What have you to anſwer?

A. I have made the obſervations which I thought juſt on the two firſt heads. As to the cockade, it is falſe; it did not happen in my preſence.

Q. You took an oath, at the federation of the fourteenth of July, which you did not keep—You ſoon tried to corrupt the public opinion, with the aſſiſtance of Talon who acted in Paris, and Mirabeau, who was to have excited counter-revolutionary movements in the provinces—What have you to anſwer?

A. I do not know what happened at that time, but the whole is anterior to my acceptance of the conſtitution.

Q. You laviſhed millions of money to effect this corruption, and you would even uſe popularity as a means of enſlaving the people—Theſe facts are the reſult of a memorial of Talon, on which you have made your marginal comments in your own hand-writing, and of a letter which Laporte wrote to you on the nineteenth of April, in which, recapitulating a converſation he had with Rivarol, he told you, that the millions, which you had been prevailed upon to throw away had been productive of nothing—For a long time you had meditated on a plan of eſcape. A memorial was delivered to you on the twenty-eight of February, which pointed out the means for you to effect it; you approve of it by marginal notes—What have you to anſwer?

A. I felt no greater pleaſure than that of relieving the needy—This proves no deſign.

Q. On the twenty-eighth a great number of the nobles and military came into your apartments in the caſtle of the Thuilleries, to favour that eſcape; you wanted to quit Paris on the tenth of April, to go to St. Cloud—What have you to anſwer?

A. This accuſation is abſurd.

Q. But the reſiſtance of the citizens made you ſenſible that their diſtruſt was great; you endeavoured to diſcard it by communicating to the conſtituent aſſembly a letter which you addreſſed to the agents of the nation near foreign powers, to announce to them, that you had freely accepted the conſtitutional articles, which had been preſented to you—and, notwithſtanding, on the twenty-firſt you took flight with a falſe paſſport. You left behind a proteſt againſt theſe ſelf-ſame conſtitutional articles; you ordered the

miniſters to ſign none of the acts paſſed by the national aſſembly; and you forbade the miniſter of juſtice to deliver up the ſeals of the ſtate. The public money was laviſhed to inſure the ſucceſs of this treachery, and the public force was to protect it, under the orders of Bouille, who ſhortly before had been charged with the maſſacre of Nancy, and to whom you wrote upon this head, 'To take care of his popularity, becauſe it would be of ſervice to you.' Theſe facts are proved by the memorial of the twenty-third of February, with marginal comments in your own hand-writing; by your declaration of the twentieth of June, wholly in your own hand-writing; by your letter of the fourteenth of September 1790, to Bouille; and by a note of the latter, in which he gives you an account of the uſe he made of nine hundred and ninety-three thouſand livres, given by you, and employed partly in terpanning the troops who were to eſcort you—What have you to anſwer?

A. I have no knowledge whatever of the memorial of the twenty-third of February—As to what relates to my journey to Varennes, I appeal to my declaration to the commiſſaries of the conſtituent aſſembly at that period.

Q. After your detention at Varennes, the exerciſe of the executive power was, for a moment, ſuſpended in your hands, and you again formed a conſpiracy. On the ſeventh of July the blood of citizens was ſhed in the Champ de Mars. A letter in your own hand-writing, written in 1790, to Lafayette, proves that a criminal coalition ſubſiſted between you and Lafayette, to which Mirabeau acceded. The reviſion began under theſe cruel auſpices; all corruptions were made uſe of. You have paid for libels, pamphlets, and newſpapers, deſigned to corrupt the public opinion, to diſcredit the aſſignats, and to ſupport the cauſe of the emigrants. The regiſters of Septeuil ſhew what immenſe ſums have been made uſe of in theſe liberticide manœuvres.—What have you to anſwer?

A. What happened on the ſeventeenth of July has nothing at all to do with me—I know nothing of it.

Q. You ſeemed to accept the conſtitution on the fourteenth of September; your ſpeeches announced an intention of ſupporting it, and you were buſy in overturning it, even before it was completed. A convention was entered into at Pilnitz on the twenty-fourth of July, between Leopold of Auſtria, and Frederic-William of Brandenburgh, who pledged themſelves to re-erect in France the throne of abſolute monarchy, and you were ſilent upon this convention till the moment when it was known by all Europe—What have you to anſwer?

A. I made it known as ſoon as it came to my knowledge; beſides, every thing that refers to this ſubject concerns the miniſters.

Q. Arles had hoiſted the ſtandard of rebellion; you favoured it by ſending three civil commiſſaries, who made it their buſineſs not to repreſs the counter-revolutioniſts, but to juſtify their proceedings—What have you to anſwer?

A. The inſtructions which were given to the commiſſaries muſt prove what was their miſſion; and I knew none of them when the miniſters propoſed them to me.

Q. Avignon and the county of Venaiſſin, had been united with France; you cauſed the decree to be executed; but a month after that time civil war deſolated that country: The commiſſaries you had ſent to that part, helped to ravage it—What have you to anſwer?

A. I do not remember what delay has been caused in the execution of the decree; besides, this occurrence has no personal reference to me—it only concerns those that have been sent, not those who sent them.

Q. Nismes, Montauban, Mende, Jales, felt great shocks during the first days of freedom—You did nothing to stifle those germens of counter-revolution, till the moment when Saillant's conspiracy became manifestly notorious—What have you to answer?

A. I gave, in this respect, all the directions which were proposed to me by the ministers.

Q. You sent twenty-two battalions against the Marseillois, who marched to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles—What have you to answer?

A. I ought to have the pieces referring to this matter, to give a just answer.

Q. You gave the southern command to Witgenstein, who wrote to you on the twenty-first of April, 1792, after he had been recalled; "A few instants more, and I shall call around the throne of your majesty, thousands of French, who are again become worthy of the wishes you form for their happiness"—What have you to answer?

A. This letter is dated since his recall; he has not been employed since. I do not recollect this letter.

Q. You paid your late life-guards at Coblentz; the registers of Septeuil attest this; and general orders signed by you prove, that you sent considerable remittances to Bouillé, Rochefort, Vauguyon, Choiseul, Beaupré, Hamilton, and the wife of Polignac—What have you to answer?

A. When I first learnt that my life-guards assembled beyond the Rhine, I stopped their pay; as to the rest, I do not remember.

Q. Your brothers, enemies to the state, caused the emigrants to rally under their banners; they raised regiments, took up loans, and concluded alliances in your name; you did not disclaim them; but at the moment when you were fully certain that you could no longer cross their projects; your intelligence with them by a note, written by Louis Stanislaus Xavier, signed by your two brothers, was conceived in these words.

"I wrote to you, but it was by post, and I could say nothing—We are two here, who make but one; one in sentiments, one in principles, one in zeal of serving you—We keep silence; because, were we to break it too soon, it would injure you; but we shall speak as soon as we shall be certain of general support, and that moment is near. If we are spoken to on the part of those people, we shall hear nothing; but if on your part, we will listen: we shall pursue our road straight; it is therefore desired that you will enable us to say something; do not stand on ceremonies. Be easy about your safety; we only exist to serve you; we are eagerly occupied with this point, and all goes on well; even our enemies feel themselves too much interested in your preservation, to commit an useless crime which would terminate in their own destruction. Adieu.

L. S. Xavier and Charles Philippe."

What have you to answer?

A. I disowned all the proceedings of my brothers, according as the constitution prescribed me to do, and from the moment they came to my knowledge. Of this note I know nothing.

Q. The ſoldiers of the line, who were to be put on the war eſtabliſhment, conſiſted of but one hundred thouſand men at the end of December, you therefore neglected to provide for the ſafety of the ſtate from abroad. Narbonne required a levy of fifty thouſand men, but he ſtopped the recruiting at twenty-ſix thouſand men, in giving aſſurances that all was ready; yet there was no truth in theſe aſſurances. Servan propoſed after him to form a camp of twenty thouſand men near Paris; it was decreed by the legiſlative aſſembly; you refuſed your ſanction.—What have you to anſwer?

A. I had given to the miniſters all the orders for expediting the augmentation of the army: in the month of December laſt, the returns were laid before the aſſembly. If they deceived themſelves, it is not my fault.

Q. A flight of patriotiſm made the citizens repair to Paris from all quarters. You iſſued a proclamation, tending to ſtop their march; at the ſame time our camps were without ſoldiers. Dumourier, the ſucceſſor of Servan, declared, that the nation had neither arms, ammunition, nor proviſions, and that the poſts were left defenceleſs. You waited to be urged by a requeſt made to the miniſter Lajard, when the legiſlative aſſembly wiſhed to point out the means of providing for the internal ſafety of the ſtate, by propoſing the levy of forty-two battalions. You gave commiſſions to the commanders of the troops to diſband the army, to force whole regiments to deſert, and to make them paſs the Rhine to put them at the diſpoſal of your brothers, and of Leopold of Auſtria, with whom you had intelligence. This fact is proved by the letter of Toulougeon, governor of Franche Compté—What have you to anſwer?

A. I know nothing of this circumſtance; there is not a word of truth in this charge.

Q. You charged your diplomatical agents to favour the coalition of foreign powers and your brothers, againſt France, and eſpecially to cement peace between Turkey and Auſtria, and to procure thereby a greater number of troops againſt France from the latter. A letter of Choiſſeul-Gouffier, ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, verifies the fact—What have you to anſwer?

A. M. Choiſſeul did not ſpeak the truth: no ſuch thing has ever been.

Q. The Pruſſians advanced againſt our frontiers: your miniſter was ſummoned on the eighteenth of July to give an account of the ſtate of our political relations with Pruſſia; you anſwered, on the tenth that fifty thouſand Pruſſians were marching againſt us, and that you gave notice to the legiſlative body of the formal acts of the pending hoſtilities, in conformity to the conſtitution—What have you to anſwer?

A. It was only at that period I had knowlege of it: all the correſpondence paſſed between the miniſters.

Q. You entruſted D'Abancourt, the nephew of Calonne, with the department of war; and ſuch has been the ſucceſs of your conſpiracy, that the poſts of Longwy and Verdun were ſurrendered to the enemy at the moment of their appearance—What have you to anſwer?

A. I did not know that D'Abancourt was M. Calonne's nephew; I have not cauſed the ſurrender of the poſts; I would not have conſented to their ſurrender; if they have been betrayed I know nothing of it.

Q. You have deſtroyed our navy—a vaſt number of officers belonging to that corps had emigrated, there ſcarcely remain any to do duty in the harbours; meanwhile Bertrand was granting them paſſports every day; and when the legiſlative body repreſented to you his criminal conduct on the eighth of March, you anſwered that you were ſatisfied with his ſervices—What have you to anſwer?

A. I have done all I could to retain the officers. As to M. Bertrand, ſince the legiſlative aſſembly preſented no complaint againſt him ſo ſpecific as to put him in a ſtate of accuſation, I did not think it proper to turn him out of office.

Q. You have favoured the maintenance of abſolute government in the colonies; your agents fomented troubles and counter-revolutions throughout them, which took place at the ſame epoch when it took place in France, which indicates plainly that your hand laid this plot—What have you to anſwer?

A. If there are any perſons who aſſume to be my agents, they do not ſpeak the truth; I had nothing to do with what you have juſt mentioned.

Q. The interior of the ſtate was convulſed by fanatics; you avowed yourſelf their protector, in manifeſting your evident intention of recovering by them your ancient power—What have you to anſwer?

A. I cannot anſwer to this; I know nothing of ſuch a project.

Q. The legiſlative body had paſſed a decree on the twenty-ninth of January, againſt the factious prieſts; you ſuſpended its execution—What have you to anſwer?

A. The conſtitution reſerved to me my free right to refuſe my ſanction of decrees.

Q. The troubles had encreaſed; the miniſter declared that he knew no means in the laws extant, to arraign the guilty. The legiſlative body enacted a new decree, which you likewiſe ſuſpended—What have you to anſwer?

A. I exerciſed no more than the right veſted in me by the conſtitution.

Q. The anti-civic conduct of the guards whom the conſtitution had granted you, had rendered it neceſſary to diſband them. The day after their diſſolution you ſent them a letter expreſſive of your ſatisfaction, and continued their pay. This fact is proved by the treaſurer of the civil-liſt—What have you to anſwer?

A. I only continued them in pay till freſh ones could be raiſed, according to the tenor of the decree.

Q. You kept near your perſon the Swiſs guards; the conſtitution forbade you this, the legiſlative aſſembly expreſsly ordained their departure—What have you to anſwer?

A. I have executed all the decrees that have been enacted in this reſpect.

Q. You had private companies at Paris, charged to operate movements uſeful to your projects of a counter-revolution. Dangremont and Gilles were two of your agents, who had ſalaries from the civil-liſt. The receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to raiſe a company of ſixty men, ſhall be preſented to you—What have you to anſwer?

A. I have no knowlege whatever of the projects laid to their charge; the idea of a counter-revolution never entered into my mind.

Q. You wiſhed to ſuborn, with conſiderable ſums, ſeveral members of the legiſlative and conſtituent aſſemblies. Letters from St. Leon and others evince the reality of theſe deeds—What have you to anſwer?

A. Several perſons preſented themſelves with ſimilar propoſals, but I have waved them.

Q. Who are they that preſented you thoſe projects?

A. The plans were ſo vague that I do not recollect them now.

Q. Who are thoſe to whom you gave money?

A. I gave money to nobody.

Q. You ſuffered the French name to be reviled in Germany, Italy, and Spain; ſince you omitted to demand ſatisfaction for the bad treatment which the French ſuffered in thoſe countries—What have you to anſwer?

A. The diplomatical correſpondence will prove the contrary; beſides this was a concern of the miniſters.

Q. You reviewed the Swiſs on the tenth of Auguſt, at five o'clock in the morning; and the Swiſs were the firſt who fired upon the citizens.

A. I went on that day to review all the troops that aſſembled about me; the conſtituted authorities were with me, the department, the mayor and municipality; I had even invited thither a deputation of the national aſſembly, and I afterwards repaired into the midſt of them with my family.

Q. Why did you draw troops to the caſtle?

A. All the conſtituted authorities ſaw that the caſtle was threatened; and as I was a conſtituted authority I had a right to defend myſelf.

Q. Why did you ſummon the mayor of Paris in the night between the ninth and tenth of Auguſt, to the caſtle?

A. On account of the reports that were circulated.

Q. You have cauſed the blood of the French to be ſhed.

A. No ſir, not I.

Q. You authoriſed Septeuil to carry on a conſiderable trade in corn, ſugar, and coffee at Hamburg. This fact is proved by a letter from Septeuil.

A. I know nothing of what you ſay.

Q. Why did you affix a veto on the decree which ordained the formation of a camp of twenty thouſand men?

A. The conſtitution left to me the free right of refuſing my ſanction to decrees; and even from that period I had demanded the aſſemblage of a camp at Soiſſons.

The preſident then addreſſed the convention: 'The queſtions are done with'—He then addreſſed Louis: 'Louis, is there any thing that you wiſh to add?

A. I requeſt a communication of the charges which I have heard, and of the pieces relating thereto, and the liberty of chooſing counſel for my defence.

Valaze, who ſat near the bar, then took up the papers, upon which particular articles of the accuſation were founded, read them ſeverally aloud, and preſented them as he read them to Louis, putting to him the queſtion 'Louis Capet, la reconnoiſſez vous?'—Louis do you acknowlege this paper? If the king anſwered in the affirmative, Valaze repeated aloud, as he laid the papers on the table, 'Louis reconnois,' or 'la piece eſt reconnu;' if he diſavowed it, he ſaid 'Louis ne la reconnoit pas,' or 'la piece n'eſt pas reconnu.' The firſt article preſented to Louis was, the memoir of Laporte and Mirabeau, and ſome others containing plans of a counter-revolution.

A. I diſown them.

Q. Letter of Louis Capet, dated June 29, 1790, ſettling his connexions with Mirabeau and Lafayette, to effect a revolution in the conſtitution.

A. I reſerve to myſelf to anſwer the contents.—(Valaze read the letter) — It is only a plan, in which there is no queſtion about a counter-revolution; the letter was not to have been ſent.

Q. Letter of Louis Capet, of the twenty-ſecond of April, relative to converſations about the Jacobins, about the preſident of the committee of finances, and the committee of domains; it is dated by the hand of Louis Capet.

A. I diſown it.

Q. Letter of Laporte of Thurſday-morning, March the third, marked in the margin, in the hand-writing of Lewis Capet, with 'March the third, 1791,' implying a pretended rupture between Mirabeau and the Jacobins.

A. I diſown it.

Q. Letter of Laporte without date, in his hand-writing, but marked in the margin by the hand of Lewis Capet, containing particulars reſpecting the laſt moments of Mirabeau, and expreſſing the care that had been taken to conceal from the knowledge of men, ſome papers of great concern which had been depoſited with Mirabeau.

A. I diſown it as well as the reſt.

Q. Plan of a conſtitution, or reviſion of the conſtitution, ſigned Lafayette, addreſſed to Lewis Capet, April the ſixth, 1790, marked in the margin with a line in his own hand-writing.

A. Theſe things have been blotted out by the conſtitution.

Q. Do you know this writing?

A. I do not.

Q. Your marginal comments?

A. I do not.

Q. Letter of Laporte, of the nineteenth of April, marked in the margin by Lewis Capet, 'April the nineteenth, 1791,' mentioning a converſation with Rivarol.

A. I diſown it.

Q. Letter of Laporte, marked April ſixteen, 1791, in which it ſeems complaints are made of Mirabeau, the abbé Perigord, André, and Beaumetz, who do not ſeem to acknowledge ſacrifices made for their ſake.

A. I diſown it likewiſe.

Q. Letter of Laporte of the twenty-third of February, 1791, marked and dated in the hand-writing of Lewis Capet; a memorial annexed to it, reſpecting the means of his gaining popularity.

A. I know neither of theſe pieces.

Q. Several pieces without ſignature, found in the caſtle of the Thuilleries, in the gap which was ſhut in the walls of the palace, relating to the expences to gain that popularity.

Preſident.—Previous to an examination on this ſubject, I wiſh to aſk a preliminary queſtion:—Have you cauſed to be conſtructed a preſs with an iron door in the caſtle of the Thuilleries, and had you your papers locked up in that preſs?

A. I have no knowledge of it whatever.

Q. Here is a day-book written by Lewis Capet himſelf, containing the penſions he has granted out of his coffer from 1776 till 1792, in which are obſerved ſome douceurs granted to Acloque.

A. This I own, but it conſiſts of charitable donations which I have made.

Q. Different liſts of ſums paid to the Scotch companies of Noailles, Gramont, Montmorency, and Luxemburgh, on the ninth of July, 1791.

A. This is prior to the epoch when I forbade them to be paid.

Preſident—Louis, where had you depoſited thoſe pieces which you own?

A. With my treaſurer.

Q. Do you know theſe penſion-liſts of the life-guards, the one hundred Swiſs, and the king's guards for 1792?

A. I do not.

Q. Several pieces relative to the conſpiracy of the camp of Jales, the originals of which are depoſited among the records of the department of L'Ardéche.

A. I have not the ſmalleſt knowledge of them.

Q. Letter of Bouillé, dated Mentz, bearing an account of nine hundred and ninety-three thouſand livres received of Lewis Capet.

A. I diſown it.

Q. An order for the payment of one hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand livres, ſigned Lewis, endorſed Le Bonneirs, with a letter and billet of the ſame.

A. I diſown it.

Q. Two pieces relative to a preſent made to the wife of Polignac, and to Lavauguyon and Choiſſeul.

A. I diſown them as well as the others.

Q. Here is a note ſigned by the two brothers of the late king, mentioned in the declaratory act. *A.* I know nothing of it.

Q. Here are pieces relating to the affair of Choiſſeul-Gouffier, at Conſtantinople.

A. I have no knowledge of them.

Q. Here is a letter of the late king to the biſhop of Clermont, with the anſwer of the latter, of the ſixteenth of April, 1791. *A.* I diſown it.

Preſident—Do you not acknowledge your writing and your ſignet? *A.* I do not.

Preſident—The ſeal bears the arms of France.

A. Several perſons made uſe of that ſeal.

Q. Do you acknowledge this liſt of ſums paid to Gilles? *A.* I do not.

Q. Here is a memorandum for indemnifying the civil liſt for the military penſions; a letter of Dufreſne St. Leon, which relates to it.

A. I know none of theſe pieces.

Theſe ſeveral interrogatories and exhibits having been gone through, the preſident ſaid—"Louis, I have no further queſtions to propoſe—have you any thing further to "add in your defence."

He replied with promptneſs and collection—"I deſire to have a copy of the accuſation, "and of the papers upon which it is founded. I alſo deſire to have counſel of my own "nomination."

The preſident Barrere informed him that the convention had already paſſed a decree authoriſing the two firſt points; that on the other he ſhould be informed in due time.

The decree was paſſed authoriſing the king to chuſe his own counſel; he applied firſt to Target, a diſtinguiſhed advocate of Paris, who urged that it was not conſiſtent with his

principles to undertake the defence of royalty, that upon the merits of the accuſation, and trial in queſtion, he would not offer an opinion, but as he had never undertaken a cauſe in which he was not ſatisfied of its being founded on juſtice, he would not undertake the conſideration of the preſent, leſt by obeying the voice of conſcience ſhould he find it incompatible with his duty to defend it, his opinion might prejudice the cauſe. He finally choſe Meſſrs. Tronchet, Deſeze, and Lamoignon Maleſherbes.

On the fifteenth and ſixteenth of December, ſeveral decrees were paſſed authoriſing the printing of the documents, they were all laid on the table; the twenty-ſixth was appointed for hearing the king's defence.

The ſitting was accordingly opened at nine o'clock, and the galleries crowded with people; at ten he appeared at the bar attended by the mayor of Paris, generals Santerre and Berruyer, and his three counſel.

The preſident ſaid— "Louis, The national convention has decreed that you be heard this day finally in your defence, by yourſelf, your counſel, and ſuch evidence as you may wiſh to produce—be ſeated."

Louis then replied, "I have given it in charge to my counſel to ſpeak for me"— he turned to De Seze, who roſe and addreſſed the convention as follows:—

"Citizens, repreſentatives of the nation!

"The moment is at length arrived, when Louis, accuſed in the name of the French people, and ſurrounded by counſel granted to him by humanity and the law, is about to enter on his defence!..... The ſilence which at preſent prevails, gives me reaſon to think that the day of juſtice has ſucceeded the days of prejudice. Unfortunate kings are entitled to more pity and more reſpect than the unfortunate in other ranks of life, and he who formerly occupied the moſt brilliant throne in the univerſe, muſt excite a ſtill greater degree of intereſt!.....

....."You have ordered him to appear before you—he has obeyed with calmneſs and dignity, emboldened by his innocence and ſupported by the teſtimony of his whole life. He has revealed to us even his thoughts!..... In diſcuſſing without preparation, and without mature examination, charges which he did not foreſee, and being obliged, as one may ſay, to make an extemporaneous defence; it was impoſſible for Louis not to declare to you his innocence!..... I ſhall demonſtrate it—I ſhall produce proper proofs; and I ſincerely wiſh that this hall could be inſtantly enlarged; that the multitude, who have received the moſt fatal impreſſions againſt Louis, might come hither to receive impreſſions of a contrary nature. Louis knows that Europe waits with anxiety for the ſentence you are about to paſs. He knows that it will be handed down to poſterity; but he conſiders only his cotemporaries..... like him, we forget poſterity, and look only to the preſent moment.

"Had I to addreſs only judges, I ſhould be ſatisfied with telling them, that ſince the nation has aboliſhed royalty, no farther ſentence can be pronounced againſt Louis; but I addreſs the people; I muſt examine the queſtion under two points of view; that in which Louis was placed before he accepted the conſtitution, and that in which he ſtood after he accepted it.

"In examining this ſubject, I firſt find the decree which enacts, that Lewis ſhall be tried by the conſtitution. Thoſe who framed that decree, undoubtedly ſaid that Louis could not ſhelter himſelf under his inviolability. What then have you done by that decree?

You have conſtituted yourſelves judges of that accuſation, which you yourſelves made. You have decreed alſo, that Louis ſhould be heard. If he ought then to be heard, he has a right to defend himſelf; the judge muſt not circumſcribe the means; the convention will examine them according to their juſt value when produced. If Louis deceives himſelf, you muſt refute his errors.

" Nations are ſovereign; They have a right to give themſelves whatever form of government they think proper. I ſhall not conteſt this principle, and it is not yet forgotten that the efforts of one of the counſel of Louis contributed to make it be inſerted in the conſtitution. But the nation itſelf cannot exerciſe its ſovereignty. It muſt, therefore, delegate the exerciſe of it. In 1789, the nation choſe a monarchical government——a monarchical government required inviolability in the chief; it was neceſſary he ſhould command the reſpect which enforces the obedience required by the law. The nature of this inviolability has been fully diſcuſſed. It has been pretended that it was not a ſynallagmatic contract; but the delegation of the ſovereignty was a contract as long as it was not revoked; it was a mandamus if you chooſe; but a mandatory could not ſubmit to other conditions, or other puniſhments than thoſe mentioned in the mandamus.

" On opening the ſecond chapter, under the article royalty, I find that the perſon of the king is inviolable; there is no exception, no modification whatever: But there are certain circumſtances in which the chief might loſe that character of inviolability. The firſt caſe is as follows;—...

' Art. V. § 1. Chap. ii. of the third title. If the king has not taken the oath, or ' if, after taking it, he retracts, he ſhall be conſidered as having abdicated the throne.' .... The nation here impoſes on the king the duty of taking the oath. To retract from this oath is a crime againſt the nation. The nation guarded againſt this crime, and appointed a puniſhment for it—I expreſs myſelf incorrectly—it was not a puniſhment—it was not a forfeiture; the word is not mentioned; it is only a ſuppoſition that the king ſhould be conſidered as having abdicated the throne. You ſee that the conſtitution eſtabliſhes no tribunal, that it ſpeaks not of trial, and that it does not pronounce the word forfeiture.

" The king, however, without retracting his oath, might betray it—he might favour criminal and hoſtile enterpriſes againſt the ſtate. The conſtitution alſo provided againſt this caſe:— ' Art. VI. If the king ſhall put himſelf at the head of an army, and direct its ' force againſt the nation; or if he does not oppoſe by a formal act, ſuch an enterpriſe, ' which may be undertaken in his name, he ſhall be conſidered as having abdicated the ' throne!' ....

.... Weigh well, I beſeech you the nature of the crime provided againſt by this article. None more criminal can exiſt. It ſuppoſes all the machinations, all the perfidies, all the ſcourges, all the horrors, and all the calamities of a bloody inteſtine war; .... and yet what does the conſtitution pronounce? A preſumption of the king having abdicated the throne.

' Art. VII. If the king quit the kingdom, and does not return, after being invited ' to do ſo by the legiſlative body.' .... What does the conſtitution declare in this caſe? A preſumption that he has abdicated the throne.

" Art. VIII. States, that after an expreſs or legal abdication, the king ſhall be tried, like other citizens, for all crimes poſterior to his abdication. It reſults, then, that

the king had a particular exiſtence, abſolutely different from that of other citizens; and whence aroſe this particular, this privileged exiſtence, but from the law, which conferred upon him that character of inviolability, which he could not loſe, but by an expreſs and legal abdication? Is it after being guilty of the moſt atrocious crime a king can commit againſt the nation, that it ſuppoſes him to have entered the claſs of citizens? In ſhort, the law here is perfectly equal with regard to the legiſlative body and the king. The legiſlative body might alſo betray the nation. It might invade the national ſovereignty. The nation had a right to eſtabliſh a puniſhment for the deputies, and yet this has not been the caſe.

"Louis is accuſed—he is accuſed in the name of the nation—he is accuſed of various crimes: Theſe crimes are either provided againſt by the conſtitutional act, and then the puniſhment there eſtabliſhed is to be applied to them; or they are not provided againſt, and in that caſe there exiſts no puniſhment which can be applied to them.

"I will go farther—I ſay they have been provided for,.... The moſt atrocious of all, that of a criminal war againſt the nation has been provided for. In whatever manner that article may be underſtood, the crimes are there—they are all there; but the law only declares, that preſumption of the throne being abdicated. I am well aware, that as the nation have at preſent aboliſhed royalty, the puniſhment cannot be applied; but could it change the condition of Louis? Has he not a right to ſay, I was the priſoner of the nation, why did you not bring me to trial?—you have aboliſhed royalty. I do not diſpute your right, but what—becauſe you have aboliſhed royalty, do you wiſh to puniſh me? And becauſe you know no law applicable to me, do you wiſh to create one for me—for me alone? You are doubtleſs inveſted with every power, but there is one which you have not---that of being unjuſt.

"It is ſaid that Louis ought to be tried as an enemy. But is he not a very cruel enemy who could put himſelf at the head of an army againſt the nation?--- It has been ſaid, that he was inviolable only in regard to every citizen individually. According to his principle would not the repreſentatives of the people be more inviolable in regard to the people, for whatever they might have done, ſaid, or written during a ſeſſion? I ſhall here quote to you a paſſage from Rouſſeau: "where I ſee neither the law "which proſecutes, nor the law which condemns, I will not refer to the general "will; for the general will cannot pronounce as the general will, either againſt any man, "or any fact."

"But if you take from Louis the right of being inviolable, you cannot take from him the right of being tried as a citizen: and in the latter caſe I would aſk you, where are theſe protecting forms; where are theſe juries, which are as it were hoſtages for the lives and honour of citizens? I would aſk you, where is that proportion of ſuffrages which the law has ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed? Where is that ſilent ballot which incloſes in the ſame urn the conſcience and opinion of the judge? I ſpeak to you with the openneſs of a ſon of freedom. I wiſh to find among you judges, and I ſee only accuſers---you wiſh to paſs ſentence upon Louis, and you have already expreſſed your ſentiments on his caſe! You wiſh to paſs ſetence upon Louis, and your opinions are well known over all Europe!

"I now proceed to the act of accuſation. You go back to the month of July 1789. I ſhall go back to the ſame period; but how could you accuſe Louis of having then

attempted to diſſolve the aſſembly? Do you forget that it was he who convoked it? Do you forget that for above a century and a half, princes, more jealous of their authority than he, conſtantly refuſed ſuch a convocation? Do you forget, that had it not been for Louis, and the numberleſs ſacrifices to which he conſented, you would not be here deliberating on the intereſts of the ſtate? ..... He is accuſed of ſurrounding Paris with troops, but I can ſay that theſe troops were deſtined only to protect Paris from thoſe who wiſhed to diſturb the public tranquillity. I had occaſion to ſee the orders given to them, when I undertook the defence of the commandant, whom the nation without any heſitation acquitted.

"I ſhall not here take notice of the paper in which Talon is mentioned as acting a part in a plan formed for a counter-revolution, nor of the papers ſubjoined to that memoire. Had I to defend a perſon of ordinary rank, I would obſerve that a citizen cannot be comdemned from papers procured by attacking his habitation, unleſs they have been previouſly ſealed up, and an inventory taken of them. The habitation of Louis was attacked, and his drawers were broke open. None of them were ſealed up, no inventories were taken, and papers which might have been oppoſed to others may have been concealed. The letters of a deceaſed perſon are quoted, but can the letters of a perſon deceaſed be adduced as proofs? Theſe letters it is ſaid, mention money diſtributed; but even ſuppoſing that this fact, which they do not clear up, were true; and ſuppoſing it true, that greater or ſmaller ſums had been extorted from the beneficence and ſenſibility of Louis, do you not know with what unhappy facility king's may be ſurprized and deceived? The plan of a letter to Lafayette and Mirabeau is mentioned; but this letter was never ſent. Mirabeau and Lafayette were at that time the two moſt popular characters; they both loved the conſtitution, and nothing was meant in that letter but the good of the ſtate. Louis, is accuſed alſo of having written a letter to Bouille; in regard to this, he has no occaſion to juſtify himſelf; the national aſſembly had before voted thanks to Bouille for his good conduct.....

"You accuſe him for the aſſemblage on the twenty-eighth of February; but popular rumours had attracted at that time a number of violent perſons round the palace, and Louis ordered them to lay aſide their arms. You accuſe him of the maſſacre, in the Champ-de-Mars, but do you forget that this unhappy prince was then ſuſpended from his powers, and was watched like a priſoner!..... The nation has decreed that it ſhall be a republic, but this was not the form of government it wiſhed for then. Did not the legiſlative aſſembly declare againſt a republic in the month of July laſt? Had Louis betrayed the intereſts of the nation at that period, or had he abuſed its confidence, you ought to have pitied him—you ought to have bewailed the fate of kings---but he ought not to have been tried;..... I have not yet pronounced the word which would have made that chain of accuſations fall—I have not ſaid, that, ſince all theſe facts, Louis accepted the conſtitution---the conſtitution was the contract of alliance between the people and the king---there was no longer any doubt---the paſt was forgotten. Let us now examine what Louis has done ſince his acceptation. The act of accuſation comprehends facts for which Louis was not bound to anſwer perſonally, and facts for which he was perſonally reſponſible. By the conſtitution, the king was not reſponſible for what might be done by his agents. On the contrary, it made his miniſters reſponſible. At preſent, one has no right to accuſe the king and his miniſters for the ſame acts.

"Louis is accuſed of having left the national aſſembly ignorant of the convention of Pilnitz. But this convention was a ſecret treaty between the emperor and the king of Pruſſia. There was no reaſon of ſtate that could make it a rule for miniſters to communicate to an aſſembly whoſe deliberations were public, an act which was not public. You have accuſed Louis of having retarded, for a month, the tranſmiſſion of the decree relative to Avignon. That, Citizens, was one of the charges againſt the miniſter Deleſſart, who had declared, that his defence, which he was preparing in his priſon, would leave no doubt of his innocence. And can you, after his death, prefer the ſame charge againſt the king? You have charged him with the troubles of Niſmes and of Jales. Was the king reſponſible for all the troubles inſeparable from ſo great a revolution?

"A letter of Witgenſtein is imputed to him as a crime: All that he could do, was to give Witgenſtein no appointment after his recal. The ſituation of commandant of Corſica is talked of, but that command he never obtained. It is ſaid, that he had an appointment in the army of the north. Lafayette may have aſked it, but the letter that gave him ſuch an appointment, remained in the war-office.

"Louis is accuſed of the account given by Narbonne. I ſhall anſwer but a word. When Narbonne quitted the miniſtry, the legiſlative aſſembly decreed, that he carried with him the regret and the confidence of the nation. The ſurrender of Longwy is made a charge againſt him, but the inhabitants alone were guilty—The ſurrender of Verdun is made a charge againſt him—who then but Louis appointed the commandant, ſo celebrated for his heroiſm, who preferred death to ſurrendering?

"He is accuſed of having retained the Swiſs guards, although the conſtitution forbad it. Mark the facts. A decree ſaid that the king ſhould be requeſted to preſent a new formation of his regiment of Swiſs guards, in the mean time the aſſembly had directed, that it ſhould be kept up proviſionally till the period of this formation. On the third of July, the aſſembly ordered the departure of the three battalions of this regiment. On the ſeventeenth was written the letter of D'Affry, remonſtrating againſt the decree, and appealing to the capitulations—a new decree was paſſed which ordered the departure of two battalions—D'Affry heſitating between the decree and the capitulations, addreſſed new remonſtrances to the aſſembly. The aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day; and the battalions left Paris.

"I come now to the facts which may be conſidered as concerning him perſonally. Louis is firſt attacked for not having ſanctioned the decree reſpecting the prieſts, and that reſpecting the camp at Paris. I might ſay, that the conſtitution gave him the free and abſolute power of ſanction; and that, if he erred, his error could not be imputed to him as a crime. But if a great number of citizens ſeemed to ſupport the latter decree, a ſtill greater number ſeemed to oppoſe it. He thought it prudent to refuſe his ſanction but, at the ſame time, by a wiſe meaſure, he directed the formation of a camp at Soiſſons; and this camp was more uſeful to our armies than that at Paris could have been.

"His letter to the biſhop of Clermont is objected to him: But that letter contains only an opinion purely religious, and was prior to his acceptance of the conſtitution. When he accepted the conſtitution, he did not think it free from blemiſhes; for, in the very act of accepting it, he ſpeaks of legal reforms. He is accuſed of having paid his guard; but the aſſembly, in decreeing its diſcharge, had ſaid that it ſhould be organiſed anew. It was therefore incumbent on his juſtice and his humanity to pay it till its new

formation. He is accuſed of having given aid to the emigrants, and of having protected, by his ambaſſadors, the coalition of foreign powers. He is accuſed of his influence at the court of Vienna. I anſwer, that Louis conſtantly oppoſed the efforts of the emigrants. Reſpecting this, I will cite a fact. Louis was informed, by his reſident, of an attempt of the emigrants to obtain arms and ammunition at Frankfort, and of the refuſal of the magiſtrates of Frankfort. He directed the reſident to thank the magiſtrates, and to invite them to perſevere in their refuſal.

"There is not a ſingle emigrant that received aid from him. He provided for the maintenance of his nephews; the eldeſt was fourteen, the youngeſt eleven years of age; there was no law that fixed the age at which emigration was a crime: ..... The convention has made one. The nephews of Lewis were without reſources. Muſt he ſtifle the ſentiments of humanity? Muſt he, for being a king, ceaſe to be a kinſman? He gave money to the governeſs of the children, but ſhe was the governeſs of his children, and had left France ſince 1789. Choiſſeul-Beaupré had been in Italy ſince 1789, and had never borne arms againſt France. He gave aid to Rochefort, but Rochefort was not an emigrant. He is accuſed of having remitted money to Bouille; Bouille's letter ſays, 'Pay to 'Monſieur, the king's brother, by his order.' The truth is, that he never remitted pecuniary aid to Monſieur, and the order in queſtion was the order of Monſieur, and not of the king. All that he did was to give ſecurity for his other brother for a ſum of forty thouſand livres; but this was in 1789, and he was induced to it by motives of humanity.

"He is accuſed of the manœuvres of Dumouſtier at the court of Berlin; but Dumouſtier was not the agent of Louis, but of the princes, his brothers.

"A letter of Choiſſeul-Gouffier is objected to him. It is ſuppoſed that becauſe he was the ambaſſador of Louis, to Louis muſt his projects be imputed; but the very letter of this ambaſſador proves that it was three days after his recal, and on account of that recal that he formed an intrigue againſt the national ambaſſador ſent to replace him. It was Choiſſeul who wrote, who acted, who ſpoke of his ſervices to the princes the king's brothers, The billet proves that Louis had no connection with him.

"I come now to the charges of the ſubornation of ſeveral members of the legiſlative aſſembly! ..... This plan reduced the liquidation of offices, ten millions; he eaſed the national treaſury to that amount, and charged the civil liſt with the intereſt. We underſtand the corruption that turns to the profit of perſonal intereſt; but a corruption that leaves us all the ſhame, and gives to another all the profit, we cannot eaſily comprehend. The fact is, as it appears from the papers communicated to Louis, that it was he alone who prevented the decree from being propoſed to the aſſembly, and that he expreſſed diſpleaſure and indignation at it.

"A charge is brought againſt him which has excited the indignation of the people, and which could not but appear a very heavy one. He is accuſed of having paid his body-guards at Coblentz; ..... This charge I own ſtruck me with grief; I was led to ſuſpect the good faith of Louis; the proofs appeared to be clear. I come this day to make the reparation in the eyes of Europe, which I feel that I owe to him. All the papers refer to the month of October 1791. Mark what the adminiſtrators of the civil liſt wrote to the treaſurer in November: 'The intention of his majeſty is to continue 'the pay of his body-guards, till they be replaced; but his majeſty means that the

amount of this pay ſhall not be delivered in total to the etat-major, but to each individual at the pay-office of the civil liſt, on his particular receipt of reſidence within the kingdom.' All the papers have been made as public as poſſible—Louis has been denounced to France, and to all Europe. All the articles of accuſation have been ordered to be printed; and the only paper that refutes theſe charges, is the only one that has remained unknown This paper muſt have been among the reſt. By what ſtrange fatality is it not to be found among them? At laſt Louis, after much pains, obtained from the offices, an authentic copy of this paper. He has produced it to the eyes of Europe.

"I come at laſt to the diſaſtrous day of the tenth of Auguſt. Had we believed that Louis had committed the crimes of which he is accuſed you would not ſee us at this bar to give him the aid of our courageous veracity. All your ſucceſſes ſince that day have given you the power of being generous—we aſk you only to be juſt:.... He dreaded the invaſion of his palace: he maintained a more exact correſpondence with the popular authorities—In fine, the people came thither. The procurator ſyndic reads, with regret no doubt, the fifth article of the law, which directs to repel force by force.... The cannoneers for anſwer diſcharge their cannon before him.... Then the procurator ſyndic invites Louis to go to the aſſembly; he goes thither. *One hour after*, our misfortunes commence;... How began the action? I know not. Hiſtory will perhaps know more than I do. He is accuſed of having reviewed the troops—granted. Accuſe the mayor alſo of having viſited the poſts. Was not Louis a conſtituted authority? Was not his authority a depoſit in his hands, of which the law forbad him the leaſt infringement? I know it has been ſaid that Louis excited the inſurrection, to effect the execution of his projects; but, who is now ignorant that this inſurrection was combined, matured; that it had its agents, its counſel, its directors; who is ignorant that acts—that treaties on the ſubject had been ſigned?

"In this hall men have contended for the glory of the tenth of Auguſt.... I come not to diſpute that glory; but ſince it has been proved that, that day was premeditated, how can it be made a crime in Louis? And you accuſe him—and you would give judgement *againſt* him.... againſt *him*.... who has never given a ſanguinary order;—againſt *him*, who at Varennes preferred returning a captive, to expoſing the life of a ſingle man;—againſt *him*, who on the twentieth of June refuſed every kind of aid, and preferred remaining alone in the midſt of the people! Hear hiſtory ſpeak —Louis mounted the throne at the age of twenty; he exhibited on it an example of morals, of juſtice, of economy; he aboliſhed ſervitude in his domains; *the people deſired liberty, he gave it.* [Murmurs.] We cannot deny to Louis the glory of having always anticipated the wiſhes of the people—I do not conclude; I appeal to hiſtory; think that hiſtory will judge your judgement."

The counſel reſpectfully bowed his head and ſat down—the preſident Fermond, then roſe and ſaid—"Louis, have you any thing further to add to the defence made by your "counſel."

Louis then roſe with ſome emotion, but collecting himſelf, he ſaid—"Citizens, my "means of defence are before you, I need not repeat them. *In ſpeaking to you perhaps "for the laſt time*, I declare to you, that my conſcience makes me no reproach, and "that my defenders have told you nothing but the truth. I have never dreaded the "public examination of my conduct; but my heart is rent to find in the accuſation,

" the imputation of having wiſhed to ſhed the blood of the people; and, above all, " that the misfortunes of the tenth of Auguſt are attributed to me. I own, that the " many proofs I have given upon all occaſions of my love for the people, and the man- " ner in which I have always conducted myſelf, appeared to me ſufficient to prove, " that I did not fear to expoſe my own perſon, to ſpare their blood; and to exempt " me for ever from ſuch an imputation."

The keys found at the *garde-meuble* were then preſented to him, and he was aſked if he knew them—"I know," ſaid he, "that I delivered keys to Thierry; but I know " that my houſe was forced, and all my furniture broken. I had no more occaſion " for keys; but I know not whether thoſe preſented to me are the ſame that I delivered. " From the time that has elapſed I cannot recollect them."

He then retired, and on going out a ſudden flush overſpread his countenance, and a few tears fell.

A decree was immediately paſſed, that he ſhould be reconducted to the Temple; that the defence made by the counſel ſhould be ſigned by him and them; that the words—" the people deſired liberty, and he gave it"—which had excited murmurs, and had been ſince ſtruck out by the counſel, ſhould be replaced; that the defence ſhould be printed under the inſpection of the counſel, and circulated through the eighty-four departments.

The diſcuſſions on the defence of Louis and ſeparate propoſitions of ſeveral members continued many days; there appeared a general concurrence in the opinion of his guilt: the form of proceeding, and the degree and mode of puniſhment, principally occupied theſe ſittings. The variety of opinion on theſe points was very ſtriking, from the circumſtance that members generally underſtood to belong to the moſt oppoſite parties concurred in the ſame opinion, and thoſe who were uſually conſidered as the moſt decidedly attached to each other by the ties of party, diſagreed in the important points concerning the puniſhment and the period and manner of its execution.

Among theſe opinions ſome were for an immediate vote upon the general charge and execution without delay, as Marat, Robeſpierre, Chabot, Robert, Fabre, Legendre, St. Juſt, Duhem, Morriſon, Dubois-Crance, St. André, Bentabole, and Danton; others were of opinion that he ought to ſuffer death, but deemed it prudent and neceſſary to diſcuſs the expediency of retarding or accelerating the puniſhment, as Mailhe, Treilhard, Gaudet, Genſonne, Vergniaud and Briſſot; a third were agreed in his abſolute guilt to the full extent that had been charged, but convinced it would be a more ſuitable puniſhment, to confine him during the war and then to baniſh him, of this opinion, were Petion, Manuel, Salles, Buſſault, Rabaut, Cambaceres, Guellimard, Louvet, Charles, Villette, and Thomas Paine; the opinion of the latter is important in itſelf, connected with the man and the hiſtory, we ſhall give it at length, as it was delivered in writing to the convention, upon the diſcuſſion of death. There were alſo a few who were courageous enough to vote for the acquittal; and a very critical diſcuſſion was introduced, upon the queſtion whether the ſentence paſſed ſhould not be finally referred to the deciſion of the people in primary aſſemblies.

The baleful ſpirit of faction however was not aſleep during theſe ſolemn diſcuſſions; Gaſparin introduced a charge againſt Vergniaud, Genſonne, and Gaudet, who he alleged had preſented to Louis through the means of Thierry his valet, a memorial ſigned

by them; he had his information from Boze a painter who was concerned in the tranſaction; which he believed amounted to a conſpiracy; and Robeſpierre denounced Roland, who he alleged had concealed that paper, and others.

Thuriot a member of the mountain, defended Roland, and Gaudet in a very manly ſpeech refuted the calumny, which neverthelefs, had a conſiderable influence on the public mind, though a ſubſequent examination of Boze alſo acquitted them.

The fourteenth however was appointed for the final conſideration of the evidence and deciſion on the reſult; after a debate which continued till ten at night, it was decreed that the names of the members ſhould be called over in the alphabetical order of their departments, and that they ſhould anſwer yes or no, on the three following propoſitions:

I. Is Louis guilty of a conſpiracy againſt the liberty of the nation, and of attempts againſt the ſafety of the ſtate.?

II. Shall recourſe he had to the appeal to the people before inflicting puniſhment.?

III. What puniſhment ſhall he ſuffer?

On the fifteenth, it was decreed that in voting on the ſeveral queſtions, the anſwer of each member ſhould be entered after his name, and the liſt afterwards ſent to the eighty-four departments.

Upon the firſt queſtion, one of the ſecretaries called over the names, and it appeared that of ſeven hundred and forty-five votes, twenty-ſix were abſent on leave, five through illneſs, one without any cauſe aſſigned, twenty-ſix had made various declarations on the queſtion, and *ſix hundred and ninety-three* had voted in the affirmative.

Whereupon Verginaud the preſident roſe and ſaid—"I declare in the name of the "convention, that Louis Capet is guilty of conſpiring againſt the liberty of the "nation, and of attempts againſt the general ſafety of the ſtate."

The ſecond queſtion was then put in the ſame form; a great number of members aſſigned motives for voting againſt any appeal, but the moſt forcible was, that it would be the means of producing a civil war; upon calling over the names there appeared to be twenty members abſent with leave, ten who would not vote, three ſick, three abſent without any cauſe aſſigned, in the affirmative two hundred and eighty-three, and in the negative four hundred and twenty-four.

The preſident then roſe and declared—"The national convention decrees, that the "judgment which it ſhall pronounce upon Louis Capet, ſhall not be ſubjected to an ap"peal to the people."

While this important tranſaction was before the convention, the eyes of all Europe were turned with mixed emotions towards France; the court of Spain, ſo intimately connected with the monarch, and by the proximity of ſituation and collateral intereſts between the two nations, had not been indifferent to that iſſue, which from the firſt had been ſo clearly foreſeen. On the twenty-ſixth of December the Spaniſh miniſter d'Ocariz preſented a letter to Le Brun, oſtenſibly on the ſubject of neutrality, but in fact intended to operate in favour of Louis. Some warlike preparations on the part of Spain had induced a demand on the part of the French through their agent at Madrid, of the intention of thoſe meaſures; this letter ſtated that the anſwer was ſent by a French courier, the more ſtrongly to manifeſt that no ſecret deſigns were entertained towards France; that Spaniſh troops uſually ſtationed on the French frontier would be withdrawn thence, had it not been neceſſary to retain them there to prevent evil diſpoſed perſons from intro-

ducing ſeditious maxims into Spain; that no doubt could be entertained of the ſincerity of Spain, and that "nothing could ſo much contribute to conſolidate the union of "the two nations, and in which all Europe had likewiſe an intereſt, as the iſſue "of the momentous ſubject that then occupied France. It is by the manner in which "France ſhall treat the unfortunate king Lewis XVI. and his family that foreign nations "will be able to judge with certainty of her generoſity and her moderation."

After entering into a conſideration of the caſe, and venting ſome ſevere recriminations on the king's perſecutors, little calculated to produce a moderate determination in any caſe, he ſuggeſts "even the preſence of Louis XVI. and his family in the "country which they ſhould chooſe for an aſylum, would be an exiſting teſtimony of "the generoſity and power of the French, and would teach all men that your nation "knows how to unite moderation with victory; that ſhe has noble and beneficent "paſſions only, and that the triumphs of her arms do not hinder her from voluntarily "bowing her head before the image of juſtice."

This letter appears to have been dictated under impreſſions of the power of Spain being very formidable to France, and that the nation was likely to be acted upon by the apprehenſions of a general union of the powers of Europe. But the conduct of the convention and the events that have followed, too clearly expoſe the weakneſs of ſuch impreſſions. This letter was followed by another from the ſame miniſter on the ſeventeenth of January, containing a propoſition of mediation on the part of Spain, with a view to peace between France and the powers at war, implying that becauſe the meaſure would be uſeful to France it ſhould alſo operate to ſoften the deſtiny of the king's unhappy relative. The firſt of theſe letters had been referred to the diplomatic committee, the other was not ſuffered to be read.

Several efforts were alſo made by individuals in the monarch's behalf; Cazales, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the conſtituent aſſembly, and taken flight to England, ſolicited a paſſport in order to appear as the defender of Louis; the ſame offer was made by Narbonne the former miniſter of war, and Lally-Tollendal; Bouillé had the imprudence after his public perjury and treachery, to tranſmit an atteſtation in the king's favour, concerning the flight to Montmedy; and Choiſeul, who had been active in ſtirring up all the potentates of Europe againſt France, expected that a declaration from him concerning the money that had been in Bouille's hands, would operate in his favour. But among the blind and unfortunate acts of his friends, that of Bertrand, the former miniſter of marine, was the moſt ſtriking; he tranſmitted from England a number of papers calculated not to prove the king's innocence, but that both the parties in the convention, the *mountain* and the *Gironde*, had been in ſecret negociation with the king for the reſtoration of his power. Under what fatality of mind ſuch a communication ſhould have been made is unaccountable, conſidering that Bertrand could not be ignorant that the perſons to whom it was offered were the very perſons whom it accuſed. If it was intended to ſow jealouſy between the parties, and to looſen the national confidence in them, the former perhaps was effected, but as the papers were not publiſhed, the latter intention was ſo far abortive. But it proved only more fatal to the unhappy monarch, as it went to eſtabliſh his having received overtures, contrary to his oath.

On the ſixteenth the queſtion of puniſhment was to be determined; but much of the day was employed in debating upon the amount of the majority neceſſary to decide upon this queſtion; it was urged that the majority ſhould be two-thirds of the votes; to this it

was anſwered that the queſtion ought to be deceided by the ſame principle that every queſtion concerning the people is determined, the abſolute majority, which was ſufficient for declaring war, that is condemning to death thouſands of men. It was therefore decreed that the majority ſhould be *one*. It was ſeven at night before the votes were began to be taken.

On the ſeventeenth the voting continued without intermiſſion. It was during this ſitting that the ſecond letter of the Spaniſh ambaſſador was received, and paſſed over for the order of the day. The counſel of Louis alſo notified their attendance, and it was ordered that they ſhould be admitted after the votes ſhould be completed. A member then obſerved that ſeveral votes had been given for death with certain reſtrictions; it would be neceſſary to decide upon them, firſt that they ſhould be conſidered as formal votes for death, and ſecondly referring to freſh votes and further diſcuſſion the deciſion of the period at which it ſhould be executed. This was adopted.

The votes having been all taken, the preſident notified that he was about to proclaim the reſult . . . . A moſt profound ſilence prevailed for ſeveral minutes—He then ſaid——

" The aſſembly conſiſts of ſeven hundred and forty-five members—of whom one has " died, ſix are ſick, two abſent without cauſe and cenſured in the minutes accordingly, " eleven abſent upon public duties, and four who do not vote, making in all twenty- " three repreſentatives who have given no opinion. The number of votes is thus " reduced to ſeven hundred and twenty-one. In order that there may be a majority, " it is neceſſary that there ſhould be an union of three hundred and ſixty three ſuffrages. " Twenty-one have voted for death, demanding a diſcuſſion of the period; one for " death with a reſerve of its commutation or delay; two for death, but not to be execu- " ted until after peace ſhall have been concluded, unleſs in caſe of an invaſion of the " French territory, in which caſe to take place twenty four hours after the invaſion; " two for chains; three hundred and nineteen for impriſonment and baniſhment; three " hundred and ſixty-ſix for death."

The preſident then lowering his voice amidſt the moſt profound and awful ſilence ſaid—" I declare in the name of the convention, that the puniſhment which it pro- " nounces againſt Louis Capet is—*Death*."

The three counſel of the king were then admitted; Deſeze addreſſed the convention:—

" Citizens repreſentatives, the law of the nation and humanity have entruſted to us the ſacred function of the defence of Louis. We come, with regret, to preſent to you the laſt act of our function. Louis has given to us his expreſs charge, to read to you a letter ſigned with his own hand, of which the following is a copy:

" I owe it to my own honor, I owe it to my family, not to ſubſcribe to a ſentence which declares me guilty of a crime of which I cannot accuſe myſelf. In conſequence I appeal to the nation from the ſentence of its repreſentatives; and I commit by theſe preſents to the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the national convention this appeal, by all the means in their power, and to demand, that mention of it b made in the minutes of their ſitting. (Signed) Louis."

Deſeze then reſumed his ſpeech; he ſolemnly invoked the convention in the name of his colleagues to conſider by what a ſmall majority the ſentence was paſſed; " Do not " afflict France," ſaid he, " by a judgement that will appear terrible to her, when *five*

"voices only were sufficient to carry it." He conjured them to consider how large the number was that would not accord with that vote, and how respectable their opinions supported by benevolence and the peace of the country.

Tronchet, another of the defenders of Louis, protested against the decree, by which the assembly had declared that the sentence should be passed, like its other decrees, by an absolute majority. He demanded the repeal of the decree, observing, that as the penal code had served as the basis of the opinion of those who had pronounced the punishment of death, the assembly ought, conformably to that code, not to pronounce punishment except by two-thirds of the voices.

Lamoignon Malesherbes, the third counsel of Louis, begged the convention to allow him till the next day to present some observations on the kind of majority, which to him seemed necessary, before sentence should be pronounced.

The president informed the counsel that their requests would be considered, and invited them to the honours of the sitting. A member while they were present refuted the objection of Tronchet; the penal code, he said, required a majority of two-thirds, not for the application of punishment, but for the declaration of facts; that the distinction was in itself clear, two-thirds being required to decide upon evidence before trial, to examine whether it was of a nature cognizable by justice or the contrary; the decision upon the trial by that evidence, opposed by every species of counter-evidence and argument was a different case, it was a decision between innocence and guilt, where every means of defence is open, and the absolute majority only can be proper. It was thereupon decreed, that there were no grounds for further discussion or appeals on the subject of the majority.

On the eighteenth a member stated, that some very singular errors were committed in proclaiming the result of the votes on the preceding day; that the whole representation was stated at seven hundred and forty-five, which was only the number prior to the incorporation of Avignon, but since that period three representatives had been added; the votes as they were proclaimed were remarkably incorrect in other respects, several having been returned by the secretaries as voting for imprisonment who voted for death. This occasioned a tumultuous debate, in which Manuel, Sallcs, and Lesage, who were secretaries, stood implicated; and it was in consequence decreed that there should be a scrutiny.

On the nineteenth the examination was accomplished, and the president announced, that the actual majority consisted of *twenty-seven* votes. It was on the question of death on this day that Thomas Paine delivered at the tribune the following opinion;—

"Citizen President,

"My hatred and abhorrence of monarchy are sufficiently known; they originate in principles of reason and conviction, nor except with life can they be extirpated; but my compassion for the unfortunate, whether friend or enemy, is equally lively and sincere.

"I voted that Louis should be tried, because it was necessary to afford proofs to the world of the perfidy, corruption, and abomination of the monarchical system. The infinity of evidence that has been produced, exposes them in the most glaring and hideous colours. Thence it results, that monarchy, whatever form it may assume, arbitrary or otherwise, becomes necessarily a centre, round which are united every species of corruption, and that the kingly trade is no less destructive of all humanity in the human breast, than the trade of an executioner is destructive of its sensibility.

"I remember, during my reſidence in another country, that I was exceedingly ſtruck with a ſentence of M. Autheine, at the Jacobins, which correſponds exactly with my own idea, 'Make me a king to-day,' ſaid he, 'and I ſhall be a robber to-morrow.'

"Neverthelefs, I am inclined to believe, that if Louis Capet had been born in an obſcure condition, had he lived within the circle of an amiable and reſpectable neighbourhood, at liberty to practiſe the duties of domeſtic life, had he been thus ſituated, I cannot believe that he would have ſhewn himſelf deſtitute of ſocial virtues; we are in a moment of fermentation like this, naturally little indulgent to his vices, or rather to thoſe of monarchical governments, we regard them with additional horror and indignation; not that they are more heinous than thoſe of his predeceſſors, but becauſe our eyes are now open, and the veil of deluſion at length withdrawn; yet the lamentable, degraded ſtate to which he is actually reduced, is ſurely far leſs imputable to him, than to the conſtituent aſſembly, which, of its own authority, without conſent or advice of the people, reſtored him to the throne.

"I was in Paris at the time of the flight, or abdication of Louis the Sixteenth, and when he was taken and brought back. The propoſal of reſtoring him to the ſupreme power ſtruck me with amazement; and although at that time, I was not a French citizen, yet as a citizen of the world, I employed all the efforts that depended on me to prevent it.

"A ſmall ſociety, compoſed only of five perſons,* two of whom are now members of the convention, took, at that time, the name of a Republican Club, (Societé Republicaine.) This ſociety oppoſed the reſtoration of Louis, not ſo much on acount of his own perſonal offences, as in order to overthrow the monarchy, and to erect on its ruins the Republican Syſtem, and an equal repreſentation.

"With this deſign, I traced out in the Engliſh language certain propoſitions, which were tranſlated, with ſome trifling alterations, and ſigned by Achilles Duchatelet, actually lieutenant-general in the army of the French Republic, and that time one of the five members which compoſed our little party; the law requiring the ſignature of a citizen at bottom of each printed paper.

"The paper was indignantly torn by Malouet, and brought forth as an article of accuſation againſt the perſon who had ſigned it, the author, and their adherents; but ſuch is the revolution of events, that this paper is now revived, and brought forth for a very oppoſite purpoſe;—to remind the nation of the error of that unfortunate day, that fatal error of not then having baniſhed Louis the Sixteenth from its boſom, and to plead this day in favour of his exile, preferable to his death.

"The paper in queſtion was conceived in the following terms:

'Brethren and Fellow-Citizens,

'The ſerene tranquillity, the mutual confidence which prevailed amongſt us during the time of the late king's eſcape, the indifference with which we beheld him return, are unequivocal proofs that the abſence of a king is more deſirable than his preſence, and that he is not only a political ſuperfluity, but a grevious burthen preſſing hard on the whole nation.

'Let us not be impoſed on by ſophiſms; all that concerns this man, is reduced to four points.

* Condorcet, Briſſot, Duchatelet, Giry Dupre, and Thomas Paine.

'He has abdicated the throne in having fled from his poſt. Abdication and deſertion are not characteriſed by the length of abſence; but the ſingle act of flight. In the preſent inſtance, the act is every thing, and the time nothing.

'The nation can never give back its confidence to a man who, falſe to his truſt, perjured to his oath, conſpires a clandeſtine flight, obtains a fradulent paſſport, conceals a king of France under the diſguiſe of a valet, directs his courſe towards a frontier covered with traitors and deſerters, and evidently meditates a return into our country, with a force capable of impoſing his own deſpotic laws.

'Whether ought this flight to be conſidered as his own act, or the act of thoſe who fled with him. Was it a ſpontaneous reſolution of his own, or was it inſpired into him by others; The alternative is immaterial: whether fool or hypocrite, idiot or traitor, he has proved himſelf equally unworthy of the vaſt important functions that had been delegated to him.

'In every ſenſe that the queſtion can be conſidered, the reciprocal obligation which ſubſiſted between us is diſſolved. He holds no longer authority: we owe him no longer obedience; we ſee in him now no more than an indifferent perſon; we can regard him only as Louis Capet.

'The hiſtory of France preſents little elſe than a long ſeries of public calamity, which takes its ſource from the vices of her kings; we have been the wretched victims that have never ceaſed to ſuffer either for them or by them. The catalogue of their oppreſſions was complete; but to complete the ſum of their crimes, treaſon yet was wanting; now, the only vacancy is filled up, the dreadful liſt is full; the ſyſtem is exhauſted; there are no remaining errors for them to cominit, their reign is conſequently at an end.

'What kind of office muſt that be in a government which it requires neither experience nor ability to execute? that may be abandoned to the deſparate chance of birth, that may be filled by an idiot, a tyrant, a madman, with equal effect, as by the good, the virtuous, and the wiſe! An office of this nature is a mere nonentity; it is a place of ſhew, not of uſe. Let France then, arrived at the age of reaſon, no longer be deluded by the ſound of words, and let her deliberately examine, if a king, however inſignificant and contemptible in himſelf, may not at the ſame time be extremely dangerous.

'The thirty millions which it coſts to ſupport a king in the eclat of ſtupid brutal luxury, preſents us with an eaſy method of reducing taxes, which reduction would at once releaſe the people, and ſtop the progreſs of political corruption. The grandeur of nations conſiſts not, as kings pretend in the ſplendor of thrones, but in a conſcious ſenſe of their own dignity, and in a juſt diſdain of thoſe barbarous follies, and crimes, which under the ſanction of royalty, have hitherto deſolated Europe.

'As to the perſonal ſafety of Mr. Louis Capet, it is ſo much the more confirmed, as France will not ſtop to degrade herſelf by a ſpirit of revenge againſt a wretch, who has diſhonoured himſelf. In defending a juſt and glorious cauſe, it is not poſſible to degrade it, and the univerſal tranquillity which prevails, is an undeniable proof that a free people know how to reſpect themſelves.'

"Having thus explained the principles and exertions of the republicans at that fatal period when Louis was reinſtated in full poſſeſſion of the executive power; which by his flight had been ſuſpended, I return to the ſubject, and to the deplorable condition in which the man is now actually involved.

"What was neglected at the time of which I have been ſpeaking, has been ſince brought about by the force of neceſſity; the wilful treacherous defects in the former conſtitution have been brought to light, the continual alarm of treaſon and conſpiracy rouſed the nation and produced eventually a ſecond revolution. The people have beat down royalty, never, never to riſe again; they have brought Louis Capet to the bar, and demonſtrated in the face of the whole world, the intrigues, the cabals, the falſehood, corruption, and rooted depravity, the inevitable effects of monarchical governments. There remains then only one queſtion to be conſidered, what is to be done with this man?

"For myſelf, I freely confeſs, that when I reflect on the unaccountable folly, that reſtored the executive power to his hands, all covered as he was with perjuries and treaſon, I am far more ready to condemn the conſtituent aſſembly than the unfortunate priſoner Louis Capet.

"But abſtracted from every other conſideration, there is one circumſtance in his life which ought to cover, or at leaſt palliate a great number of his tranſgreſſions, and this very circumſtance affords the French nation a bleſſed occaſion of extricating itſelf from the yoke of kings, without defiling itſelf in the impurities of their blood.

"It is to France alone, I know, that the United States of America owe that ſupport which enabled them to ſhake off the unjuſt and tyrannical yoke of England. The ardor which ſhe diſplayed to provide both men and money, were the natural conſequences of a thirſt for liberty. But as the nation at that time, reſtrained by the ſhackles of her own government, could only act by means of a monarchical organ, this organ, whatever in other reſpects the object might be, certainly performed a good, a great action. Let, therefore, theſe United States be the ſafeguard and aſylum of Louis Capet. There, hereafter, far removed from the miſeries and crimes of royalty, he may learn, from the conſtant aſpect of public proſperity, that the true ſyſtem of government conſiſts, not in kings, but in fair, equal, and honorable repreſentation.

"In relating this circumſtance, and in ſubmitting this propoſition, I conſider myſelf as a citizen of both countries. I ſubmit it as a citizen of America, who feels the debt of gratitude which he owes to every Frenchman. I ſubmit it alſo as a man, who, altho' the enemy of kings, cannot forget that they are ſubject to human frailties. I ſupport my propoſition as a citizen of the French Republic, becauſe it appears to me to be the beſt, the moſt politic meaſure that can be adopted.

"As far as my experience in public life extends, I have ever obſerved that the great maſs of the people are inviolably juſt, both in their intentions and in their objects; but the true method of accompliſhing that effect, does not always ſhew itſelf in the firſt inſtance.

"For example, the Engliſh nation had groaned under the deſpotiſm of the Stuarts. Hence Charles the firſt loſt his life; yet Charles the ſecond was reſtored to all the plenitude of power, which his father had loſt.

"Forty years had not expired when the ſame family ſtrove to reſtore their ancient oppreſſions; ſo the nation then baniſhed from its territories the whole race. The remedy was effectual. The Stuart family ſunk into obſcurity, confounded itſelf with the multitude, and is at length extinct.

"The French nation more enlightened than England was at that time, has carried her meaſures to a greater length. France is not ſatisfied with expoſing the guilt of the monarch, ſhe has penetrated into the horrors and vices of the monarchy. She has ſhewn them clear as day-light, and for ever cruſhed that infernal ſyſtem; and he, whoever he may be, that ſhould ever dare to reclaim thoſe rights, he would be regarded not as a pretender, but puniſhed as a traitor.

"Two brothers of Louis Capet have baniſhed themſelves from the country; but they are obliged to comply with the ſpirit and etiquette of the courts where they reſide. They can advance no pretenſions on their own account, ſo long as Louis ſhall live.

"The hiſtory of monarchy in France was a ſyſtem pregnant with crimes and murders, cancelling all natural ties, even thoſe by which brothers are united. We know how often they have aſſaſſinated each other to pave a way for power. As thoſe hopes, which the emigrants had repoſed in Louis the XVI. are fled; the laſt which remains reſts upon his death, and their ſituation inclines them to deſire this cataſtrophe, that they may once again rally round a more active chief, and try one further effort under the ci-devant monſieur and d'Artois.

"That ſuch an enterpriſe would precipitate them into a new abyſs of calamity and diſgrace, it is not difficult to foreſee; but yet it might be attended with mutual loſs, and it is our duty as legiſlators not to ſpill a drop of blood, when our purpoſe may be effectually accompliſhed without it.

"It has been already propoſed to aboliſh the puniſhment of death; and it is with infinite ſatisfaction that I recollect the humane and excellent oration pronounced by Robeſpierre on the ſubject in the conſtituent aſſembly. This cauſe muſt find its advocates in every corner, where enlightened politicians and lovers of humanity exiſt; and it ought, above all, to find them in this aſſembly.

"Monarchical governments have trained the human race, and inured it to the arts and refinements of puniſhment; and it is exactly the ſame puniſhment which has ſo long ſhocked the ſight, and tormented the patience of the people, that now, in their turn, they practiſe in revenge on their oppreſſors. But it becomes us to be ſtrictly on our guard againſt the abomination and perverſity of monarchical examples: As France has been the firſt European nation to aboliſh royalty, let her alſo be the firſt to aboliſh the puniſhment of death, and to find out a milder and more effectual ſubſtitute.

"In the particular caſe now under conſideration, I ſubmit the following propoſitions:—1ſt. That the national convention ſhall pronounce ſentence of baniſhment on Louis and his family. 2d. That Louis Capet ſhall be kept in priſon till the end of the war; and at that epoch the ſentence of baniſhment ſhall be carried into execution."

A queſtion aroſe then on the period of execution, and the votes were taken to decide upon the propoſed delay, the members being only to deliver their opinions by *yes* or *no*, when the preſident declared, that of ſeven hundred and forty-eight members, ſeventeen were on public miſſions, twenty-one ſick, eight abſent without leave, twelve who did not vote, three hundred and ten were for delay, three hundred and eighty againſt it.

Whereupon Cambaceres roſe and ſaid, "Citizens, by pronouncing the ſentence of death againſt the laſt king of the French, you have done an act which will not paſs away like the meteors of falſe glory—inflexible in juſtice, and more indulgent to tyranny than its crimes and intrigues, its falſhood and hypocriſy are entitled to, unmoved by the ſtorms

that burſt abroad and the muttering vengeance that prowls at home, the ſpirit of regenerated France has inſpired you to eſtabliſh your own liberty by a deciſion that will be recorded by the graver of immortality in the annals of hiſtory. Public ſafety proſcribed to you that awful decree. It is paſſed in the name of juſtice; in the name of humanity I ſtand up, to call your attention to the perſon who is the object of it. Let us afford him every poſſible conſolation; and let us take proper meaſures to prevent the execution of the national will from being ſullied by any irregularity. I move therefore, that—

"1. The executive council ſhall be immediately ſummoned, and a copy of the decree which pronounces ſentence of death on Louis ſhall be delivered to them.

"2. The executive council ſhall be charged to notify this decree to Louis in the courſe of the day; to cauſe it to be executed in twenty-four hours after it ſhall have been notified to him; and to take every meaſure of ſafety and police which to them ſhall appear neceſſary during the execution; to be careful that no inſult be offered to the remains of Louis, and to give an account of their proceedings to the national convention.

"3. The mayor and municipal officers of Paris ſhall be enjoined to ſuffer Louis to communicate freely with his family, and to have with him ſuch prieſts as he may deſire in his laſt moments."

Theſe propoſitions were unanimouſly adopted, with an amendment by Briſſot, that the executive council ſhould not be called till eleven o'clock, and the ſitting cloſed at two o'clock in the morning.

On Sunday the twentieth, Garat miniſter of juſtice, the preſident and ſecretary of the council, and the mayor, waited on Louis, and notified to him the decree. When they had done reading, he addreſſed them with great compoſure, and drew from a portfolio a written paper containing the ſame in ſubſtance as his reply, which he delivered to them:

"I demand a delay of three days, that I may be able to prepare myſelf for appearing "before God; I demand, for this purpoſe, to be permitted to ſee freely the perſons whom "I ſhall point out to the commiſſioners of the commons; that this perſon may be ſecure "from all fear and from all uneaſineſs, for the act of charity which he ſhall perform to "me. I demand to be delivered from the perpetual inſpection which the council-general "has eſtabliſhed for ſome days paſt. I demand, during this interval, leave to ſee my "family when I ſhall deſire it, and without any witneſſes. I could wiſh that the national "convention would conſider with all ſpeed of the lot of my family, and permit them to "retire freely and conveniently wherever the convention ſhall think proper.

"I recommend to the benevolence of the nation, all the perſons who were attached "to me; there were many of them who expended their whole fortune on their ſituations, "and who having no longer any appointment, muſt be in neceſſity, and even ſome of "them who had no means of living but their appointments. Among the penſioners are "many aged perſons, women, and children, who had no other means of ſubſiſtence.

"At the tower of the Temple, January 1793. (Signed) Louis."

The convention having anticipated the requeſts concerning the intercourſe with his family and a clergyman, paſſed to the order of the day on the reſt.

Meanwhile the proviſionary executive council iſſued the following proclamation:—

"January the twentieth, 1793, Second Year of the Republic.—The proviſional executive council, deliberating on the meaſures to be taken for the execution of the decree of the national convention of the fifteenth, ſeventeenth, nineteenth, and twentieth of January, 1793, enacts the following regulations:

" I. The execution of the ſentence of Louis Capet ſhall take place to-morrow (Monday, January the twenty-firſt.)

" II. The place of execution ſhall be La Place de Revolution, ci-devant Louis XV. between the Pedeſtal and the Champs-Eliſees.

" III. Louis Capet ſhall ſet out from the temple at eight o'clock in the morning, ſo that the execution ſhall take place at noon.

" IV. The commiſſioners of the department of Paris, the commiſſioners of the municipality, and members of the criminal tribunal, ſhall aſſiſt at the execution, the ſecretary-regiſter of the tribunal ſhall draw up the minutes, and the ſaid commiſſioners, and members of the tribunal, as ſoon as the execution is over, ſhall come to give an account to the council, who ſhall continue in a ſtate of permanent ſitting during the whole day—By the proviſional executive council.

(Signed)—" Roland, Claviere, Monge, Le Brun, Garat, and Pache."

After paſſing Sunday in preparations for his approaching change, in the evening his family, from whom he had been ſeparated ſince the commencement of his trial, were conducted to the tower of the Temple, and allowed the ſad indulgence of a laſt interview, unmoleſted by the preſence of his guards. Alas! when imagination pictures the anguiſh of ſuch an interview, it is not neceſſary to look back on the former elevation of the ſufferer, in order to pity the gloomy tranſition in his fate! It is not neceſſary to recollect, that he who was the following morning to ſuffer death upon the ſcaffold, was once the firſt monarch of Europe, and would be led to execution through the ſtreets of his own capital! It is enough to conſider this unfortunate perſon as a man, a huſband a father! That anguiſh was not confined to the boſom of the king, the queen, and his ſiſter. The princeſs, his daughter, had attained that age when perhaps the ſoul is moſt ſuſceptible of ſtrong impreſſions, and its ſenſibility moſt exquiſite. Even the young prince, who was only in his ninth year, caught the infectious ſorrow.

The king had ſufficient firmneſs to avoid ſeeing his family on the morning of his execution. He deſired that the queen might be told that he was unable to bear the ſight of her and his children in thoſe laſt moments. He took a ring off his finger, which contained ſome of his own hair, of the queen's, and of his two children, and deſired it might be given to the queen. He called the municipal officers round him, and told them it was his dying requeſt, that Clery, his valet de chambre, might remain with his ſon. He then ſaid to Santerre, " Marchons;" and after croſſing, with an hurried pace, the inner court of the Temple, got into the mayor's carriage, which was in waiting; he was attended by his confeſſor, an Iriſh clergyman of the name of Edgworth, and appeared to have derived from his pious conſolations a conſiderable degree of calmneſs and fortitude; but beſide the ſoothing ſupport of religion, he is ſaid to have cheriſhed the hope to his laſt moment, that the people whom he meant to addreſs from the ſcaffold, would demand that his life ſhould be ſpared, and his confeſſor has been ſaid from miſtaken notions of compaſſion not to have diſcouraged the hope. After aſcending the ſcaffold with firm ſtep, twice the unhappy monarch attempted to ſpeak, and twice Santerre prevented him from being heard, by ordering the drums to beat. Alas! thoſe who ſympathiſed in his agonies had carefully ſhunned the fatal ſpot, and thoſe who ſurrounded him were ſteeled by the paſſions of the day againſt commiſſeration.

Two perſons who were on the ſcaffold have declared, that the unhappy monarch finding his hopes of awakening popular compaſſion fruſtrated by the impoſſibility of his being heard, as a laſt effort declared he had ſecrets to reveal of importance to the ſafety of the ſtate, and deſired he might be led to the national convention. Some of the guards who heard this declaration ſaid, "Yes, let him go to the convention!" others ſaid, "No, no!" Had he been permitted to return, it is probable that the conſequence might have been either a public and ſanguinary commotion, or additional ignominy and protraction of anguiſh in his laſt moments. Santerre, who foreſaw theſe conſequences, or perceived ſome danger, called to the executioner to do his office—Then it was that deſpair ſeized upon the mind of the unfortunate monarch—his countenance aſſumed a look of horror—twice with agony he repeated, "Je ſuis perdu! Je ſuis perdu!" ("I am undone! I am undone!") His confeſſor meantime called to him from the foot of the ſcaffold, "Louis, fils de Saint Louis, montez au ciel!" ("Son of Saint Louis, aſcend to heaven;") and in one moment he was delivered from the evils of mortality.

The executioner held up the bleeding head, and the guards cried 'Vive la Republi-"que!' The hair was ſold in ſeparate treſſes at the foot of the ſcaffold; and, as if every incident of this tragedy had been intended to diſplay the ſtrange viciſſitudes of human fortune, as if every ſcene were meant "to point a moral," the body was conveyed in a cart to the pariſh church of St. Madelaine, and laid among the bodies of thoſe who had been cruſhed to death on the Place de Louis XV. when Louis the ſixteenth was married, and of thoſe who had fallen before the chateau of the Thuilleries, on the tenth of Auguſt.

The grave was filled with quick-lime, and a guard placed over it till the corpſe was conſumed. The ground was then carefully levelled with the ſurrounding earth, and no trace or veſtige remains of that ſpot, to which, ſhrouded by the doubtful gloom of twilight, ancient loyalty might have repaired, and poured a tear, or ſuperſtition breathed its ritual for the departed ſpirit.

Thus fell Louis XVI. from the loftieſt ſummit of external grandeur to the loweſt and laſt ſtage of human misfortune and ignominy; his character has been touched upon in the courſe of this eventful hiſtory, wherein he has hitherto been the moſt conſpicuous actor; and it is beſt appreciated from a judgment of the tranſactions in which he was engaged; upon his fate the paſſions of the preſent day, will not perhaps allow the cordial and ſteady deciſion which hiſtory demands; but it is the duty of the hiſtorian, to appugn every partiality which would throw a veil over the ſolemn concluſions of juſtice and truth —to diſregard prejudices which impoſe upon the judgment by the antiquity of their exiſtence or the impunity with which they have been tolerated;—to reſiſt alike thoſe ſeductive emotions of benevolence which palliate errors becauſe they have been connected with power, and forgive the crimnal becauſe he has been puniſhed. To ſay that Louis was abandoned or profligate, would be to aſſert what is contradicted by the evidence of his whole life; neither was he that idiot which perſons more enrag d againſt his enemies, than juſt, have repreſented him; he was neither a vigorous tyrant nor a friend to the freedom of mankind; he was not deſtitute of talents, and the adroitneſs of his unpremeditated replies upon his examination before the convention, teſtify a depth and quickneſs of diſcrimination that diſplay at once the capacity of his mind, and the amazing power of habitual hypocriſy. Educated under circumſtances more ſuitable to his natural temper, he might have been an

ornament to private ſociety; his deſtruction appears to have been principally the conſequence of his ſituation; the period of his adoloſcence, was marked by that indolence and ſelf indulgence, which obſcured his talents and acquired him the character of a ſenſual moraliſt and an economnical ſot; effects proceeding from his habits concurring with pre-exiſting cauſes, accompliſhed his fate; the long prevailing habits of the court were curbed at the commencement of his reign, by the religious demeanor of the king and the temporary reſtraint of his conſort; but they were not cured; they were not ſo much expoſed as under the reign of Louis XV. but they did not ceaſe to exiſt—they aſſumed new appearances, becauſe externally reſtrained by the cenſorious tribunal of an improving and philoſophical age.

Though the extravagance of his predeceſſors was not imitated by Louis himſelf, it was ſurpaſſed under the countenance of his careleſs temper, his pliancy was unfortunately favourable to the gratification of the ambitious and licentious deſires of his wife; devoted to her in affection, the ſuavity of his heart would not admit him to control her in promoting her own gratifications, nor to look forward to evils that former experience could not warn againſt; ſurrounded by men devoted to her ſervice, becauſe ſhe was all powerful, ignorant himſelf of mankind but as they appear in courts, and with counſellors equally ignorant and governed by different intereſts, it was not ſurpriſing that at a period when public diſtreſs had produced a ſpirit of enquiry, and the human mind had attained an unexampled expanſion and elaſticity, that ſo many cauſes ſhould produce an extraordinary criſis. That his temper was naturally benevolent, and his mind impreſſed with religious ſentiments, cannot be diſputed; that he was diſpoſed to promote the advantage of the people has been inſiſted on with great plauſibility; but it is fit to mark the true bounds of that diſpoſition; it did not extend to the ſacrificing of any one of his powers or prerogatives, not did his inclinations at any time favour an indulgence to the people, which would tend to reduce his income, or circumſcribe the arbitrary nature of the French ſovereignty. When he encouraged economy in the affairs of his houſehold, it was extolled as the greateſt condeſcention of the age, and men more prone to admire actions that have an apparent tendency to promote human good, becauſe they wiſhed to experience the like themſelves, never waited to conſider that this economy of Louis was the neceſſary conſequence of extravagance, of former profuſion, and a relaxed and abuſed adminiſtration of the public revenues. In like manner the meaſures of his reign which have been diſtinguiſhed in any degree by the enfranchiſement of the people from feudal oppreſſions, have been attributed ſolely to him; thus the meaſures adviſed by the great Turgot, had been placed to the credit of Louis alone. From the firſt period of the revolution to the laſt hour of his life, his ſoul revolted with indignation at every progreſſive ſtep of reformation; and it would be to believe what is more than human if we could credit to the contrary; the love of power is ſo intimately blended with the weakneſs of humanity, that no circumſtance can be expected to wean thoſe who poſſeſs it from the deſire to exerciſe it in the moſt extenſive latitude; men in power are ſo blind to their own imperfections that they affix a degree of infallibity to their actions, and they expect an implicit aſſent from all thoſe upon whom they operate. Oppoſition to them begets hatred, and the hatred becomes immortal. Louis was impreſſed with theſe fatal notions in no common degree, and even when he was ſpeaking with a view only to deceive, he ſeemed to carry the fatal and miſtaken impreſſion on his mind that he had the full credit of ſin-

cerity; it was through this fatality that he could not find miniſters to confide long in him nor in whom he could long confide, from the moment that adverſity compelled him to activity. It would have been perhaps happier for him, and at leaſt more honorable to his reputation and diſcreditable to his enemies, had he acted a decided and manly part, on one ſide or the other; the vices of his education, the intrigues of the court in which he was converſant, and the peculiarity of his perſonal and domeſtic circumſtances oppoſed it. The plots in which he had engaged, the correſpondence which he maintained, his flight to Varennes, his declaration on that occaſion, made an indelible impreſſion of the faithleſſneſs of his character.

In a word his whole courſe of conduct too clearly proved his criminality, and juſtified the opinion of *ſix hundred and ninety-three*, who voted his guilt, out of ſeven hundred and nineteen members who were preſent on that occaſion.

His death was another ſerious criſis in the affairs of France, as it was the ſignal of party to renew the ſtruggle for power; an additional pretext for the powers hoſtile to France to renew the war with redoubled vigour; and for thoſe who had not yet openly eſpouſed the coalition to join the common ſtandard of kings.

Kerſaint and Manuel two diſtinguiſhed members of the convention, reſigned their ſeats upon the condemnation of Louis, and Roland retired from the place of miniſter for the interior. Pache was diſmiſſed from the war department and replaced by Bournonville. Pelletier de St. Fargeau a member of the convention, diſtinguiſhed alſo in the conſtituent aſſembly, and who had voted for the death of the king, was aſſaſſinated by one of the former garde-du-corps named Paris, the aſſaſſin fled; he was ſubſequently taken, but put a period to his exiſtence, having left a confeſſion of the fact written in his own blood, and acknowleging his motive to be revenge for the death of the king. The convention decreed public honours to the remains of Pelletier, and they were depoſited in the French pantheon in the place of Mirabeau's, whoſe correſpondence with the court had thrown a diſgraceful ſhade over his ſplendid talents.

The convention during the tranſactions of the trial, were not inattentive to other meaſures of great importance; the court of Great-Britain had from the confinement of Louis, manifeſted by the recall of its ambaſſador, a diſpoſition little ſhort of hoſtility. Indeed the conduct of that court and of Spain, were not calculated to produce any favourable diſpoſition in a people always impreſſed with confidence in themſelves and tenacious of their honour, but more eſpecially at that period, when their ſpirits appeared ſublimated by the enthuſiaſm of liberty, and the ſplendor of their victories at Jemappe and elſewhere. The language of Spain and England was arrogant and inſulting; the moderation of France, in reply to the latter, is remarkable. The meaſures of hoſtility on the part of England had however been actively concerting during the whole of the year 1792; upon the approach of the French troops to the neighbourhood of Holland, in the cloſe of that year, Auckland the Engliſh ambaſſador had intimated in a public meſſage from his court to the ſtadtholder an intention of adhering to the treaty offenſive and defenſive of 1788; this meſſage was delivered at the Hague on the ſixteenth of November, three days before a reſolution which we have before noticed, was paſſed in the convention: it was on the motion of Larevilliere Lepaux, which decreed *fraternity* with all nations, ſuffering, or fighting for their liberties, and which was afterwards ſet up as a new ſubject of complaint by England.

The importance of the tranſactions between theſe two nations, however demand a minute detail, and for this purpoſe it will be neceſſary to embrace the whole ſubject, and to develope the various cauſes of the rupture real and aſſigned The firſt oſtenſible cauſe of complaint on the part of England, was the declaration of the French, by a decree of the ſixteenth of December 1792, that they would open the Scheldt, on the ſubject of which Chauvelin had delivered an official note on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month to the Engliſh miniſter. On this occaſion the French miniſter's communication was refuſed to be received, upon the alleged ground that as he had been appointed by Louis the Sixteenth, his functions muſt have ceaſed with the authority that created them. The Engliſh parliament had been haſtily aſſembled on the thirteenth of December, contrary to a previous adjournment to January; a reſpectable fleet already equipped, had been ordered to be reinforced with thirteen additional ſhips at the ſame time, and a number of veſſels laden with corn, belonging to French merchants from ports in the northern ſeas, that had put into England, were detained by an order of the Engliſh cabinet: a bill had been paſſed to prevent the circulation of any obligations repreſenting ſpecie, given under the authority of any power whatever in France, and another which enabled the executive to employ an extraordinary power in ſending aliens out of that country; theſe ſeveral acts too clearly manifeſted the deſigns of Great Britain, the alien law was in direct hoſtility with the treaty of 1786, between France and England, the fourth article of which, declared that the people of both nations ſhould have the free liberty of entering, travelling in, or reſiding in the ſtates of each other in Europe without paſſport or other authority.

The ſpeech of the Engliſh king at the opening of the winter ſeſſion of parliament in 1792, breathed the ſame ſpirit, but the leading articles of the Engliſh motives for arming and other meaſures of ſecurity were comprehended in the above decrees concerning the Scheldt, that of fraternity, and certain intentions imputed to the French government concerning Holland.

Anſwers were ordered to be given on theſe ſeveral points, to the Engliſh cabinet, wherein the executive council diſclaim the conſtruction which the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty had affected to put upon the decree of the ſixteenth of November, viz. "That the French convention had held out encouragement to excite to rebellion the ſeditious of all nations." They declare that the decree in queſtion "could not be applicable, but to the ſingle caſe, when the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expreſſed, ſhould call for the aſſiſtance and fraternity of the French nation." With reſpect to the opening of the Scheldt, they obſerve, "That it is a queſtion abſolutely indifferent to England, that it is little intereſting to Holland, but that it is of the utmoſt importance to the Belgians." They aſſert the natural right of the people to the navigation of the river, and obſerve, that though the emperor and the houſe of Auſtria thought it proper to ſurrender this right, the people ought not to be bound by any authority they no longer acknowleged. They declare, however, "as the French nation has renounced all conqueſt, and only occupies the Netherlands during the war;" that as ſoon as the Belgic nation ſhall find itſelf in full poſſeſſion of its liberty, and when its general will may be declared legally and unfettered, then if England and Holland ſhall affix any importance on the opening of the Scheldt, the executive council will leave that affair to a direct negociation with the Belgians themſelves. If the Belgians, through any motive whatever,

ſhall conſent to deprive themſelves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppoſe it.

It is of ſome importance, however, to trace theſe events to their proper ſources, that the motives of the parties may be perfectly underſtood, and on this occaſion the actual political ſtate of England is neceſſary to be diſplayed in order to comprehend the meaſures and motives of its government. It will alſo be neceſſary to examine the true grounds of the diſpute concerning the Scheldt, that it may be ſeen how far the parties were governed by the ſpirit of juſtice or hoſtility.

The Engliſh nation at this period may be conſidered as divided into three parties, the tories, or devoted advocates of the royal prerogative; the whigs, or aſſertors of the limited government of the monarch; and the republicans; the great body of the Engliſh people are perhaps as ignorant as thoſe of any nation of Europe, therefore they cannot be generally underſtood as comprehended to any conſiderable extent under either of theſe heads, but capable of being made the tools of either according to its predominancy. They then include thoſe only who take any part by thought, or act, in political affairs; and the tories were among theſe the moſt numerous, the republican the leaſt numerous but moſt active.

From the firſt dawn of the revolution it was decried by the tories and extolled by the republicans; the whigs purſued a mediate courſe, neither warm in its praiſe nor cenſorious; the tories had originally manifeſted their diſlike by ſullen doubts and equivocal obſervations, by that ridicule of the meaſures of the revolutioniſts which had been habitually applied to the French nation before, and by palliations of the enormities of the old French government; along with this that hatred of France which has been cradled in the Engliſh mind operated on the tories, who could never forgive France for having thrown her ſword into the ſcale of America and eſtabliſhed her independence; the tories rejoiced to ſee France torn by inteſtine diviſions, which they imputed ſolely to the principles of freedom, which ſhe had ſupported and encouraged, and thereby introduced into the body of her own country from the oppoſite ſhores of the Atlantic. The whigs on the contrary rejoiced in the eſtabliſhment of the limited monarchy, and were proud to hear the conſtitution of England ſet up as the model for France. The Engliſh republicans, though they diſapproved the monarchical inſtitution, rejoiced at even that approximation to freedom, and regarded with the moſt ſenſible regret every exceſs and intemperance which the convulſions of the revolution produced.

In this ſtate of party, though the tories were the moſt numerous of the three, they were the leaſt likely to obtain the confidence of that great body of the public which when at liberty acts more by the influence of a ſimple propoſition than abſtract reaſonings. The whigs, with the celebrity of their name, were the friends of liberty by long preſcription, and to them the generality of the nation looked for a conſtant control over the arbitrary encroachments of the court; the talents of that party were the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the nation, and they were led in parliament by men with whom none of the miniſters could cope in the fair conteſts of oratory and genius.

The monarch of the Engliſh government like the Deli-Lama, is but a puppet, or the viſible ſign of the national authority; his power never extends to the production of good, and the evil of his political exiſtence is conſtantly accumulating, and capable of being encreaſed either by his own weakneſſes or his vices. The power of the government

is actually centred in an oligarchy, which supports the externals of aristocracy and democracy in conjunction with monarchy, by the secret operation of corruption of various kinds. This oligarchy is the privy council, and possesses the additional fatality that though the mode of its operation never varies, it is subject to the contests of party, and the power itself liable to be transfered from one set of men to another. Hence it subjects the nation to all the afflictions of faction, the rapacity of individuals, and the opposite ambition of opposite parties; without relieving the nation from the burdens of monarchy, or the dead burden of aristocracy.

At the head of the oligarchy of this period was a minister whose accession to power was not the effect of talents or experience. By a fatuity perhaps peculiar to that saturnine nation, its fortunes have been often governed by circumstances the most insignificant, and contradictory. The reputation of the minister was wholly supported by his name, and with only this adventitious talisman, did he for eight years hold sovereign power over its affairs and involve its destinies, with the happiness and peace of the civilized world. To him the storms of war and of a revolution would be alike fatal; to the monarch a revolution only; but the existence of the monarchy was essential to that of the minister, and hence it became the first care of both, to prefer a war. These were the apparent dispositions of the cabinet of England, when the flame of revolutionary enthusiasm glimmered round its shores.

The division of the people upon the new principles, the overthrow of the hatreds against the French, so long subsisting in the hearts of Englishmen, nourished by prejudice, and fostered by the horrible maxims of its government, grew daily more alarming to the king; and the aristocracy, the hierarchy, the beneficed clergy, the immense body of government officers, the pensioners, and proprietors of the public funds, were alike alarmed; the minister had not been idle in his efforts to spread terrors so fruitful for his views, and had by intrigue effected a schism among the whig party itself; these transactions would not be in themselves worthy of notice, did not the consequences they led to and their effect upon the whole world require an elucidation of the means by which they were produced. A defection from a body so respectable must have excited the attention of the nation, and while that spirit was awake, one of the seceding whigs, irritated by various motives of jealousy resentment and avarice launched forth a publication on the measures pursued in France, calculated to alarm the public mind, provoke the angry passions, and to reinvigorate those base hatreds that had been so recently loosened.

This work, the production of Burke, will live an eternal monumentof that lamentable turpitude which is so often united with great talents. Sarcasms thrown out on his oratory by some wits of the constituent assembly, the superiority that had been evinced in the trial of an oriental delinquent by Sheridan, and the indifference manifested for him by his long intimate friend Fox, appear to have been the real motives for his dereliction of character, and his opposition to every principle of civil liberty which he had supported with unrivalled energy in the course of the American revolution, and for his acception of a clandestine pension from the government. This work and the measures of the ministry corresponding with it, a member of parliament (Sheridan) declared "in his conscience he believed calculated to spread an alarm for the express purpose of

"*diverting the attention of the public for a while and afterwards leading them more easily into a war.*"

The production of Burke produced a reply in a few weeks from the pen of Thomas Paine, written with more moderation, and exposing many absolute falsehoods and misrepresentations; these works were universally read; Pain's work was considered as so complete a refutation of his antagonist, that not content with his triumph he determined "to carry the war into the enemy's country"—by a second part of his "rights of man," which exhibited the English government as a picture of deformity that astonished the people, and for a whole year palsied the government itself.

Ministry were still active by every effort to reproduce that hatred of France which was essential to the existence of the monarchy. The colonies were instructed on the mode of conduct to be pursued, their foreign alliances were strenghtened, and the suspension of the French monarch was the signal for developing the path that England had resolved to pursue.

It was in vain that the splendid genius of Fox opposed the omnipotence of corruption; the generosity of his heart and the expansion of his mind, had not procured him that confidence which the better genius of his country would have inspired; swayed by an ambition that would court power for the acquisition of true glory, his public conduct, always governed by that lucid exactness which characterises the logic of his oratory, has been censured, because he has been judged by principles different from those upon which he must act or not act at all; hence he has been considered as the parasite of kings—though he has never lost the character of the friend of mankind—the vigorous opposer of the minister, and the superstitious admirer of the English constitution—a popular aristocrat, and a democratic loyalist—contradictions which truly spring from the heterogeneous composition of the government, and the absolute impossibility of supporting uniformly what is always inconsistent in itself and forever varying its aspects. Neither his talents, nor those of the enlightened phalanx united with him, could resist with effect, the secret counter-current nor that was undermining the peace of the nation and of the civilized world. The English people in the aggregate have long ceased to be actuated by sentiments of freedom; the ambition and extravagance, of her kings and ministers, her frequent unnecessary and unprincipled wars, have heaped upon their shoulders an enormity of debt and taxes, under which all the generous affections have been buried; the spirit of urbanity is confined to a solitary opulent philosophical few; prodigality marks the great, and the humble and industrious are compelled to a perpetual struggle against necessity; the social bond is broken, and even marriage is avoided from the apprehension of inability to provide for the offspring—hence they have become the most morose nation of Europe—the name of liberty is sometimes heard, but its spirit has fled and left behind, only that strutting egotism which exists upon ancient reputation after all the nobler passions have ceased to live. From such a people so circumstanced, Charles Fox could obtain but a fleeting eclat, nor was it to be expected that they should perceive when he with prophetic voice foretold in tears their future humiliation, that he was then supporting liberty in her last expiring agonies.

Such was the condition of parties and the people of England, when after the tenth of August the English cabinet announced its disapprobation of the internal transactions of France by the recal of her minister; after the victories of Jemappe and Spires, her conduct towards France became more calm and respectful; but the sources of her fears

were multiplied by the influence which thoſe victories obtained over public and private opinion; a communication with the French miniſter was then tolerated, nay ſome advances were made to him, and an amicable negociation actually opened between them; in the months of October and November, the Engliſh miniſter himſelf ſuggeſted the *form and terms* of an explanation, which would ſatisfy the court of St. James's on the matters complained of, and it was complied with.

But in December the ſcene changed, the parliament was ſummoned, the tower of London was fortified, and no other enemy was declared to be feared but a book the production of Thomas Paine, which it was aſſerted had turned the heads of every Engliſhman. The actual object was to alarm the people and to populariſe the intended meaſures of war. England that had beheaded a king and ſeveral queens, that had baniſhed a whole family for its ſpiritual belief, which had twice altered the deſcent, and placed a Frenchman, a Spaniard, a Dutchman, and a Hanoverian on the throne—was called upon to execrate a nation which was about to try its king for eſtabliſhed treaſons. From a crimination of the actions of the popular party in France, the tranſition to an hatred of the revolution was eaſy, and the war would then follow as a matter of national benignity: the meaſures of the tenth of Auguſt, the ſecond of September, and the execution of the king, were blended in one promiſcuous maſs of obloquy, and the paſſions of intereſt and fear, were called in to enflame the minds of the people:— the auſterity of the Britiſh cabinet gradually returned with theſe events; on the thirty-firſt of December, the French executive ordered a note to be preſented to the Engliſh miniſter, demanding "In the name of the French republic, a clear, ſpeedy and categorical anſwer, whether "under the denunciation of foreigners ſhe mentioned in a new bill (the alien act paſſed the twenty-ſixth of December) was meant to be comprehended the French; and that in "caſe of an anſwer in the affirmative, to declare that it was conſidered as an infraction "of the commercial treaty of 1786, and that the republic would thenceforward conſider "it as null and void."

Under whatever impreſſions the conduct of the two nations may be viewed, the difference of language between the French and the Engliſh miniſter is conſpicuous. The letters of Chauvelin are remarkable for their temperance and conciliatory ſpirit, thoſe of Grenville are marked with an arrogance and inſolence, that forms a very ſingular contraſt with the humiliating conceſſions which in four ſhort years after, chareĉteriſed the overtures of the ſame man, to the ſame people in ſeeking for peace. If the language of Grenville was imperious and haughty in the higheſt degree, that which was employed by Auckland his Britannic majeſty's ambaſſador at the Hague, in a memorial preſented to the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, on the twenty-fifth of January, was totally without a precedent in hiſtory, as proceeding from one ſtate which wiſhed to be at peace with another. "*Wretches* aſſuming the title of philoſophers, who had the preſumption to think themſelves capable of eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of civil ſociety," and to "realize a dream of vanity," who "deſtroyed all received notions of ſubordination, manners and religion," were the mild and gentle terms by which the legiſlature of France was deſcribed in a public and official paper. They were further charged in this curious ſpecimen of diplomatic ability, with "imbecility and villainy!"—"Property, liberty, ſecurity, even life itſelf!" were ſaid to be "playthings in the hands of theſe infamous men, the ſlaves of the moſt licentious paſſions of rapine, enmity, and ambition."

The debates in the Engliſh parliament, left no room to doubt the infraction of the treaty by the alien bill; the trial of the king had formed the ground for refuſing to correſpond with the miniſter; but Chauvelin waving the etiquette of being accredited, ſolicited in very humble terms an interview with Grenville; but this was peremptorily refuſed, as was authoriſed by a clauſe in the bill alluded to. On the twenty-fourth of January he received an order to quit the kingdom, and to aggravate the inſult, the order was publiſhed in the London Gazette.

One of the moſt popular pleas of the Engliſh miniſtry for carrying on the war, was that the French firſt declared it; but ſuch acts of policy have been familiar to ſuch governments; by an article of the treaty of 1786, between France and England, the diſmiſſion of an ambaſſador from either country was agreed to be conſidered as a declaration of war.

It was a ſingular circumſtance, that while the Britiſh miniſtry refuſed to negotiate with an authoriſed agent of the French republic, they ſhould entertain communications with inferior perſons on theſe affairs, and even authoriſe lord Auckland to enter into a negotiation with general Dumourier. Such a proceeding we believe is unprecedented in diplomatic hiſtory; nor has any wiſe and able ſtateſman ever choſen to treat with thoſe on whom he could not depend, for the certainty of their propoſitions being ratified, when he had it in his power to ſettle the diſpute with the acting authorities of the ſtate themſelves. General Dumourier inſinuates, "that it is probable Mr. Pitt had no other deſign than to amuſe him, in order to gain time to make the neceſſary preparations for war;" and he adds, that "the treaty entered into by the court of St. James's with the court of Turin, at that very period, confirms the opinion."

The Briſſotine party who poſſeſſed the power at this period, appear beyond all doubt, ſolicitous to ſecure the neutrality of England; their own ſecurity againſt the mountain faction rendered it neceſſary. Perceiving the reluactnce of the Engliſh miniſtry to treat with Chauvelin, they had diſpatched Maret, under ſecretary for foreign affairs, to London; in his inſtructions he was authoriſed to offer unequivocally the conceſſion of three points —the navigation of the Scheldt, the repeal of the decree of the nineteenth of November, and that French troops ſhould not approach the Dutch frontiers within a given diſtance: But this miſſion, and thoſe conceſſions, were not capable of altering the purpoſes of the Engliſh miniſtry. Maret was diſpatched a ſecond time with more enlarged powers, he offered the ceſſion of ſome of the moſt valuable French colonies, the relinquiſhment of thoſe in the Eaſt-Indies, and, ſhould it prove mutually agreeable to the ſtates-general and the Belgic congreſs, to conſolidate their countries into one republic. But on this occaſion he was not permitted even to produce his credentials!

Nevertheleſs it was not until the firſt of February, upon the motion of Briſſot, that the national convention after recapitulating the aggreſſions of the Engliſh government decreed among other articles, "that George king of England, had never ceaſed ſince the revolution of the tenth of Auguſt, 1792, from giving to the French nation proofs of his enmity, and of his attachment to the concert of crowned heads; and that he had drawn into the ſame league the ſtadtholder of the United provinces: that, contrary to the firſt article of the treaty of 1783, the Engliſh miniſtry had granted protection and ſuccour to the emigrants and others, who have openly appeared in arms againſt France: that, on

the news of the execution of Louis Capet, they were led to commit an outrage againſt the French republic, by ordering the ambaſſador of France to quit Great Britain: that the Engliſh have ſtopped ſeveral boats and veſſels laden with corn for France, whilſt at the ſame time, contrary to the treaty of 1786, they continue the exportation of it to other foreign countries; that in order to thwart more efficaciouſly the commercial tranſactions of the republic with England, they have by an act of parliament prohibited the circulation of aſſignats. The convention therefore declare, that, in conſequence of theſe acts of hoſtility and aggreſſion, the French Republic is at *war with the king of England, and the ſtadtholder of the United Provinces.*"

The Engliſh court in a ſubſequent declaration, notwithſtanding the offers of the French government to relinquiſh the navigation of the Scheldt, and reſtore it to the footing upon which it had previouſly ſtood, made it a principal object of accuſation againſt the French nation. It is eſſential to the hiſtory to go back to the origin of this point of diſpute.

By the treaty of Weſtphalia of 1648, by the treaty of Utrecht and every ſubſequent treaty down to that of 1785, between the emperor Joſeph II. and the ſtates-general the navigation of the river Scheldt was veſted in the Dutch to the excluſion of the people of Belgia through whoſe populous country it flows; the celebrated city of Antwerp is ſeated on its banks, and while the Scheldt was free, was the emporium of European commerce; Amſterdam had riſen into conſequence from the moment of its decline. This misfortune to the Belgian people was one of the conſequences of that country falling under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria, and of that fiction called the balance of power which has been the pretext for ſo many wars and ſo many afflictions to the nations of Europe. To ſecure the poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, the German ſovereign had ſacrificed without ſcruple not only the moſt inviolable rights of the Belgian people, but the very ſources of their opulence and proſperity, and the price of this ſacrifice was the guarantee of the ſurrounding nations. Maſter of thoſe beautiful provinces, he governed them with a rod of iron, and their exiſtence was a perpetual ſtruggle with the houſe of Auſtria, their poverty, and their hereditary love of liberty, the paſſions for which under all their oppreſſions remained undiminiſhed and deſcended from generation to generation. The labours of the hiſtorian are little more than the records of human inconſiſtency and the caprice of ſtateſmen; Joſeph II. in the year 1783, among the many ſingular and uſeful projects which he had formed, was that of opening the navigation of that river, and the reſtoration of that proſperity of which the Netherlands had been robbed by his anceſtors. And the Engliſh ambaſſador, ſir Joſeph Yorke, at that period went to Antwerp expreſsly for the purpoſe of inſtigating the people to petition the emperor that he ſhould conſent to the entire and free navigation of that river.

The abominable ſpirit of European diplomacy, however, altered the conduct of Joſeph and the deſigns of England; the movements of Pruſſia in the north alarmed the former, and he abondoned the Scheldt to its chains; the Engliſh court which had been deſirous of deſtroying Holland, for the prevalency of the French counſels in that country, in 1789; upon the reverſe of that predominancy in 1787, becauſe as adverſe to the opening of that river. That what ſhould appear ſufficiently important to call for the interference of one of the firſt diplomatiſts of England at one period ſhould become a ſufficient cauſe for involving a nation in war, in oppoſition ſo the principle of that interference, is

perfectly conſiſtent with maxims of policy that makes the rights of nations and of individuals, articles of transfer and barter; but what appears moſt ſingular in the preſent inſtance is, that the Engliſh court ſhould feel more deeply intereſted in the prevention of the meaſure, than the ſtates-general of Holland whoſe citizens alone were benefited by the unnatural reſtriction.

Upon the commencement of the war between France and Auſtria, we have before ſeen how the latter were totally expelled from the Netherlands; the Belgians who had recently maintained an ineffectual ſtruggle oſtenſibly in ſupport of their religious liberties againſt Auſtria, and in which they were clandeſtinely ſupported by Engliſh money, warlike ſtores, and experienced officers; were by the French in the moment of victory put into full poſſeſſion of their civil freedom, the chains forged by Auſtria were broken; while Dumourier was triumphant in the field, he detached Labourdonnaye to Antwerp on the twenty-fifth of November; on the eighth of December, 1792, four French frigates and four cutters paſſed the fort of Lillo, and were ſaluted by cannon from the ramparts of Antwerp and the acclamations of the elated inhabitants of that noble city.

The emperor had preſented a note to the ſtates-general on the twenty-ſecond of November, and a ſecond on the firſt of December on the ſame ſubject, and the French had requeſted a paſſage for theſe ſhips; the ſtates refuſed the requeſt to the latter and notified the refuſal to the former, couched in ſuch terms as manifeſted no diſpoſition to make it the cauſe of a war.

We have ſeen the willingneſs of the French government to concede this topic of diſpute rather than enter into hoſtilities with England; we have ſeen the French miniſter diſmiſſed under circumſtances of inſult and ignominy; and we have ſeen them at the ſame time holding a communication with an inferior agent of the ſame government in Holland. With general Dumourier, who had upon the failure of that negociation, reſolved upon the conqueſt of Holland itſelf.

We have before remarked that the executive council had directed that general to reſpect the neutrality of Mæſtricht, although he had purpoſed no more than to poſſeſs it during the war only. The place was not then even palliſadoed, and it muſt have ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons; it was in the meantime put in a poſture of defence, and was garriſoned with ſeven thouſand men. On the twenty-fifth of January and eleventh of February, Auckland had, by official letters to the ſtates-general, intimated the commencement of hoſtilities; on the twelfth of February De Maulde and Noelle, who had entered into negociations which had for ſome time appeared favourable to a good underſtanding with France, quitted the Hague.

Dumourier determined to carry the decree of war againſt the ſtadholder into execution; and publiſhed a manifeſto addreſſed to the Batavian people, wherein he ſtates that their efforts to obtain their liberties which had failed in 1787, through the perfidy of the ſtadholder, the influence of the Engliſh, the intrigues of the court of Louis ſixteenth, and the power of thoſe Pruſſians under Brunſwick, whom he had ſince chaſed from the plains of Champaign, ſhould now be realized; that he came to make war againſt their tyrant and his cabal and to reſtore them to their liberties; that as their enemies encreaſed the rights of man would be diſſeminated, perſuaſion and victory would overwhelm deſpotiſm; that nations weary of waſting their blood and treaſures for a trifling number of individuals who keep up the ball of diſcord in order only to enſlave the people, would ſpurn their oppreſ-

fors to obtain liberty and peace. That their demi-deſpot, who had ſacrificed their freedom and happineſs to his ambition, ſhould be brought to an account for his breach of the treaty of 1782, ſo injurious to Holland; for favoring the Engliſh commerce at the expence of that of his own country; for betraying the Dutch Eaſt India commerce to the ſame rapacious power; and calling upon the heroes of the Dogger-bank to erect their ſtandard conjunctly with ſixty thouſand victorious Frenchmen, who were entering Holland, not to conquer it but to reſtore it to liberty, as they had already reſtored Belgium."

The ſtates-general iſſued a counter-declaration, denying the aſſertions and pointing out falſhoods in this manifeſto; they ordered the moſt vigorous meaſures to be taken for repelling the invaſion, and the Engliſh cabinet embarked immediately a conſiderable body of troops under the command of the duke of York to ſupport them.

The eaſe with which Dumourier had effected the conqueſt of Belgium, and the eclat that the French army had obtained at Gemappe, aſſured an univerſal belief of an eaſy conqueſt of Holland. Had that general continued faithful, there is little doubt but that the project would have been attended with ſucceſs; but, on the other hand, there is ſome probability, that if certain arrangements had not been previouſly made with this celebrated commander, Great Britain and Holland would not have been ſo precipitate in entering into the diſpute. Thus both parties were poſſibly deceived in the commencement of the war. The French flattered themſelves with the immediate capture of Holland; while the allies, depending on the treachery of Dumourier, might look with confidence forward to no leſs an object than the immediate ſubjugation of France.

Circumſtanced as general Dumourier was at this period, it is difficult to aſcertain what was his plan of the campaign. He has himſelf intimated that it was long his fixed intention to effect an eſcape into ſome other country; and, with ſuch a deſign predominant in his mind, there is no probability that he would be very earneſt in promoting the ſucceſs of his expedition.

The general himſelf has in his memoirs ſtated two plans; the firſt of which was propoſed by the refugee Hollanders, who had formed a ſmall revolutionary committee at Antwerp, and who recommended an irruption into Zealand; the other was the plan which the general himſelf gives, as that which he really meant to purſue, while he appeared to favour that of the Batavian committee; and this was, to advance with a body of troops poſted at Mordyck, and maſking Breda and Gertruydenberg on the right, and Bergen-op-zoom, Steenberg, Klundert, and Williamſtadt on the left, to effect a paſſage over an arm of the ſea to Dort, and thus eaſily penetrate into the heart of Holland.

In the mean time general Miranda was ordered to advance with part of his army before Maeſtricht, but was inſtructed by general Dumourier not to attempt a regular ſiege at ſo unfavourable a ſeaſon, but to aſſault the place with bombs and red-hot balls; and after receiving intelligence that the commander in chief had paſſed Mordyck, to leave the continuance of the ſiege to general Valence, who was expected from Paris, and march with the utmoſt expedition to Nimeguen, and in paſſing the duchy of Cleves to intercept the Pruſſians, ſhould they have anticipated his arrival there. Venloo was at the ſame time to be attacked by general Champmorin, an experienced engineer.

It will remain for military readers to determine, whether, as ſo much of the ſucceſs of Dumourier's expedition depended on the rapidity of his movements, and the

ſurpriſing of Holland at once by the invaſion of a conſiderable force, it was adviſeable or prudent to divide his army into many detachments, or to waſte any part of his time or force in beſieging places which did not lie directly in his route. Maeſtricht was inveſted early in February, by general Miranda, with twelve thouſand men on the banks of the Meuſe, and ſix thouſand on the right; and by the twenty-third of that month the works were all completed. On the following day the French general ſummoned the prince of Heſſe, who commanded there, but his anſwer was a direct refuſal to capitulate. The French then commenced a heavy fire from their batteries, and according to the account of the general, the town was on fire in ſeveral places. While the French were conſtructing their works, the garriſon made two ſallies, but with little ſucceſs.

We have before deſcribed the reduced and impoveriſhed ſtate of the armies of France, partly from the return of the national guards to the interior, but chiefly to a groſs neglect of the miniſter of war; as they continued however more numerous than their diſtreſſes would have given any reaſon to expect, Miranda continued to preſs the ſiege of Maeſtricht, while general Lanoue, with the covering army encamped at Havare. The head quarters of general Valence were at Liege, while his out poſts extended to Aix-la-Chapelle and the banks of the Roer. On the firſt of March general Clairfait, having paſſed the Roer in the night, attacked the French poſts as well on the ſide of Durn as on that of Juliers, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loſs of two thouſand men, twelve pieces of cannon, thirteen ammunition waggons, and the military cheſt. The following day, the archduke attacked ſeveral French batteries, and took nine pieces of cannon.

On the third, the prince of Saxe Cobourg obtained a ſignal victory over the French, and drove them from Aix-la-Chapelle even to the vicinity of Liege, with the loſs of four thouſand killed, ſixteen hundred priſoners, and twenty pieces of cannon. The French force ſeems indeed at this period to have been too much divided to make an effectual reſiſtance; and their officers appear to have had very bad intelligence of the motions of the enemy.

The defeat of the third was the ſignal for raiſing the ſiege of Maeſtricht. On the 4th, general Miranda learned, that the enemy was advancing with more than thirty-five thouſand men towards Wick, with the evident intention of throwing ſuccours into Maeſtricht. The general, therefore, had ſcarcely time to withdraw the body of three thouſand men, which were poſted there under the command of general Leveneur, before they were attacked by the advance guard of the enemy. The bombardment was however continued in the uſual manner, and Maeſtricht ſuffered conſiderably from the conflagration.

At twelve o'clock at night, Miranda gave orders for a general retreat, having ſent before him all the artillery, which happily arrived at Tongres, being covered with a rear-guard of four thouſand men, whom the enemy was unable to diſcompoſe.

On the ſucceeding day the French were again attacked at Tongres, and forced to retreat to Hans and St. Tron, where Miranda and Valence formed a junction; the latter having evacuated Liege, and abandoned it to the enemy. They were alſo joined by the troops under generals Iſler, Lamorliere, and Champmorin; and after remaining there till the eighth, to refreſh, and having repulſed the advance guard of the enemy, who attempted to diſlodge them, they moved on that day towards Tirlemont.

In this critical ſituation of affairs general Dumourier ought to have abandoned his enterpriſe againſt Holland, and moved with his whole force to the ſupport of the flying generals. On the contrary, he left his army under the command of general de Flers, "whom," he ſays, "he knew to be incapable of diſcharging the truſt," with orders to take up his quarters at Dort. The army in Holland was totally diſpirited by the departure of the general; the Dutch navy in the mean time was reinforced, and the Pruſſians advanced by the way of Bois-le-duc. Inſtead of proceeding to Dort, De Flers was compelled to throw himſelf into Breda, with ſix battalions and two hundred cavalry, and the reſt of the army retired to Antwerp.

The ſatisfaction expreſſed by the army in Liege on being re-joined by their former victorious commander, is ſcarcely to be deſcribed; order and confidence ſeemed to be at once eſtabliſhed; and the hopes of the ſoldiery anticipated a renewal of the glories of Gemappe. The ſtrength and vigour, however, of the French army were gone, and their commander was no more the ſame Dumourier who had triumphantly overrun the Netherlands in the preceding year.

On the fifteenth of March the Auſtrians attacked Tirlemont, in which the French had only four hundred men, and which they carried after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the town being large and incapable of defence. On the following day, however, they were again driven from that place by general Dumourier, and compelled to retreat to St. Tron. On the eighteenth a general engagement took place at Neerwinden; the French army being covered by Dormael, and on the right by Landen. The action continued with great obſtinacy on both ſides, from ſeven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Auſtrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to flight. The loſs in each army was great. The French diſplayed conſiderable courage and addreſs, but were overpowered by numbers, and perhaps by the treachery of their own commander, more than the ſuperior ſkill and diſcipline of their enemies. Dumourier himſelf, in a letter to general Duval, ſays of this battle, that he attacked the enemy in the famous plain of Neerwinden, and fought the whole day with his right wing and centre. The left wing (which was commanded by general Miranda) he aſſerts, not only fought ill, but abandoned him and fled beyond Tirlemont. In his memoirs the general aſſerts, that general La Marche committed the firſt error of the day. He entered the plain of Landen, according to his inſtructions; but finding no enemy there, he made a movement to the left, to fall upon the village of Oberwinde, and thence was thrown into confuſion by the ſecond column. General Valence, who commanded the French cavalry was wounded, and obliged to retire to Tirlemont, but they were ſtill victorious over the Auſtrian horſe. He repeats the charge againſt general Miranda of having retreated while his troops were quite freſh, and attributes this defection to a jealouſy of general Valence.

Miranda, however, in a confidential letter to Petion, dated the twenty firſt of March, very directly intimates his ſuſpicion of treachery in the commander in chief. He ſays that Dumourier, who had before never failed to conſult him upon every occaſion, did did not even mention the arrangements for the battle of Neerwinden to him. "At eleven at night," ſays he, "my orders were delivered in writing, and I learnt in a converſation with him, that we were to offer battle to an enemy fifty-one thouſand ſtrong, very advantageouſly poſted, and a formidable artillery, with a force inferior to theirs,

and with every disadvantage of situation and encampment—all this was to be effected without having previously reconnoitred the ground, or the particular position of the enemy." Miranda proceeds to assert, that he made a vigorous attack in five different columns, three of which were led on by himself; and that at last his troops, after fighting a considerable time with various success, were obliged to give way to superior force: and that they did not abandon the field in a cowardly manner, the loss which this division sustained may be cited as a proof, since it amounted to not less than two thousand in killed and wounded. The whole of the loss Dumourier states at more than three thousand; and that of the Imperialists at fourteen hundred. The French also lost a great part of their cannon.

The battle of Neerwinden was fatal to the French; for, besides the loss above stated the general observes that upwards of six thousand men immediately deserted, and proceeded towards Brussels and France. The retreat of the French was, however, made in good order, and they continued skirmishing till they reached Godsenhoven, which is about one league south of Tirlemont. Here the French formed in order of battle, and the two armies rested the whole night upon their arms. On the nineteenth but little was done, and on the night of the twentieth Dumourier took possession of the heights of Cumpitch, behind Tirlemont, from which place he had to withdraw his provisions and magazines.

As the general, however, if we may trust his own account, clearly perceived that he could not long maintain himself in this position, and that it afforded no protection either to Louvain or Brussels, he availed himself of the twentieth, while the Austrians still remained before Tirlemont, to pass the Welpe and encamp near Banterlem, having his right at Op and Neerwelpe, and his left on the heights, and in the woods in front of Zuellenberg. Here he was attacked by the advance guard of the enemy, who were however repulsed. While the general was engaged in repelling this assault, Danton and La Croix arrived in the camp, as commissioners from the convention; and after receiving some explanation from him relative to a letter which he had written to the convention on the affairs of Belgium, they returned.

On the twenty-first Dumourier judged it proper to take post nearer Louvain, and on the following day he was attacked by the enemy. The action was bloody, and lasted the whole day; but the Imperialists were compelled to retreat with great loss. On the evening preceding this action, general Dumourier sent colonel Montjoye to the headquarters of the prince of Cobourg, to treat respecting the wounded and prisoners. "He there (continues Dumourier) saw colonel Mack, an officer of uncommon merit, who observed to colonel Montjoye, that it might be equally advantageous to both parties to agree to a suspension of arms. Dumourier, who had deeply considered the situation of his army, sent Montjoye again to colonel Mack on the twenty-second, to demand if he would come to Louvain, and make the same proposition to Dumourier. Colonel Mack came in the evening. The following articles were verbally agreed to: first, that the Imperialists should not attack the French army in great force, nor general Dumourier again offer battle to the Imperialists. Secondly, that on the faith of this tacit armistice, the French should retire to Brussels slowly, and in good order, without any opposition from the enemy. And lastly, that Dumourier and colonel Mack should have

another interview after the evacuation of Bruſſels, in order to ſettle further articles that might then be mutually deemed neceſſary."

Either diſtruſtful of Dumourier, however, or from other motives; the Imperialiſts, under general Clairfait, attacked an advanced guard of the French, poſted at Pellenberk; in conſequence of which the latter were obliged to abandon Louvain, and general Dumourier tranſported his wounded, and the flour for his army, in boats to Mechlin. The French army effected their retreat towards Bruſſels in the night; otherwiſe Dumourier himſelf ſtates, to the honour of his new allies, "that notwithſtanding the verbal ſtipulations agreed to by colonel Mack, they would probably have ſeized upon this opportunity to deſtroy, or entirely diſperſe the French army."

Dumourier, it appears, continued faithfully to obſerve, on his part, the terms of the agreement; and he alſo allows that the prince of Cobourg ſo far adhered to them, that he remained three days at Louvain, ſending only ſmall detachments to hang on the rear-guard of the French. On the twenty-fifth general Dumourier, with his army, paſſed through Bruſſels. The citadel of Antwerp was the only fortified place he was able to keep, which he garriſoned with two thouſand men, and ſix months proviſions, in order to preſerve a communication with the troops which had been left in Breda and Gertruydenberg. His deſign, he ſays, was to have formed a ſtrong line without the territory of France, to the left by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, Breda, and Gertruydenberg, till he could recruit his forces; but the line in one part was broken by the neceſſary evacuation of Namur.

On the twenty-ſeventh the general arrived at Ath, where he received orders from the convention to arreſt the colonel of the ſeventy-fifth regiment of infantry, and general Miranda. On the ſame day colonel Mack came to Ath. A further agreement was then entered into between that officer and Dumourier, the terms of which were—"that the French army ſhould remain ſome time longer in poſſeſſion of Mons, Tournay, and Courtray, without being haraſſed by the Imperial army; that general Dumourier, who did not conceal from colonel Mack his deſign of marching againſt Paris, ſhould, when their deſign was ripe for execution, regulate the motions of the Imperialiſts, who ſhould only act as auxiliaries in the execution of their plan; that in the caſe of Dumourier's having no need of aſſiſtance, which was greatly deſired by both parties, the Imperialiſts ſhould not advance farther than the frontier of France, and that the total evacuation of Belgium ſhould be the price of this condeſcenſion; but if Dumourier could not effect the re-eſtabliſhment of a limited monarchy (not a counter-revolution), he himſelf ſhould indicate the number and the kind of troops which the Imperialiſts ſhould furniſh, to aid in the project, and which ſhould be entirely under his direction.

"Dumourier made colonel Mack acquainted with his deſign of marching the following day to Tournay, with the march of general Neuilly to Mons, and of the army of Holland and Namur.

"It was finally decided, that in order to combine the operations of the Imperial troops under the prince of Cobourg, and thoſe under the prince of Hohenloe, at the time when Dumourier ſhould march to Paris, Condé ſhould be put into the hands of the Auſtrians as a pledge; that the Auſtrians ſhould garriſon the town, but without any pretenſions to the ſovereignty; and on the condition that it ſhould be reſtored to France

at the concluſion of the war, and after an indemnity ſhould have been ſettled between the two parties; but that all the other towns belonging to France ſhould, in the caſe of the conſtitutional party needing the aſſiſtance of the Imperialiſts, receive garriſons, one half which ſhould be French troops, and the other half Imperialiſts, under the orders of the French. General Valence, general Thouvenot, the duke of Chartres, and colonel Montjoye, aſſiſted at this conference."

General Dumourier arrived on the twenty-eighth at Tournay, and here he learned that general Neuilly's diviſion had abandoned Mons, and thrown themſelves into Condé and Valenciennes. Here he found madame d'Orleans whom he ſays he had never till then ſeen. The deſigns of Dumourier did not, however, paſs unſuſpected at Paris: three commiſſioners from the executive power had therefore been diſpatched under the pretence of conferring with the general on the affairs of Belgium, but really with a view of ſounding his intentions. They found him at Tournay in company with madame Sillery, young Egalite, and Valence, and ſurrounded with deputations from the diſtrict of Cambray. The interview was violent. Dumourier expreſſed himſelf in terms of invective againſt the Jacobins. "They will ruin France," ſaid he, "but I will ſave it, though they ſhould call me a Cæſar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." The commiſſioners carried the converſation no farther. They departed, and returned next day, determined to diſſemble, in order to diſcover the extent of his views. The general then became more explicit; he ſaid that the convention were a herd of ruffians, whom he held in abhorrence —that the volunteers were poltroons; but that all their efforts would be vain. "As for the reſt," added he, "there ſtill remains a party. If the queen and her children are threatened, I will march to Paris—it is my fixed intention—and the convention ſhall not exiſt three weeks longer!" The commiſſioners aſked him by what means he would replace the convention? His anſwer was, "The means are already formed." They aſked him whether he did not wiſh to have the laſt conſtitution? He replied, that it was a fooliſh one; he expected a better from Condorcet: the firſt conſtitution, with all its imperfections, was preferable. When they aſked him whether he wiſhed to have a king, he replied—"We muſt have one." He alſo told them, that he was employed to make peace for France; that he had already entered into a negotiation with the prince of Cobourg for an exchange of priſoners, and for the purpoſe of withdrawing from Holland thoſe eighteen battalions, which were on the point of being cut off. When they informed him that thoſe negotiations with Cobourg, and the peace which he wiſhed to ſecure for France, would not change republicans into royaliſts, he repeated the aſſertion that he would be in Paris in three weeks; and obſerved, that ſince the battle of Gemappe he had wept over his ſucceſs in ſo bad a cauſe. Dubuiſſon, one of the commiſſioners, then propoſed to communicate to him a plan of a counter-revolution: but he ſaid that his own was better; that he would make the conqueſt of Belgium for himſelf, which he would rule under the protection of the houſe of Auſtria.

The converſation of Dumourier with theſe commiſſioners was no ſooner made known in Paris, than the ſuſpicions of thoſe who entertained apprehenſions of his treachery were now converted into reality. The general himſelf had been previouſly ſummoned to the bar of the convention; he was to be ſuperceded by Bournonville, the miniſter of war; and four commiſſioners were ſent to the army of the north, with powers to ſuſpend and

arreſt all generals and military officers whom they ſhould ſuſpect, and bring them to the bar.

As the commiſſioners wiſhed to proceed with caution, they halted at Liſle; and diſpatched a ſummons to the general to appear in that city, and anſwer the charges againſt him. The general, however, had already arranged his plan; the Rubicon was paſſed; and he returned only for anſwer, that he could not leave the army for a moment, while the enemy was cutting him off from every retreat—that he would only enter Liſle to purge it of thoſe traitors who infeſted it—and that he valued his head too much to ſubmit it to an arbitrary tribunal.

On the twenty-ninth of March, general Dumourier learned that Antwerp had been abandoned by the troops which he had ſtationed there; and that they had effected their retreat to the territories of France. On the following day, he reſolved to raiſe the camp at Tournay, and occupy that of Maulde. In the mean time he ſent orders through colonel Mack to the garriſons of Breda and Gertruydenberg to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to march back to France. He alſo ordered general Miaczinſki, who was at Orchies, to march with his diviſion to Liſle, and arreſt the commiſſioners of the convention; but that general, imprudently divulging the object of his miſſion, no ſooner entered the city than the gates were ſhut upon him; he was ſent to Paris, and brought to the ſcaffold. By the patriotiſm of generals Ferrand and Ecuyer, Dumourier was alſo fruſtrated in an attempt to render himſelf maſter of Condé and Valenciennes.

The attempt to arreſt an able general at the head of his army was bold at leaſt, and indeed did not argue a ſuperior degree of wiſdom in the agents of the convention. The commiſſioners, nevertheleſs, proceeded on the firſt of April to St. Amand, the head quarters of Dumourier, and, being admitted to his preſence, explained to him the object of their miſſion. After a conference of ſome hours, the general, not finding that he could perſuade them to favour his intentions, gave the ſignal for a body of ſoldiers who were in waiting, and ordered the miniſter of war, Bournonville (who was ſent to ſuperſede him), and the commiſſioners, Camus, La Marque, and Quinette, immediately to be conveyed to general Clairfait's head quarters at Tournay, as hoſtages for the ſafety of the royal family.

Dumourier notwithſtanding his ſplendid talents, appears, however, to have been groſsly miſtaken with regard to the diſpoſition of his army. They might he diſpoſed to reſent the affront which was ſo imprudently offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris; but when he came to propoſe to them the reſtoration of royalty in the perſon of the prince, and to turn their arms againſt their country, the patriotiſm of Frenchmen reſumed its wonted influence, and they conſidered it as their duty to diſobey. The general loſt no time in diſpatching colonel Montjoye to acquaint colonel Mack with the arreſt of the commiſſioners, and to appoint the time and place for a conference to conclude the terms of their treaty. During the night he compoſed a manifeſto addreſſed to his army, which he digeſted and put in order the following day.

On the morning of the third he went to the camp, and addreſſed the troops, who, he ſays, appeared to approve his conduct. He then proceeded to St. Amand in which place was the corps of artillery, who alſo expreſſed their ſatisfaction. At St. Amand,

general Dumourier thought it prudent to ſleep, for the purpoſe of marking his confidence in the troops there.—The whole of the third, he ſays, paſſed with as much ſucceſs as he could expect; except that murmurs were heard among ſome of the battalions of the volunteers.

On the morning of the fourth he left general Thouvenot at St. Amand, and departed himſelf for Condé; but he had not approached that fortreſs within half a league, before he was met by an officer diſpatched by general Neuilly to inform him that the garriſon was in the greateſt fermentation, and that it would not be ſafe for him to enter the place. He ſent back the officer with an order to general Neuilly, to ſend the eighteenth regiment of cavalry to eſcort him. He had juſt before overtaken a column of volunteers marching towards Condé, who, however, did not then attempt to moleſt him. While they were yet in ſight it was that general Neuilly's meſſenger arrived; and he had ſcarcely delivered his meſſage to the officer, when the head of the column quitted the high road, and ran towards him with ſhouts and menaces, and a univerſal acclamation of 'Stop, ſtop,' The general now perceiving himſelf in the moſt imminent danger, mounted a horſe belonging to a domeſtic of the duke de Chartres, and eſcaped through a dreadful diſcharge of muſketry, which the whole column poured upon him and his aſſociates.

Finding it impoſſible to gain the camp of Maulde, the general proceeded along the Scheldt, and paſſed the ferry near the village of Wick, on the imperial territory. From this place he continued his route on foot to Bury, where in the evening he met colonel Mack, and paſſed the night in digeſting the proclamation of the prince of Cobourg, which appeared on the fifth with that of general Dumourier. It was alſo agreed in this conference, that as ſoon as the general ſhould be maſter of Condé, he ſhould deliver it to the Auſtrians, to ſerve as a magazine and place of arms, in caſe of aid being demanded by general Dumourier.

The proclamation of general Dumourier contained a recapitulation of his ſervices to the French Republic; a ſtatement of the cruel neglect which his army had experienced in the preceding winter, and of the outrages practiſed by the Jacobins towards the generals of the republic, and particularly towards himſelf; the reaſons which induced him to arreſt the commiſſioners; and a glowing picture of the evils to be apprehended from a continuance of anarchy in France. It concluded with an exhortation to the French, to reſtore the conſtitution of 1789, 1790 and 1791; and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for the reſtoration of that conſtitution; and that as ſoon as he had affected that purpoſe, he would for ever abandon every public function, and in ſolitude conſole himſelf with having contributed to the happineſs of his fellow citizens.

The manifeſto of the prince of Saxe Cobourg, which accompanied it, paſſed high encomiums on the diſintereſted and patriotic views of general Dumourier. It announced that the allied powers were no longer to be conſidered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries in the war; that they had no other object but to co-operate with general Dumourier in giving to France her 'conſtitutional king and the conſtitution ſhe formed for herſelf.' On his word of honour he pledged himſelf, that he would not come upon the French territory to make conqueſts, but ſolely for the ends above ſpecified.

The prince declared further, that any ſtrong places which might be put into his hands ſhould be conſidered as ſacred depoſits, to be delivered up as ſoon as the conſtitutional government ſhould be eſtabliſhed in France, or as ſoon as general Dumourier ſhould demand them.

On the fifteenth of April, at day-break, general Dumourier proceeded with an eſcort of fifty Imperial dragoons to the advanced guard of his camp at Maulde. He harangued his troops; but though there was no open oppoſition, he obſerved ſome indications of that ſpirit, and ſeveral factious groupes aſſembled in different parts. His next deſign was to go to St. Amand; but as he was entering the city he was met by an aid-de-camp, who informed him that during the night the corps of artillery, excited by ſome emiſſaries from Valencinnes, had riſen upon their general, and were marching to that fortreſs. The money, however, and the equipages of the officers, which remained in the city without a guard, he commanded to be conducted to Rumegies.

The deſertion of the corps of artillery was the ſignal for general revolt. General Lamorliere, on whom Dumourier had placed ſome dependance, immediately took his departure for Valenciennes. The general was himſelf at Rumegies, when he heard of the defection of the troops in camp. Nothing was now left but to provide for his perſonal ſafety. He mounted his horſe attended by general and colonel Thouvenot, young Egalite, colonel Montjoye, and a few others of his ſtaff. He was followed in the courſe of the day by about ſeven hundred horſe and eight hundred infantry; theſe were the whole that could be prevailed on by the utmoſt ſolicitations of their officers to deſert to the enemy, and of theſe ſeveral afterwards returned.

The military cheſt which Dumourier had removed was recovered by a party of French chaſſeurs, who brought it to Valenciennes. At Bury general Dumourier found colonel Mack, and proceeded with him to Mons, It was agreed that the Imperialiſts ſhould immediately lay ſiege to Condé. The rank of feld-zeugmeiſter, (general of artillery) was conferred on Dumourier, but the ſuſpicions of the allies never permitted him to enjoy it in any active capacity:—and he now exiſts a leſſon to all men who forſake the ſteady path of integrity, an outcaſt of ſociety.

Hiſtory which dwells with fond partiality on the virtuous and heroic actions of the patriot hero—reluctantly deſcends to exhibit the union of ſplendid talents with perfidy. Dumourier was born at Cambray in 1739, his father was a poor nobleman, and had educated his ſon with great care and deſtined him for the army, into which he entered in his eighteenth year, and in his twenty-ſecond was already honored with the croſs of St. Louis and had received twenty-two wounds in battle. Upon the peace of 1763 he travelled through various parts of Europe; by his enemies it has been aſſerted, as a ſpy from the court; by himſelf, for the purpoſe of ſtudying mankind, the languages and manners of nations. He ſerved in Corſica in 1768 and 1769, and was there promoted to the rank of colonel; and in 1770 he was appointed by Choiſſeul miniſter to the confederates of Poland, and commanded a body of troops in their ſervice for two campaigns. In 1772 he was employed to reviſe and correct the military code; and at the end of the ſame year was entruſted expreſsly by Louis XV. with the management of the ſecret negociation iu Sweden which produced the revolution there. This miſſion was given him by the king without the knowlege of his miniſter, and the duke d'Aiguillon had him conducted from Hamburg to the Baſtile, for the ſhare he had in it; where the

irreſolute and baſe king, under the influence of his concubine Du Barre, ſuffered him to remain, and to ſuſtain the weight of a proſecution without acknowleging the powers which he had ſecretly given him. After ſix months confinement, he was baniſhed to the caſtle of Caen for three months; meanwhile Louis XV. died, d'Aiguillon was diſgraced, and Louis XVI. directed a reviſion of his trial by meſſieurs Du Muy, De Vergennes, and Sartine, whoſe report acquitted him. He was ſent to Liſle with his former rank, to examine a new plan of diſcipline brought from Pruſſia, and appointed one of a commiſſion for improving the navigation of the Lys, and for forming a harbour at Ambleteuſe. In 1776, he was joined with d'Oiſy, a naval officer, and Roziere, one of the firſt engineers in Europe, to determine upon a proper place for a naval port in the Channel oppoſite the Engliſh coaſt; and the year 1777, which he ſays was the only period of repoſe he had enjoyed in his life, he ſpent at his villa of Clichy, twenty leagues from Paris. In 1778 he was appointed commandant of Cherbourg, which he had conſidered as the fitteſt ſcite for a naval port, and continued to ſuperintend its execution thence to the commencement of the revolution.

The extraordinary viciſſitudes of the revolution called him from that ſubordinate ſtation, into a field of action where his talents united with probity, might have ſecured him an immortality in hiſtory. But his education was adapted for the wiles and inſincerity of courts. His character had two leading traits; intrigue and vanity; the one entered ſo deeply into all his habits, that it appeared irkſome to diſpenſe with it in the moſt ordinary tranſactions, and the other was ſo exceſſive as to ovebear his duplicity, and diſplay an egotiſm that expoſed his merits to diſreſpect. Fortune and the enthuſiaſm of his country concurring with his military ſkill, had bound his brows with the laurels of victory; his glory was too ſudden and exalted for the texture of his mind, he became giddy when he looked down to his former obſcurity, and the attention which he found beſtowed on him by thoſe powers of Europe whom he had been habituated to view with diſtant awe and reverence, while it ſatiated his ruling paſſion, obſtructed every approach of prudence and magnanimity.

Foreign nations while they refuſed to acknowlege the republic, ſent their agents to his camp, and while they affected to diſdain a treaty with the executive council, were anxious to negociate with the general. Since the revolution he had not only reprobated ariſtocracy and monarchy, but had diſclaimed the nobility of his family of which he was ſecretly proud, but the diſguiſe of philoſophy which he aſſumed was ſo thin, that thoſe who ſaw him intimately, eaſily diſcovered, that though he could ſacrifice the monarch for his ambition that he would alſo ſacrifice liberty for the tinſil and drapery of courts. He was not only covetous of great but of little diſtinctions. He received every kind of homage which military ſubordination exacts, and exulted no leſs in accidental honours, than thoſe to which genius is entitled.

The accompliſhed and immortal wife of Roland has given a happy ſketch of this man; 'he had a great ſhare of what is called wit, but little morality; diligent and brave; an able general, a thorough-paced courtier, a good writer, a ready ſpeaker, and capable of great undertakings; but he wanted a cool head and firm mind to execute what he undertook: good humoured with his friends, and ready to cheat every one of them, he was altogether formed for the intrigues of a corrupt court.'

The events in which he has been concerned display the truth of this vigorous outline, and that addreſs with which he could accommodate himſelf to any principles; thus it was, that he was a boiſterous Jacobin and a ſimple Girondiſt at the ſame time: as a miniſter we have ſeen him the private favorite of the king and queen, and yet calling the moſt decided republicans to adminiſtration; when thoſe miniſters propoſe a camp near Paris he adviſes their diſmiſſion, and ſoon after reſigns himſelf becauſe their advice is not adopted; the moſt inveterate among the violent enemies of Lafayette, and the loudeſt in reproach of his deſertion, he is appointed to ſucceed to the command of the ſame army, and he endeavors to betray it under circumſtances of tenfold perfidy; proclaiming the pureſt principles of republican equity, anathematiſing tyrants and ariſtocrats, and fighting immortal battles under the ſtandard of freedom, he conſpires againſt his country, its liberty, and the aſſociates of his victories, with thoſe very tyrants; even in the memoirs written for his juſtification, the crimes he acknowleges prove only the moderation of thoſe who had denounced his criminal deſigns; he was in Paris from the firſt to the twenty-ſixth of January, and he employed the principal part of that time in compoſing four laborious memorials calculated to promote order and energy in ſo many departments of the adminiſtration, and the ſecurity of the government; yet he alſo acknowleges, that at the ſame period with a view to ſave the king, he had offered to the Girondiſts to march twenty thouſand men to Paris—that he had tendered the dictatorſhip to Robeſpierre—and propoſed to the Jacobins to overturn the convention, raiſe themſelves upon its ruins, and become the arbiters of France and Europe.

After ſo monſtrous an aſſociation of deſigns, ſo contradictory with each other, ſo atrocious in themſelves, his laſt act of perfidy ceaſes to be ſurprizing: the leſſon which he exhibits of the treachery and duplicity attached to ariſtocratic habits, ſhould never be forgotten by republicans: his public character forms altogether ſuch an hideous picture of political depravity that hiſtory will not condeſcend to enquire, whether he poſſeſſed one quality in private life worthy of pity or regret.

The news of the defection of Dumourier arrived at Paris when the animoſities of party had gained the moſt alarming appearence; in great revolutions, the paſſions are all awake and reaſon is but a light auxiliary that offers plans, which are executed or rejected by enthuſiaſm; confidence generally attaches to thoſe who addreſs themſelves to the predominant affection; and if the people commit exceſſes, thoſe who undertake to defend them become more dear than thoſe who are ſolicitous only for their reputation and their rights. All parties are from the very nature of the human character and ſociety compoſed of very oppoſite characters, though adhering by one common tie in oppoſition to another; both the parties in the convention diſplayed each within itſelf this admixture; we have ſeen that on the queſtions concerning the king the Girondiſts were divided among themſelves; the ſame remark applies to their opponents. After that event the reſpective parties had become more compact; from the neceſſity of ſtemming the ſtrong power of the other, the conteſt became more afflicting and ruinous. The Girondiſts had the reins of power in their hands, and power is always neceſſarily liable to cenſure. To relieve themſelves from the odium of many unavoidable acts of rigour, and to gain the weighty influence of the city of Paris, they had procured a decree veſting in the commune of that city, the power of arreſt, and placed at their diſpoſal the whole armed force. A ſtep more impolitic in every reſpect could not have been taken, conſidering that

the three principal members of the Mountain, Danton, Robeſpierre, and Marat, though each reciprocally jealous of or deteſting the other, were actually the moſt popular men in the fections. The Girondiſts ſoon perceived their error, and at an evening ſitting of the convention, when the executive council were delivering an account of ſome diſturbances that had taken place, one of the miniſters obſerved that the executive council could not be reſponſible for what might happen on any occaſion of tumult, ſince they were not poſſeſſed of means of force to control or command events; Genſonne, a diſtinguiſhed member of the Gironde, inſtantly roſe and moved that the armed force ſhould be entruſted to the executive power. Robeſpierre precipitated himſelf inſtantly from his ſeat, and aſcended the tribune, demanding liberty to ſpeak to the ſafety and liberty of the people, and the rights of man. A violent debate took place, which only more confirmed the jealouſy of the parties, and the evils of the firſt imprudence; the executive council ſaw its weakneſs, and the members ſaw their individual danger, and they propoſed that the executive council ſhould be aboliſhed, and the adminiſtration exerciſed by the convention by means of a committee; the majority of the convention at this period were neither ſwayed by terror, nor did the paſſions of party preclude the formation of great deſigns, and had this meaſure been then adopted it is probable that the proſcriptions which ſoon followed would never have taken place; for the ſubſequent diſtractions did not proceed from the exerciſe of a boundleſs power by the majority, but from their not having aſſumed the power; as it was ſoon after uſurped by the minority, who exerciſed it firſt by the intervention of the commune, afterwards directly by themſelves, and at laſt by a few committees, who exerciſed univerſal oppreſſion, without aſſuming even the appellation of committees of government.

The mutual threats of both ſides, different in nature but equally violent, became every day more terrible and alarming. They were as two armies encamped over againſt each other, impatient to combat, and watching for the favourable occaſion, to ſtrike a deciſive blow. The diſtractions occaſioned by the diſturbances which took place on the tenth of March precipitated the career of events.

The news of the defection of Dumourier, which were received on the ſame day, made gloomy and unfavourable impreſſions upon the public imagination. From one act of treachery, occaſion was taken to excite ſuſpicions of a thouſand others, and to infer the probability of all in the truth of one. Dumourier's former intimacy with Briſſot and the deputies of the Gironde, had been long ſince ſucceeded by a reſentment which they could ſcarcely retain within the limits of that reſpect which was due from the general of the army, to the legiſlators of the commonwealth, and of that decent treatment which the legiſlators owed to a general by whoſe ſervices the Republic was triumphant. But, their enemies pretended to believe them ſtill united, in order that they might thence have a pretext to deſtroy them together, to join them in the ſame proſcription. That indignation which Dumourier deſerved by his conduct in Belgium, was at Paris turned againſt Briſſot and the deputies of the Gironde.

The effect was not leſs powerful on the public mind: the intimacy of Dumourier with Briſſot and thoſe enlightened literati who compoſed his party; but who only tolerated the general and man of letters, while they abhorred his private vices and his notorious duplicity of character, incurred the reſentment of the irritated people, and converted all that reſpect which their patriotiſm and talents had inſpired into an hatred that was the

more inveterate from the very cauſe of their former attachment. The Mountain were not inactive; the intrepidity of the generality of thoſe men of whom it was compoſed, and above all that additional vigour with which a jealouſy of each other inſpired them, from a fear that they ſhould be ſurpaſſed in ardor, or ſuſpected from the moderate meaſures to be taken for the overthrow of their opponents, drove them to the moſt extravagant lengths. The Journal of Marat was now the popular oracle; the Jacobin club was the focus of ſedition, and the moſt abandoned of the idle and ignorant made it their rendezvous and their temple. Men of the moſt debauched characters now ſuperceded thoſe of talents and morality; and the name and attributes of liberty and virtue appeared to ſuffer a debaſement from the extravagancies committed in their name. The tranſactions which followed it would be abſurd to attribute to any fixed plan; ſo contradictory and variable do they appear. Beſide the diviſions which we have noticed and that ſtimulus of jealouſy which ſubſiſted between the factions, whoſe force was centred in the mountain; the courſe of time has brought to light many ſecret operations of the combined powers and of the emigrants to fan the flame of diſorder, with the hope of re-eſtabliſhing the ancient deſpotiſm upon the ruins of anarchy. The clubs were the conſtant ſcenes of theſe intrigues, and foreign gold and royal attachment contributed to encreaſe the numbers and the fury of the furious.

Suſpicions only have reached the character of Marat, the tenor of his private life, neither countenances nor diſcourages the opinion that he was ſold to the enemies of France; but the ſuſpicion is not warranted by any other evidence than the ſanguinary ferocity of his character and the concurrence of a great number of the meaſures of the enemy with his tranſactions. Hebert, a character reſembling Marat in the enormity of his deſigns, and denunciations, greatly influenced the misfortunes of this period, by the publication of a Journal, under the title of *Pere Ducheſne*, in which looſe vulgarity and tawdry humour were by a ſingular union of extravagance and wickedneſs employed to corrupt the popular judgment, to debaſe the feelings and ſport with crimes and death. This monſter has been likewiſe conſidered as ſecretly ſold to the enemy, together with a number of others who had acquired power in the ſections of Paris through their daring conduct. The alarm of the ninth and tenth of March, was produced by theſe incendiaries; and it had been propoſed by Ronſin in the Jacobin club that all the members preſent on that night ſhould divide themſelves into two troops, one of which ſhould inſtantly maſſacre the *obnoxious repreſentatives* in the convention, which was alſo ſitting, and the other *clear the houſe of all the miniſters.* The propoſition was received with applauſe, ſabres were brandiſhed in the air;—a member had the courage to propoſe the impriſonment of the obnoxious characters, and their ſubſequent trial; and this amendment was put when Dubois Crance entered the hall, and with a noble daring expoſed the wickedneſs of the original motion and the danger of the amendment however humane and wiſely intended. He expoſed the inconſiſtency of ſuch proceedings with the principles of liberty, and by appealing to their juſtice gained a victory over the aſſaſſins, by the total rejection of both propoſitions, and was even applauded for his courage and happy interference. Still many of the deſparate had gone away in rage, and it was feared that they would perpetrate ſome horrid crimes. A ſimilar commotion had taken place at the Cordeliers club, but Danton had managed the popular impulſe in ſuch a manner, as to produce

only a reſolution for a deputation to the mayor, demanding that the barriers ſhould be ſhut; the requeſt was of courſe denied and the ſtorm paſſed over, although the agitation continued in ſome meaſure for ſeveral days.

The intrigues of the foreign powers in the provinces of France, had produced convulſions as terrible in their conſequences as alarming to the government; their occurrence at the very period of Dnmourier's defection evidently ſanctioned the ſuppoſition that they were the effect of a common concert, which by one tremendous and general exploſion ſhould overthrow the republic. In the departments of Vendee and Loire, conſiderable numbers of the emigrants had collected, in oppoſition to ſeveral decrees during the winter of 1792, numbers of them had been thrown aſhore by Engliſh veſſels, and they were furniſhed with conſtant ſupplies from England of money, military ſtores, arms, and forged aſſignats;* theſe counter-revolutionary hirelings and traitors wore as a contradiſtinction from the republicans, a white cap, and their rallying words were 'Vive la Roi' and 'Vivent les Anglois!' They profeſſed to act by the authority of Monſieur, who had aſſumed the title of regent of France, and had gained ſeveral victories over the national-guards called out to oppoſe them. In one action after a ſevere conflict they took the city of Chantenay, and delivered it up to plunder; on the twenty-third of March the convention learned that they had made themſelves maſters of Cholet, Montaigne, and Cliſſon; they defeated general Marce who had been ſent to quell them; and Nantz was at the ſame time beſieged by another body of forty thouſand. In the beginning of April general Berruyere was appointed to the command of a force ſent againſt them, notwithſtanding before the end of that month they had poſſeſſed themſelves of a country fifty leagues in extent, and in two pitched battles defeated the republicans, and took immenſe ſtores, artillery, ammunition, and priſoners.

On the fourteenth of March, Laſource announced to the convention a diſcovery of that conſpiracy againſt France, of which he ſaid only a corner of the veil had been lifted by the treachery and diſappointment of Dumourier. It was diſcovered that the late king's brothers, the duke of Brunſwick, the Engliſh miniſters Pitt, Grenville, and Wyndham, in conjunction with Calonne, and ſeveral of the ex-dignified clergy, had combined to ſpread deſolation through the republic. That a committee of agents of the royal conſpirators was organized on the frontiers, who acted by ſecondary agents on every point, and in ſeveral departments; that inſurrection, aſſaſſination, and corruption, were not their only means, but they had beſides the diſtribution of forged aſſignats and arms, and contrived means to export numerous ſums of the current ſpecie. That 'twenty-eight' of thoſe agents had been diſcovered and ſeized by order of the executive, at Rennes, Lumballe, St. Malo, and in Paris. The thread of the conſpiracy had been in the hands of the executive for two months, but its rammifications were ſo extenſive and complex, that it could not be eſtabliſhed and the traitors detected before. Among the papers ſeized were thirty-eight commiſſions delivered by the two Capets to thoſe agents.

* The aſſignats were forged under the agency of the Engliſh miniſtry; the braſs cuts were executed by an engraver in Holborn London, the Alert, a faſt ſailing veſſel formerly a privateer belonging to Maſſachuſſetts, was the principal conveyance by which they were ſent to France; the veſſel uſually ſailed from Teignmouth, or one of the other ports in Torbay, and returned with intelligence to an agent ſtationed for the purpoſe at the weſtern ports of England. This veſſel, about the cloſe of the year 1794, was chaſed by a French frigate from the coaſt of France into Torbay, where ſhe was run on ſhore near the mouth of the river Ex.

Intelligence from every quarter corroborated the multiplied variety and extent of this combination; the Spaniards about the period between the end of April and the middle of March had overrun the country of Rouſillon, where they had been joined by a large body of the malcontents, and defeated the republicans in ſeveral encounters. From Mont Blanc advice was received of a violent fermentation, and that the king of Sardinia was raiſing a numerous force to ſecond the agitation which had been created by the fanatical clergy and the ex-nobles, and that a number of the emigrants with arms and money had already entered that department and threatened the utmoſt dangers.

The elder brother of the late king, had aſſumed the title of regent immediately after the death of the monarch; and publiſhed a proclamation wherein he declared Louis Charles (ſon of the late king) ſovereign of France, under the title of Louis the ſeventeenth; himſelf as regent, and his brother (Artois) lieutenant of France; this public paper was drawn up by Calonne, and declared a determination to re-eſtabliſh the French monarch, the religion of their forefathers according to the canons of the church, and the regular adminiſtrations of former times; this paper was dated, "at Ham in "Weſtphalia, on the twenty-eighth of January 1793, under the ſeal, which we uſe in "ſigning ſovereign acts till the ſeals deſtroyed by the reigning faction are remade;" and was counter-ſigned by the mareſchals Broglio and de Caſtries, appointed his miniſters of ſtate.

It was under this authority that commiſſions were iſſued to the agents of inſurrection; and great numbers of them had been ſent to England and different parts of France with blanks to be filled up as occaſion might require. How far theſe meaſures of the late princes were inſtrumental to the ſubſequent fate of the royal family, it is not difficult to perceive. That they were not founded in wiſdom, nor in prudence, their conſtruſtion, their violence, and the objects contemplated to be obtained are too obvious at this period: they were calculated in fact to divide from the adherents of monarchy all thoſe who from principle or for conſiſtency were bound to pay ſome reſpect to the union of repreſentative with monarchical government.

But misfortune was not confined to thoſe alarming occurrences; an expedition againſt Cagliari, the capital ſeaport of Sardinia, was equally diſaſtrous. Admiral Truguet ſailed from Toulon with a ſmall ſquadron of line of battle ſhips and frigates, and anchored before that town on the twenty-fourth of January, and immediately commenced a furious cannonade; but his tranſports with a conſiderable body of troops on board, had not yet arrived; and he abated his fire and ceaſed wholly on the twenty-ninth. A conſiderable body of volunteers who had embarked on board the ſhips of war, grew impatient at the delay, and notwithſtanding every argument uſed by the admiral to ſhew the danger of landing with ſuch a ſmall force, without the co-operation of the greater body hourly expected, they were not to be diſſuaded from the enterpriſe; accordingly on the thirteenth of February, four ſhips and two bomb-ketches were anchored cloſe under the town, and a ſimilar force between the town and an elevated ground that was ſtrongly fortified; a ſingle ſhip was anchored in a poſition cloſe upon another quarter of the town with a view to batter it, while three ſhips and three frigates covered the landing of the troops. Of all theſe ſhips the Themiſtocles alone did execution, but ſhe received a red-hot ſhot which ſet her on fire; her captain was mortally wounded, and ſhe was obliged to retire in the night to extinguiſh the fire. The Patriot had fired ſo inceſſantly for three days that

her ammunition was exhauſted, and had with the Juno frigate ſeveral men killed and wounded.

The deſcent was effected under the command of general Caſa-Bianca, with fifteen hundred troops of the line, and three thouſand national volunteers; another deſcent was to be made at ſome diſtance, and a certain ſignal was agreed upon. The ſame ſignal was obſerved in the iſland, and the troops heard the following words pronounced through a ſpeaking-trumpet:—'Citizens, come on ſhore; we have put the enemy to flight.' The troops, however, ſuſpected the deluſion, eſpecially as they could obſerve with their glaſſes that the invitation came from perſons in the Sardinian uniform. The ſecond deſcent therefore was countermanded. Caſa-Bianca, however, formed a camp at the diſtance of half a league from the town, with fifteen pieces of cannon and ſome mortars; but the troops were ſeized with an inſtantaneous panic, they miſtook the word of command, and the patroles fired upon each other; the ſoldiers imagined themſelves too weak in number, and requeſted to be re-embarked, and ſome of them without orders began to retire towards the beach. In this diſagreeable ſituation the general was compelled to re-embark his troops, and it was with great difficulty he was able to ſave his cannon. When the troops returned on board, Truguet immediately ſet ſail. The Leopard, a ſhip of the line, ran on ſhore, but the crew were ſaved. A tartan, which ran on ſhore alſo, was burned by the Sardinians.

Among ſuch multiplied dangers, diſaſters, and aſſaults, combined with ſo much induſtry, ſupported by powers ſo immenſe and enemies ſo inveterate; poſſeſſing the cooperative force of religious fanaticiſm in the the greater part of France, and political fanaticiſm and factious conflict in not only the capital, but in the very centre of the national authority; that France ſhould be yet able to reſiſt them all, appears aſtoniſhing but more ſo that ſhe ſhould triumph over them.

The popular diſquietudes of March had been more formidable in their deſign than in their execution. But they had rendered meaſures of vigour indiſpenſable. In the midſt of theſe troubles Gaudet had propoſed the removal of the convention to Verſailles; which was not agreed to; but the preſſure provoked the formation of a new tribunal, which was to judge all crimes of conſpiracy and counter-revolution without appeal, and thence was called the revolutionary tribunal. This meaſure which was the project of Danton, and expreſsly deſigned to bury under a general meaſure of energy and ſafety, all the fears of one party, and the dangerous uſurpations of another, unhappily produced the moſt oppoſite effects. The executive council, which ſtill principally conſiſted of Girondiſts, were ſolicitous to be delivered from their irkſome ſituation; but the danger of retreat was as great as that of continuance in authority. The mountain had now gained under Robeſpiere ſo alarming an aſcendancy over the populace through the irritation of public diſtreſs, that many of the members that compoſed the mountain became as much alarmed for their individual ſafety as thoſe of the Gironde, and this tribuual was expected to be a ſufficient control againſt tyranny, as well as a powerful check on private conſpiracy.

The convention alſo took the moſt vigorous meaſures for the military and naval equipments; at once to enable the government to obtain the completeſt knowledge of the number of males in every diſtrict, either of an age for military ſervice, or ſuch as might be concealed for treaſonable purpoſes, every proprietor and occupant of a houſe

was obliged to place on the outside of it in legible characters, the name, age, and profession of every individual habitually resident therein; and to keep the list constantly renewed, upon any occasion of change. The army was at the same time ordered to be augmented to four hundred and twenty-seven thousand men, although in the month of January there was not money enough in the treasury to pay the military establishment up to April.

It was in the period when Dumourier was conspiring with the enemy, that the constitution, was presented, on the fifteenth of February, to the convention by Condorcet, to whom its formation has been generally attributed; the features by which it was distinguished from that which preceded it, consisted in the abolition of royalty, and of electoral assemblies; the members of the legislature were to be appointed immediately by the people in primary assemblies: the executive council or ministers were to be elected by the people and to be dismissed only by the verdict of a special jury; to prevent frequent elections supplementary candidates were to be chosen for each department of office; and the interior administration was to be newly arranged. This constitution however, was never decreed, and in the month of June was supplanted by another.

On the seventh of March, it was that the conduct of Spain on the frontiers, her naval equipments, and her concert with the combined powers, provoked France to declare war against that nation, by a decree which ordered the augmentation of the army of the Pyrennees to one hundred thousand men. On the twenty-third of the same month, the court of Spain issued a counter declaration of war against France.

The highest expectations had been indulged from the plans formed by the combined powers, and their first success in the shock given to the French armies. Distrust it was expected would have succeeded the desertion of the general, and that the want of confidence would have pervaded every department of the government and the army. These vain hopes were not destroyed even by the admirable constancy and virtue of the French troops, and their dereliction of their favourite general, their leader in victory, for the more sacred obligation of their country and liberty. That any of the powers should expect success after such magnanimity, is one of those evidences of extraordinary infatuation which have marked the conduct and aggressions of the war.

The proclamations of Cobourg and Dumourier, which were calculated at least to colour the designs of the coalesced powers, with an appearance of moderation, proved highly alarming to the several members of the confederacy. On the eighth of April, a congress of their representatives was held at Antwerp, consisting of the Stadtholder and his two sons, the grand Pensionary Van Speigel, on the part of Holland; the duke of York and lord Aukland, for England; Kuller and Knobelsdorf, for Prussia; prince Cobourg, Metternich and his two sons, and counts Starhemberg and Merci-d'Argenteau, for the German powers; and the ministers of Spain and Sicily. The professed object of this assembly rapidly summoned together, was to settle a plan for the prosecution of the war, particularly the manner of invading France.

It has been remarked in the spirit of despairing lamentation, by one of the most zealous promoters of hostility and insurrection, and one to whom a large portion of the miseries that have afflicted Europe are to be attributed,* that the only aim of the coalesced powers was to conquer, when it was evident that victory would not necessarily produce subjugation; that

* Calonne.

their only effort was directed to military operations, on which they could not agree any more than in their political views; there was neither union in their projects, uniformity in their ideas, nor a general direction to the ſame point of action. It was a general opinion with them, before the firſt campaign, that terror alone could operate on the French nation, becauſe they conceived the revolution to have been produced by terror. A bold and rapid movement for Paris therefore was thought not only to be the moſt certain but a practicable plan for the accompliſhment of this end. But after having ſurmounted the firſt difficulties, after having penetrated beyond the firſt lines of the frontier towns, when their army, commanded by one of the firſt generals of Europe, was but forty-five leagues from Paris, when panic had already ſeized the capital; all at once, as if by a fatality, all their exulting hopes were blaſted, and a retrograde movement became neceſſary to the projector of the mighty deſign; the veterans of Pruſſia and the pupil of its great warrior, were ſeen flying before an inferior force of raw and ragged Frenchmen, half fed, unſhod, and led by a general who had never commanded an army before that campaign.

The opening of the ſecond ſo far as it had proceeded was to all appearance favourable to the views of the allies. The congreſs at Antwerp had conſidered the fatality of their progreſs in Champaign in 1792; and as if the eaſe with which they had paſſed into the country had been too great to be glorious, after having by the treachery of Dumourier become poſſeſſed of all the Netherlands, with the ſame rapidity that he had previouſly conquered them, they reſolved to attack the frontier of France, covered with ſo many impregnable fortreſſes, that it has been called the iron frontier.

The iſſue of this plan will be ſeen; inſtead of marching directly to Paris, it was now determined to beſiege at once as many of the ſtrong places as poſſible; by this means all the republican troops were expected to be called to the frontier, and the royaliſts in the interior be thus left without oppoſition. The ſtrong places as they were to fall, it was determined ſhould be garriſoned by the combined powers, and ſerve as points of action and co-operation, as occaſion might require. The navies of England, Holland, and Spain were to act in concert, and form a chain of cruiſers round the coaſt, all trade was to be ſhut out, the nation to be blocked up, and ſuccour to be afforded to the royaliſts wherever they ſhould appear. Thus attacked and hemmed in, while the moſt vigorous ſupport and encouragement was to be given to the cooperators of inſurrection in the interior, it was not queſtioned but the republicans muſt be compelled to a ſpeedy and unconditional ſubmiſſion.

But a principal object of conſideration at the meeting of the congreſs on the eighth of April, was the proclamation publiſhed by the prince of Cobourg, in conjunction with Dumourier. The conduct of the prince of Cobourg was treated with much ſeverity and indecorum; prince Hohenloe had publicly teſtified his diſapprobation of the proclamation, and had treated Dumourier and the other deſerters with the utmoſt diſreſpect, and even forbad their admiſſion to his quarters. At the meeting of the congreſs, he was aſked by the Pruſſian miniſter if he had received orders from the emperor for ſuch a publication as he had made, and on replying in the negative, was informed that if he did not retract it, another would be publiſhed in the name of the king of Pruſſia of a different tenor. Lord Auckland warmly teſtified his concurrence with the miniſter of Pruſſia. Count Metternich, ſaid he had under the emperor's own hand opinions of the

moſt oppoſite tendency to thoſe contained in the proclamation. And the duke of York obſerved that much cenſure had been indiſcreetly thrown out on his father-in-law (the king of Pruſſia) and the duke of Brunſwick, but that they had never iſſued ſuch a proclamation as that of the prince.

The plan of the war now agreed upon neceſſarily implied a diſregard of thoſe promiſes ſolemnly made by that general, and accordingly another proclamation was drawn up and publiſhed on the ninth, ſigned alſo by Cobourg, wherein he unſaid the whole of his previous engagements publiſhed on the fifth, and the ſcheme of conqueſt was formally announced to be renewed.

The French commiſſioners in the mean time, who had been ſent to the army, omitted no means of reſtoring order, and invigorating the ſpirit of their troops. The ſtandard of the republic was no ſooner ſet up, than the battalions which had diſperſed from the camp of Maulde reſorted to it; and general Dampierre, who had evinced his patriotiſm by his reſiſtance to the orders of Dumourier, was proviſionally appointed by the commiſſioners to the chief command. In leſs than a week general Dampierre had reſtored order and diſcipline to their diſorganiſed troops, and was enabled to lead them to action, and to frequent victory.

On the thirteenth of April, the advanced poſts of the French army, under that general were attacked in ſix different points, but the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. General Dampierre at the ſame time was enabled to reſume the camp of Famars. On the fourteenth and fifteenth the advance guard was again aſſailed by the enemy: on the former of thoſe days, they were compelled by ſuperior numbers to give way, but on the ſucceeding day they were victorious. The firing continued from four in the morning till eight in the evening, with as much violence as at the battle of Neerwinden.

On the twenty-third the Auſtrians again attacked the French near Maubeuge, but after a conflict of ten hours were repulſed with conſiderable loſs; and on the firſt of May general Dampierre attempted to diſlodge the enemy from ſeveral villages of which they were in poſſeſſion, but in his turn experienced a repulſe. On this occaſion the Auſtrians had ſix hundred killed and two thouſand wounded, and the French had three hundred killed and ſix hundred wounded.

An action of a more ſerious nature took place on the eighth of May. General Dampierre on that day advanced to diſlodge the enemy, who were poſted in the wood of Rheme and Vicoigne; but the ardour of the general having prompted him to too great an expoſure of his perſon, his thigh was carried off by a cannon ball, and he expired the following day, leaving the command in the hands of general Lamarche. In this action the Auſtrians loſt in killed and wounded five hundred men, and the Pruſſians three hundred: of the Engliſh troops, who were engaged and who ſuffered greatly, no official return was made. The loſs of the French was eſtimated at four thouſand.

From this period to the twenty-third little of importance occured. On that day it was determined by the allies to attempt to diſlodge the French from their fortified camp on the heights of Famars, which covered and protected the town of Valenciennes. At day-break the Britiſh and Hanoverians aſſembled under the command of the duke of York, and the Auſtrians and German auxiliaries under that of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait. A thick fog prevented for ſome time the advance of the troops; and they ſoon experienced a tremendous fire from the entrenchments of the French. The

conteſt, an Engliſh officer ſtates, was of the ſevereſt kind, and in the field the French were defeated. The duke of York then advanced within a ſmall diſtance of the works; but obſerving from the diſpoſition of the French that they could not be carried without conſiderable loſs, he determined to defer the attack till day-break on the following day. In the courſe of the night, however, the French, apprehenſive of the conſequences, and probably much weakened by the action, abandoned their camp, and withdrew partly into Valenciennes, while another party retired to Denain, towards Bouchain and Cambray. No official return was made of the loſs of the allies; but on both ſides it muſt have been conſiderable.

The ſucceſs on the twenty-third enabled the allies to lay formal ſiege to Valenciennes. Conde had been inveſted from the beginning of April, and the communication entirely cut off between that place and Valenciennes. To re-eſtabliſh that communication was the object of general Dampierre on the eighth of May, when he received the fatal wound that deprived him of life.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting in the north, but little of importance occurred in other parts. In the beginning of May general Cuſtine, who commanded the army of the Rhine, formed a deſign of cutting off from the enemy a body of ſeven or eight thouſand men who had advanced as far as Rheinzabern; but, to ſucceed, it was neceſſary to amuſe the Pruſſians in all parts, and to deſtroy the effect of the cavalry and infantry which they had near Landau. Had he been to retain the command of this army, he ſaid he ſhould have deferred that enterpriſe until the commencement of June, and then the army, better exerciſed, would have been in a condition to execute it completely; but reflecting that he was about to depart and take upon him the command of the army of the North, he determined to attempt an action, to prevent the Pruſſians from taking advantage of their good poſition. He therefore ſent orders to general Houchard to attack in the rear Limberg and Carlberg with the army of the Moſelle, while Pulli ſhould keep in check, and attack with the reſt of the corps des Voſges, a Pruſſian corps who had advanced, and while general Sulek, with nine battalions and ſome cavalry, ſhould advance towards Anweiler to moleſt the enemy. The ſame day the garriſon of Landau had orders to occupy the banks of the canal of Anweiler, the vineyards and the village of Nuſderff, with ſeveral other poſts, and to give the Pruſſians reaſon to apprehend that they would be attacked in the rear, in caſe they ſhould attempt any movements. He alſo cauſed a report to be ſpread in the Pruſſian army, that the cavalry of the Moſelle had arrived, as well as part of the artillery of Straſbourg. In the mean time general Ferrier, who commanded forty battalions, was ordered only to ſhew himſelf to the enemy till he ſhould hear that the engagement had commenced, and to attack them in the wood of Rheinzabern, and the Auſtrians who were in it beyond the village. Notwithſtanding theſe orders, Cuſtine obſerves, that he did not ſee his troops appear till eleven o'clock, at which time general Drietmann had commanded a retreat, becauſe the troops were fatigued and could procure neither proviſions nor drink. The general himſelf began to march at eight o'clock in the evening, with twenty ſix battalions and eight regiments, to the heights near Inſheim; but ſeveral unavoidable delays prevented him from arriving at that place till five in the morning. The advance guard, under the command of general Landremont, kept the enemy in check, and prevented them from quitting the foreſt of Germerſheim. While general Landremont was thus engaging the Auſtrian army, and preventing them from ad-

vancing, the main army extended to the heights of Rulſheim, and proceeded as far as that village. Cuſtine charged two diviſions of dragoons with vigour, who fled after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs. Among the number of the dead were three officers. The general obſerved, that had it not been for the infatuation of a battalion, who miſtook the French cavalry for that of the enemy, this day would have been glorious for the troops of the republic; they anſwered all attempts to rally them, only by diſcharges of muſquetry and it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed upon to reſume their ranks. The general was informed that this event was occaſioned by the commander, who began the cry of treachery. He was arreſted, and deſtroyed himſelf. "This day, which ought to have been ſo memorable," added Cuſtine, "terminated by the taking of "one piece of cannon, and a very great number of priſoners." The Pruſſians were ſoon after enabled to form the ſiege of Mentz.

At this fatal period, the machinations of the combined powers had obtained a more commanding influence than at any period before or ſince, in the internal affairs of France; their emiſſaries were ſpread over every one of the departments; eighteen millions ſterling had been expended on this ſervice by one power alone, excluſive of fleets and armies; and conſpiracy and treachery ſeem to have pervaded every part of the French territory. On the ſecond of April the popular ſociety of Toulon denounced the Corſican general Paoli as a traitor, and his ſubſequent conduct has proved that the accuſation was too well founded. Paoli was cited to appear at the bar of the convention, but excuſed himſelf; and the perſons who were ſent to arreſt him declared that the ſervice was too dangerous to be attempted.

At the ſame time charges of a ſerious nature were exhibited againſt the ex-miniſter Bournonville, who was accuſed as an accomplice of Dumourier.

The pauſe which at this time took place in the military tranſactions, affords an opportunity to review the no leſs important proceedings of the convention. In the month of March the celebrated revolutionary tribunal, for judging offences againſt the ſtate, was completely organized.—The plan on which this tribunal was formed is as follows:

I. The revolutionary tribunal ſhall take cognizance of every enterpriſe, plot, and attempt againſt the liberty and ſovereignty of the people, and the unity, indiviſibility, and external as well as internal ſafety of the republic; of every plan tending to eſtabliſh royalty, and of every crime relating to the fabrication of forged aſſignats.

II. The tribunal ſhall conſiſt of ſix judges, divided into two ſections. Three members in each ſection ſhall be ſufficient to examine facts denounced.

III. The judges ſhall be choſen by the national convention, by the open vote and by a relative majority.

IV. To this tribunal ſhall belong a public accuſer and two aſſiſtants, named by the convention in the ſame manner as the judges. A commiſſion of ſix members ſhall alſo be appointed to draw up the decrees of accuſation which may be paſſed by the convention.

V. The jurors ſhall be in number twelve, and their ſubſtitutes three. They ſhall be taken from the department of Paris, until the firſt of May next; an epoch when the electoral bodies muſt renew their jurors.

VI. Crimes againſt general ſafety, aſſigned heretofore to the cognizance of municipalities, ſhall in future be judged by the revolutionary tribunals.



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VII. There ſhall be no appeal from the ſentence.

VIII. Sentences paſſed in the abſence of the accuſed, ſhall have the ſame effect as if they were preſent.

IX. Perſons accuſed who ſhall not appear within three months, ſhall be conſidered as emigrants, and treated as ſuch.

As the intentions of the parties which divided the convention had been groſsly miſrepreſented, and as ſome of the indigent and deſparate of the citizens had underſtood the term equality, which was adopted in the declaration of rights, as referring not to an equality of rights, but an equality of property; about the ſame period a decree was propoſed on the motion of Barrere, and adopted by the convention, denouncing the puniſhment of death againſt any perſon who ſhould propoſe an agrarian law, or who ſhould attempt to injure territorial, commercial, or perſonal property.

Another decree, which was paſſed on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month declared, that all perſons convicted of compoſing or printing writings for the reſtoration of monarchy in France, or the diſſolution of the national repreſentation, ſhould be puniſhed with death. All perſons guilty of attempting a counter-revolution were at the ſame time declared outlaws; and on the firſt of April a decree was paſſed aboliſhing the inviolability of the deputies of the convention, when accuſed of crimes againſt the ſtate.

In every revolution there will be found neceſſary an executive authority, with powers ſufficiently ſtrong to prevent frequent inſurrection and conſpiracy, and ſufficiently compact to be able to execute its deſigns with ſecrecy and prompitude. It was evidently among the defects of the firſt conſtitution of France, that no ſuch power exiſted; and ſince the revolution of the tenth of Auguſt, the powers granted to the ordinary miniſters, who formed what was called the executive council, were not adequate to theſe ends. On the ſeventh of April, therefore, a committee of public ſafety, with enlarged powers, was inſtituted by the convention; but as the authority delegated to the members of this committee was extenſive, it was judged prudent to limit its duration to a ſingle month. After much debate upon the ſubject, the committee was organiſed agreeably to the terms of the following decree:—

Art. I. A committee of public ſafety, conſiſting of nine members, taken from the convention, ſhall be formed by open vote.

II. This committee ſhall deliberate in ſecret, and ſhall be charged to watch over and accelerate the actions of the adminiſtration entruſted to the executive council, whoſe decrees it may ſuſpend, when it thinks them contrary to the public intereſt, being bound at the ſame time to give information to the convention.

III. It is authoriſed to purſue, in urgent circumſtances, external and internal meaſures of general defence; and its decrees, ſigned by the majority of its deliberating members, which ſhall never be leſs than two thirds, ſhall be executed by the proviſional executive council; and it cannot in any caſe iſſue mandates of arreſt but againſt executive agents, bound at the ſame time to give immediate information to the convention.

IV. The particular agents whom the committee may think proper to employ ſhall be paid from the public treaſury.

V. The national treaſury ſhall, for this purpoſe, keep ready, at the diſpoſal of the committee, the ſum of one hundred thouſand livres,

VI. It may divide itſelf into ſections to exerciſe its operations with ſafety.

VII. It ſhall make a general report of its operations, and of the ſituation of the republic.

VIII. It ſhall keep a journal of its deliberations, which ſhall be ſigned by all the members preſent.

IX. This committee ſhall be eſtabliſhed only for one month.

The firſt members of this committee were Barrere, Delmas, Breard, Cambon, Jean de Brie, Danton, Guiton-Morveau, Treilhard, and Lacroix.

The defection of Dumourier, which ſeemed to have been concerted with certain branches of the Bourbon family, contributed at this period to overwhelm the whole of this unhappy race in diſgrace and misfortune. A propoſal had been made, it is ſaid, to the combined powers to exchange the queen and the other priſoners in the Temple, for the commiſſioners who had been arreſted by Dumourier; and this tranſaction was to ſerve as a baſis for the treaty of peace. On what ground this humane propoſal was fruſtrated we are not informed; but we cannot help thinking that, if the allies had in an open and manly manner proceeded to treat upon theſe terms, much miſery and bloodſhed might have been prevented. As, however, both parties appeared unwilling to agree to the terms propoſed by each other, it was decreed by the convention, on the ſeventh of April, that all the members of the Bourbon family, as well as all Auſtrian officers, and other members of the Germanic body who had been taken priſoners, ſhould be detained as hoſtages for the ſafety of the arreſted deputies; and that all the Bourbons ſhould be removed to Marſeilles, except ſuch as were previouſly confined in the Temple: the ci-devant duke of Orleans, notwithſtanding his quality as a deputy of the convention, was included in this decree.

On the ninth of the ſame month a decree was alſo paſſed, enjoining that all bargains and contracts ſhould be paid in aſſignats, and not in ſpecie. The reaſon urged in favour of this arrangement was the great depreciation which the paper currency of France had ſuffered. About the ſame time the powers of the commiſſioners ſent to the armies were enlarged.

A conſiderable part of the month of April was ſpent in diſcuſſing and digeſting the declaration of rights, which was to ſerve as a preface to the new conſtitution. It was propoſed by Salles and ſome other members, to confine themſelves to the declaration which had been enacted in 1789, by the conſtituent aſſembly; but the majority appeared to incline to a new declaration. On the tenth of May the convention took poſſeſſion of their new hall in the Thuilleries, and on that day decreed the firſt article of the new conſtitution; viz. "The French Republic is one and indiviſible."

In the mean time the diviſions which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two great parties in the convention, proceeded rapidly to an open and violent rupture. The party of Robeſpierre and Marat had imperceptibly gained on the affections and prejudices of the populace of Paris; and the Jacobin club became gradually under their entire direction. The deſire manifeſted by ſome of the Briſſotines, or Gironde faction to ſave the life of the king, had not contributed to their popularity; and the multitude, inſtead of attributing it to motives of humanity and juſtice, were eaſily perſuaded that their principles had been corrupted by bribes from thoſe powers whom they ſuppoſed intereſted in the prevention of that cataſtrophe.

The treachery of Dumourier, and the intimate union which had always ſubſiſted between that general and the houſe of Orleans; and ſeveral of the Briſſotines, as well as Briſſot himſelf, rendered them objects of ſuſpicion.

The unpopular manners of Roland, who was ſtill a man of integrity, and the vanity of others of that party; their being in poſſeſſion of power, and the inordinate love of it which they manifeſted, excited the diſtruſt and jealouſy of many. We may add to theſe cauſes for the decline of their influence, the manifeſt incapacity which they, and the miniſters appointed by them, had betrayed in the conduct of public affairs; the neglect of the army, and their tardineſs in preſenting the nation with a conſtitution.

It is a melancholy conſideration, that to the lenity of their government may be juſtly aſcribed the immediate ruin of the Gironde party. Had they in an early ſtage of the conteſt puniſhed with ſeverity their opponents and caluminators, they might certainly have retained their power longer. It is to their honour indeed that they did not chooſe to ſecure their power by a violation of juſtice and humanity. Such a conduct is calculated to cover a multitude of errors; and it is more noble to fall in ſuch a manner, than to be victorious by cruelty and violence.

In the latter ſtages of the conteſt, they did not, it muſt be confeſſed, proceed with the ſame moderation. The oppoſition was then reduced to a ſecret and inſiduous conteſt; and though it is probable, that in the firſt inſtance the diſpute was no other than a party ſtruggle for the power and emoluments of the ſtate, and that their adverſaries themſelves did not think of attacking their lives, and wanted only their places; yet the quarrel grew by degrees to ſo great an extent, that the life of every individual of each party was ſtaked upon the iſſue.

So ſtrong was the impreſſion, which the report of the Gironde party being confederates with Dumourier had made upon the people, that ſo early as the ninth of April a petition was received from one of the ſections of Paris, accuſing Guadet, Vergniaud, Genſonne, and ſome other of the deputies, as accomplices of that perfidious officer, and requeſting that they might be puniſhed.

On the fifteenth of April a petition was preſented by the communes of the forty-eight ſections of Paris, demanding that Briſſot, Gaudet, Vergniaud, Genſonne, Grangeneuve, Barbaroux, Buzot, Salles, Biroteau, Petion, Lanjuinais, Fauchet, Valazé, Laſource, Pontecoulant, Lehardy, Gorſas, Valady, Chambon, Hardy, Lanthenas, and Louvet, ſhould be impeached and expelled the convention. This diſcuſſion was for the time obſtructed by intelligence being preſented of a diſaſtrous nature from Valenciennes. On the next day the convention paſſed the following addreſs—

"*The national convention of France, to all people and all governments*: It is not only to a people who pronounce the name of liberty—it is not only to a man whoſe reaſon is not miſguided by fanaticiſm, whoſe ſoul is unſtained by ſervitude—it is to all people, to all men, that the French republic denounces the violation of the right of nations committed by the French generals. A Frenchman, a perjurer, abuſing the power given him by the national convention, againſt the national convention itſelf, has areſted four of its members. It is not a citizen who diſregards the character of a repreſentative of the people in a private enemy, in a man of an oppoſite party it is a general who violates that ſacred character which he was bound to defend. Too well aſſured that the repreſentatives of the French would ſoon reſtore by their preſence the whole army of the republic, Dumourier

has baſely delivered them to our enemies, in hopes that he might be protected, and enjoy undiſturbed the gold acquired by his crimes; and the Auſtrian generals have not bluſhed at becoming his accomplices and partakers of his ſhame, as well as of his criminal deeds. In a civilized nation did ever the right of war authoriſe us to detain as priſoners, much leſs as hoſtages, thoſe men whom an infamous treaſon had betrayed? It is not on the Auſtrian dominions, it is on the French territory they have been ſtopped. A crime, and not a military artifice, or a victory, has put them into the hands of Cobourg. To think they may be legally detained, would be to juſtify thoſe who have baſely delivered them up; or to allow that a general has a right to ſell the magiſtrates, miniſters, repreſentatives of his country, to his inveterate enemies—Will our enemies ſay they do not acknowlege the French republic? Let them deny the exiſtence of the French territory. Let them deny the exiſtence of a territory where twenty-eight millions of men have proclaimed republican liberty. They refuſe to acknowlege the republic, and they acknowlege Dumourier. To whom was the truce offered but the troops of the republic? Would it have been accepted by them, if it had been conſidered as the price of that treaſon they deteſt? And when our enemies break the truce—at a time when the plots of Dumourier are diſcovered, have they not avowed that they meant to deceive the army? Have they not announced that they would treat only with traitors? Freemen of all countries riſe againſt the baſe and perfidious conduct of the generals of Auſtria, or elſe you will ſoon have no other laws but thoſe of ſavages. What will become of your rights, if to deprive you of their moſt zealous defenders, it is enough to find a traitor that will ſell them, and a deſpot who dares to buy them.

"Kings! remember, that a conſpirator may alſo deliver you to your enemies, and tremble leſt you ſhould become victims of the example Cobourg has given! The greater the influence, the greater your authority, the more religiouſly you ought to reſpect the ſolemn ties that unite men. Your agents, your heralds, even in the camps of your enemies, are ſecured only by the impreſſion of the character with which you have veſted them. Your wars (thoſe wars which, from your palaces, are but too often directed merely to gratify your barbarous love of victory) are carried on through the laws of nations. Take care—the crime committed on the repreſentatives of a great nation, is an outrage of the firſt of laws; it annihilates the traditional reſpect agreed upon by all civilized nations, and exhibits to the hardened mind, the cruel right reſerved to barbarous hordes—the right of purſuiug one's enemy like a ſavage beaſt. The veil is torn that was thrown over our enemies. Brunſwick declared that he came only to aboliſh a conſtitution, where the regal authority was reviled; to-day he comes to re-eſtabliſh that very conſtitution, becauſe the name of a king is not preſerved. People, do you underſtand that language? It is not to gratify pride and tyranny—it is againſt the independence of nations, that war is now waged againſt the republic.

"They have the effrontery to ſay to republicans, that they will not ſuffer a great nation to exiſt without a king. They know that the exiſtence of a republic in France will be an everlaſting obſtacle to the plan they have formed of giving a maſter to every nation. To even you, who are governed by kings, we make the appeal!---Have not the French a right to eſtabliſh a free conſtitution, upon the baſis of the ſacred rights of man? The French nation ſpeaks to the kingdoms of the earth, however governed (they have

all a right to be governed as they think proper) and puts under the ſafeguard of their generoſity the moſt ſacred rights—Their repreſentatives ſold by treaſon to tyranny."

On the firſt of May a petition was preſented by a deputation from the fauxbourg of St. Antoine; the preſident of which, after propoſing a plan for the recruiting of the armies, addreſſed the convention in theſe words:—"We come," ſaid he, "legiſlators, to tell you ſevere truths—Employing yourſelves for a long time as you have with your perſonal intereſts and paſſions, declare to us what you have done! You have promiſed every thing, and kept your word in nothing. Our defenders have been left deſtitute of every neceſſary: you have engaged to regulate the price of proviſions; to relieve the neceſſitous; but in no one inſtance have you kept your word."—He concluded with declaring the fauxbourg in a ſtate of inſurrection, and deſiring that the deputation, to the number of eight thouſand, but unarmed, might be permitted to file through the hall. A warm debate enſued; but the inhabitants compoſed the tumult by aſſuring them that they wiſhed to defend, not to deſtroy the convention.

The Gironde party, on the other hand, was not inactive; and as much of the diſcontent among the people was ſuppoſed to be excited by the inflamatory journal of which Marat was the conductor, that deputy was denounced by Salles, as a ſeditious perſon, ſo early as the twenty-ſixth of February. As the convention however did not think it prudent to purſue him with rigour, ſupported as he was by ſo ſtrong a party, and by that formidable body the Jacobin club, he ſtill continued his attendance in the hall of the legiſlature; and on the firſt of April he recriminated on the Gironde, and in his place in the convention denounced three hundred of the deputies, at the head of whom were Briſſot, Vergniaud, and Genſonne. On the twelfth of April Marat renewed his accuſation, and was ſupported by Robeſpierre. A violent tumult enſued, and the deputies on both ſides of the hall advanced with drawn ſwords to aſſault each other; by the authority of the preſident, it was, however, at length compoſed.

In the evening ſitting of the ſame day, the Gironde recriminated, and Guadet preſented a direct accuſation againſt Marat. As preſident of the Jacobin club, he had ſigned an addreſs, accuſing the Gironde party of being the accomplices of Dumourier; and exhorting the popular ſocieties to unite, and pour in a ſhower of petitions, "for the expulſion of thoſe unfaithful members who betrayed their truſt, and who did not vote for the death of the tyrant." The whole compoſition was in an extravagant ſtyle, and among other exclamations contained theſe words:—"Let us exterminate the conſpirators!" Marat alleged that he had ſigned the addreſs as preſident, without reading it; but juſtified the contents. The oppoſite party inſiſted on a decree of accuſation being paſſed againſt him; and on the appeal nominal being demanded, out of three hundred and thirty-ſix votes, two hundred and thirty-three were for the decree of accuſation, and eighty-two againſt it: twenty-two excuſed themſelves. Marat was accordingly committed to the abbey priſon.

From this deciſion of the convention, the predominating influence of the Gironde party in that body was ſufficiently apparent: but it was not ſo with the people; and the jury before whom Marat was arraigned, were either afraid to condemn him, or were themſelves of his party; for on the twenty-fourth of April he was unanimouſly acquitted. His party, not content with the acquittal of their favourite, attended him in a

body to reſume his ſeat in the convention. A ſcene of indecent triumph enſued, and the hall of the legiſlature was once more occupied by the mob of Paris.

His opponents having proceeded to this extremity, it was not probable that Marat would deſiſt from hoſtilities; and he was now unfortunately too well aſſured of his own ſtrength to liſten eaſily to moderate counſels.

The Gironde, on the other hand, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in the convention, could not fail to diſcover their tottering ſituation. It was evident they had loſt the confidence of the people of Paris, and the only chance for ſecuring their own authority was an appeal to the people of the more diſtant departments. With this view, on the thirteenth of May, on pretence of forwarding the new conſtitution, Condorcet propoſed—That a new convention ſhould be choſen on the firſt of November next enſuing, and that it ſhould meet on the fifteenth of December. The motion was vehemently oppoſed by Thuriot and others, who ſtrongly inſiſted that the convention could not abandon its poſt at ſo important a criſis, without manifeſt injury to the republic; that ſuch a meaſure would perſuade the people, that the leading perſons of that body had no ſerious deſign of giving them a conſtitution; and that ſuch alarms would lead to the moſt dangerous inteſtine commotions. The propoſal of Condorcet was on theſe reaſons adjourned.

The means propoſed by Condorcet would probably have proved inadequate to the end; and indeed nothing ſhort of convening a legiſlature to meet no longer in Paris, but in ſome other city, could, in this ſtate of affairs preſerve his party from deſtruction. On the eighteenth of May, therefore, a ſubſtitute deputy to the convention (one of thoſe who had been elected to ſupply ſuch ſeats as ſhould be vacated by abſence or by death) having been inſulted by ſome women, in his way to the convention, Guadet embraced the opportunity to inſiſt that the convention was no longer free in Paris; and that a plot had been formed for diſſolving the convention, and placing the whole power of the ſtate in the hands of the anarchiſts. He concluded by propoſing as a decree—"The national convention breaks and diſſolves all the conſtituted authorities of Paris; orders all the ſubſtitutes of deputies of the convention to unite at Bourges, without, however, exerciſing any function till authoriſed by a decree of the convention." Barrere thought the evil complained of did not require ſo violent a remedy; and on his motion it was decreed, "that a commiſſion of twelve members choſen from the convention ſhould examine all the plans and reſolutions formed by the commons of Paris."

In a debate which took place on the twentieth of May, on a propoſal of the finacier Cambon, for "a compulſory loan of a thouſand millions from rich egotiſts (ſelfiſh perſons,) the indifferent, and all who may be ſuppoſed intereſted in the ſucceſs of the enemies of France," Marat embraced the occaſion to arraign his adverſaries, and propoſed that the Rolandins, the Girondins, and Briſſotins, ſhould be ſelected, as the chief lenders.

A moſt tumultuous ſcene enſued, Barbaroux, La Riviere, and others of the Gironde party, exclaimed againſt a forced loan, as a tyrannical and counter-revolutionary meaſure. The galleries took a moſt indecent part in the debate, which was concluded by Vergniaud moving that an additional guard ſhould be demanded for the protection of the convention. On the ſame day a declaration was publiſhed by the preſident Iſnard, condemning in ſtrong terms the indecent ſcene which had juſt been acted, and charging the anarchiſts with being the accomplices of the combined kings.

On the twenty-third ſome deputies from the ſection of fraternity appeared at the bar to offer proofs of the plots in their ſection againſt liberty and the convention—They ſaid it had been agitated in a meeting held on the preceding Sunday and Monday, at the mayor's houſe, to "make another tenth of Auguſt buſineſs," which was to be followed by a maſſacre like that of the third of September. The mayor, however, had oppoſed theſe proceedings, and threatened to adjourn the aſſembly. Several deputations appeared on the ſame day from the different ſections engaging to protect the convention; and on the following day the mayor of Paris, Pache, addreſſed a letter to the preſident confirming the account of what had paſſed in the ſection of fraternity, but adding, that the mention of maſſacres had only proceeded from ſome heated individuals.

The city of Paris in the mean time continued in a ſtate of extreme agitation; and on the twenty-ſeventh the mayor wrote to the convention, that the contending parties were on the point of proceeding to extremities. Marat embraced the opportunity to throw the blame on the commiſſion of twelve, who he inſiſted had provoked the inſurrection of the people, and demanded that the commiſſion ſhould be diſſolved as the only means of preventing a general inſurrection. The ſection of la Cite at this moment appeared at the bar, and demanded the liberation of its preſident and ſecretary, who had been arreſted by the commiſſion of twelve; the deputation further inſiſted that the commiſſion of twelve ſhould be carried before the revolutionary tribunal. A moſt tumultuous debate aroſe, in which the galleries again took a part; and the preſident and commiſſion of twelve were vehemently threatened by the mountain party and their adherents in the galleries.

The evening ſitting was ſcarcely leſs tumultuous; but the convention underſtanding that twenty-eight of the ſections of Paris had determined to riſe and inſiſt on the diſmiſſion of the commiſſion of twelve, at length decreed that it ſhould be diſſolved, and that Hebert, a deputy of the convention, who had been impriſoned by their authority, ſhould be ſet at liberty.

The diſcuſſion was reſumed on the ſucceeding day, and it was attempted to decide by the appel nominal, whether the commiſſion ſhould be diſſolved agreeable to the vote of the preceding night. A ſcene of unprecedented confuſion enſued; and the preſident, having in vain attempted to reſtore order, reſigned his office. A new preſident was then ordered to be choſen, and the Jacobin (or mountain) party having ſucceeded in placing in the chair one of their own adherents, the diſſolution of the commiſſion was again decreed by a majority of forty-two votes; the members who compoſed it were denounced, and the perſons impriſoned by their orders were liberated. The ſitting concluded by a conciliatory ſpeech from Barrere, as organ of the committee of public ſafety, in which he repreſented in lively colours the dangers which threatened the republic on every ſide—recommended inſtant reinforcements to be ſent to the armies; and a union of thoſe parties who divided the national convention and the republic. By the advice of Barrere, the members of the commiſſion in the ſame ſitting gave in their reſignations.

The moderate party in the convention at the head of which was Barrere, now endeavoured to divert the attention of the public from theſe diſaſtrous conteſts to objects of real utility; and ſome decrees reſpecting public inſtruction were propoſed and paſſed on the twenty-ſeventh, as well as a plan for the renovation of the military force.

Every attempt to reſtore order and tranquillity was, however, in vain. The people had received a deep impreſſion that the public ſafety had been neglected by the Gironde party, and ſuſpected nothing but treachery and fraud. The conſtituted authorities of Paris were invited to aſſemble, to deliberate on the means of ſaving the country; it was then determined that the barriers ſhould be ſhut; and the council general publiſhed a proclamation exhorting the citizens to tranquillity.

At four o'clock, however, on the morning of the thirty-firſt the tocſin was ſounded, the generale was beaten, and the alarm gun was fired. The citizens repaired to their reſpective ſections, and a profound ſentiment of terror pervaded the whole city. At ſeven o'clock the convention aſſembled; the mayor and the miniſter of the interior were cited to the bar. The former declared that he had given the neceſſary orders to prevent the alarm guns being fired: and that he had repaired to the committee of public ſafety to give an account of the ſtate of Paris. He had afterwards repaired to the permanent council general of the commune, who had proceeded to ſuſpend the members of the municipality; but who were afterwards reſtored to their functions.

The proviſional commune at this moment appeared at the bar; they announced that, having been charged to diſcover a great conſpiracy, they were come to fulfil their miſſion; they then were proceeding to ſtate two reſolutions they had formed, when Guadet roſe to oppoſe this uſurpation of powers, which he ſaid belonged to the convention alone. He propoſed to annul all that had been done during the night by the revolutionary committees, and to bring before the proper tribunals the council of the commune, as well as thoſe who ſounded the tocſin, beat the generale, and ſhut up the barriers. The propoſal of Guadet was at firſt decreed; but, being warmly oppoſed by Thuriot and Lacroix, the decree was afterwards repealed.

While this affair was in agitation a deputation from the revolutionary committes appeared at the bar, and demanded—

1. The ſuppreſſion of the commiſſion of twelve.
2. A revolutionary army of ſans-cullottes.
3. A decree of accuſation againſt twenty-two deputies and the members of the above named commiſſion.
4. A diminution of the price of bread.
5. The diſpatch of commiſſioners to the ſouthern provinces, there to put a ſtop to the counter-revolution. And,
6. The arreſt of Claviere the miniſter of finance, and Le Brun the miniſter of foreign affairs.

The department of Paris next appeared, and demanded a decree of accuſation againſt Iſnard, Briſſot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Genſonné, Barbaroux, Roland, Claviere, Lebrun, Lefage, &c.

The mayor of Paris was afterwards called to the bar, and declared, that the cauſe of the diſturbances was the conduct of the commiſſion of twelve; and that the conſtituted authorities, far from riſing againſt the convention, were endeavouring to quiet the people.

The morning ſitting of the firſt of June paſſed without any thing extraordinary being tranſacted, except that an addreſs from the convention to the people propoſed by Barrere was adopted through the influence of the mountain party, in preference to one offered by

Lasource. This circumstance may be considered as the first mark of the former deputy having relinquished the party of the Gironde.

At six o'clock in the evening the tocsin was again sounded, and the generale beaten. The pretended cause of the disturbance was the neglect of the convention to determine on the petition of the department of Paris on the preceding day; and as soon as the convention met, a deputation from that department presented themselves at the bar, and demanded immediate attention to the subject of their petition, and that Ducos, Fonfrede, and Dussaulx, should be added to the list of denounced members. The sitting concluded with a decree passed on the motion of Barrere—"That the committee of public safety "should present within three days the means which should appear best calculated to des- "troy the external and internal enemies of the republic; and the same committee should "immediately make a report respecting the deputies under accusation."

On the next day, the second of June, the suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau were again in motion. An immense crowd surrounded the hall of the convention and were violent in their demand that a decree of accusation should be passed, several members entered and complained that they had been insulted by the mob, and that their deliberations were no longer free. A deputation was then sent out to address the people; but they were scarcely able to obtain a hearing, and were only answered by indistinct clamours for a decree of accusation. After the return of the deputation a tumultuous debate took place. The acclamation that "the convention was no longer free in its deliberations" resounded through the hall. Barrere, in the name of the committee of public safety, proposed that the accused deputies should resign their seats, and that there should be an entire charge of ministers. With this requisition some of the members complied, but others refused to abdicate a character with which they had been invested by the people. Lasource demanded that the armed force should withdraw, and Barrere proposed to march in a body out of the hall among the people. Agreeably to this proposal the president led the way, and the whole convention proceeded without molestation through the midst of the crowd, and after making the circuit of the Thuilleries returned to the hall. The populace however remained, and before the convention rose a decree was passed ordering the following members to be arrested, Gensonne, Vergniaud, Brissot, Gaudet, Gorsas, Petion, Salles, Cambon, Barbaroux, Buzot, Biroteau, Rabaut, Lasource, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuve, Lesage, Louvet, Valazé, Doulcet, Ducos, Lanthenas, Dussaulx, all the members of the commission of twelve, Fonfrede and St. Martin, excepted, and the ministers Claviere and Le Brun. On the request of Marat and others Ducos, Dussaulx, and Lanthenas were afterwards excepted. Such was the important transaction which the mountain party dignified with the appellation of the revolution of the thirty-first of May.

The deputies ordered under arrest published an address to the people of France, in which they professed to develope the causes of the commotions. Their account differs from the preceding, and deserves on the principles of justice a fair examination, it is as follows:—

"Frenchmen,—When the liberty of the national representation is no more, and truth is stifled, the temple of the laws must be shut. Thus, unable to execute the trust reposed in us, it is our indispensable duty to instruct you. We shall entirely confine

ourſelves to evident facts, and leave to you the care of drawing the neceſſary conſequences from them.

" A law had been enacted, which preſcribed the formation of committees in the different ſections of Paris, deſtined to watch over foreigners and ſuſpicious people. This law was eluded. Inſtead of thoſe committees, others were formed in the moſt illegal manner, contrary to the letter of the law as well as its intention.

" Theſe illegal revolutionary committees have created a central committee, compoſed of one member from every committee of each ſection. This central committee, after ſome clandeſtine deliberations, has ſuſpended the conſtituted authorities; it has aſſumed the title of the revolutionary council of the department of Paris, and has inveſted itſelf, with a dictatorial power; or rather has uſurped it.

" An extraordinary committee had been decreed within the boſom of the convention, to denounce the illegal and arbitrary acts of the different conſtituted authorities of the republic; to trace and diſcover the plots formed againſt the liberty and ſecurity of the national repreſentation, and to cauſe all perſons to be arreſted who ſhould be denounced as chiefs of conſpiracies. Surrounded by an armed force, thoſe revolutionary committees demanded, on the twenty-ſeventh of May, the ſuppreſſion of this commiſſion. Their requeſt was decreed, but on the next day, on a vote by names, it was deferred till the committee ſhould have made their report.—(They conſtantly refuſed to attend the report.) On the thirtieth the revolutionary council intimated to the convention their order to ſuppreſs the extraordinary commiſſion. Amidſt armed petitioners, ſurrounded by cannon, under continual hiſſings and hootings from the galleries, ſome members decreed the ſuppreſſion of the commiſſion. On the thirty-firſt the generale was again beat; the tocſin ſounded, and the alarm-gun fired. At theſe ſignals all the citizens took up arms, and were ordered to aſſemble around the convention. Some deputations demanded a decree of accuſation againſt thirty-five of the members of the convention. The aſſembly who before had unanimouſly rejected this petition, as calumnious, when in the month of April it was brought forward by ſome of the ſections, ſupported by the municipality, now referred it to the committee of public ſafety, and enjoined the members of that committee to give in their report within three days. On the firſt of June, at three in the afternoon, the revolutionary council marched their armed force to inveſt the national hall; at night they appeared at the bar, and demanded a decree of accuſation againſt the denounced members. The convention paſſed to the order of the day, and ordered the petitioners to depoſit with the committee of public ſafety the proofs of the crimes imputed to the accuſed deputies.

" Since the thirtieth of May, the barriers had been ſhut, the adminiſtrators of the poſt ſuſpended, the journals ſtopped, the mails ſearched, the letters broken open and ſealed again, either with a ſeal bearing this inſcription—Revolution of the thirty-firſt of May 1793; or with another, inſcribed—The committee of public ſafety.

" The committee of public ſafety were waiting for the neceſſary proofs to make their report, when on Sunday, June the ſecond, the revolutionary council appeared again at the bar, and demanded for the laſt time, the decree of accuſation againſt the denounced members. The aſſembly paſſed again to the order of the day. The petitioners now gave a ſignal to the ſpectators to leave the hall and run to arms, for the purpoſe of obtaining that by open force which juſtice would not grant. About twelve at noon, the

generale was beat, the tocſin ſounded. The citizens were forced to take up arms, and obey the order of a commander whom the revolutionary council had placed at their head; more than one hundred cannons ſurrounded the national hall; grates to heat red hot balls were placed in the Champs Elyſees.

" The guard of the convention, as well as all true citizens, were confined in different guard-houſes; cannon were pointed towards all the avenues; the gates were ſhut, and the ſentries ordered to ſtop all the deputies who might attempt to paſs them, and to fire on every one who ſhould peep acroſs the bars. Duſſaulx, the venerable Duſſaulx, was beaten in a moſt infamous manner;—Boiſſy d'Anglas had his ſhirt torn; a great number of other deputies were inſulted by the vile ſatellites of Marat. The battalions which ſeveral days back ſhould have marched to La Vendée, arrived on a ſudden and ſeized upon the inner poſts of the hall. Aſſignats and wine were diſtributed among them. Theſe troops were deſtined to aſſaſſinate your repreſentatives, and would have done it, becauſe the national-guards were not able to prevent this ſlaughter. The aſſailants were provided with the beſt arms, whilſt the ſections complained of the want of them. In ſhort, the national hall was turned into a priſon, where the repreſentatives of the people were threatened, diſgraced, and inſulted. It was demanded, that the committee of public ſafety, to calm the rage of the ſeduced people who inveſted the hall, ſhould make their report.

" Barrere mounted the tribune, and ſpeaking in the name of the committee, propoſed, that the denounced members againſt whom no proof whatever of the crimes imputed to them had been produced, ſhould be invited to ſuſpend themſelves from their functions. Some of them ſubmitted to this meaſure. A decree paſſed, that the commander of the armed force ſhould be ordered to the bar, to account for his conduct, and inform the convention from whom he had received his orders?—This decree was not executed. Two of the factious invaders inſulted a deputy, and were ordered to be taken to the bar. Violence and open force oppoſed alſo the execution of the ſecond decree. Then it was requeſted that the ſitting ſhould be ended, and the temple of the laws ſhut. An end was put to the ſitting, the preſident walked out of the hall at the head of the convention, and ordered the ſentries to withdraw.

" The convention reached the middle of the court without meeting any reſiſtance, but being arrived there, the commander of the armed force ordered them to return. The preſident told him, that the convention was not to be dictated to; that it held its authority independent of any other than the French people, and that they alone had a right to command it. The commander, Henriot, drew his ſword, ranged his cavalry in order of battle, and ordered the cannoneers to point their cannon. His ſoldiers were ready to fire—the preſident turned back, the members followed him, and attempted every outlet in order to eſcape, but every avenue was cloſed, or defended by cannon.—At length, the convention, unable to retire, reſumed their ſitting. What do we ſay? They returned into their priſon, and ſome members decreed, that Genſonne, Guadet, Briſſot, Gorſas, Petion, Vergniaud, Salles, Barbaroux, Chambon, Buzot, Biroteau, Lidon, Rabaut, Laſource, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuve, Le Hardy, Le Sage, Kervelegan, Gardien, Boileau, Bertrand, Vigee, Mollévaut, Lariviere, Gomaire, and Bergoin, ſhould be put under arreſt in their own houſes. And why?—We muſt not forget to mention, that on the propoſal of Marat, Couthon demanded, that Valazé and Louvet ſhould be added

to that number, and that ſome members gave their conſent, for the greater part did not take any ſhare in theſe humiliating deliberations. After the decree was ſigned, a deputation made its appearance to teſtify its approbation of the decree, and tendered an equal number of citizens to ſerve as hoſtages for the arreſted members.

" Frenchmen! who would be free and republicans, theſe are facts, which no one will dare to deny; we repreſent them only to you in a maſs, and forbear to enter into details ſtill more atrocious. The national repreſentation, impriſoned, diſgraced, deliberating under the poignards of an audacious faction, is no more. Do not ſuffer any longer the uſurpation of your rights; do not leave in ſuch hands the exerciſe of the ſovereignty of the nation; reſcue the liberty, the ſacred equality, the unity, and indiviſibility of the Republic:—without them France is loſt. Reject with horror all propoſitions tending to any kind of federaliſm. Rally, unite, and be firm, you may ſtill ſave the public cauſe. This public cauſe reſides in the whole of your country; it is not confined nor concentrated within the walls of Paris. Your deputies may there periſh, but they will die worthy of themſelves; too happy, if after their death, their country ſhall be ſaved. When the moment of national revenge is come, then Frenchmen, do not forget that Paris is not guilty, that the citizens of Paris were ignorant of the plot, of which they have been made the blind tools. No! it is not upon Paris that the dreadful and all-powerful hand of the nation ought to bear down; but on that horde of robbers and criminals, who have made themſelves maſters of Paris, who are devouring Paris and France, who cannot exiſt without crimes, and have no other refuge left but in deſpair, the offspring of vice. Farewell!"

Before we enter further into theſe unhappy ſcenes, it will be important to throw ſome light upon the ſpirit of party at this time. But theſe movements of denunciation were wrought by the machinations of ſubordinate factions, in a greater degree than poſſibly has been hitherto completely devulged; there has however appeared ſufficient evidence to prove that the commotions of the tenth of March were wrought by a club that met at the Corazza coffee-houſe; to this club belonged Chabot, Desfieux, Guzman, Collot, L'Huillier, and Varlet a youth of not twenty years of age, who had nevertheleſs been concerned in every tumult that had occured for the four preceding years. There was alſo among them one Proli, a natural ſon of prince Kaunitz, and an intimate of Robeſpierre, who traded as a merchant.

In the breaſts of thoſe who mingled in the conteſts of the two ſides of the convention, glowed all the paſſions that tend naturally to kindle revolt. Almoſt all the nations of the earth have fabricated temples to the deſtinies, and in that temple repreſented deities, good and evil, contending among themſelves for the right of emitting thoſe decrees which are to regulate the fortunes of mankind. The allegory is ſtriking and is ſuſceptible of application in all the tranſactions of civil life. Repeated evidence has been given of the diviſion of the convention into parties from its firſt inſtitution. There were few in it who poſſeſſed that energy of neutrality, which is in great convulſions ſo rare, becauſe the paſſions cry it down under the names of imbecility or treachery. The conteſt was between all who ſat on one ſide and all who ſat on the other, and reſembled two diſtinct aſſemblies producing daily accuſations in the preſence of the republic.

The right ſide ſaid to the left ſide: " The legiſlators of a great republic ought to be animated with the moſt ſincere reſpect and love for humanity; and you, all polluted as

you are, with the blood ſhed upon the ſecond and third days of September, cannot be fit perſons to give laws to France. The legiſlators of an empire, deſtined by the fertility of its territorial ſoil, the genius of the inhabitants, and the great ſhare which it engroſſes of the commerce of the univerſe, deſtined by theſe advantages, to attain to the moſt fortunate pitch of general proſperity, ought to regard property as one of the moſt ſacred fundamental principles of ſocial order. Surely, then, the functions of legiſlators of France cannot be fulfilled by you, who preach anarchy, who protect pillage, who promulgate principles by which proprietors are brought into terror, who excite thoſe who have no poſſeſſions but vice and miſery, againſt thoſe who are eaſy in the circumſtances of their fortune, and not deſtitute of virtues. The abuſe of liberty has ever proved its ruin; and you puſh the revolution to every diſorderly exceſs to which it can be perverted. After long anarchy, tyranny always ſtarts up; and you are the men by whom anarchy is, in all quarters, fomented and maintained. Who is there ſo blind as not to ſee, that your ſallies of patrotiſm are merely the diſguiſe and the engines of all the evil propoſes by which you are violently driving, to reduce the riſing republic into the moſt abject ſervitude? Is the furious extravagance of your apparent patriotiſm any pledge that you are incapable of perfidy? No man was ever more perfidious than Cromwell; yet no man ever diſplayed more of the furious extravagance of zeal. Of all animals, a tyger is, at once, the moſt blood-thirſty and the moſt cunning. You have put to death a king who was not of your own creation; but, you have among you one of the Bourbons, who hopes, that you will exalt him upon the vacant throne; it was in a dependence upon the mutual faith of robbers to one another, that he gave his vote for the death of him who he regards as his own predeceſſor. True republicans have no wealth, but you ſcatter gold and ſilver with boundleſs profuſion, wherever there are corrupt minds to be bought, and venal hands to be armed. You are for ever whetting the aſſaſſin's daggers for ſlaughter; and to maſſacre the citizens of the republic, is to murder the republic itſelf. You inſtigate againſt us all the ruffian cut-throats in Paris, We invoke to our aid againſt you, all the honeſt men in France.'

The left ſide again ſaid to the right: 'So much oſtentatious talk of your virtues, unavoidably excites us to ſuſpect, that you have vices and guilty projects to hide under this aſſumed diſguiſe. Such pride of talents and illumination of mind, convinces us that you propoſe to employ your talents for your own aggrandiſement, not to promote the intereſts of general *equality*. In your hands liberty would ſoon be ſtrangled. When the thunders of national vengence ſtruck a guilty monarch, you had not ceaſed to pay your court, and to offer your vows of allegiance to the criminal. While he allowed you to rule in his name, by the miniſtration of ſervants whom you had recommended to him; you then thought him ſufficiently faithful to the nation. You did not begin to look upon him as a traitor, till he fruſtrated the views of your ambition, as well as betrayed the nation. Your ſecret wiſhes never were to exalt France to the glorious deſtiny of a great republic, but to preſerve it under the mock government of a king, whom you might accuſe and protect, by turns; who ſhould be *your* priſoner, and you the mayors of *his* palace. Upon your plan, the king would have enjoyed a ſhadowy royalty; the nation would have had but a ſhadow of liberty; the only realities left, would have been your tyranny, and uſurped power. You baſe men, who think formal tricks and low

artifices to be all the ſcience of a *ſtateſman;* know that true republicans advance with intrepid rapidity along thoſe broad paths which they open up for themſelves; and that the crafty politicians are men who, like you, ſlowly inſinuate themſelves through thoſe obliquities which they have marked out and waved for themſelves. When the tyrant appeared before the national juſtice, of which you and we were the organs, *we* pronounced ſentence of death upon him; but, *you*, who wiſhed to ſave his life which you wanted for the purpoſe of your cabals, when, to ſhare our glory, you voted, with us, *for his death*, propoſed, in addition, an *appeal to the people*, in order to ſave the tyrant whom you pretended to condemn. By this act alone, ſtateſmen worthy of Borgia and his preceptor! you procured us to be abhorred as men of ſavage cruelty, you procured yourſelves to be adored, as eminently juſt; and you have conjured up a civil war, to rend France in pieces, to divide it into fœderal ſtates, of which you hoped to be the ſole legiſlators, conſuls, ephori, archontes. You have ſcarely at all deplored the effuſion of republican blood, ſhed in this war againſt Europe, which the eager wiſhes of the people indeed contributed to kindle, but which your motions ultimately ſerved to excite. But, the effuſion of blood ſhed in the priſons for the ſafety, and by the vengeance of the people, you would at all rates avenge. It was the blood of *ariſtocrats*. What mean your continual cries againſt us, as endeavouring to aboliſh all property? What mean they,—but you wiſh to have at your command an army of proprietors, whom you may employ againſt us? an army which you would not pay, but receive pay from them! What mean thoſe eternal clamors that you deliberate with the daggers of aſſaſſins at your breaſts; that three hundred legiſlators are three hundred murderers, ever watching for opportunities to butcher the other three hundred members of the legiſlative body? Piſiſtratus did more than raiſe a cry about aſſaſſins; he wounded himſelf and his mules; and on the morrow, Piſiſtratus was encompaſſed with his guards, and the tyrant of his country. Stateſmen, your wiſhes are, at the beſt, but for liberty without equality: but, we, whom you call ſavages, becauſe we are as inflexible as the eternal principles of the rights of man,—we deſire equality, for no other reaſon, but becauſe, in our judgment, liberty can have no exiſtence without it. Stateſmen, you ſeek to eſtabliſh a republic for the peculiar benefit of the rich, amidſt whoſe riches, a republican conſtitution would quickly periſh: We, however, who are not ſtateſmen, but plain men of nature, deſtitute of art and ſcience, but inſtinctively inſpired with the ſentiments and the energies of virtue,—we ſeek laws which may relieve the poor man from miſery, and diſencumber the rich of their opulence; which, diffuſing general and equal plenty and comfort, may make us all the happy citizens, and the zealous defenders of a republic which will remain while the world endures, and ſhall ever command the wondering approbation of all mankind. Stateſmen, it is by and for that multitude by you dreaded or deſpiſed; it is by and for the people who commenced and have carried on the revolution; yes, it is by and for them alone, that we deſire to perfect it. Beware; the people may be, for a while, deceived by their oppreſſors; but, their paſſions take arms with inconceivable impetuoſity in behalf of their moſt paſſionate friends. Beware of forcing us to call the furious paſſions of the people to the defence of their rights, and of our lives. You ſhall, in that event, periſh; and the blood of private citizens, of all parties, muſt flow, and mingle with the ſtreaming blood of legiſlators of both ſides in the convention.

If you be not traitors and conſpirators relinquiſh your pride at the proſpect of thoſe ills with which your country is threatened.'

This is rather a mitigated abſtract of their accuſations, and theſe were not confined to the convention, but uttered in private converſation and aggravated by malicious enlargement. A converſation of the miniſter of juſtice Garat, with two of the leading men of the convention, and within the ſpace of two days, Salles of the Gironde, and Robeſpierre of the mountain, will illuſtrate the paſſions of party at this period, and the characters of the perſons themſelves.

Garat was of opinion that both parties were deſirous for the eſtabliſhment of the republic—at leaſt he had no doubt of either at the time. It was before the tenth of March, and by his own deſire that Robeſpierre gave Garat a meeting; in conſenting he ſhewed a degree of inſolence, and gave him ſcarcely time to ſay he wiſhed to ſpeak to him about the quarrels in the convention—"All thoſe deputies of the Gironde," ſaid Robeſpierre, impatiently, "Briſſot, Louvet, Barbaroux, are, without exception, counter-revolutioniſts, and conſpirators." I could not help ſmiling, at which he was exceedingly exaſperated—"This has always been your way," ſaid he, "in the conſtituent aſſembly you were inclined to think the ariſtocrats friendly to the revolution."—I never went quite ſo far. At the utmoſt, I thought only, that ſome of the nobles might not be ariſtocrats. I thought ſo of ſeveral among them; and you yourſelf are ſtill of the ſame mind in reſpect to ſome of them. I cannot help thinking ſtill, that we might have gained even ſome of the ariſtocrats, if, of two different means which were in our power force or reaſon, we had choſen oftener to employ reaſon, which was ſolely upon our ſide, and force more rarely, which was capable of being, likewiſe, ſooner or later, on the ſide of the tyrants. Let me perſuade you to forget thoſe dangers which we have now ſurmounted, and which had nothing in common with thoſe which now threaten us. The war was then between the friends and the enemies of liberty! It is now between the divided friends of the republic.—Had I an opportunity, I ſhould tell Louvet, that he is abſurd in ſuppoſing you a royaliſt; but I muſt ſay to you, that Louvet is no more a royaliſt than yourſelf. In your quarrels, you reſemble the Moloniſts and the Janſeniſts; whoſe whole diſpute turned upon the manner in which divine grace acts upon the ſoul of man; and who yet accuſed one another of not believing in the exiſtence of God. "If they be not royaliſts, why were they ſo anxious to ſave the life of a king? I could wager that you likewiſe were inclined to the ſide of mercy, of clemency, as you call it."—I ſhould not be afraid to declare my opinion; but it is not the matter now in queſtion. I probably would not have refuſed to inflict the puniſhment of death upon a man charged with ſuch enormous crimes. But my opinion did not accord preciſely with any opinion that had been publicly propoſed in the convention. As to clemency, it is the diſpoſition of mind moſt natural to republicans and conquerors: and a dead enemy may often do more harm than if he had been living.—"That is a very refined notion." That, to me, appears plain truth. "You, then, diſapprove the ſentence of condemnation to death, which you notified at the Temple; and did my ſpeech then ſeem horrible to you?" I might diſapprove the ſentence, though I officially notified it: but, if I had thought it abſolutely unjuſt, I would then have given in my reſignation, and would not have gone to the Temple. It was your ſpeech that rapidly brought the ſcale of condemnation to preponderate in the balance of national

juſtice. Barrere's ſpeech finally fixed the preponderancy, upon the ſame ſide. Would you have me freely declare what I think of your ſpeech?—"Yes."—Of all the ſpeeches delivered on that occaſion, yours made incomparably the moſt powerful impreſſion upon my mind. Your fundamental idea is new, and unexpected, and abſolutely confounds with aſtoniſhment the judgement of the hearer or reader: the ſtyle is bold and elegant: it abounds in paſſages glowing with paſſion, and in ſkilful tranſitions: it is an effort of genius; but, I confeſs, the logic of it appears to me very extraordinary, and entirely falſe. You prove ſucceſsfully enough, that it would have been lawful to put Capet to death on the tenth of Auguſt, either in the caſtle, or in the box of the Logographe, in the national convention, in which he took refuge. It would have been but the exerciſe of the right of war. But the right which war gives of putting an enemy to death is confined in its operation to the time of battle. When the battle is over the right of ſlaughter ceaſes. None but Tartars think themſelves at liberty to butcher their priſoners in cold blood: none but the ſavages of the American foreſts, think they have a right to devour the captives taken in war. Your ſpeech may be a model of eloquence; but it is nevertheleſs a ſpecimen of inconcluſive logic: to your leading principles, there muſt be other principles added, in order to prove, that the law, condemning Capet to the block, was a grand act of national juſtice, on the part of France; and to the whole world, a great and conſpicuous example, more lawful, more neceſſary, more uſeful, than the example of the trial and execution of Charles the Firſt of England.—"And what matters it, upon what principle, the death of the tyrant was found to be juſt and neceſſary? Your Girondines, your Briſſot, your appellants to the people, ſtrove to ſave him. They were willing to leave to tyranny all the means neceſſary to enable it once more to exalt itſelf upon our necks."

I know not, whether it was the intention of the appellants to the people, to ſave Louis from ſuffering death. The appeal to the people always appeared to me a meaſure raſh and dangerous. But I can conceive, how thoſe who voted for it might be led to think, be-that Capet, alive and a priſoner, might amidſt the ſhocks and fluctuations of events, come more uſeful to the people, as a means for doing honor to a republican nation in the eyes of the whole world, by affording them an opportunity to exerciſe in their own names, a great act of generoſity, in an act of ſovereignty. "This is, certainly, to aſcribe excellent intentions, to meaſures of which you could not approve, and to men who form conſpiracies in every quarter."—And where do they form conſpiracies?—"Every where. In Paris, in all France, in all Europe. Genſonné conſpires in the ſuburb of St. Antoine; going there about from ſhop to ſhop, to perſuade the merchants, we patriots are preparing to pillage their ſhops and warehouſes. The Gironde has long ſince formed the deſign of detaching itſelf from France, and joining England; its leading deputies are the authors of the plan, and have determined to carry it into execution, at all events. Genſonné makes no ſecret of this; but tells any one who is willing to liſten to him, that here they are not repreſentatives of the nation, but plenipotentiaries of the Gironde. Briſſot conſpires in his journal, which is the alarm-bell to a civil war. We know that he is gone to England, and know his reaſons for going thither. We are not ſtrangers to his intimate connecton with that miniſter for foreign affairs, that Le Brun, who is a native of Liege, and a creature of the houſe of Auſtria. The beſt friend Briſſot has is Claviere; and Claviere has carried conſpiracy wherever he has himſelf turned his footſteps. Rabaut,

a proteſtant, a philoſopher, and therefore a traitor, has not had art enough to hide from us his correſpondence with that courtier and traitor, Monteſquiou. For theſe ſix months, they have been concerting together, how to open Savoy and France to the invaſion of the Piedmonteſe. Servan has been named general, for no other end, but to deliver up the keys of France to the Spaniards. Dumourier's threats are directed more againſt Paris than Holland. And when that quack-hero came hither, where it was my wiſh to arreſt him, it was not with the mountain he daily dined, but with the miniſters and the Girondines." Three or four times with me, for inſtance.—" *I am weary of the revolution; I am ſick of it*: never was country in greater danger than ours now is; and I doubt whether we ſhall be able to extricate it. Well then! are you now diſpoſed to laugh and regard thoſe people as honeſt men, and good republicans?"—No; I am no longer diſpoſed to laugh; but I hardly refrain from ſhedding thoſe tears which are due to the misfortunes of our country, when I ſee her legiſlators preyed upon by ſuſpicions ſo atrocious, and ſo ſlenderly ſupported by probability. I am ſure, that there is no truth in theſe ſuſpicions of yours; but ſtill ſurer that theſe ſuſpicions are themſelves a very real, and a very great danger. Almoſt all theſe men are at preſent your enemies; but none of them, ſave Dumourier, is the enemy of the republic. And if all parties could lay aſide their reciprocal grudges, the republic would be no more in danger.—" Do not you propoſe to me to repeat the motion of biſhop Lamouret?"—No; I have at leaſt ſufficiently profited by the leſſons you have given me: and three national aſſemblies have taken pains to inſtruct me, that *the beſt patriots hate their enemies ſtill more than they love their country*. But, I have a queſtion to put to you; and I entreat you to recollect yourſelf before you make me an anſwer. Have you any doubts about any part of what you have ſaid to me? " None at all." I left him, upon this, and retired in great aſtoniſhment, and even horror, at what I had heard.'

Some days after this, going out from the executive council, Garat met Salles coming out of the national convention. The circumſtances of the time had continued to become more and more alarming. None who had any eſteem for one another, could meet, without being moved to enter into converſation concerning the critical ſituatian of the commonwealth.

What is this! ſaid he to Salles, accoſting him. 'Are there no means by which we may contrive to pacify theſe angry contentions?—" O, yes, I hope there are. I hope ſhortly to withdraw the veils which hide the villanies of thoſe men, and of their conſpiracies, from public view. But, as for you, I know that you have always a blind confidence and a fooliſh reſolution to believe nothing." You do me wrong. I reaſon like others; but, I muſt have ſtrong preſumptions, not bare ſuſpicions; atteſted facts, not imaginary ones. Why ſhould you ſuppoſe me ſo incredulous? Is it becauſe I would not believe you in the year 1789, when you aſſured me that Necker robbed the treaſury: and that the mules had been ſeen loaded with gold and ſilver, by which he ſent millions to Geneva? My incredulity on that ſcore I confeſs proved incorrigible; for I am even now convinced, that Necker has left here more millions of his own than he has carried of ours to Geneva.—" Necker was a paltry raſcal."—But that was nothing to the ſcoundrels who now ſwarm about us; and it is of them I would ſpeak to you, were you willing to hear me. " Moſt willingly ſhall I hear you:" and, to be more ſecure from interruption, they went into

the hall of the executive council, in which there was then no perſon.—"I ſhall tell you all;" ſaid Salles, "for I know it all. I have detected all their dark intrigues. All the plots, all the crimes of the mountain, began with the revolution. Orleans is the head of that knot of villains. He is the author of the infernal romance of the 'dangerous connections,' which has planned all the crimes committed by them, during theſe laſt five years. The traitor, Lafayette, was their accomplice; and he it was, who, by pretending to diſconcert the plot at its origin, ſent D'Orleans into England, to arrange all with Pitt, the prince of Wales, and the court of St. James's. Mirabeau was alſo a party in this plot. He took money from the king to conceal his connections with D'Orleans; but he had ſtill more money from D'Orleans to bribe him to his intereſts. The grand affair for the party of D'Orleans, was, to bring the Jacobins to enter into their deſigns. This they durſt not directly attempt: they firſt addreſſed themſelves to the Cordeliers. Among the Cordelier ſociety, all was at once ſold and devoted to them. Obſerve, that the Cordeliers have always been leſs numerous, and have always made leſs noiſe than the Jacobins. Their deſire is to make all the world their tools; but not to make all the world depoſitaries of their ſecrets. The Cordeliers have always been the centre of conſpiracy: It is there that Danton, the moſt dangerous of all the conſpirators, tutors and excites them to audacity and falſehood, while Marat ſpirits them up to aſſaſſination and maſſacre. It is there they rehearſe the parts they are to act among the Jacobins. The Jacobins, who ſeem as if they led all France, are themſelves notoriouſly led by the Cordeliers. The Cordeliers, who ſeem to be hidden in a corner of Paris, negociate with all Europe, and have envoys in all the courts which have vowed the ruin of our liberty. The fact is certain. I am in poſſeſſion of indubitable proofs of it. The Cordeliers, after overwhelming one throne in a deluge of blood, are preparing to ſhed new torrents of it, in order to raiſe a new throne for the trophy of their ſlaughters. They know that the right ſide, on which is all the virtue of the convention, is alſo the ſide on which are all the true republicans. If they accuſe us of royaliſm, it is for no other reaſon, but becauſe they want a pretext to let looſe upon us the fury of the multitude, but becauſe they can eaſier find daggers than arguments, to oppoſe us. In one ſingle conſpiracy there are three or four others. When the right ſide ſhall have been entirely deſtroyed, then comes the duke of York to take poſſeſſion of the throne; and D'Orleans, who has promiſed him the throne of France, will then aſſaſſinate him. D'Orleans himſelf will be aſſaſſinated by Marat, Danton, and Robeſpierre, who have made him a promiſe of the throne. The triumvirs will then ſhare among them, all ſmoaking, bleeding, France. At laſt, Danton, the ableſt of the three, will aſſaſſinate the other two, and reign alone, firſt under the title of dictator, afterwards, openly under that of king. This, you may be ſure, is their plan. By ſagacious reflection I have found it out: every thing concurs to prove it evidently. See you not how all the circumſtances connect and hang together? There is not an event in the revolution, but is a part and proof of theſe horrible plots. You are aſtoniſhed, I ſee; can you poſſibly be incredulous?"—I am, indeed, aſtoniſhed; but, pray, are there many among us, many on your ſide of the houſe, who think with you upon this head?—"All, or almoſt all, are of the ſame mind. Condorcet once ſuggeſted ſome objections. Sieyes has very little communication with us. Rabaut has a different plan, which, in many particulars, nearly agrees with mine, in others widely different from it. But none of them is at all more doubtful than I, of the truth of what I have told you. They all

feel the neceſſity of acting with promptitude, in order to prevent a multitude of crimes and misfortunes, in order that we may not loſe the benefits of a revolution that has coſt us ſo dear. On the right ſide there are members who have not ſufficient confidence in you. But I, who have been your colleague, who know you to be an honeſt man, and a friend to liberty, aſſure them, that you are of us, and are willing to employ in our favour all thoſe means of ſerving us which your office has put into your hands. Can you be in the ſmalleſt uncertainty reſpecting the truth of what I have told you concerning thoſe raſcals?"—I ſhould be altogether unworthy of the eſteem you expreſs for me, if I could leave you to think that I fully believe the truth of that plan which you ſuppoſe your enemies to have concerted againſt you. The more facts, perſons, and circumſtances, you introduce into your accounts of this plan, ſo much the more probable does it ſtill appear to you, ſtill the more improbable to me. Moſt of thoſe facts, out of which you make up this imagined plot of conſpiracy, have had an obvious intent, which there is no occaſion to aſcribe fictitiouſly to them: you, however, attribute to them a purpoſe which does not belong to them. Yet, to induce us to reject a natural explanation for the ſake of one more far-fetched, proofs are requiſite, both in oppoſition to the former, and for the ſupport of the latter. For inſtance, all the world believe, that Lafayette and D'Orleans were enemies to each other; and that it was in order to deliver Paris, France, and the national aſſembly, that D'Orleans was perſuaded or compelled by Lafayette to retire for ſome time out of France. You muſt ſhew, not only by aſſertion, but by proofs, 1ſt. That they were not enemies; 2dly. That they were accomplices: 3dly. That D'Orleans's retreat to England was intended for the purpoſe of carrying their plots into execution. I know that, inſiſting upon ſuch ſtrength and clearneſs of proof, may have a tendency to ſuffer crimes and misfortunes to come too near, before means are uſed for preventing and providing againſt them. But, I know alſo that, when we give way to all the ſuggeſtions of imagination, we are unavoidably betrayed into the folly of theory, in reſpect to both preſent and future events: we loſe the fit means for diſcerning through preſent events, and juſtly appreciating them. We dream of a thouſand crimes and intrigues which no body meditates, and we become blind to theſe ills which actually menace us. I doubt not but we have many villians among us. When every paſſion is let looſe, and when foreign gold is laviſhly offered to corrupt, this muſt unavoidably happen. But, truſt me, their projects, although atrociouſly wicked, are neither ſo enlarged, ſo grand, ſo comprehenſive, ſo ſkilfully conceived, nor built upon relations ſo remote, as you ſeem to apprehend. They are more robbers and aſſaſſins than deep conſpirators. The true conſpirators againſt the republic are the kings of Europe, with all their regiments. To prevent our paſſions from accompliſhing our overthrow, there is one means, and but one. Without delay, frame and eſtabliſh a form of government, which may have due energy, and may deſerve the confidence of the nation. In that ſtate into which, by your quarrels, the government has fallen, a democracy even of five and twenty millions of angels would ſoon become a prey to all the fury and diſcords inſpired by pride. As Jean Jacques ſays; we have need of five and twenty millions of gods; but nobody has ever imagined the exiſtence of ſo many. My dear Salles, men and great aſſemblies are not ſo conſtituted, as if there were on the one hand, none but gods; on the other, none but devils. Wherever mankind are divided by jarring intereſts and opinions; even the good are not free from the influence of bad paſſions; and even the bad, if their hearts and purpoſes be fairly examined,

are not inſuſceptible of honeſt and good impreſſions. To find within my own breaſt, a clear and irrefragable proof of at leaſt one half of this truth; I am conſcious of meaning as well as any one among you; yet when inſtead of refuting my opinions with gentleneſs and ſound argument, they are repelled with ſuſpicion and abuſe, I am ready to break off farther reaſoning, and to look whether my piſtols be charged. A brave man will not aſk a furlough, or give in his reſignation on the evening before a battle. The battle, I can foreſee, is not far diſtant.'

From paſſions ſo extravagant and malign, effects the moſt terrible were to be apprehended, and the fate of the proſcribed deputies could not be doubted, conſidering the diſtracted ſtate of the public mind. The conduct of the triumphant party in the midſt of theſe convulſions was governed ſtill with a view to the temper of the people; after the commotions of the early part of June had ſubſided, on the twenty-third of that month they iſſued a declaration of the rights of man; as a preface to the new form of government, which is contained in thirty-five articles. It ſtates, that the end of ſociety is the general happineſs; the rights of man are equal liberty, ſafety, and the protection of property — a free people know no other motive of preference in their election to offices than virtue and talents — the law is the protection of liberty, and juſtice its rule — All perſons have a right to aſſemble peaceably for public worſhip, without any prohibition from particular ſects.—The law does not acknowlege ſervitude or ſlavery; the contract between maſter and ſervant is only an engagement of attention and gratitude, between the man who labours and the man who employs him. Every one has a right to diſpoſe of his property, revenues, labour, and induſtry, according to his pleaſure. Society is obliged to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the unfortunate, either by procuring them work, or maintaining thoſe who are unable to labour. The concluding article ſtates, that when the government violates the rights of the people, inſurrection becomes the duty of the people.

A few days after the publication of this declaration, the aſſembly announced the completion of the new conſtitution of France, which had been diſcuſſed article by article, and paſſed as the conſtitutional act, within the ſpace of a fortnight. It is introduced by the following ſentence---" The French republic honors loyalty, courage, age, filial piety, and misfortune. It puts the depoſit of its conſtitution under the guard of all the virtues." It conſiſts of one hundred and twenty-four articles, arranged under general heads.*

Notwithſtanding the promptitude of the convention in ſatisfying the wiſhes of the people, with reſpect to a conſtitution; ſtill the revolution of the thirty-firſt of May, appeared only to add to the diſtractions which at this fatal period afflicted France, and threatened to proſtrate the genius of the country at the feet of its enemies. Immediately on the decree being paſſed againſt the members of the Gironde, the conteſt between the two parties extended itſelf throughout the departments.

On the ſeventeenth of June the miniſter of juſtice made a report to the convention of the ſteps taken to ſecure the denounced deputies, from which it appeared, that Lanjuinais, Vergniaud, Genſonne, Lehardy, Guadet, Petion, Boileau, Biroteau, Valaze, Gommaire, Bertrand, Gardien, Kervelegan, and Mullevaut, were arreſted at their own houſes.

* See the conſtitution at large, Appendix No. II.

That Bergoing, and Barbaroux had eſcaped after arreſt. That Lidon, Laſource, Rabaut, Briſſot, Salles, Chambon, Gorſas, Grangeneuve, Louvet, Leſage, Vigee, and Lariviere, were either fled or not to be found.

Briſſot and ſome others had fled precipitately to the departments, and ſpread the alarm againſt their opponents. They were not however ſo ſucceſsful in exciting the popular attention as their virtues and republican principles had entitled them to expect. Indeed, however much we may, and moſt ſincerely is their fate to be deplored, a ſentiment pervaded France which was ſuperior to any perſonal conſiderations, it was an attachment to the country againſt foreign force and conſpiracy, and a jealouſy which forbade any adherence to perſons however reſpectable, who were at variance with thoſe who conducted the prominent meaſures of the nation.

Commiſſioners from the triumphant party were ſoon diſpatched into the departments, and the greater number of the fugitives were captured and tranſmitted to Paris; and ſuch was the vigorous activity of the mountain deputies, that congratulatory addreſſes were procured even from the moſt diſtant parts of the country.

The ſouthern departments only remained attached to the fallen party. The city of Lyons in particular, which had from the firſt dawn of the revolution manifeſted a zeal for monarchy and ariſtocracy, and which had on the execution of the king nearly declared for revolt, embraced this new convulſion as a moment favourable to declare its wiſhes and principles. The inſurrection of the thirty-firſt of May was therefore no ſooner announced, than diſcontent was openly manifeſted, Biroteau on his eſcape took refuge in Lyons, where he found the people ripe for revolt, and eager to ſupport the Gironde party. In the beginning of July a congreſs of that department was convoked, and on their meeting at Lyons it was reſolved to march a conſiderable force againſt Paris, to outlaw the mountain party, and to intercept all proviſions deſtined for the camp and the armies. The cities of Marſeilles and Toulon, followed the example of Lyons, and entered into a league for diſſolving the convention, which was from thence ſtigmatiſed with the epithet of federaliſm. The whole department of Gironde alſo, entered warmly into the diſpute, and its members were conſidered as the leaders of the excluded party; the department of Calvados was the retreat of the greater number of theſe fugitives.

On the twelfth of July, the Marſeillois iſſued a manifeſto to the French nation, in which they declare the preſent ſituation of Paris, is equivalent to a declaration of war againſt the whole republic; they denounce Philip Egalite, as the cauſe of all the evils that afflict France, and conjure the people to join their ſtandard to eſtabliſh the republic, wreſt its authority from thoſe who had uſurped it. The Lyonnois were more cautious, in their public declarations, for they profeſſed obedience to the convention, and were vehement in their ſpeeches for the indiviſibility of the republic; while they were at the ſame time levying troops and preparing for a vigorous defence.

The conduct of Lyons and the general ſpirit of revolt in the ſouth, proved to be the moſt fatal circumſtances, for the proſcribed party that could have befallen them; for as the royaliſm of the Lyonnois was univerſally known, and the fanaticiſm of religion was very prevalent in the departments in revolt, it was not difficult to perſuade the people of the other departments, that the Gironde were actually in a conſpiracy with the kings and emigrants. The emigrants had improved the diſturbance to the advancement

of their deſigns, and they did not heſitate to declare that a correſpondence ſubſiſted between the Girondiſts and the leaders of the emigrants.

On the eighth of July the committee of public ſafety produced its report concerning the impriſoned members of the convention. It charged Briſſot, Petion, and ſome others, with conſpiring to place the ſon of Lewis on the throne; Carra was charged with propoſing in the Jacobin club, to place the Engliſh duke of York on the throne; Petion was alſo charged with ſigning the order for firing on the people on the tenth of Auguſt; and Manuel of propoſing the ſilly honors uſual to kings, to be conferred on the preſident of the convention; Roland was charged in general terms with perſecuting the republicans; and they endeavoured in like manner to throw the blame of the maſſacres of the ſecond of September on ſome of the accuſed.

It was urged that the Pruſſian general Kalkreuth at the period of the evacuation of Champagne, had made propoſals to general Kellerman for a peace, that they had been tranſmitted to the diplomatic committee, but the Gironde compoſing that body had buried the letters of Kellerman in oblivion. Their connection with Dumourier was reiterated, and even the propoſition of Buzot for baniſhing the Bourbons was declared to be only a contrivance to place the Orleans family out of danger.

Valadi was charged with putting up a bill exhorting the citizens to expel the popular clubs. And the whole were accuſed of exciting rebellion and federaliſm at Bordeaux, Marſeilles, Lyons, the North, and in Corſica; with eſtabliſhing a new ſpecies of tyranny under the commiſſion of twelve, who had impriſoned Hebert a man inveſted with magiſterial authority. On theſe charges all the fugitives were declared traitors, and the ſame accuſations were laid againſt thoſe in cuſtody.

The demon of diſcord had now unlooſed his moſt deadly ſpells. Party had arrived at its moſt deplorable exceſs, and the conduct of the people were no longer under the influence of reaſon or deliberation, but of alarm, ſuſpicion, terror, and enthuſiaſm. The ſuſceptible minds of the fair ſex have ever been peculiarly obnoxious to the influence of enthuſiaſm. A ſtrong example of this, was exhibited at this period by a beautiful young woman, of the department of Calvados, of the name of Charlotte Cordé. She had been in the habits of confidence and friendſhip with many of the fugitive deputies, and her ſpirit was animated with the moſt ſublime devotion to the principles of liberty and her country The factions which prevailed in the convention had excited her abhorrence, and ſhe trembled for liberty and the cauſe of virtue. Among all thoſe who excited her indignation and diſguſt, Marat was the moſt conſpicious and odious. His ſanguinary proſcriptions, his horrid denunciations and maxims, had diſturbed her repoſe, and upon the flight of the Gironde deputies ſhe formed the reſolve to ſacrifice him, to the injured genuis of her country. In the beginning of July ſhe proceeded to Paris from Caen, with letters of recommendation from Barbaroux to Duperret, Fauchet, and others. On the twelfth of that month ſhe addreſſed a letter to Marat—"Your civiſm "muſt make you deſirous of diſcovering conſpiracies; I have a very important one to "communicate to you, and therefore beg you will hear me at your houſe."

As ſhe did not receive an immediate anſwer, ſhe addreſſed a ſecond billet to him,—"Have you received my letter? If you have, I reſt on your politeneſs. It is enough "that I am unfortunate to claim your attention." On the evening of the thirteenth ſhe waited on him, and being admitted, entered into a converſation concerning the con-



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ſpiracy which exiſted at Caen and the members in conſpiracy, Barbaroux and others. Marat anſwered that the traitors would ſoon be diſcovered, and would one day loſe their heads on the ſcaffold. He had ſcarcely uttered theſe words, when fired with vengeance ſhe drew a dagger and transfixed it in his heart! — She walked out of the houſe with the moſt perfect compoſure, and was ſoon after arreſted; when brought before a magiſtrate, ſhe looked on them with a ſmile of indignant and contemptuous mockery, and declared that ſhe gloried in releaſing her country from a monſter; that ſhe had fixed her mind upon his death as neceſſary to its ſalvation; that there were others who ſhould alſo periſh had ſhe the power, but as ſhe knew that ſhe could ſacrifice but one, ſhe was determined to begin with the moſt execrable of them all. In her pockets were found a ſmall ſum of money, a letter addreſſed to Marat, a paſſport from Caen, her baptiſmal certificate, dated 28th June 1786.—Duperret and Fauchet to whom ſhe brought letters were put under arreſt, and ſhe was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and ac-acknowledged the deed. She even ſpoke at large in juſtification of the act, as neceſſary to the honour and happineſs of her country, and glorious to herſelf; that it was due to juſtice to rid the world of a ſanguinary monſter, whoſe doctrines were framed for indiſcriminate deſtruction, and who was already condemned by the public opinion. She truſted her example would inſpire the people with that energy which had been at all times the characteriſtics of republicans, and which ſhe defined to be that devotedneſs to our country, which renders life of little comparitive eſtimation, declaring that ſhe was animated by that ſentiment, in forming her reſolution, that it inſpired her with fortitude and would not deſert her.

Her deportment during the trial was modeſt and dignified. There was ſo engaging a ſoftneſs in her countenance, that it was difficult to conceive how ſhe could have armed herſelf with ſufficient intrepidity to execute the ſacrifice ſhe had reſolved upon, or ſuſtain herſelf with ſo much collection on the verge of death.

She ſometimes ſurprized the audience with her wit, and excited their admiration with her eloquence. Her countenance ſometimes beamed with ſublimity, and was conſtantly covered with ſmiles. Her anſwers to the interrogatories of the court were full of point and energy. At the cloſe of the trial ſhe took three letters from her boſom, and preſented them to the judges, requeſting that they might be forwarded to the perſons to whom they were addreſſed. Two were written to Barbaroux, in which with great eaſe and vivacity, ſhe related her adventures, from her departure from Caen to the morning of her trial. The other was an affectionate and ſolemn adieu to her father and mother, which concluded with the well known verſe of Corneille.—"*C'eſt le crime qui fait la honte, et "non pas l'échaffaud.*"—'Tis the crime makes the ignominy, and not the ſcaffold.

She retired while the jury were deliberating on the verdict, and on her return there was a majeſtic ſolemnity in her demeanour, deeply impreſſive and intereſting. She heard the ſentence with attention and compoſure, and after converſing with her counſel and another friend who ſat near her during the trial, on whom ſhe conferred the requeſt of diſcharging a few ſmall debts incurred at priſon, ſhe left the court with the ſame ſerenity to prepare for the laſt ſcene.

It is difficult to conceive much leſs to deſcribe, the kind of heroiſm which ſhe diſplayed on the way to execution. The croud that aſſembled, uſually ſo clamorous and prone to invective, were awed to ſilence, by her appearance and demeanour, tears flowed

even from the eyes of the aged, and thouſands uncovered their heads with reverence and admiration; and even at the place of execution the tokens of reſpect were conſtant; there was ſuch an air of chaſtened exultation thrown over her whole viſage and deportment, that ſhe inſpired ſenſations of love, rather than ſentiments of pity. She aſcended the ſcaffold with undaunted firmneſs, and ſeemed to feel that as ſhe had only to die, ſhe ought to die with a dignity conſiſtent with her patriotiſm. She had learned from the jailor the mode of puniſhment, but was not inſtructed in the detail, and when the executioner attempted to tie her feet to the plank, ſhe reſiſted from an apprehenſion that he meant to inſult her; but upon his explaining himſelf ſhe ſubmitted with a ſmile. When he took off her neck-kerchief, the moment before ſhe bent under the fatal axe, ſhe bluſhed deeply, and her head which was held up to the multitude the inſtant after, exbibited that laſt impreſſion of offended modeſty. In her perſon ſhe was well ſhaped, incilining to tallneſs, of the moſt graceful manners, and modeſt demeanor; there was in her countenance, which was beautiful and engaging, and in all her movements, a mixture of ſoftneſs and dignity. Her ſoul ſeemed to be inſpired with the moſt ardent devotion to liberty and her country, and the heroes of free nations were the frequent ſubjects of her diſcourſe and her admiration; ſhe had introduced herſelf to the notice of the members of the Gironde at Caen, and as appeared, only with a view to become acquainted with men whoſe talents and patriotiſm ſhe admired. She had never communicated her deſign to any of them, which is in itſelf evident from the object which ſhe had ſelected; had their opinions been conſulted, Robeſpierre would have been her victim.

The mountain faction in the convention, was ſtruck with conſternation by her heroiſm, a deputation was ordered to proceed to the lodgings of Marat, and David the painter, one of the deputies thus reports this miſſion:—

"I went with my colleagues into the ſection of the Theatre Françaiſe, in order to put into execution the decree iſſued yeſterday. Putrefaction has rendered the corpſe of Marat ſo infectious, that it will be impoſſible to lay him out in ſtate. Only one half of his body will be preſented to view, covered with a wet ſheet. He is to be interred to night, having been expoſed to the ſight of the friends of liberty in the garden of the Cordeliers, where he formerly entertained and inſtructed them by his leſſons and example.

"I have read," added David, "the lives of the Ariſtides, the Catos, the Fabricii, and the great men of antiquity: all I can do is to admire them, but not to make their panegyric—I am exactly thus ſituated with regard to Marat: I have ſeen him—I have known him—I have conſtantly admired him—Poſterity will be his judge."

Theſe ſentiments of David, and the expreſſions in the ſecond billet of Cordé, leave on the mind an impreſſion, that Marat had obtained at leaſt the reputation of ſome virtues—it is a difficult matter to appreciate his character; by his own party he had been extolled as a martyr of liberty and patriotiſm, as the ſteady and diſintereſted friend of the people; his adverſaries have heaped upon his memory every epithet that is capable of expreſſing turpitude and exciting abhorrence; they have repreſented him as ſelfiſh, corrupt, ambitious, cruel, treacherous, and ferocious; certain it is, that the life of Marat exhibited circumſtances that countenanced all the praiſe of his friends and the cenſure of his enemies; and that in fixing the eſtimate of character, his good actions where they appear,

his talents where properly employed, cannot be allowed to extenuate either his errors or his crimes; that as the former alone ſhould have been the rule of his life, ſo the greater his departure from and violation of the obligations of virtue, the more odious and leſs worthy of regard muſt he appear.—In every variety his character exhibits a phœnomenon, which can ſcarcely come into compariſon with any other that has preceded it. By dull yet daring ſyſtems he had attacked the grandeſt diſcoveries of modern times, or of the human mind, his theoretic boldneſs gained him attention, and he endeavoured to accompliſh a revolution in the ſciences; he turned to hiſtory, and his deadly eyes roving over ages ſettled with complacency on the lives of four or five illuſtrious mankillers, who changed cities into deſarts, in order to repeople them with monſters like themſelves—This was all he remembered of the annals of mankind, all he knew, all he in his actions imitated; by an inſtinct reſembling that of beaſts of prey, rather than by any deep or accurate knowledge of man, he ſaw it was poſſible to hurry a people to the extravagance of folly, and to render enormous vice neceſſary to their extrication—he ſaw that the period when a nation burſts aſunder the chains of ſuperſtition and deſpotiſm, was preciſely the point of time to delude them, and his journal, his lectures in the walks of the public gardens, where he affected to rival Socrates and Plato, his harangues to the Jacobins and Cordeliers, were all directed to this end—Yet hear David the painter deplore his death, and if you conſider David as ſincere, which can ſcarcely be doubted, you muſt believe that his private life was in appearance directed to promote virtue by precept and by an examplary diſintereſtedneſs—But view the man and compare his public actions, ſee him buſtling with turbulent activity in the convention, his ſmokey-blood-coloured viſage, his crocodile mouth, and gloting eyes, juſt as if he had iſſued from the den of the anthropophagi, or from hell, with quick, convulſive, broken, interrupted pace, he ſeems to be a condemned aſſaſſin juſt eſcaped out of the hands of the executioner, but whoſe breaſt is ſtill goaded by all the furies—one of thoſe demonized beings, who would annihilate the human race to eſcape their ſight.

Beſide him on the mountain ſat men who could not have contrived deeds like his, they were inſenſibly embarked with him in the headlong ſtream of events whoſe rapid courſe ſtunned and confounded them. They beheld Marat with horror, and their criminately conſiſted in making him who was capable of every deſparate exceſs, the inſtrument to execute meaſures that they would not accompliſh from prudential motives—they ſet him in the midſt of them and wore him as the petrifying Meduſa's hea upon their breaſts; to the mountain they reſorted as to a poſt of military ſervice and danger — and they found themſelves aſſociated with ſuch tygers and wolves as Marat and Robeſpierre, to ſtay was to incur odium, but to deſert was in their minds to relinquiſh liberty to a faction conſpiring for monarchy or oligarchy; they conceived that they could not be diſgraced by the actions of thoſe who violated the principles of liberty, and blindly ſubmitted to obtain imaginary good by the practice of real evil; others looked upon him as the Therſites of the convention, unworthy of reſentment; he was frequently ſaved from the puniſhment which uſually follows perſonal inſult by the contempt which his deformity, his leprous habit, and diminutive perſon excited; he became the habitual retailer of falſehood, and calumny of every kind, and men of reputation would not deign to give his libels conſequence by a

perſonal chaſtiſement; even thoſe who employed him, diſclaimed him as a fool, while the general ſentiment that he at length excited was that ſort of antipathy which is felt at the ſight of a loathſome reptile. Unfortunately there are *other nations* curſed with wretches as unprincipled and deteſtable. We have it on the authority of Necker,* that Robeſpierre dexſtrouſly employed Marat to exaſperate the Girondiſts before the thirty-firſt of May, and engage them in meaſures which would render them unpopular; he liked the extravagancies of Marat, becauſe, in keeping a little below them, his own crimes would eſcape much of their odium. Notwithſtanding the unhappy influence which he obtained, and which he never could have attained in any other poſſible circumſtances, Marat was inconſtant and inconſiſtent in his politics as in his moral profeſſions and practice; for he ſometimes exhorted to the choice of a ſingle chief of the nation, he oppoſed the baniſhment and impriſonment of Orleans, and ſometimes declaimed in favour of a limited monarchy; yet he was at another ſeaſon no leſs clamorous againſt monarchy ſimple or limited, and at length became ſilent on the fate of Orleans.

In a word his talents conſiſted rather of activity than genius—of quickneſs rather than profundity—his morals were a cloak under which he concealed a ſoul ſavage and inexorable—and as altogether it is impoſſible to diſcern in him one paſſion compatible with probity, it is more reaſonable to conſider him as acting under the influence of corruption than of motives inconſiſtent with liberty which he profeſſed to encourage.

Robeſpierre, who anticipated danger in the fate of Marat, and deemed every meaſure good that favoured his purpoſes, ſeized upon his death as a circumſtance peculiarly uſeful to his deſigns—he had him proclaimed as a martyr; but that was only a preluſory act to his major project—it was alſo declared to be the point of conviction of the federaliſm of the departments, and that all together were the reſult of a plot concentred in the accuſed deputies, and iſſuing at all points from them. On the fifteenth of July, Billaud Varennes ſpecified this charge in a long report to the convention, wherein the Girondiſts were accuſed of a correſpondence with the emigrants, and cauſing the revolt of Calvados, Iſere, Finiſterre, Lyons, and Eure.

The royaliſts actually improving upon the diſtractions of faction, had aſſembled in immenſe bodies, and one of which had proceeded on its way to Paris as far as Tours; the Marſeillois eager only for the ſecurity of the republic, reached Avignon on the ſame route; and the combined armies determined to ſtrike in this period of conſternation, for this purpoſe Mentz, was aſſaulted with vigour by the Pruſſians, and finally captured; Alſace was once more overrun by the Auſtrians, Valenciennes was vigorouſly beſieged, and taken; Courtray was ſummoned to ſurrender; the Piedmonteſe made an irruption into Mont-Blanc; the Spaniards inveſted Perpignan; and the Engliſh fleet appeared before Toulon, and opened a treacherous communication which put that place for a while into their hands; to theſe ſeveral tranſactions we ſhall pay particular regard; it may be important, while faction was thus rending the vitals of France, to enquire into the number of powers with which ſhe was actually engaged in hoſtility abroad, which will exhibit a combination, that for extent of dominions, wealth, and power, is without example in the annals of mankind.—1. The emperor, as king of Hungary and Bohemia, 2. The archduke of Auſtria, Brabant, &c. 3. The German empire collectively, 4. The king of Pruſſia, 5. The king of Spain, 6. The king of Great Britain, 7. The king of

* Necker's French revolution, Vol. II. p. 45.

Sardinia, 8. The empreſs of Ruſſia, 9. The duke of Brunſwick Lunenberg, 10. The duke of Deux-Ponts, 11. The prince biſhop of Liege, 12. The Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, 13, 14, 15, and 16, The electors of Mentz, Treves, Brandenburg, and Hanover, 17. The States General of Holland, 18, 19, 20, The republics of Hamburg, Lubec, and Bremen; beſide Portugal, Tuſcany and Sicily in ſecret hoſtility, and their colonies in the Weſt-Indies torn by diſſention and ruin more dreadful in comparatively extent even than the mother country.

The powers on the frontiers had converted the ſieges of Conde, Valenciennes, and Mentz, into a blockade. The former had been inveſted early in the month of April, and the works completed on the twenty-ſeventh of that month. But the place not being provided with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and forage to ſuſtain a long ſiege, general Chancel, who commanded there ordered the women and children to quit the place, but the prince of Wirtemberg compelled them by force to take refuge in the fortreſs again. In a few days after they were ſent out a ſecond time, but the Auſtrian ſoldiers were ſet looſe upon them, and after maſſacring a great number of theſe defenceleſs creatures, even in the act of ſupplicating mercy, the governor moved by humanity once more received them. From this period the garriſon appears to have ſubſiſted under circumſtances of extreme diſtreſs, having been compelled to live principally on horſe-fleſh. About the end of June the beſieged attempted to eſtabliſh a redoubt upon the road to Lacoque, in order to diſlodge the Auſtrians from that place. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, they were forced back into the town, and the work was demoliſhed. From this to the firſt of July, nothing of importance occurred. On that day a negotiation was opened for a capitulation; but the governor conceived it neceſſary to diſpatch a meſſenger to the convention, and another to general Cuſtine, who at this time had aſſumed the command of the northern army; but the terms not proving acceptable, the negotiation was broken off. On the tenth of July the garriſon, after enduring all the rigours of famine, were obliged to ſurrender as priſoners of war. They had originally amounted to four thouſand men, but at the time of the capture were redueed to fifteen hundred, fit for ſervice.

The victory of Famars enabled the allied forces to inveſt cloſely the town of Valenciennes. On the firſt of June general Cuſtine arrived to take the command of the armies of the North and the Ardennes. then encamped at Bouchain; but he found himſelf unable to render any effectual relief to Valenciennes. Above fourteen thouſand men of the beſieging army were employed for the greater part of the ſiege in erecting works and repairing the batteries. During the beginning of June a very briſk fire was kept up from the fortreſs; and on the fifth the French attacked the advanced poſts, but were repulſed.

In the courſe of the ſiege a difference of opinion exiſted between colonel Moncrieffe, the Engliſh engineer, and Ferraris the chief engineer of the emperor. The former was for planting batteries immediately under the walls of the city, inſtead of making regular approaches by parallels; the latter contended that the work of the great Vauban was not to be treated with ſo little reſpect, and his opinion was adopted in the council of war. On the morning of the fourteenth of June the trenches were opened, and the Engliſh commander ſummoned the garriſon, but receiving an unſatisfactory anſwer, the town

was cannonaded with great fury, and in the courſe of the night above five hundred red-hot balls were thrown in upon it.

Towards the beginning of July two hundred pieces of heavy artillery played without intermiſſion on the town, and the greater part of it was reduced to aſhes. The number of troops in garriſon was too ſmall to man the batteries which were extenſive, and Ferrand who gallantly ſuſtained the command was from the ſame cauſe prevented from attempting frequent ſallies on the beſiegers. One atttempt was made however on the fifth of July, with great ſucceſs, ſeveral of the beſiegers were killed and the cannon on their works ſpiked.

This ſiege was peculiarly remarkable from the manner in which it was carried on and reſiſted, being moſtly under ground; mines and countermines innumerable having been formed by both parties. The principal mines of the beſiegers were one under the glacis, and another under the hornwork of the fortreſs; both of theſe were completed and charged on the twenty-fifth of July, and in the night, between nine and ten o'clock, were ſprung with the greateſt effect, and the beſiegers immediately ſeized upon the occaſion to make themſelves maſters of the covered way. On the twenty-ſixth the duke of York again ſummoned the place, which after ſome difficulties on the terms, ſurrendered the next day, being taken poſſeſſion of by the duke of York in the name of the emperor of Germany.

During this ſiege, Cuſtine made fruitleſs efforts to relieve the place, but without any other effect than a few ſkirmiſhes between the outpoſts of the armies.

On the ninth of June, an action of a more ſerious nature occurred in the duchy of Luxembourg, between the French under Laage and the Auſtrians under Schroeder, near Arlons, in which the latter were defeated, and compelled to flight with great loſs towards Luxembourg. The Auſtrians in this action occupied an eminence ſtrongly fortified with thirty pieces of cannon, arranged amphitheatrically, as at Gemappe, and defended by eight thouſand men. Theſe were attacked in front and flank at the ſame time, with extraordinary intrepidity, and carried at the point of the bayonet.

From the beginning of April, the king of Pruſſia, had kept Mentz in a ſtate of partial blockade, preparing all the while for a vigorous ſiege; the effect was that the proviſions in the garriſon were exhauſted, and the beſieged were reduced to ſubſiſt upon their horſes. It was, however, found that the delay was not the effect of ſagacity, but of the occupations by which the king was then ſo much engroſſed, the annihilation of the Poliſh government, and the plunder and partition of its provinces. The attack was not therefore commenced till May. On the fourth of that month the king arrived, when his troops had juſt attacked the village of Coſtheim, from which however they did not ſucceed in diſlodging the French. From thence to the beginning of June frequent ſevere ſkirmiſhes took place, without any deciſive action. On the fourth of that month the garriſon made a deſparate ſortie upon the village of Marienborn, which they carried, and ſpiked the Pruſſian artillery; on the ninth they attempted another ſally on all ſides but were every where repelled.

The combined army opened the trenches before Mentz on the nineteenth and twentieth of June. On the morning of the twenty-fourth the garriſon made a ſortie, and ſpiked four pieces of cannon. On the ſame day a large number of women and children were diſmiſſed from the garriſon; but they were fired upon, and the greater part of them

butchered by the Pruſſians with unfeeling barbarity: a great number of the women preferring immediate death in any ſhape to the encounter of thoſe civilized ſavages, threw themſelves into the river Mein. On the twenty-fifth another ſortie was attempted by the garriſon, but they were repulſed. On the ſeventh of July the ſtrong works of the French at Coſtheim were carried by the allies, who killed eight hundred of the French and took ſeven pieces of cannon; this ſucceſs was followed on the fifteenth by the blowing up of the laboratory of Mentz, and the deſtruction of a magazine of forage, by the beſiegers. Caſſel, which covered Mentz on the oppoſite ſide of the Rhine, was ſet on fire on the ſeventeenth, and ſeveral ammunition waggons blown up. On the eighteenth the French army of the Rhine made a grand effort to relieve Mentz, by attempting to force their way through, not far from Landau, in an attack at three ſeveral places at once. They were however repulſed by general Wurmſer in every point. This determined the fate of the garriſon, which capitulated on the twenty-ſecond, the principal condition of the articles was, that the garriſon ſhould not ſerve for one year againſt the allies.

On the eighth of Auguſt the French were driven from a ſtrong poſt which they held on the Scheldt, known by the name of Cæſar's camp; the French made no conſiderable reſiſtance on this occaſion, the loſs on both ſides was ſmall.

With theſe actions the ſucceſſes of the allies terminated. The protraction of the ſieges had given time to the French to recover from the diſorganization conſequent of the treachery of Dumourier and the other traitors, and that energy which thinking men from the firſt foreſaw, would finally defeat the abſurd and wicked projects of the allied powers, began once more to revive and diſplay itſelf generally.

After the reduction of Valenciennes, a grand council of war was held, in which a project of the Britiſh miniſtry for the ſeparation of the army, and for an attack on French Flanders was laid before them. The Auſtrian generals pointedly diſapproved of the plan, and ſubmitted two others, either of which they repreſented as more likely to produce conſequences ſuitable to the intereſts of the war. The firſt of theſe was to penetrate to Paris, by the courſe of the rivers which fall into the Seine, on which the heavy ſtores and artillery might be tranſported. The other which was the plan of Cobourg and Clairfait, was to take immediate advantage of the alarm occaſioned by the fall of Valenciennes, and the diſorder in the armies conſequent of the denunciation of Cuſtine, and other generals, and with forty or fifty thouſand light troops, to penetrate to Paris, while a debarkation might be made on the ſide of Brittany to aſſiſt the inſurrection of the royaliſts.

It is evident that none of theſe plans were conſiſtent with true policy. Whatever number of troops had been detached to Paris, would certainly have been cut off, and as to aſſiſting by landing in Britanny there is no reaſon to believe ſuch a meaſure would have been attended with popularity or ſucceſs. That the project againſt Weſt Flanders was ill-conceived the event ſufficiently proved; and the only uſe that could have been profitably made of the circumſtances which encouraged new plans of hoſtility, would have been that of laying a foundation for a peace; but the folly of the allies had not yet filled its meaſure. The preponderating influence of the Engliſh purſe, prevailed in a council held on the twelfth of Auguſt, and the Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Dutch, with ſome Heſſians and Auſtrians, commenced their march for Dunkirk. This expedition was conducted by the duke of York, whoſe reliance was not entirely placed on his own

ſkill in tactics nor on the valor of his troops. He had contrived to open a ſecret correſpondence through one of thoſe numerous ſpies employed at that time by England, with governor Omeron, of Dunkirk, and had ſecured as he hoped a free acceſs by means of a golden key. The committee of public ſafety, however, when they ſeized the Engliſh ſpy at Liſle, obtained at once the clue that led to the diſcovery of nearly all his correſpondents, and had ſo contrived as to carry on the correſpondence and develope the treachery of ſeveral officers, among whom was the governor of Dunkirk, who was removed before the arrival of the duke of York, and ſoon after executed for his baſe perfidy.

The deſign was to take, the towns of Berg, Gravelines, and Calais, but firſt Dunkirk: for this purpoſe, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, the duke of York encamped at Furcoing, where a council of war was held on the ſeventeenth, and on the eighteenth they marched to a camp already marked out at Menin, near which they found the Dutch under the young prince of Orange engaged with the outpoſts of the French, which the former repulſed. The Engliſh troops were brought directly into action, and carried the poſt of Lincelles, though with the utmoſt difficulty and great loſs, and at length found it expedient to deſtroy the works and leave the poſt unoccupied On the twenty-ſecond the duke of York marched from Furnes with a view to attack the French at Ghiveldt, which was abandoned on his approach, and thereby he was enabled to occupy the ground intended for the beſieging camp.

On the twenty-third the duke of York ſent a ſummons by a flag, demanding "the "ſurrender of the place to his Brittanic majeſty," and giving only twenty-four hours to deliberate; the anſwer was laconic— "General,— inveſted with the confidence of the "French republic, I have received your ſummons to ſurrender an important city, I "anſwer by aſſuring you, that I ſhall defend it with the brave republicans I command— "O'Mara."

On the twenty-fourth he attacked the French outpoſts and drove them into the town with ſome loſs. In this affair the famous general Dalton, an Iriſh officer, who ſignalized himſelf under the emperor Joſeph the Second, was killed, with ſome others; and the next day the ſiege commenced. A conſiderable naval armament was to have cooperated in this ſiege, but admiral M'Bride was through ſome neglect in the naval department unable to leave England as early as was expected.

Meanwhile the allies were ſeverely harraſſed by the French, in various points, and their camp particularly, by ſome gunboats haſtily equipped, which kept their ſtation notwithſtanding an Engliſh fleet of one frigate, ſeven cutters, and a galliot, hove in ſight on the twenty-ſixth.

A ſucceſsful ſortie was effected by the garriſon, on the ſixth of September; on the ſame day the covering army of general Freytag, was ſurprized and totally routed, and that general with one of the young Engliſh princes, were captured, but ſoon after reſcued. Theſe diſaſters were indicated for ſome days, by the movements of the French, whoſe force was hourly augmenting; it became neceſſary therefore to raiſe the ſiege on the ſeventh, as the allies had ſuffered very ſeverely in the actions that had taken place.

The French general Houchard was guilty of a groſs breach of duty or negligence on the ſixth, for he might have effectually cut off the retreat of the duke of York, who was ſuffered to eſcape in the cloſe of the action, and ſwam his horſe acroſs a rivulet, never

halting till he had got out of hearing of the cannon. Houchard ſuffered death for ſuffering the hopes of the Engliſh royal family to eſcape.

After raiſing the ſiege, the French army took a ſtrong poſition at Maubege, where they were immediately blockaded by the whole force of the allies, under Cobourg.

The armies under this general and Clairfait had been employed in the preceding month of Auguſt, in attempting the ſiege of Cambray, Bouchain, and Queſnoy; at the two former places they were repulſed with loſs; at the latter they were ſucceſsful, as it ſurrendered on the eleventh of September to general Clairfait, a detachment marching for its relief having been repulſed by Cobourg.—They had now turned their attention to the deplorable ſtate of affairs in the army of Dunkirk, expecting to keep the French in check in that quarter.

Jourdan, who was a general of diviſion under Houchard, had now ſucceeded to the command, at the recommendation of the deputies of the convention, who had been witneſſes of his valour and ſkill in the actions prior to, and on the ſixth of September. This general had been bred up in the artillery, and with Hoche and Pichegru, and others who have ſince diſtinguiſhed themſelves at the head of armies in the moſt ſplendid operations of tactics and unſurpaſſed victories, had before the revolution reached the higheſt grade that merit alone could hope for under the old regimen, that of ſerjeants of artillery.

On the fifteenth and ſixteenth of October Jourdan attacked the allies with ſo much ſkill and deciſion, as to compel the prince of Cobourg after ſuffering an immenſe loſs, to abandon a poſition which he had fortified with the utmoſt care for ſeventeen days. So confident was he of its ſtrength, that he ſaid "I own the French are fierce republicans, if "they ſhould drive me hence, I ſhould become one myſelf." The action on both days continued from break of day till night. The Auſtrians paſſed the Sambre on the night of the ſixteenth, leaving ſix thouſand killed and wounded. The French had two hundred killed and twelve hundred wounded. The deputies of the convention, Carnot, Duqueſnoy, and Bar, fought at the head of the columns in theſe actions.

The Auſtrians in their flight committed the moſt horrible devaſtations, revenging their defeat on the inoffenſive villagers, aged, women, and children, and ſetting fire to the villages and hamlets near which they paſſed. The convention, upon the news of this victory, decreed that the ſufferers by the Auſtrian barbarity ſhould be indemnified. Jourdan in the mean time followed up his ſucceſs, and penetrated into maratime Flanders in ſeveral columns at once; he took Werwick and obliged general Erbach to abandon Menin, and retreat to Courtray. On the twenty-ſecond he took Furnes, and proceeded to Nieuport which was ſaved by being inundated. Oſtend was next threatened, but an armament under ſir Charles Grey was ordered to proceed to its relief, and for that time protracted the criſis when the Low Countries were to become a part of France.

On the ſide of the Rhine a number of petty actions took place in which the French were generally ſucceſsful. On the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt general Landremont aſſumed the command at Wieſſembourg, and amuſed the enemy in ſlight ſkirmiſhes from thence to the ſeventh of September, on which day have combined a variety of operations; he ſuddenly attacked the allies at all points, and drove them before him with great ſlaughter; at the poſt of Lauterbourg alone the allies loſt fifteen hundred men. On the eleventh he fol-

lowed up his ſucceſs by another general attack, in which the allies loſt two thouſand men, including a conſiderable number of emigrants.

The forces of the republic were ſtill more eminently ſucceſsful in repelling the attempts of the rebels in the department of La Vendée.

The country which was the ſcene of this inſurrection in favour of prieſthood and royalty, is ſituated between the Loire and the Charente, ſtretching along the coaſts between the two rivers, and making part of the territory which was called, under the ancient government, the province of Poitou. It is a country fertile both in corn and paſture; and from its rich abundance diſtributed plenty to moſt of the neighbouring departments, and furniſhed even to the centre of France a conſiderable part of its ſupplies; but when ignorance becomes the ſport of fanaticiſm, the ambitious make the cloak of religion the inſtrument of their guilty deſigns, it becomes a calamity the moſt terrible in the liſt of human evils.

The department of the Vendée, from its local ſituation, had little other intercourſe with the reſt of the republic than what aroſe from the export of the ſuperfluity of its produce; and while the great and immortal principles which directed the revolution awakened in the boſom of every mechanic and peaſant throughout France the noble ſentiment that no man was ſuperior to him in his rights, the Vendéan, who had only heard of theſe things through the organ of the noble and the prieſt, remained the implicit believer and obedient vaſſal, while his fellow citizens were rejoicing in their emancipation.

In this inſulated department the feudal ſyſtem had been maintained in all its rigour. The provincial laws of Britanny, which, from the minuteneſs and ſingularity of their oppreſſion, would be rather ſubjects of ridicule than abhorrence, had they not contributed ſo much to the degradation of the human character in the tyrant who inflicted and the ſlave who ſuffered them, were incorporated with other laws equally barbarous, and peculiar to the country.

As this part of the republic, from its geographical and moral ſituation, had received but a few faint rays of the light of that liberty which had burſt forth in France; and as already the ſeeds of diſcord had been plentifully ſcattered among the inhabitants by the fanatical clergy and foreign intrigues, it was fitted to become the retreat of all who were averſe to the new order of public affairs. Accordingly the nobles and the prieſts, who in the firſt meetings of the conſtituent aſſembly, diſcovered, that by the removal of thoſe factitious barriers by which they had hitherto been ſeparated from the other claſſes of the people, they were now to mingle in the common maſs, found refuge in theſe departments, where they truſted that thoſe diſtinctions might ſtill be reſpected which had elſewere ſunk into contempt. Their influence was extenſive; and as their zeal was quickened by implacable reſentment, thoſe laws of which they could not hinder the promulgation, and particularly thoſe which reſpected their own orders, were but imperfectly executed, or apparently obeyed. Having found that that enthuſiaſm which led the conſtituent aſſembly to overthrow theſe gigantic privileges, had conſiderably evaporated towards its cloſe; and ſeeing alſo that the court, in ſtruggling to regain its loſt power, ſought their alliance; they grew bolder in their pretenſions, and became more active in their hatred towards the eſtabliſhment of the new government. At firſt an air of general diſcontent overſpread this part of the country—partial fermentations next ſucceeded, and the ſpirit of inſurrec-

tion at length became ſo general, that the conſtituent aſſembly was compelled to take meaſures to ſtop its alarming progreſs.

The means employed by the legiſlature were calculated rather to encreaſe than prevent the evil; for, inſtead of ſending commiſſaries from their own body to examine into its cauſes; inſtead of enlightening the people, and unmaſking and puniſhing thoſe who had prompted them to rebellion; they entruſted the court with the execution of their decrees, and as might have been expected, the inſurrection obtained additional force, and even a ſort of royal ſanction.

The authority of the next aſſembly was inſufficient to repreſs ſo alarming an evil. Too much divided by the ſpirit of party, and too much occupied in ſtruggles againſt the court, the legiſlative aſſembly for a long time applied only palliatives to the diſeaſe; nor, till it wore an aſpect dangerous to the exiſtence of the revolution, was the aſſembly rouſed to the application of any effective remedy. The meaſure they firſt propoſed was the baniſhment of the prieſts who had refuſed adherence to the new conſtitution; but this meaſure appeared ſo alarming to the court, and ſo deſtructive of the ſyſtem it had adopted to regain its loſt influence, that the king was adviſed to make uſe of the repreſſive power which the conſtitution gave him, and to refuſe his royal ſanction. Though this refuſal haſtened the deſtruction of the court, already tottering, it gave new courage to the diſcontented, who, finding themſelves ſo zealouſly ſupported, burſt into open reſiſtance in the Vendée and the neighbouring departments, which it required all the exertions of the departmental force to ſuppreſs.

The fall of the court ſuſpended for a time the progreſs of this inſurrection; but the unhappy auſpices under which the convention met, inſpired freſh ardour, and led the inſurgents to new exertions. In hopes of reſtoring the monarchy, a vaſt plan of inſurrection was formed, which not only comprehended the Vendée and the adjoining departments, but extended itſelf through a great part of Britanny. The convention was too much occupied in reſiſting the conſpirators at Paris to attend to the progreſs of the royaliſts, who were ſuffered to take uninterrupted poſſeſſion of the Vendée and the neighbouring departments. Before the end of March they had organized an army of forty thouſand men, conſiſting chiefly of peaſants, ſervants of the former nobility, ſmugglers, poachers, and game-keepers, men well accuſtomed to the uſe of arms, and had begun their march towards Paris before the convention were formally adviſed that any inſurrection had taken place. Their army was commanded by experienced chiefs who had ſerved under the antient government: but what gave the rebellion its fierceſt rage was the fanaticiſm which the prieſts inſpired, who marching at the head of their columns, bearing the crucifix in their hands, pointed out to their followers the road to victory or heaven. The progreſs which the royaliſts had made before any force was oppoſed to them was ſo alarming, that at the period when the Jacobins had ſeized upon the government at Paris, the portion of the country which the Vendéans had ſubdued was ſo extenſive, that it ſeemed doubtful of which party France was deſtined to be the prey. The royaliſts had entire poſſeſſion of the Loire almoſt as far as Paris, and menanced Rochelle on the one ſide while they beſieged Nantes on the other, and opened a paſſage into the departments which made part of the former province of Britanny.

Upon the arrival of Gaudet and Louvet at Caen on the twenty ſixth of June, they found that on the fifth of that month, eight departments namely three of ancient

Normandy, and five of Britanny, had entered into a common league, and had juſt ſent commiſſaries to that city. Felix Wimpfen, who had ſignalized himſelf by his reſiſtance of proferred corruption in the early part of the revolution, and by his gallantry at Thionville, had joined the league, and was appointed commander in chief of the departmental army, as it was denominated. Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles and Petion, were alſo at Caen; and it appears that among theſe deputies various opinions were held on the diſpoſitions and intentions of the general and the force he commanded. He was much beloved by the Normans, and had gained the confidence of the Bretons, but it ſoon appeared that the reception which the preſcribed deputies met, was entirely owing to the charges of royaliſm alledged againſt them in the Paris papers. Wimpfen had been ſummoned to Paris, but he replied, that he could not go without ſixty thouſand men; the deputies, however, confided rather in the former bravery and virtue of Wimpfen than in his preſent conduct, which every day became more ſuſpicious; he had collected about three thouſand men near Evreux, with which he did nothing for three weeks. At Paris however his numbers were from fear on one hand and cunning on the other, magnified to one hundred thouſand.

A ſmall body of about two thouſand men had been ſuddenly raiſed and detached to the neighbourhood of Caen, to be reinforced with additional ſuccours from ſeveral points; theſe had juſt entered Vernon, and then Wimpfen ſet about attacking that town; here it was that Puiſſaye, who became afterwards ſo conſpicuous as the agent of the Britiſh miniſter at Quiberon, appeared firſt in a public character. He was introduced by Wimpfen to Louvet, and the reſt, as an officer of tried ſkill and republicaniſm, and it was to him the attack of Vernon was entruſted, and he appears to have obeyed his private inſtructions with the utmoſt effect.

To ſurprize the enemy he marched in open day with drums beating, and after his ſoldiers had endured the ſcorching heat of the day they had to paſs the night in the open air; the next day he halted within a league of the town, placed his cannon one piece behind the other along a wall, and leaving his army without even the precaution of fixing a centinel, went half a league diſtant to ſleep for the night. A few hours after ſome hundreds of the troops from Vernon appeared, ſeveral ſhots were fired and the army of Puiſſaye left without a general, fled, though not a ſingle man was killed or wounded. This ſerious farce, did not prevent the department of Eure from ſoliciting him to continue with them. Wimpfen on hearing of the affair was not at all diſconcerted; and talked of fortifying Caen.

This conduct alarmed the proſcribed deputies, and Louvet and Salles, ſignified to their colleagues their ſuſpicions, that Wimpfen was treacherous, that he had no inclination to march to Paris, but wiſhed to keep them as the means of his own ſecurity, with the mountain party if they ſhould triumph, or to purchaſe a refuge in England. The greater number of the deputies treated theſe ſuſpicions as viſionary. The general however, requeſted a conference with them all, on an affair of great conſequence; he began by deſcribing their ſituation to be very critical, that he muſt immediately proceed to Liſſeux to organiſe his troops; but that it required ſome meaſures to prepare for exigencies; he then ſuggeſted the creation of paper money, and wiſhed to impreſs the deputies with ideas of apprehenſion—in the midſt of this diſcourſe an officer entered and with great agitation ſignified that a violent commotion had taken place, the convoys

for the army were ſtopped, and the deputies were threatened; Wimpfen appeared offended and directed the officer to go and appeaſe the people; he then renewed the converſation, and pointed out the neceſſity of ſpeedy deciſion on meaſures of defence and ſecurity, to provide men, arms, ammunition, money, and help of every kind; "*to be* "*plain*," ſaid he, *we muſt negotiate with England; and I myſelf have the means provided,* "*but I muſt have your authority, your engagement.*"— All the deputies from an emotion of ſpontaneous indignation roſe up, the conference ended, and the deputies ſaw that they had only to provide for their own ſecurity againſt double ruin.

An expedition had been planned by the Engliſh miniſters for the purpoſe of co-operating with thoſe of the revolted departments who had been ſeduced or devoted to royalty; and earl Moira, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſanguinary war againſt America, was ſelected to lead the troops deſtined to this ſervice, and to land on the coaſt of Britanny. The ſcheme, however, partook of the general imbecility which had characteriſed all the meaſures of thoſe miniſters. The expedition after an immenſe preparation and expenditure was delayed until the royaliſts were ſubdued, and when the tranſports appeared off the coaſts they found the French ſo well prepared for their reception that they returned, ſatisfied that the French republic was not to be conquered by their force.

The city of Lyons meanwhile ſuffered from the double operation of royaliſt intrigues and the horrible proſcriptions of Robeſpierre's ſatellites. Chalier a Piedmonteſe, was one of that horde of monſters whoſe wickedneſs attracted them from the extremes of Europe round their arch-demon in Paris. He was a ſharper by profeſſion and had fled his native country to eſcape the puniſhment due to his crimes. He was ſent to Lyons ſoon after the meaſures of September, in which he had been an actor, and by ſlow but progreſſive ſteps had excited a very general ſpirit of ſedition, and terror; he propoſed to his confederates the erection of a guillotine on one of the bridges, and the execution of all the opulent men of the city, whoſe bodies were to be thrown into the Rhone. But his ſecret was divulged, and inſtead of meeting that death which he merited, was ſuffered to continue his diabolical projects, and at length he was choſen attorney-general of the commune; on the twenty ſixth of May, while conſpiracy was going forward at Paris he kept pace with it at Lyons, by laying a tax on the rich of ſix millions to be paid in twenty-four hours; on the twenty-ſeventh he publicly declared that the preſidents and ſecretaries of the ſections ſhould be beheaded; ſome tumults enſued, and Chalier and his banditti might have been cruſhed without bloodſhed, had not the narrow ſpirit of commerce, which ſees nothing beneficial in ſociety except the accumulation of wealth, frozen up their ſouls; Lyons even then conſiſted but of thoſe who intended to murder, and thoſe that were to be murdered. A combat enſued in the public ſtreets, and the party of Chalier was diſcomfited after a conflict that laſted from morning to midnight. Chalier and his accomplices were conſigned to a juſt death. But ſore were the afflictions which the vengeance of Robeſpierre and his aſſociates inflicted on Lyons, for the puniſhment of his friend.

General Biron repulſed the army of the inſurgents from Lucon on the twenty-eighth of June; and nearly about the ſame time the city of Nantz was relieved from their incurſions by general Beyſſer, Chatelon was reſcued from them on the third of July by general Weſtermann; but on the following day he was ſurpriſed by the rebels, and compelled

to retreat to Parthenay. On Weſtermann's defeat he was ſummoned to Paris to anſwer for his conduct, but was honorably acquitted. The chief command, after this circumſtance, (general Biron having alſo been ordered to Paris) devolved on general Beyſſer, who in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes put the rebels to flight. In the beginning of Auguſt they were again defeated by general Roſſignol; on the tenth of that month however, while the citizens were celebrating the civic feaſt, general Charette, the commander in chief of the inſurgents, vigorouſly aſſailed the city of Nantz, but was repulſed with loſs.

In the mean time blood and devaſtation marked the progreſs of theſe ſoldiers of royalty. Their ceremonies and their diſcipline were a ſtrange compound of ſuperſtition and cruelty; and they even mingled the ſacramental wine with the blood of their adverſaries, and adminiſtered it to the people. One of their ſtandards, which was preſented to the national convention, was white on one ſide, and red on the other; on the red ſide was embroidered the figure of a biſhop in his pontificals; and on the white the virgin Mary with the infant Jeſus in her arms. They gained a conſiderable advantage over the republicans at Parthenay, in the latter end of Auguſt.

On the ſeventh of September general Roſſignol atchieved a ſignal victory over the inſurgents at Pont-de-cé; and in conjunction with Santerre routed them again at Douay. Thouars, and Evreux on the ſucceeding days. In the latter end of September the garriſon of Mentz was ordered to march into La Vendée, and on the ſixth of October the advanced guard vanquiſhed an army of twenty-five thouſand rebels. It would be tedious to enter on a more minute detail of this obſcure and petty war; let it ſuffice to ſay, that the unfortunate inſurgents made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance to every effort of the convention till the middle of October 1793, when they were completely routed. After being driven from La Vendée, they divided into three bodies. The firſt threw themſelves into the iſland of Noirmontier, where they remained for ſome time in a ſtate of blockade, but were at length ſubdued. The ſecond ſeem to have diſperſed; and the third took the route of Anjou, Maine, and Britanny, where they carried on for a while a deſultory warfare, but were at length gradually diſperſed.

The diſaffection of ſome of the other provinces, which immediately followed the revolution, as it is called, of the thirty-firſt of May, was productive of ſtill more ſerious conſequences to the new government.

The department of Calvados had been the firſt in arms, and the formidable force collected in the neighbourhood of Caen, was reported by the mountain to be under the direction of the fugitive deputies, Petion, Buzot, and Barbaroux. In the beginning of July this body of troops, which was called the departmental army, had advanced towards Paris; but the people were evidently not hearty in the cauſe; for, on the approach of the republican army under general Sepper, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh with the advanced guard, they retired again into Calvados; and before the end of the month completely diſperſed, and the department returned to its allegiance. Petion, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Valadi, and Wimpfen, fled; but the majority of them were ſoon after taken, and delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. Biroteau was executed at Bourdeaux.

The formidable union which took place under the name of 'federate republicaniſm,' between the cities of Marſeilles, Lyons, and Toulon, ſtill however continued, and ſeemed to threaten almoſt the diſſolution of the exiſting authorities. A conſiderable force was diſpatched againſt them under Cartaux in the latter end of July; and in the

beginning of Auguſt the Marſellois were driven from the department of Vaucluſe, which they had previouſly occupied. On the twenty-fourth the republicans attacked and took the town of Aix; and immediately upon this ſucceſs the Marſellois opened their gates and ſubmitted. But the people of Toulon and the French vice-admiral Turgoff entered into a negociation with the Engliſh admiral, lord Hood, who was then cruiſing in the Mediterranean, and he took poſſeſſion both of the town and ſhipping in the name of Louis the Seventeenth, and under the expreſs and poſitive ſtipulation that he ſhould aſſiſt in reſtoring the conſtitution of 1789.

In the mean time general Kellerman, who commanded the army of the Alps, was diſpatched againſt Lyons. It contained an immenſe and mixed multitude of the diſcontented citizens of every claſs; ſome royaliſts, ſome of the firſt emigrants, and a conſiderable number of the Gironde party. The city remained in a ſtate of blockade from the eighth of Auguſt; but the firſt attack was reſiſted with great bravery. On the twenty-ſecond and twenty-third of Auguſt the Lyoneſe were computed to have loſt not leſs than two thouſand men, and a great part of the city was reduced to a heap of ruins. In the month of September, as it appeared general Kellerman had not been ſufficiently active, general Doppet, a young officer, who had juſt exchanged the profeſſion of a phyſician for that of a ſoldier, was appointed to the command; and on the eighth of October the city of Lyons ſurrendered to that general. The chiefs of the rebels had fled, but ſeveral of them were afterwards taken and executed. By a ſubſequent decree of the convention, the walls and public buildings of Lyons were ordered to be deſtroyed, and the name of the city itſelf to be changed to that of Ville Affranchie.

On the firſt of Auguſt Barrere produced to the convention a ſeries of papers ſeized upon an Engliſh ſpy, at Liſle; the principal of which was a letter written by an Engliſh under-ſecretary of ſtate in his official character, dated the twenty-ninth of June, wherein the concerns and correſpondence of about ſixty ſpies of both ſexes, placed at various points of the republic, were regulated, new arrangements and appointments notified, precautions ſuggeſted, monies for particular ſervices ſpecified, phoſphoric matches declared to be furniſhed, conflagrations to be performed, money to be plenteouſly employed in corrupting certain perſons named in the letter, belonging to the army and at Paris. With this was a Journal of the tranſactions of the principal of theſe ſpies, of whom a committee was formed at St. Omer, from the twenty-firſt of January to the firſt of July, in which the exact mode of diſtribution of a ſum of about two millions ſterling was minutely ſtated; and from the whole it was clearly proved that not only an immenſe number of the illicit agents of Great Britain had already eſtabliſhed a perfect ſyſtem of correſpondence in France, but that the object was to corrupt as many of the conſtituted authorities as poſſible, and that many had already been bought; and the machinations of the Engliſh miniſter went ſo far as to direct one of the agents to take care that tallow ſhould be ſtored up by foreſtallers, aſſignats refuſed in payment, ſeveral prieſts encouraged to preach againſt the irreligion and deiſm of the republicans, and to encourage religious people men and women to exhort their friends to inſurrection.

A decree was paſſed on the ſame day as follows:

I. The citizens Billaud Varennes and Rivut, repreſentatives of the people in the department of Calais and the North, ſhould be provided with unlimited powers, that all

the conſtituted authorities and the armed force ſhould be obliged to obey their orders and comply with their requeſts.

II. The miniſters, adminiſtrative bodies, and municipalities, are eſpecially charged with giving immediately the ſtricteſt orders for the ſevereſt vigilance in all the harbours, arſenals, magazines, and other national eſtabliſhments, and in the public funds.

III. The declaration of Charrier, the Engliſh letter, and the Engliſh notes, contained in the pocket-book left with the committee of public welfare, ſhall be ſent by ſpecial meſſengers to all the departments; as likewiſe the report of the committee of public welfare, of which ſix copies ſhall be delivered to every deputy.

IV. The national convention, in the name of outraged humanity, denounces to all nations, and even to the people of England, the daſtardly, perfidious, and atrocious conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry, who hire murder, poiſon, fire, and all crimes to make tyranny triumph, and to annihilate the rights of man.

V. The property of all perſons who have been and are outlawed by decree, ſhall belong to the republic.

VI. Marie Antoinette is referred to the extraordinary tribunal; ſhe ſhall be inſtantly removed to the priſon of the Conciergerie.

VII. All the individuals of the family of Capet ſhall be tranſported from the territory of the republic; except the two children of Louis Capet, and the individuals of that family which are under the ſword of the law.

VIII. Elizabeth Capet ſhall not be tranſported till after the judgement of Marie Antoinette.

IX. The members of the Capet family, who are under the ſword of the law, ſhall be tranſported after their trial, if found not guilty.

X. The expence of the two children of Louis Capet, ſhall be reduced to what is neceſſary to keep and feed any two individuals.

XI. The tombs and muſoleums of former kings in the church of St. Denis, in the temples, and other places throughout the republic, ſhall be deſtroyed on the next tenth of Auguſt.

A ſeries of decrees was paſſed, chiefly againſt the Engliſh. One of theſe decrees declared every Frenchman a traitor who ſhould place money in the Engliſh funds; and another ordered, that all foreigners, and chiefly the Engliſh, ſhould be put under arreſt. About the ſame period an outrage againſt the law of nations was committed by the Auſtrians, who arreſted citizens Maret and Semonville on a neutral territory, while on their progreſs as ambaſſadors to Naples and Conſtantinople.

In a ſeſſion of the convention on the ſixteenth of Auguſt the energetic and fertile genius of Danton conceived the ſublime project of exhorting the whole people of France to riſe in a maſs to expel the invaders from their territory. The plan was afterwards digeſted by the committee of public ſafety. By this decree, not only the valour of the French nation, but induſtry and the arts were placed in a ſtate of requiſition; and to prevent the evils reſulting from the undiſciplined exertions of a mixed multitude, the new levies were organized with ſingular ability, and central points were eſtabliſhed for their aſſembling. The following is the ſubſtance of the decree which was paſſed on the twenty-third of Auguſt, on the motion of Barrere.

Art. I. From this preſent moment till that when all the enemies ſhall have been driven from the territory of the republic, all Frenchmen ſhall be in permanent readineſs for the ſervice of the armies.

The young men ſhall march to the combat, the married men ſhall forge arms, and tranſport the proviſions; the women ſhall make tents and clothes, and wait in the hoſpitals; the children ſhall make lint of old linen; the old men ſhall cauſe themſelves to be carried to the public ſquares, to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach hatred againſt federaliſm and royalty.

II. The national edifices ſhall be converted into ſtore houſes; the ground of the cellars ſhall be waſhed with ley to extract the ſaltpetre.

III. The muſquets and arms of calibre ſhall be immediately delivered to thoſe who are to march againſt the enemy; the internal ſervice of the republic ſhall be performed with fowling pieces.

IV. All ſaddle-horſes ſhall be given up, to complete the cavalry; the draught horſes and others, except thoſe employed for agriculture, ſhall convey the artillery and proviſions.

V. The committee of public welfare is charged to take all neceſſary meaſures to eſtabliſh, without delay, an extraordinary manufacture of arms of all kinds, ſuitable to the efforts of the French nation. It is authoriſed in conſequence to form all the eſtabliſhments, manufactories, and working-places, which ſhall be deemed neceſſary for the execution of thoſe works; and to ſummon throughout the republic all the artiſts or workmen who can contribute to their ſucceſs. The ſum of thirty millions ſhall be at the diſpoſal of the miniſter at war, to be taken out of the four hundred and twenty-eight millions of livres in aſſignats, which are in reſerve in the cheſt with three keys. The central eſtabliſhment of this extraordinary manufacture ſhall be at Paris.

VI. The repreſentatives of the people ſent into the departments to execute the preſent law, ſhall have the ſame authority, and ſhall concert meaſures with the committee of public welfare; they are inveſted with the unlimited powers attributed to the repreſentatives of the people with the armies.

VII. No Frenchman ſummoned to ſerve, ſhall be ſuffered to ſend a ſubſtitute. The public functionaries ſhall remain on their poſts.

VIII. The riſing or movement ſhall be general: the unmarried or widowed citizens, from the age of eighteenth to twenty-five, ſhall march firſt; they ſhall form, without delay, in the chief place of their diſtrict: they ſhall be daily exerciſed till the day of their departure.

IX. The repreſentatives of the people ſhall regulate the calls and the marches, ſo that the armed citizens may not reach the place of rendezvous before the ſupplies and ammunition and all the mechanical part of the army ſhall have been brought together in a competent proportion.

X. The general points of rendezvous ſhall be determined by the circumſtances, and pointed out by the repreſentatives of the people ſent out to enforce the execution of the preſent law, by advice of the generals, in concert with the committee of public welfare, and the proviſory executive council.

XI. The battalion which ſhall be organized in every diſtrict, ſhall be ranged under a banner with this inſcription—"The French nation riſen againſt tyrants."

XII. The battalions ſhall be organized according to the eſtabliſhed laws, and their pay ſhall be the ſame as that of the battalions now on the frontiers.

XIII. In order to collect a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, the farmers and ſtewards of the national lands ſhall pour into the principal rendezvous of every diſtrict, a ſufficient quantity of corn, the produce of the ſaid lands.

XIV. The proprietors, farmers, and holders of corn, ſhall be obliged to pay their arrears of taxes in the produce of the fields, and alſo two-thirds of the taxes for 1793.

XV. The national convention appoints citizens Chabot, Tallien, Carpentier, Renaud, Dartigoyte, Laplanche of Vievre, Mallarme, Legendre, Carnot, Roux-Fuzillac, Pagenel, Boiſſet, Tallifer, Baile, Pinet, Fayau, Lacroix, and Ingrand, as adjuncts to the repreſentatives of the people who are actually in the armies, and in the departments, in order to execute in conjuction with them the preſent decree.

XVI. The commiſſioners of the primary aſſemblies are invited to repair, without delay, into the departments to fulfil the civic miſſion entruſted to them by the decree of the fourteenth of Auguſt, and to receive the commiſſions which ſhall be aſſigned to them by the repreſentatives of the people.

XVII. The miniſter at war is charged to take all the neceſſary meaſures for the execution of the preſent decree. The ſum of fifty millions ſhall be put at his diſpoſal, to be taken out of the four hundred and fifty-eight millions of aſſignats, in the cheſt with three keys.

XVIII. The preſent decree ſhall be ſent into the departments by extraordinary couriers.

On this decree it is only neceſſary to remark, that had it not been ſeconded by the genius and enthuſiaſm of the people, it muſt have been nugatory and perhaps prejudicial. Arbitrary governments will attempt to copy it in vain; it is the free ſpirit of the people alone that can give effect to ſuch grand and daring projects, though the genius of the ruling power may certainly direct and regulate the energy on which ultimately ſucceſs may depend.

Happy had it been for France had the dignity of her great meaſures, the unanimity of her heroic citizens, and the vigor and ſublimity of her defenſive projects, not been clouded by the dark ſchemes and profligacy of ambitious and treacherous men, who abuſed her power and the generous and unſuſpicious magnanimity of her people, to the moſt ſanguinary and deadly purpoſes. That the frequency of intrigues, the treachery of many of their commanders, and the ſecret workings of the agents of foreign powers had excited and in a degree juſtified ſuſpicion and vengeance is unhappily too true, and it muſt be acknowledged, although humanity will ever lament it, that many not only innocent but meritorious individuals ſuffered. Among the victims of popular reſentment which fell about this period, the celebrated general Cuſtine, whoſe former ſervices, merited every reſpectful regard, became a victim to the boundleſs effects of jealouſy and conſpiracy. He was called to Paris from the command of the northern army in the begining of July, and on the eighteenth arrived in that capital. On the twenty-eighth he was committed to the Abbaye priſon, and in the begining of Auguſt brought before the revolutionary tribunal. The charges againſt him were, that he maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy—that he had left the garriſon of Mentz unprovided with neceſſaries, in conſequence which numbers had periſhed of famine, the whole under-

went great misery, and were at length compelled to capitulate—that there existed a letter signed Custine, in which he engaged d'Oyse, commandant of Mentz to deliver up the place to the Prussians—that he had insulted the national representation by disobeying its orders, and by asserting publicly in letters to the minister that "such decrees as he did not approve only served him for papers to curl his hair,"—finally that he had not exerted himself properly to prevent Valenciennes from falling into the hands of the enemy. Custine on his trial affirmed that the charge concerning the letter to d'Oyse was an utter falshood, and the rest he endeavoured to shew were not grounded upon fact; however, the unfortunate general was led to the scaffold, lamenting in his adversity the desertion of his former friends, asserting his innocence, and praying for the happiness of his country to the last moments of his life.

The trial of the queen immediately followed that of Custine; it was provoked at this time by a plan that had been laid to carry her off by force from the Temple, during the first tumult that should occur, and the discovery that a number of strangers had recently arrived at Paris suspected to be for the purpose; one of these had contrived to gain access to her prison, and to notify the design to her:—several other motives were assigned.

On the night between the first and second of August two municipal officers repaired to the tower of the Temple, and a little before midnight announced the decree which ordered her removal to the Conciergerie.—She was in bed—"must I rise," she asked. The officers answered in the affirmative; she then desired they would withdraw, that she might dress herself, and they did so; when dressed they notified their orders to search her, she delivered to them twenty-five Louis d'Ors, and a pocket book, but used repeated entreaties to be suffered to keep the book, or for them to seal it up and take a protocol of its contents. After some time, she recognized one of the officers as the same who had on the preceding year notified the removal of the princess de Lamballe from her, "sir, the separation which you announced to me a year ago was very painful; but I find the present not less melancholy." She then desired to take some clothes, "I could wish," said she, "not to be left in foul linen as I was last year in the house of the Feuillans." she then made up a few changes in a parcel; three shifts, a few caps, a black silk jacket and a coat.

She then desired to have an interview with her daughter and madame Elizabeth. This was permitted, after some hesitation. Madame Elizabeth stepped first into the apartment, melting in tears, bordering on a state of despair, and almost deprived of her senses. They locked each other fast in their arms.

Her majesty preserved the most unshaken fortitude in this trying scene.

When her daughter appeared, she said, "My daughter! thou knowest thy religion; thou oughtest to have recourse to its solace in every situation of life."

The queen then desired to see her son; but her demand was refused: the officers told her, "Your son is innocent and he will not be hurt."

She then took the parcel containing her linen under her arm, descended the stairs, and found a fiacre, or hackney coach, waiting for her in the court-yard. When getting into the carriage, one of the officers offered to help her; but she gently pushed back his hand, telling him that she wanted no assistance.

The queen was dreſſed in white lawn, and wore a black girdle. She was conducted to the priſon through a narrow paſſage, very badly lighted, in which the ſudden barking of two maſtiffs threw her into convulſions.

The officers were then obliged to carry her to the priſon in their arms; and being arrived there, ſhe continued ſo very ill, that, for one hour, her life was threatened with inſtant diſſolution. She recovered, however, in the morning.

She was confined in the Conciergerie, where ſhe remained to the fourteenth of October when ſhe was brought before the jury of the revolutionary tribunal, and underwent an examination on the ſeveral charges; Chaveau and Tronchon-Ducoudray were appointed her counſel, and on the fifteenth ſhe was brought to trial, and arraigned of a ſeries of crimes, which in the language of the indictment comprehended not merely counter-revolutionary projects, but all the enormities and vices of the Meſſalinas, Brunehauts, Fredegundes, and Medecis.

The act proceeds to ſtate, That ſhe communicated to the enemy plans of the campaign, and other intelligence—That the affair of the tenth of Auguſt was the conſequence of a horrible conſpiracy againſt the nation formed by her intrigues; and that, to promote her views, ſhe kept the Swiſs guards in a ſtate of intoxication—That on that day ſhe preſented the king with a piſtol, ſaying, "This is the moment to ſhew yourſelf;" and on his refuſing, called him coward—That ſhe was alſo a principal agent in the internal war with which France was then diſtreſſed.

The laſt charge was the moſt infamous and moſt incredible, it was as follows:—"That finally the widow Capet in every reſpect immoral, and a new Agrippina, is ſo diſſolute and ſo familiar with all crimes, that forgetting her quality of mother, and the limits preſcribed by the law of nature, has not heſitated to proſtitute herſelf to Charles Louis Capet, her ſon; and according to the confeſſion of the latter, ſhe has committed indecencies with him, the very name of which ſtrikes the ſoul with horror."

There were above fifty witneſſes examined on various points, a maid-ſervant gave in evidence a converſation which ſhe had formerly held with the duke of Coigny, in which he complained of the immenſe ſums privately remitted by the queen to her brother during his war with the Turks; and ſome papers were referred to, from which it appeared that the queen had drawn for money on the treaſury ſince the revolution.

The charge concerning her favouring the anti-patriotic ſentiments of the body-guards at Verſailles on the firſt of October, was better ſupported, and we think on the whole, was proved; as well as her activity in promoting the flight of the royal family to Varennes.

It appeared alſo that ſhe had frequently been conſulted by the king upon political ſubjects; that ſhe had recommended ſome perſons to brevets in the gardes-du-corps:—that ſhe treated her ſon with regal reſpect was alſo proved. But the horrid charge of inceſt was made upon the authority merely of ſome indiſtinct communications from the boy Capet to the mayor of Paris, and was certified as follows, by Hebert, deputy-attorney of the commune; "that young Capet whoſe conſtitution became every day impaired, was ſurpriſed by Simon in practices deſtructive to his health, and at his period of life very uncommon; upon being aſked who inſtructed him in theſe practices, he replied, that it was his mother and aunt; and from his declaration in the preſence of the mayor

and attorney of the commune it appeared, that theſe two women had often made him ſleep between them and had been accuſtomed to the moſt abominable indulgencies!"

In anſwering to the interrogatories, upon the various queſtions, ſhe paſſed over that on the laſt charge in ſilence, the tribunal was proceeding to hear another witneſs, when one of the jury deſired an anſwer from the accuſed on that charge—She collected herſelf with an air of proud indignation, and ſaid—"I remained ſilent on that ſubject, becauſe "nature holds all ſuch crimes in abhorrence,"—then turning to the auditory with animation exclaimed—"I appeal to all mothers who are preſent in this auditory, if ſuch "a crime is poſſible!"

A curious account of the evidence in ſupport of theſe charges, and the effect which her behaviour produced upon Robeſpierre, is given by Vilate, a young man of the revolutionary tribunal, The ſcene paſſed during the trial, at a tavern near the Thuilleries, where he was invited to dine with Robeſpierre, Barrere, and St. Juſt. "Seated around the table," he ſays, "in a cloſe and retired room, they aſked me to give them ſome leading features on the trial of the Auſtrian. I did not forget that expoſtulation of inſulted nature when, Hebert accuſing Antoinette of having committed the moſt ſhocking crime, ſhe turned with dignity towards the audience, and ſaid, "I appeal to the conſcience and feelings of every mother preſent, to declare if there be one amongſt them who does not ſhudder at the idea of ſuch horrors." Robeſpierre, ſtruck with this anſwer as by an electrical ſtroke, broke his plate with his fork. "That blockhead Hebert!" cried he, "as if it were not enough that ſhe was really a Meſſalina, he muſt make her an Agrip-"pina alſo, and furniſh her with the triumph of exciting the ſympathy of the public in "her laſt moments."

After the evidence had been gone through, Fouquier the public accuſer, ſubmitted to the jury the following queſtions:—

I. Is it proved, that there exiſted machinations and private intelligences with powerful foreign ſtates, and other external enemies of the republic; ſuch machinations and intelligences tending to furniſh ſuccours in money, and to give them ingreſs into the French territory, for the purpoſe of facilitating the progreſs of their arms?

II. Marie Antoinette, is ſhe convicted of having cooperated with thoſe machinations, and of having entertained thoſe intelligences?

III. Is it proved that there exiſted a plot or conſpiracy to light up a civil war in the heart of the republic?

IV. Marie Antoinette, is ſhe convicted of having had a ſhare in that plot and that conſpiracy?

The jury after having deliberated about an hour, returned into the hall, and gave a verdict, *affirming all the queſtions ſubmitted to them.*

The preſident then addreſſed the following ſpeech to the people:—

"If the citizens who compoſe the audience were not liberal men, and of conſequence capable of feeling all the dignity of their ſtate, I ought, perhaps, to recal to their memory that at the moment when the national juſtice is about to declare the law, reaſon and morality impoſe upon them the greateſt ſilence, and forbid every mark of approbation; and that a perſon, of whatever crimes they may be convicted, and attainted by the law, is then only entitled to pity and humanity."

The queen was again brought in.—

Preſident—"Antoinette, hear the verdict of the jury;" which was then read. "You ſhall hear the queſtions of the public accuſer."

Fouquier then ſpoke, and demanded that the accuſed ſhould be condemned to die, conformable to the firſt article of the firſt ſection of the firſt head of the ſecond part of the penal code, which is thus expreſſed:

"Every manœuvre or intelligence with the enemies of France, tending to facilitate their entrance into any part of the empire, whether it be to deliver up to them towns, fortreſſes, ports, or veſſels, appertaining to France, or with furniſhing them with ſuccours in men, money, proviſions, or ammunition, or to favour in any manner the progreſs of their arms on the French territory, or againſt our forces by ſea or land, whether by corrupting the fidelity of the officers, ſoldiers, or other citizens, towards the French nation, ſhall be puniſhed with death."

And the ſecond article of the firſt ſection of the firſt head of the ſecond part of the ſame code is thus expreſſed:

"Every conſpiracy and plot, tending to trouble the ſtate by a civil war, in arming citizens againſt citizens, or againſt one another, or the exerciſe of regal authority, ſhall be puniſhed with death."

The preſident called upon the accuſed to declare, whether ſhe had any objection to make to the ſentence of the laws demanded by the public accuſer.

Antoinette bowed her head, in token of negative.

Upon the ſame demand being made of her defenders, Tronchon ſpoke, and ſaid, "Citizen preſident, the declaration of the jury being preciſe, and the law formal in this reſpect, I announce, that my profeſſional duty with regard to the widow Capet is terminated."

The preſident gathered the ſuffrages of his colleagues, and pronounced the following ſentence:

"The tribunal, after the unanimous declaration of the jury, in conformity to the laws cited, condemns the ſaid Marie Antoinette, called of Lorraine and Auſtria, widow of Louis Capet, to the penalty of death, her goods confiſcated for the benefit of the republic; and this ſentence ſhall be executed in the Place of the Revolution."

Marie Antoinette, during the whole of her trial, preſerved a calm and ſteady countenance.—During the firſt hours of her trial, ſhe played with her fingers upon the bar of the chair with an appearance of unconcern, and it ſeemed as if ſhe was playing on the forte-piano.

When ſhe heard her ſentence read, ſhe did not ſhew the ſmalleſt alteration in her countenance, and left the hall without ſaying a ſingle word to the judges or to the people. It was then half paſt four o'clock in the morning, October the ſixteenth; but her firmneſs forſook her on the way from the court to her dungeon—ſhe burſt into tears, and as if aſhamed of her weakneſs ſhe obſerved, that though ſhe wept then, ſhe ſhould go to the ſcaffold with compoſure.

At five o'clock the general was beat. At ſeven, the whole armed force was on foot; cannon were planted upon the ſquares, and at the extremities of the bridges, from the palace to the Square de la Revolution. At ten o'clock, numerous patroles paſſed through the ſtreets. At half paſt eleven o'clock in the morning; Marie Antoinette was brought out of the priſon, dreſſed in a white diſhabille. Like other malefactors, ſhe was con-



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ducted to the place of execution. Her hair from behind was entirely cut off, and her hands were tied behind her back. Beſides her diſhabille, ſhe wore a very ſmall white cap. Her back was turned to the horſe. During her trial, ſhe wore a dreſs of a black and white mixture. On her right was ſeated the executioner; upon the left a conſtitutional prieſt, belonging to the metropolitan church of Notre-Dame, She was eſcorted by numerous detachments of horſe and foot. Henriot, Ronſin, and Boulanger, generals of the revolutinary army, preceded by the reſt of their ſtaff-officers, rode before.

An immenſe number of people crowded the ſtreets, and cried "Vive la Republique, "à bas la Tyrannie!" She ſeldom caſt her eyes upon the populace, and beheld with indifference the great armed force of thirty thouſand men, which lined the ſtreets in double ranks.

Her eyes though bent on vacancy, did not conceal the emotion that was labouring at her heart—her cheeks were ſometimes in a ſingular manner ſtreaked with red, and ſometimes overſpread with deadly paleneſs; but her general look was that of indignant ſorrow. She reached the place of execution about noon; and when ſhe turned her eyes towards the gardens and the palace, ſhe became viſibly agitated. She aſcended the ſcaffold with precipitation, and her head was in a moment held up to the people by the executioner.

Marie Antoinette was the eighth daughter of the emperor Francis the Firſt and the celebrated Maria Thereſa. She was born at Vienna, the ſecond of November, 1755, and married on the ſixteenth of May, 1770. Her character has been pourtrayed in colours the moſt oppoſite, but even her warmeſt advocates have admitted that the habits of her life were no more than what was cuſtomary at court, and if they were vices that they were not hers. Unqueſtionably it would be inequitable to judge her political conduct prior to the revolution, by the rules of ordinary juſtice, or the maxims of equality that ſuperceded her greatneſs and her influence; her intrigues in politics were no more than had been practiſed for ſeveral ages; and if it muſt be acknowledged that the court in which ſhe preſided was the moſt corrupt and intriguing in the world, it muſt alſo be admitted to have been in a great degree ariſing from the neceſſary nature of abuſe, which never recedes but always progreſſes and extends its ſurface. It is to her moral conduct the moſt ſerious charges have been laid; againſt this ſerious object of accuſation, no other than a general anſwer has ever been given, unleſs in that heinous article which the infamous Hebert laid to her charge—of which the voice of humanity and candour has acquitted her; but her acquittal of this, nor that warning which her death has furniſhed to perſons placed in power, have not obliterated the looſeneſs of her habits, and the licentious debauchery which ſhe patronized while in the giddy career of uncontrolled power. Her memoirs written by Morand, the criminations expoſed by the Scotch fanatic lord George Gordon, which occaſioned his impriſonment and death, and the memorable tranſactions of the Necklace, with the Cardinal de Rohan and the counteſs de la Motte, can never be eraſed from her hiſtory, whatever may be the ſentiments of compaſſion and commiſſeration, excited by her perſonal ſufferings, and unhappy fate.

Amidſt the ſerious functions of legiſlation, war, and judicial proſecution, the convention had employed a committee to regulate and correct the exiſting mode of computing time, and to adjuſt the meaſures of it, and the deſignation of periods, upon principles

more coherent and ſignificant, than in the calendar generally received in the nations of Europe. The irregularity of the number of days in the months was to be corrected, and names more expreſſive of the ſeaſons adopted; the hebdomadal diſtribution of the month was to be altered into a decadary arrangement, and the months to conſiſt of three equal portions of days, each decade named numerically, leaving the ſurplus of days of the ſolar year, to form a ſupplementary period at the cloſe of each. To the members of the committee of public inſtruction who had charge of this operation, a painter and two poets were added, Fabre d'Eglantine, Chenier, and David, in order that the calender might unite taſte with philoſophy, and on the fifth of October the following decree was preſented as the baſis of the republican Calendar.

I. The French æra commences from the foundation of the republic, which took place on the twenty-ſecond of September 1792, of the vulgar æra, the day at which the ſun arrived at the true autumnal equinox, entering the ſign of the balance, nine hours eighteen minutes thirty ſeconds A. M. for the obſervatory of Paris.

II. The vulgar æra is aboliſhed for civil purpoſes.

III. The commencement of each year is fixed at midnight, the commencement of the day in which falls the true autumnal equinox for the obſervatory of Paris.

IV. The firſt year of the French republic commenced at midnight, September twenty-ſecond, 1792, and ended at night between the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond of September, 1793.

V. The decree which fixed the commencement of the ſecond year on the firſt of January 1792 is repealed. All the acts dated the ſecond year of the republic, from the firſt of January to the twenty-ſecond of September 1793, are to be conſidered as belonging to the firſt year of the republic.

VI. The year is divided into twelve equal months of thirty days each, after which five ſupplementary days are to be added to complete the three hundred and ſixty-five days of the ordinary year. Theſe five days do not belong to any month.

VII. Each month is divided into three decades of ten days each. They ſhall be diſtinguiſhed into firſt, ſecond, and third.

VIII. The twelve months, the five ſupplementary days, and the ten days of the decade, ſhall be named ordinally—the firſt, ſecond, third month, &c. the firſt, ſecond, third ſupplementary day; the firſt, ſecond, third day of the firſt, ſecond, third decade. Nevertheleſs, when ſpeaking of a very late period, we may ſay the fifteenth or twentieth day of the firſt, ſecond or third month of the year, &c.

IX. The years which ſhall receive an intercalary day as the poſition of the equinox ſhall require, now called Biſſextile, or Emboliſmic, are named Olympic. The period of four years, ending with an Olympic year, is called an Olympiade.

X. The intercalary day of the Olympic year ſhall always be placed after the five ſupplementary days; it ſhall be called the day of the revolution.

XI. The day from midnight to midnight is divided into ten parts, each part into ten others, and ſo on to the leaſt meaſurable portion of time. This article ſhall not be compulſory for public acts till the firſt day of the third year of the republic.

XII. The committee of public inſtruction is charged to cauſe the new Calendar to be printed in different forms, with a ſimple inſtruction to explain its moſt familiar principles and uſes.

XIII. The new Calendar ſhall be ſent to all the municipalities, adminiſtrative bodies, tribunals, juſtices of the peace, notaries, profeſſors, popular ſocieties, and to the armies.

XIV. The minutes of the convention, the acts of the executive council, thoſe of the adminiſtrative bodies, of the tribunals, and all public acts, ſhall be dated in future according to the new Calendar of the republic.

XV. All profeſſors, teachers, fathers and mothers of families, and all perſons employed in the education of children, ſhall explain to them the new Calendar, according to the printed inſtruction.

XVI. Every four years, on the day of the revolution, civic games ſhall be celebrated in commemoration of the French revolution.

XVII. The ſecond year of the republic commenced, according to the old Calendar, on the twenty-ſecond of September 1793, at midnight, the true autumnal equinox falling, for the obſervatory of Paris, three hours, ſeven minutes, nineteen ſeconds, A. M.

NEW FRENCH CALENDAR.

FOR THE YEAR, 1793, COMMENCING SEPTEMBER THE TWENTY-SECOND.

	French Names.	*Engliſh.*	*Term.*	*Duration.*
AUTUMN.	*Vindemiaire*	Vintage Month	from Sept. 22 to Oct. 21 incl.	30 *days.*
	Brumaire	Fog Month	Oct. 22 to Nov. 20	30
	Frimaire	Sleet Month	Nov. 21 to Dec. 29	30
WINTER.	*Nivos*	Snow Month	Dec. 21 to Jan. 19	30
	Pluvios	Rain Month	Jan. 20 to Feb. 18	30
	Ventos	Wind Month	Feb. 19 to Mar. 20	30
SPRING.	*Germinal*	Sprouts Month	Mar. 21 to April 19	30
	Floreal	Flowers Month	April 20 to May 19	30
	Priaireal	Paſture Month	May 20 to June 18	30
SUMMER.	*Meſſidor*	Harveſt Month	June 19 to July 18	30
	Thermidor	Hot Month	July 19 to Aug. 17	30
	Fructidor	Fruit Month	Aug. 18 to Sept. 16	30
				360 *days.*

SANS CULOTTIDES,* OR FEASTS DEDICATED TO.

Les Virtus	The Virtues	September 17	1
Le Genie	Genius	September 18	1
Le Travail	Labour	September 19	1
L'Opinion	Opinion	September 20	1
Les recompenſes	Rewards	September 21	1
			365

* This denomination was changed at a ſubſequent period, when the name of Sanſculotte was aſſumed by every ruffian and aſſaſſin. The ſimple ſignification of "ſans culotte," is "without breeches;" the queen had applied it as a ſarcaſm on the repreſentatives of the people; implying that fellows without breeches had become the governors; thenceforward it was adopted as a title of pride by the republicans.

The intercalary day of every fourth year is to be called LA SANS CULOTTIDE, on which there is to be a national renovation of their oath, *to live free or die*.

The month is to be divided into three Decades, the days of which are called, from the Latin numerals,—

1. Primdi
2. Duodi
3. Tridi
4. Quartidi
5. Quintidi
6. Sextidi
7. Septidi
8. Octodi
9. Nonodi, and
10. Decadi, which is to be the day of reſt.

On the eighth of October, Delaunay of Angers made a report of two hours length on the New India-Company created by Calonne. The report drew a moſt hideous portrait of the ci-devant miniſter of finance, and ſhewed how corrupted the old ſyſtem of government muſt have been which employed as its principal agents ſuch characters as Calonne. The new company which he created afforded the moſt indubitable evidence of the wickedneſs of that miniſter, who had only been rendered illuſtrious by his crimes. The company, according to the report, was creditor of the nation for more than fifty millions, while the proprietors of ſtock had been ruined by the brokers Lecouteaux, d'Eſpagnac, and others. Delaunay propoſed the plan of a decree, of which the following are the heads :—

I. The India company is ſuppreſſed. No trading company, no merchant, ſhall henceforth take the name of India-Company.

II. The adminiſtrators of the India-Company, ſhall give in their accounts to the nation.

III. They ſhall immediately reimburſe the ſums for which they are indebted to the public treaſury.

IV. All the ſhips and magazines of the India-Company ſhall be ſequeſtrated, and committed to the diſpoſal of the miniſter of marine.

On the ſeventeenth of October, the national commiſſioners at Nice notified that the "*little deſpot of Naples*," had declared war againſt the republic.

A report had been preſented to the convention on the thirtieth of September, containing an expoſition of ſtockjobbing, and the machinations of the Engliſh government to promote it, in order to create diſtreſſes and deſtroy the reſources of the republic, forty Engliſhmen, among whom was a major-general, were ſeized at Abbeville and its neighbourhood, and a vaſt quantity of forged aſſignats found upon them, together with a correſpondence with ſeveral brokers in various cities of France; meaſures were at once determined upon againſt the brokers, and the confiſcation of all property of whatever deſcription belonging to the Engliſh ſubjects. The hatred of the convention was alſo excited by advices from Toulon, by a letter from P. A. Adet, to the miniſter of marine, dated September the twenty-ſeventh, he reported that two of the national repreſentatives had been put to death by the Engliſh, who had inſtituted a revolutionary tribunal, compoſed of Engliſh and Spaniſh officers, by whoſe ſentence Beauvais-Preau formerly mayor of Toulon, and then a repreſentative, was publicly hanged; Pierre Bayle another repreſentative was privately ſtrangled in a priſon for ſteadily declaring his attachment to the republic.

Delaunny of Angers, in the name of the three committees of commerce, public safety, finances, and the commiſſion of five,—

Citizens—You have charged us to examine the decree of the ſeventh of September, and the petition which was preſented to you for the confiſcation of all property lodged in France belonging to nations at war with the republic; in all their motives and through all their conſequences. Little meditation was neceſſary, to convince your united committees that this queſtion was connected with the general movement, the moſt powerful intereſts, the revolution and liberty.

The petitioners have taken part in our diſcuſſions. All circumſtances have been weighed, conſulted, and maturely meditated. Diverging opinions have been analyzed and I am commiſſioned to preſent you with the reſult.

My preſent buſineſs is to lay before you objections, and their anſwers; doubts, and the motives of deciſion. Nothing can be more reſpectable than the intentions of thoſe who have adviſed the univerſal confiſcation of all property whatever in France, appertaining to foreigners, whoſe government is at war with us. The object has been to deprive our enemies of every reſource, which their induſtry or their intrigues may have drawn from France to employ againſt herſelf; the end is deſirable, ought to be attained, and is attainable; but whether attainable or not by the plan of confiſcation, as propoſed to you, is the queſtion. We have been told, in the convention, in the petition, and in our diſcuſſions, that our commerce, by its nature and preſent ſituation, is debtor to foreign powers in large ſums, which it is propoſed to confiſcate for the benefit of the republic.

Your committees, Citizens, among the motives which lead to favour or to reject this propoſition, have omitted to take one into conſideration, which is not, however, without its weight: namely, that commercial debts are not the conſequence of any treaty between government and government, but tranſactions merely between individual and individual. Hence there appears to be an indubitable immorality in confiſcation, abſolutely contrary to the principles that have been moſt ſolemnly conſecrated by our revolution; for it would be to injure the faith due from man to man, and the univerſal probity of which we have publiſhed the eternal code. We have, however, laid theſe political obſervations aſide, that we might examine the propoſed confiſcation in that ſenſe only under which it has been preſented; that is with relation to its poſitive utility. Hence we have aſſumed as a principle that, in a ſtate of war, eſpecially in a ſtate of revolution, whatever is noxious to the enemy, and contributes to the ſafety of the nation, is neceſſarily juſt and lawful. In this point of view confiſcation preſents under the aſpect of the natural right of repriſal, in which caſe it may be ſaid that there is only an account to ſettle.

It is ſuppoſed in the ſyſtem of confiſcation, that the commerce of France is more extenſive than the individual commerce of England. This principal argument of the petitioners, in our diſcuſſions, was aſſumed by them on the ground that population is in France three times as great as it is in England. Therefore, ſay they, the wants of twenty-five millions of individuals being ſuperior to thoſe of eight millions, the debt reſulting from the exchange of wants muſt be againſt us, to the profit of ourſelves, and in the ratio of the comparative population. You will eaſily perceive, citizens, that this argument is inimical to the ſyſtem of confiſcation; for, if we are to decide by the

relative population, we muſt compare our own number with thoſe of our enemies. In a general queſtion, we muſt not ſingle out the Engliſh; we muſt include all the nations with whom we are at war; and this, according to the arguments of the petitioners, confiſcation, by way of repriſal, will be greatly to our loſs; ſince the loſs will be in proportion to the inferiority of our population compared to the whole of our enemies united. But this argument itſelf is merely an aſſumption, Your committes have commiſſioned me only to ſtate it to you, becauſe of its deceptive nature, when ſeverally applied to the powers with which we are at war; the deluſion vaniſhes when the general balance between our population and that of our enemies, is ſtated. In fine, your committees, after having laid aſide mere hypothetical theories as inextricable labyrinths, have elſewhere ſought thoſe real documents which calculation and experiment afford.

We therefore begin by ſubmitting to you the general ſtate of our individual commerce and the balance it bears to that of England and Holland, eſtimating the relative debt according to the beſt atteſted facts. No perſon certainly will deny, that the Engliſh have ſecured to themſelves the chief trade of Europe, by aſſiduouſly and inceſſantly ſupplying the wants of all nations. This proof is unanſwerable. The Engliſh government annually draws from commercial induſtry, a public revenue of more than three hundred millions; they thus artifically, but wonderfully, raiſe themſelves to one of the firſt powers of the world. Reduced to its population and the ſimple productions of its ſoil, England would politically rank itſelf among the inferior nations of Europe.

But, how is it that England maintains this extenſive commerce? By every where obtaining an immenſe credit; by bills of exchange at ſtated terms; and, in a word, by long remaining debtor to every other people.

The man muſt be entirely ignorant of the practical elements of commerce, and the circulation of credit throughout Europe, who ſhould conteſt this fact, or deceive himſelf concerning the ſtanding debt of the Engliſh to all Europe. This enormous debt is a contribution levied by them on every other nation.

We ſhall now paſs from this general view of the commercial ſyſtem and profound policy of the Engliſh, and examine their particular ſituation with reſpect to France, that we may the better judge of the certain effects of confiſcation.

Our firſt queſtion will be, What have the Engliſh done ſince the commencement of the revolution; and eſpecially ſince the aſſignats have conſiderably ſunk in their value, when applied to the purchaſe of wrought and raw materials, and the price paid for them in gold and ſilver?

The Engliſh, whoſe bills of exchange are paid in ſpecie in their own country, have taken advantage of the rate of exchange to make their purchaſes in France. Hence they have long purchaſed for one hundred pounds, the ſame materials for which the French have been obliged to pay two hundred. What is more, the French have paid ready money, while the Engliſh have given bills of exchange, drawn upon themſelves, at a ſtated time. This time has been regulated by the degree of credit they have procured upon France; and their bills are the meaſure of the quantity of their debt to us, and repreſent the claims we have upon them.

Thus, without any diſburſements, and with bills of exchange alone, the Engliſh have found, not only an immenſe credit in France, but likewiſe the means of gaining one or two hundred per cent. by their bargains, They have taken this occaſion of providing, at

the cheapeſt rate, not only for their own actual wants, but for the future wants of all Europe, and even of ourſelves.

No perſon can deny, that the Engliſh had made enormous purchaſes of all our commodities. Hereafter, no doubt, their projects will be deſtructive to themſelves: they have meditated the ruin of our trade and manufactures, by preparing for the moſt unlimited rivalſhip over the whole earth. But in this vaſt conſpiracy, they will find their own deſtruction, for, from the preſent tendency of Europe, it is eaſy to perceive that luxury, this laſt tyrant of nations and ſcourge of freedom, muſt ſoon periſh; and with it thoſe hoarded aliments, which England had deſtined for its exiſtence.

In the mean time, it is ſtill true that this monopoly exiſts, and that all our manufactures have been purchaſed to be ſent abroad, and all our magazines emptied for foreigners. It is equally true that we are the creditors and not the debtors of theſe foreigners; eſpecially of the Engliſh, who have paid us only in bills of exchange.

What then would be the fact relative to the commercial debt of the propoſed confiſcation by France againſt France? Should we not immediately ſtrike out of our books an immenſe credit, which we ourſelves have given? Should we not make the Engliſh the magnificient preſent of our merchandiſe, and of the debt they owe us; that is, of the thing and of its value?

We have thus far, Citizens, only ſtated our relative ſituation with England; we have now to preſent you with ſome general views of our commercial relations with other nations, our preſent enemies.

Our manufactures, our arts, and our workmen have excluſively furniſhed Europe with the chief articles of luxury; that is, with painting, ſculpture, glaſs, embroidery, ſilks, and furniture of every kind. For two years paſt prodigious quantities of theſe various objects have been purchaſed in France; and it is but juſt that the debt contracted ſhould be entirely paid. Ought we with our own hands to annihilate this maſs of credit? Rather let us ſeek the certain means of recovering our capital in the ſhorteſt way poſſible. This is what we have to ſeek and ſubſtitute, inſtead of a confiſcation which would be fatal to the republic: and theſe ſalutary means of recovering and not of confiſcating our effects will ſoon be preſented to you.

But your committees have further commiſſioned me to ſtate confiſcation to you under another very important point of view;—I mean the ſums which the French poſſeſs in the foreign funds, and thoſe which foreigners have placed in the public funds of France. Every one will agree that the ſums placed by France in the foreign funds are conſiderable. It is therefore to be aſked, what is the amount of the ſums placed by foreigners in our funds, and in purchaſes of every kind? On this head the anſwer is poſitive; The inſpection of the regiſters, in which are inſerted the ſums placed in our public funds, is ſufficient to prove that confiſcation would not afford us a ſum equal to four days of our common expence; whereas our enemies, by way of repriſal would gain very conſiderable ſums; perhaps ſufficient for the expences of a whole campaign againſt the republic; eſpecially if we add the value of all our colonial products, the chief of which are depoſited in Holland. In theſe great points, therefore, confiſcation would be exceedingly prejudicial to France.

You have next, Citizens, to conſider territorial property; as well as that poſſeſſed by foreigners on the lands of the republic, as that poſſeſſed by the French in foreign coun-

tries. And here confiſcation ought to be conſidered under two points of view. With reſpect to real value, it is certain that the gain would be trifling; and as to political benefit it would be nearly null. There is ſcarcely any territorial property acquired in France, by the Engliſh, and eſpecially by the Dutch, which does not belong to the real friends of our revolution; to men who have preferred the land of liberty to their place of birth; or to others whom the love of our revolution has driven from their country, and who, confiding in our good faith and that hoſpitality which our laws and proclamations have promiſed, have come and intruſted us with ſuch remains of fortune as they have wreſted from tyranny.

No, Citizens, traitors and ſpies do not publicly become proprietors; and thoſe, who by ties of property have united their fate to that of our revolution, are not the men whoſe ruin the patriots require; or whom they would think it politic to puniſh, by confiſcation, for having loved France and freedom. I muſt again remind you, Citizens, how little ſuch confiſcation would be lucrative, while it would enſure repriſals far different in value; eſpecially with reſpect to thoſe numerous French patriots who have great property in Holland, and on the borders of the Rhine, where they cheriſh and maintain the ſeeds of our revolution.

And here, citizens, we might ſubmit other conſiderations ſtill more material to you, and perhaps more deciſive, but that your prudence would blame us, were we to mention them at the preſent moment. Beſides, your united committees have ſuppoſed that the motives we have already ſtated will be ſufficient to fix your judgement.

I ſhall conclude by a laſt and moſt important reflection. A wiſh is gone forth that we ſhould ſurround ourſelves by an impenetrable barrier, which ſhould render all points of contact between the French and other nations impoſſible. But is not this wiſh the very ſame which our moſt open enemies have manifeſted? Was it not to accompliſh this that Pitt has excited every power of Europe againſt us? Had this wiſh of Pitt been completely realized, would not famine very likely have overturned the republic? Would not the accompliſhment of this wiſh have confined within ourſelves, as an impenetrable ſecret, that ſacred revolution which ought to be revealed to all nations; teaching them their eternal rights, and inſpiring them with the love of liberty and the hatred of tyrants and their infamous ſupporters? Had this ſame wiſh of Pitt been effected, would not England have become the ſubſtitute of France in her commerce with the whole world? And would not this new conqueſt of her induſtry have ſupplied her with the certain means of preſcribing laws to Europe? In fine, would not this perfidious wiſh have deſtroyed every ſpring of our exterior policy, in favour of the people againſt deſpots? And what dangers might we not then have to expect from the profound cunning of all the Cabinets of Europe? Let us timely perceive this fatal ſnare: let us be certain that the wiſh of Pitt and Cobourg cannot be that of patriots; and let us not, by our own act, realize that which the combined efforts of our enemies could not effect againſt us.

Here followed the decree by which the property appertaining to all foreigners except Spaniards was ſecured.

On the twenty-ſecond of October it was decreed that all the prieſts taken in arms againſt the republic ſhould be put to death, and that all the clergy who had not taken the conſtitutional oaths, who were under ſixty years of age, ſhould be baniſhed to Guiana.

The advices from Toulon, from Lyons, from Vendée, and the inſurrections promoted by the clergy; the detection of plots and the ſeizure of royal ſpies and conſpirators, had raiſed the phrenzy of many members of the convention to the utmoſt pitch. The French admiral Turgoff had been purchaſed by the Britiſh, and had joined their fleet at Toulon, a letter from him to the republican commandant Lalande, dated "September ſeven, the firſt year of the reign of Louis XVII." was read on the twenty-ſixth September in the convention, and excited a violent ferment; it occaſioned the rage of the mountain to be turned on the accuſed deputies, and it was propoſed in the heat of debate and decreed with loud acclamations, "that the committee ſhould produce before noon of the next day the act of accuſation againſt Briſſot and the reſt, under pain of being declared infamous;" but it was not till the third of October that the charge was preſented by Amar in the name of the committee of public ſafety, and on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month their trial commenced.

The ſubſtance of the accuſation was at length founded on a ſort of ſportive party romance written by Camille Deſmoulins on Briſſot and the Briſſotins; and what was meant by the author merely to excite a laugh, was diſtorted to ſerve this horrible purpoſe. Camille, it is ſaid remonſtrated loudly on this perverſion of his intentions, and diſclaimed any participation in the guilt. He declared that the charges were only extravagancies of his own imagination, and that he could not ſupport any of them by evidence. This remonſtrance was ineffectual, and the romance formed part of the indictment, which was filled up with charges of royaliſm and federaliſm.

The witneſſes in ſupport of the charges conſiſted principally of the chiefs of the municipality of Paris, who were the original accuſers. But the defence which the priſoners made was ſo entirely deſtructive of the accuſation, that though the judges and the jury had bound up their nature to this execrable deed; though the audience, like the tribunes of the Jacobins and the convention, applauded this crime, the eloquence of the accuſed drew iron tears down their cheeks, and convinced the whole tribunal of the infamy and falſehood of the charges. Imagine the remorſe with which the minds of the jury muſt have been wrung when their employment compelled them to dreſs out matter for condemnation from the abſurd and lying fables of the conſpirators, who were called as witneſſes to the indictment; while, to the demonſtration even of the moſt perverſe and ignorant, the priſoners refuted every charge with triumph on their accuſers; and if any ſuſpicion had exiſted with reſpect to their patriotiſm or love of the republic, the proſecution would have ſerved to diſpel it.

The judges, as well as the jury, although determined to execute their atrocious commiſſion, ſaw that the defence of the priſoners would carry conviction to the minds of the audience, who, notwithſtanding their being hired by the accuſers, began to ſhew ſigns of compaſſion. The court, therefore, wrote to the convention to inform them, that if the trials were permitted to proceed, the formalities of the law would reduce them to extreme difficulties; and obſerved, that in a revolutionary proceſs it was not neceſſary to be incumbered with troubleſome witneſſes, or a long defence. This wicked epiſtle was ſupported by a deputation from the Jacobins, who ſpoke a ſtill plainer language, by demanding a decree, that the accuſed ſhould be condemned whenever the jury ſhould feel themſelves "ſufficiently inſtructed" without attending to the whole of the

charge, or hearing what the priſoners might have to allege in their defence. To this meaſure the ſociety was urged by the municipal witneſſes, who were ſtung with ſhame at ſeeing their perjuries unveiled.

The decree, empowering the jury to ſtop the proſecution at whatever period they thought proper, was virtually pronouncing the ſentence of death: and the tribunal, releaſing themſelves from the torture they were compelled to ſuffer, while their conſciences were every hour more and more loaded with the conviction of the innocence of the victims whoſe judicial murder they were bound to perpretrate, loſt no time in declaring that they were ſufficiently inſtructed.

Alas! in what were "they ſufficiently inſtructed?" That the men they were going to condemn, were thoſe who were the moſt diſtinguiſhed for talents, and were devoted to the eſtabliſhment of the republic, of which they were the founders. Were not this ſanguinary jury ſufficiently inſtructed, that it was for their virtues, and not their crimes, that theſe victims had been dragged before them? and yet with all the conviction on their minds, they coolly commanded the murder.

This atrocious condemnation was remonſtrated againſt by the priſoners in vain. In vain they alleged, that againſt ſome of them no evidence whatever had been heard; that their names had ſcarcely been mentioned at the tribunal; and that, whatever pretence the jury might have for calling themſelves ſufficiently inſtructed reſpecting the reſt, they could not be informed of the crimes of thoſe againſt whom no witneſſes had appeared. The court, ſheltering themſelves under the ſanction of a decree, were little inclined to give the reaſons of their conviction; and therefore replied to the arguments of the priſoners, by ordering the military force to take them from the tribunal. Valezé, in a tranſport of indignation, ſtabbed himſelf before the court. Briſſot, Vergniaud, Genſonné, Laſource, Fonfrede, Sillery, Ducos, Carra, Duperret, Gardien, Duprat, Fauchet, Beauvais, Duchaſtel, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Lehardy, Boileau, Anteboul, and Vigée, were led to execution on the following day. Vergniaud, having a preſage of his impending fate, had early provided himſelf with poiſon; but finding that his young friends Fonfrede and Ducos, who he had ſome hope would be ſpared, were companions of his misfortune, he gave the phial to the officer of the guard, reſolved to wait the appointed moment, and to periſh with them. Briſſot, who was always diſtinguiſhed as a man of uncommon courage, appeared perfectly tranquil; Carra and Fauchet, in ſome emotion; Boileau, and Laſource were in diſhabille; Ducos and Fonfrede, well dreſſed. When Boileau was aſked if he had choſen an official defender? he ſaid he had given notice to one, and if he ſhould refuſe, he muſt make as good a defence for himſelf as he could. Antiboul, when aſked of what profeſſion he was? ſaid, "a defender of the rights of the people, and a perſecutor of tyrants." The act of accuſation calls Sillery "the diſhonoured confidant of a contemptible prince."

The ſubſtance of the act of accuſation has been already detailed, in reciting the matter of the two reports which had been preſented to the convention concerning them. It is remarkable, that among the crimes laid to their charge, are ſtated, the having cauſed war to be declared firſt againſt Auſtria, and afterwards againſt England and Holland. The chiefs of the mountain party, indeed, proteſted againſt the latter meaſure; and if we conſider the pains which the Gironde party took to avoid it, it is only fair to conclude that a rupture with great Britain was equally unpopular with both parties.

The article, however on which they were convicted was, having conſpired againſt the unity and indiviſibly of the republic, by exciting a rebellion in the departments of the ſouth and in that of Calvados. They were condemned at midnight, when they returned to their priſon they gave the appointed ſignal of their fate to their fellow-priſoners by a parody of the chorus of the Marſeillois hymn—" Contre nous de la tyrannie—L'éntandard ſanglant eſt levé." On the thirteenth of October twenty-one of theſe deputies, viz. Briſſot, Vergniaud, Genſonné, Duprat, Lehardi, Ducos, Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchaſtel, Sillery, Fauchet, Dufriche, Duperret, Laſource, Carra, Beauvais, Mainville, Antiboul, Vigée and Lacaze, were conveyed from the priſon to the Place de la Revolution, and executed. They met their fate with all the calmneſs of innocence and the dignity of heroic virtue, breathing their laſt vows for the ſafety of the republic.

Briſſot was a native of Chartres and the ſchool-fellow of Petion, between them ſubſiſted a ſtrong friendſhip; he left behind him a work which throws much light on the hiſtory of the revolution; it was compoſed and prepared for publication on the twenty-third of May, a week before the proſcription of himſelf and his friends; in this he aſſerts that the whole truth had not been told by either party from the commencement of the revolution; that fear governed them all from firſt to laſt; and that to the operations of the factious might be attributed the greater number of evils that had afflicted France. Many important facts are alſo accounted for, though it is apparent that with all his juſtly acknowleged candor he had been unde the general influence of fear himſelf, and of a reliance upon theoretical combinations to account for events which were the reſult of oppoſite cauſes. We have the character of Briſſot drawn by two perſons who knew him intimately, than whom none appear to have been more capable of appreciating his talents and his virtues, Madame Roland and the miniſter Garat; the latter has ſurvived him, and riſing above the reſentments which might have been excited by a cenſure of Briſſot on that miniſter, he does juſtice to the memory of his miſtaken friend, and diſplays his talents and his virtues with all the generoſity of genius and the frankneſs of virtue. 'Among the members of the right ſide, whoſe death has ſhed immortal honours on their lives and talents,' ſays Garat, 'there were ſome men, friends dear to my heart. In our common intercourſe with the world, I had frequently met with Briſſot; and amid thoſe arogant, yet frivolous ſlaves, whoſe meanneſs of mind, was partially veiled by their dreſs and oſtentation of luxury, he and I had communicated to each other ſome of thoſe ſentiments which minds truly free alone could know, ſome of thoſe hopes which none but philoſophers could conceive. He ſought for ideas in books and languages more than in his own mind. He wrote more than he meditated. His paſſion for truth being more ardent than founded on ſound reaſon and true diſcernment, often entangled him in thoſe quarrels, in which at firſt it is only ſome doctrine that is the matter of conteſt, afterwards the diſpute becomes wholly perſonal. But amidſt extraordinary activity and extreme poverty his morals had always appeared ſimple and pure; his ambition to have no object but the liberty and the welfare of the people. Theſe ſentiments and his turn of mind, were in him rather religion than philoſophy. Although paſſionately fond of glory, he would have conſented to bury himſelf in everlaſting obſcurity, to have converted mankind into a congregation of quakers, to have become the Penn of Europe—and this man was to die as a buſy-body of intrigue as a conſpirator." Such was the character of Briſſot drawn by Garat; hear madame

Roland ſpeak.—'The ſimplicity of Briſſot's manners, his frankneſs, his natural negligence, ſeemed to me in perfect harmony with the auſterity of his principles: but I found in him a ſort of lightneſs of mind and character which was not very conſiſtent with the ſerioufneſs of a philoſopher. This diſpoſition always gave me uneaſineſs, and his enemies always took advantage of it. The more I became acquainted with him, the greater was my eſteem. It is impoſſible for any one to unite a more perfect diſintereſtedneſs to a more ardent zeal for the public ſervice, or feel with ſo perfect a forgetfulneſs of his own intereſt a greater deſire of doing good. But his writings are more fitted than his perſon to effect it, becauſe they have all the authority which reaſon, juſtice, and knowledge give to literary works, while his figure from its want of dignity inſpires no reſpect. He is the beſt of human beings; a good huſband, a tender father, a faithful friend, and a virtuous citizen. His converſation is as mild as his character is eaſy. Confident even to imprudence, gay and ſprightly as a youth of fifteen, he was formed to live with the wiſe and be the dupe of the wicked. As a well-informed politician, and ſtudying during his whole life the different relations of ſociety, and the means of procuring the greater quantity of happineſs for the human race, he was well acquainted with the nature of *man*, but altogether ignorant of the characters of *men*. He knew that vice exiſted, but he never could believe him to be a vicious man who ſpoke to him with an open countenance; and when he diſcovered ſuch perſons he treated them as fools whom he ought to pity, without taking any precautions againſt them. He could not hate; his mind though very ſuſceptible, had not ſolidity enough for ſo vigorous a ſentiment. His knowledge was ſo extenſive, that all literary labour was to him extremely eaſy; and he compoſed a treatiſe with the ſame facility as another would copy a ſong; an experienced eye will therefore diſcern in his works, together with an excellent fund of information, the haſty touches of a rapid and ſometimes a ſlight mind. His activity, his good humour, never refuſing to join in any thing that he thought uſeful, have given him the air of meddling in every thing, with thoſe who want capacity to meddle in any thing, and have ſubjected him to animadverſions as an intriguer, by thoſe who were deſirous to be intriguers or to find fault. A curious kind of an intriguer indeed! a man who never thought of himſelf, or even the intereſt of his friends; as incapable, as averſe to look after his own concerns; who is no more aſhamed of poverty than afraid of death, conſidering both as the frequent rewards of real public virtues.

'Conſecrating the whole of his time to the revolution, without any other motives than wiſhing to ſee the triumph of truth, and concurring in the eſtabliſhment of the public good; working diligently at his Journal, which he might eaſily have made a good ſubject of ſpeculation, but contenting himſelf with the moderate ſhare allowed him by his partner. His wife modeſt as himſelf with much prudence and great ſtrength of mind formed a ſeverer judgment of things. She had turned her attention conſtantly ſince their marriage towards the United States of America, as the place moſt ſuited to their taſte and their manners, and where it was eaſy to live with a ſmall income. Briſſot had made a voyage thither, and they were on the point of departure when the revolution fixed them in France.'

It was originally the intention of Robeſpierre to have put to death Briſſot and Genſonne only; cruelty which is ſo conſtantly united with cowardice, would not permit him to

propoſe at once ſo ſtupendous an aſſaſſination; but Collot and Billaud, made up in ſternneſs for his deficiency and confirmed the fate of the whole.

From the admirable work of Garat, who was miniſter of juſtice at this period; we learn that he felt a deep intereſt in the fate of the deputies, and conceiving an hope from that natural goodneſs of heart which Danton veiled under a rough exterior and a ſonorous voice, he waited on him; Danton complained of illneſs, but it was the effect of profound grief and conſternation at what was going on. "*I cannot ſave them,*" were the firſt words he uttered to Garat, before the latter had yet ſpoken! They converſed, and while he ſpoke, the gigantic ſtrength of Danton ſeemed to languiſh; tears fell in big round drops down that countenance, the caſt and expreſſion of which ſo ſtrongly correſponded with his muſcular power, his thundering voice, and energetic mind. But it was too clear that no hope could now be entertained; fear pervaded every member of the mountain, and their perſonal ſecurity prevented thoſe from interpoſing who might by that circumſtance be included in the common proſcription. He waited on Robert, another member of the mountain, but they were both perſuaded that all depended on Robeſpierre; that if he demanded it, blood would be ſhed. He waited on Robeſpierre himſelf—but he was inexorable.

Theſe proſcriptions were followed by others over which alſo the ſciences and the virtues wept. Immediately after the execution of the Gironde, madame Roland, the wife of the proſcribed miniſter, was ſent to the priſon of St. Pelagie. Her huſband had fled on the thirty-firſt of May. When brought before the revolutionary tribunal ſhe preſerved the moſt heroic firmneſs, though ſhe was treated with ſuch barbatity, and inſulted by queſtions ſo injurious to her honor, that ſometimes tears of indignation ſtarted in her eyes. This celebrated woman, who, even at the bar of the convention, had by the commanding graces of her eloquence forced even from her enemies the tribute of applauſe and admiration, was now in the hands of wretches by whom her fine talents were not felt or underſtood—Her defence however is preſerved, and deſerves the record of hiſtory, for its ſtrength, it clearneſs, and the magnanimous ſpirit which pervaded its compoſition; and as the charges alleged againſt her have been only publiſhed in a general way, the reply will form as an expoſition of them alſo:—

'The accuſation againſt me is founded wholly on the ſuppoſition of my being an accomplice with men called conſpirators. My friendſhip for a few of thoſe perſons is prior to the political circumſtances which form the charge againſt them. The correſpondence I held with them by an intermediate channel, at the time of their departure, is altogether foreign to ſtate affairs. I have had in truth no political correſpondence; and in this reſpect I might abſolutely deny the charge; yet, though I cannot be called upon to give an account of my private affections, I may glory in them, as I do in the whole of my conduct, and I have nothing to conceal from the world.

'I declare then, that I have received teſtimonies of regret on account of my impriſonment, and was informed that Duperret had two letters for me; but whether written before or after my friends left Paris; whether from one or two of them, I am altogether ignorant, ſince theſe letters have never reached me. At another time I was earneſtly conjured to eſcape from my priſon, and received offers of aſſiſtance in the attempt, and to convey me to whatever place I ſhould think proper. I was deterred from accepting theſe offers from conſiderations both of duty and honor; of duty, becauſe I would not injure

thoſe to whoſe care I was committed; of honour, ſince in all caſes I ſhould prefer expoſing myſelf to the conſequences of every poſſible vexation, rather than incur the appearances of guilt, by a flight unworthy of my character. I ſhould not have been ſo careleſs with regard to my ſafety on the thirty-firſt of May, had I had an intention of effecting my eſcape at a latter period. This is the extent of my connections with my friends who fled. Undoubtedly if the communication had not been interrupted between us, or if I had not been reſtrained by my impriſonment, I ſhould have endeavoured to procure information concerning them, for I know of no law that forbids it. Alas! in what age, or amongſt what people were thoſe ſentiments of eſteem and fidelity, which bind men to each other, ever accounted a crime? I do not pretend to decide upon the meaſures taken by thoſe who were proſcribed; but I never will believe that theſe men intended ill, whoſe integrity, patriotiſm, and generous devotion to their country I have ſeen ſo clearly diſplayed. If they have erred, their errors are thoſe of virtue; they are overcome without being degraded; they are unfortunate in my eyes without being guilty. If I am criminal in offering vows for their ſafety, I declare myſelf ſo to the whole world. I am under no concern for their glory, and I willingly ſhare in the honor of being oppreſſed by their enemies. I have known thoſe generous men who are accuſed of having conſpired againſt their country. They were firm but humane republicans; they were perſuaded that good laws were neceſſary to make the republic beloved by thoſe who had no confidence in its ſtability; but this was indeed a more difficult taſk than to murder them. The hiſtory of all ages has proved that great talents are neceſſary to lead men to virtue by good laws, while violence alone has been ſufficient to reſtrain them by terror, or annihilate them by death. I have heard my friends maintain that plenty, like happineſs, could only reſult from an equitable government; that the omnipotence of bayonets could produce fear, but not bread. I have ſeen them animated with the warmeſt enthuſiaſm for the happineſs of the people, diſdaining to flatter them, determined to fall the victims of their blindneſs rather than deceive them. I own that theſe principles and this conduct have appeared to me altogether different from thoſe of tyrants and ambitious men, who amuſe the people only to enſlave them. It is for theſe reaſons that I am filled with eſteem for theſe generous men. This error, if it be one, will go with me to the grave, and I ſhall glory in following thoſe whom I could not accompany thither.

'My defence, I may venture to aſſert, is more neceſſary to thoſe who are deſirous of being informed, than it is to myſelf. Conſcious of having fulfilled my duties, I look to futurity with ſecurity and confidence. My taſte for ſtudy and my habits of retirement kept me at a diſtance both from the folli of diſſipation, and from the buſtle of intrigue. Enamoured of liberty, the value of whic I have learnt from reflection, I viewed the revolution with tranſport, perſuaded that it was the epocha of the ſubverſion of deſpotiſm, which I deteſt; of the reformation of abuſes, under which I had often ſighed, while the fate of the unhappy and oppreſſed hung upon my heart. I have followed the progreſs of the revolution with ſolicitude. I have expreſſed myſelf on the ſubject with warmth; but I have never over-paſſed the limits preſcribed me by my ſex. Some talents perhaps, a little philoſophy, a greater degree of courage, and which in times of danger did not leſſen, that of my huſband, are probably what thoſe who knew me have imprudently aſcribed to me, and which may have contributed to make me enemies amongſt thoſe by whom I was not known. Roland ſometimes employed me as his ſecretary; and the cele-

brated letter to the king, for inſtance, was drafted wholly by me. This would be a good paper enough to frame part of my indictment, if the Auſtrians were my proſecutors, and thought proper to extend the reſponſibility of the miniſter to his wife. But Roland had long ſince diſplayed his ſentiments, and his love of great principles. The evidence of this exiſts in the numerous books which he has publiſhed during theſe fifteen years paſt. His knowlege and his integrity are eminently his own; and he had no need of a wife to become a wiſe and faithful miniſter. Neither conferences nor cabals have been held at his houſe. His friends, his colleagues, whoever they were, and his acquaintances met at his houſe once a week, where in very public converſation they diſcourſed openly on topics in which every one was intereſted. On the whole, the writings of this miniſter breathe throughout the love of order and peace, explaining in the moſt affecting manner the beſt principles of morality and policy. They will for ever bear witneſs to his wiſdom, as the accounts he has given in bear witneſs to his integrity.

'I return to the crime imputed to me. I obſerve that I had no intimate acquaintance with Duperret. I had ſometimes ſeen him, while my huſband was miniſter, but he had not viſited me during the ſix months that have elapſed ſince Roland quitted the adminiſtration: and I might make the ſame remark reſpecting the other deputies who were our friends; which certainly does not tally with the accuſation of conſpiracy and ſecret underſtanding imputed to us. It is clear from my firſt letter to Duperret, that I wrote to this deputy, only becauſe I found it difficult to write to any other, with the idea that he would be inclined to render me ſome ſervice. My correſpondence with him, therefore, was not projected; it was not the ſequel of any preceding connections; and it had no political view. It furniſhed me with an opportunity of receiving intelligence of thoſe who were abſent, and with whom I was in habits of friendſhip, altogether independent of political conſiderations. Such conſiderations formed no part of the correſpondence which I held with them, in the firſt moment of their abſence. No memorial to this effect is brought againſt me. Thoſe which are produced, only intimate that I ſhare in the opinions of thoſe who are called conſpirators. This induction is founded, I own it to the world, and I glory in this conformity of ſentiment; but I have never publiſhed theſe ſentiments in any manner that can be imputed to me as a crime. In order to eſtabliſh the being an accomplice in any project, it muſt be proved that advice has been given and means furniſhed. I have done neither; I am therefore not guilty in the eyes of the law; there is none which can condemn me; there exiſts no fact for the application of any.

'I know that in great revolutions, law as well as juſtice is often forgotten; and the evidence of this is, that I am at this bar. I am indebted for this proſecution only to thoſe prejudices and that violent hatred which burſts forth amidſt great convulſions, and which, in general, fix upon thoſe who are placed in conſpicious ſituations, or who are known to poſſeſs energy of character. It would have been eaſy for me to have avoided this trial which I foreſaw; but I thought it more becoming to meet it; I thought that I owed this example to my country; I thought that if I ſhould be condemned, I ſhould leave to my tyrants the odium of ſacrificing a woman, who had no other crime than perhaps ſome talents of which ſhe ſeldom availed herſelf, great zeal for the intereſts of mankind, courage to adhere to her unfortunate friends, and to render homage to truth at the hazard of her life. Thoſe who have true greatneſs of ſoul throw away ſelfiſh feelings, remember

that they belong only to the ſpecies, and look to futurity for their reward. I belong to the virtuous and perſecuted Roland. I was in habits of friendſhip with men whom ignorance and the jealous hatred of low, vulgar minds have proſcribed and murdered. I am to periſh alſo, becauſe it is conſiſtent with the principles of tyranny to ſacrifice thoſe whom it has cruelly oppreſſed, and annihilate every witneſs of its crimes. Under both theſe titles you ought to condemn me to die, and I await my ſentence. When innocence mounts the ſcaffold, to which it is condemned by error or wickedneſs, it reaches the goal of triumph. May I be the laſt victim that ſhall be ſacrificed! I ſhall leave with joy this unhappy land, which is deſtroying the good, and drinking in the blood of the juſt. O truth, my country, friendſhip, ſacred objects, ſentiments dear to my heart, receive my laſt offering! My life was devoted to you, and ye alone ſpread a ſoftneſs and grace over my laſt moments! God of heaven! enlighten this unhappy people, for whoſe liberty I breathe my warmeſt vows!—Liberty!—to thoſe great ſouls it eminently belongs who deſpiſe death, and can meet it with courage; but it was not formed for weak minds, who compound with crimes, while they conceal their ſelf-love and their cowardice under the name of prudence. It was not formed for thoſe profligate men, who, riſing from their beds of debauchery, or creeping forth from a ſink of wretchedneſs, run and bathe themſelves in the blood that ſtreams from the ſcaffolds. But it is the guardian of a wiſe and humane people, who practiſe juſtice, deſpiſe flatterers, know their true friends, and revere truth. As long as you ſhall not form ſuch a people, O my fellow-citizens! you will talk in vain of liberty; you will live only in a ſtate of licentiouſneſs, of which each of you will fall the victim, in your turn; you will aſk for bread, but you will find only mangled carcaſes, and you will end in being ſlaves.

'I have concealed neither my ſentiments, or opinions. I know that a Roman lady was ſent to execution under Tiberius, for having lamented her ſon. I know that in times of blindneſs and party-ſpirit, whoever dares to avow himſelf the friend of condemned or proſcribed men, expoſes himſelf to ſhare their fate; but I deſpiſe death. I have never feared any thing but guilt; and I would not purchaſe my life at the price of meanneſs.

'Unhappy times, unhappy people, when the obligation of rendering juſtice to injured virtue is beſet with danger; but too happy are thoſe who have courage to brave it.—It is now for you to examine if it be compatible with your intereſts to comdemn in defect of evidence, for ſimple opinions only, and without the ſupport of any law.'

But the verity and dignity of this extraordinary woman rendered her more obnoxious to the hatred of her perſecutors—She was ſentenced to death—She heard it with equanimity, and indignantly replied—"You think me worthy, then, of ſharing the fate of "thoſe brave men whom you have aſſaſſinated. I will endeavour to go to the ſcaffold "with the ſame courage they diſplayed."

On the way to the ſcaffold ſhe was not only compoſed, but ſometimes aſſumed an air of gaiety in order to encourage an unfortunate man who was doomed to ſuffer with her, but who did not poſſeſs the ſame fortitude. When arrived at the ſcaffold, as only one perſon ſuffered at a time, ſhe was to be the firſt victim, as even the executioners felt more reſpect for her ſex than to add to their pangs the witneſſing the death of others. But when ſhe obſerved the diſmay of her companion, ſhe turned to the executioner and begged the ſad indulgence of remaining laſt—"go firſt," ſaid ſhe to the unhappy and trembling

victim, "let me at leaſt ſpare you the pain of ſeeing my blood ſhed." The executioner, however, told her that his orders were that ſhe ſhould periſh firſt—"but you cannot, I am ſure," ſaid ſhe, "refuſe the laſt requeſt of a lady." Her demand was complied with. She then mounted the ſcaffold herſelf, and lifting her eyes to a ſtatue of liberty, that ſtood near the place, exclaimed "Ah! liberty how haſt thou been ſported with!" the next moment ſhe periſhed.

In the early dawn of freedom in France, this lady appeared deſtined to diſplay a conſpicious figure, the ſhare ſhe had in the celebrated letter to Louis XVI. has been already noticed. Her mind was endowed with the pureſt ſtores of erudition and taſte, and the works produced by her huſband and herſelf, for they always publiſhed conjunctly, will immortalize them both. She had predicted that he would not ſurvive her, and the prediction was fulfilled, he terminated an exiſtence which he deemed no longer worthy of regard, in a wood between Paris and Rouen, the papers left by him were ſent to the committee of ſafety, but have never tranſpired. Her appeal to poſterity has been ſince publiſhed and merits the moſt particular regard. She left an only daughter who found an aſylum with a courageous friend. In her perſon ſhe was tall and well ſhaped, her air was dignified, and although more than thirty-five years of age, was ſtill handſome. Her countenance had an uncommon expreſſion of ſweetneſs, and her full black eyes beamed with the brighteſt rays of intelligence; in her converſation ſhe diſplayed the moſt ardent attachment to liberty, it had been the ſubject of her ſtudies ere yet the revolution was generally foreſeen; and ſhe developed her ſentiments with a flow of eloquence and power of expreſſion which gave additional grace and energy to the French language.

Among thoſe moſt diſtinguiſhed for their talents, who either ſuffered on the ſcaffold or ſought death to diſappoint their enemies, was Bailly, the firſt mayor of Paris in the revolution, renowned for his aſtronomical reſearches, and for his immortal works on chronology. The charge againſt him, was a participation in the eſcape of Louis to Varennes, and authoriſing the troops to fire on the people, in July, 1791. He was to have been executed in the Champ de Mars, but the caprice of the infuriated populace compelled him to wait two hours drenched in rain in the midſt of winter, while the ſcaffold was removed to an adjoining field; but what was worſe expoſed to the inſults of an execrable ſet of wretches who uſually attended ſuch ſcenes. He ſubmitted to their inſults with equanimity, requeſting mildly that his ſufferings might be terminated. One of theſe ſavages ſaid to him in a tone of mockery—"You tremble Bailly"—"It is very cold "my friend," ſaid the ſage.—His ſufferings were ſoon after terminated.

Lavoiſier the celebrated chemiſt, was another of the proſcribed; his crime was having been under the old government one of the famers-general. He had been long employed in an important philoſophical experiment, he requeſted only the ſhort period of a fortnight to complete it—his prayer was not granted. Rabaut de St. Etienne a proteſtant clergyman was condemned for having been one of the commiſſion of twelve appointed by the convention to enquire into conſpiracies. Manuel who had been ſo active on the tenth of Auguſt, and afterwards was ſo ſolicitous to ſave the king, was condemned oſtenſibly for the latter circumſtance, but really for that pain which his brilliant flaſhes of wit ſo often occaſioned in the rankling boſoms of the uſurping aſſaſſins. The veteran Luckner alſo ſuffered death; and not the leaſt remarkable of the victims of this period

the ſometime duke of Orleans, who had latterly aſſumed the name of Philip Egalite. We have before obſerved on the character of this man, that he was an object of ſuſpicion and jealouſy with every party, that all agreed in reproaching him, but that none produced any actual evidence of conſpiracy againſt him; the principal ground of odium has been attached to his vote on the trial of the king, on which he delivered his opinion for death to this effect—" Regardful only of my duty, feeling that every man who conſpires " againſt the freedom of my country or attempts to uſurp power, contrary to the con- " ſtitution as eſtabliſhed by the people, is criminal; I, upon the moſt mature examination, " declare my opinion, that he is guilty—and vote therefore for death."

That this man's early life partook of that voluptuouſneſs that was the neceſſary conſequence of his education, his rank, and his ample fortune, is beyond diſpute; that he exceeded his relations in vice, has never been aſſerted; and if the leſſer degree of profligacy is entitled to indulgence, his character will appear arrayed in white compared with that of Artois or the queen of France. His fortune which was the greateſt of any private individual in Europe, amounting to one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling per annum, was employed before the revolution in promoting the moſt uſeful arts and manufactures in his own country, in beautifying and enriching his eſtates, and forwarding by every means of uſeful activity the induſtry and comfort of thoſe who lived on them; that he was attached to the forms of a free government, was a ſubject of accuſation againſt him before the revolution had been ſuſpected to be ſo near, and that all his conduct in every ſtage of the revolution was in perfect harmony with his early profeſſions, has never once been queſtioned. The court accuſed him of aſpiring to the throne, aad in this accuſation it is remarkable the Gironde and the mountain concurred. Yet is was next to poſitively proved that the queen had engaged a perſon to aſſaſſinate him, and that it was from a principle of reſentment ariſing from a very different cauſe. The two parties never produced a ſingle fact to criminate him, and each reſpectively accuſed the other of partaking of his riches and promoting his views, though the perſons ſuppoſed to be enriched actually continued poor. His conduct on the trial of the king is ſtigmatized upon the preſumption of his violating the laws of nature and the ties of blood. There is undoubtedly much plauſibility in this charge. But ſuppoſing Egalite to be all that was vile; upon the principle of his vote, it muſt be neceſſary to his guilt, to prove that the king was innocent, and that his perſonal ſafety in that critical time could have admitted of any choice of his vote in obedience to a principle of tenderneſs.

Poſterity will certainly examine the character of this man by rules more claſſical and diſpaſſionate than it has been hitherto done. To eſcape from the vortex in which he was placed was certainly a bold hope, if he entertained it; his conduct in priſon on his removal to Marſeilles exhibited a mind made up to rough the ſtorms of deſtiny, and the coolneſs he diſplayed belied an imputation of cowardice that had been attached to him by his enemies. He was brought to Paris in the beginning of November, and condemned on a charge of aſpiring to the monarchy; the evidence has never been publiſhed. On the ſixth of November in the evening he was conveyed in a cart, amidſt the rebukes and inſults of the populace. The monſters of the day had directed the cart to ſtop ten minutes before his former reſidence, upon which he looked with extraordinary compoſure; at the ſcaffold he was equally unembarraſſed, and the executioner wiſhing to take off his boots in order to tie his legs to the plank, he obſerved with a ſmile of good



DUKE of ORLEANS,

humour, "why take that trouble, you may in a few moments take them with greater "eaſe from the dead carcaſe."

Among the number of thoſe who ſnatched themſelves by voluntary death from the hands of the tyrants, was Claviere, the co-miniſter of Roland; his wife likewiſe embraced voluntary death along with him; Achilles du Chatelet, one of the club of five in the beginning of the revolution, was another; indeed all of that club, but Thomas Paine, have died in either way. Giry Dupre, was put to death merely for being the friend of Briſſot; being queſtioned as to the moral character of Briſſot, he ſaid, "I ſwear that "Briſſot lived like Ariſtides and died like Sydney, the martyr of liberty." The picture of theſe days of horror are finely pourtrayed by the eloquent pen of Garat,—"Under the tyrannical domination of Robeſpierre and under Billaud, little doubtful of the fate that awaited me, I kept conſtantly about me means, by which I might at any time diſpoſe of my own life. ſo as to baffle the murderous fury of the tyrant. It was a conſolation to me, to reflect that I was in poſſeſſion of ſuch means, and that I had made a proper choice of them. Yet, after mature deliberation, I reſolved to make no uſe of them. The principles of Socrates, upon the ſubject of ſubmiſſion to the laws and to ſocial order, even when theſe are repreſented by judges the moſt unjuſt, had always appeared to me to be the extravagance of magnanimity and virtue. But when I now again examined them with an immediate view to my own ſituation and conduct, they appeared to me inviolably ſacred and ſublime. Amidſt thoſe many horrors, which, for a courſe of eight months were hidden in the ſhades of each returning night, only to be again diſplayed by the blaze of the riſing day, I did not find that the natural pains and anxieties of death, could be, in any conſiderable degree, enhanced to my imagination by the proſpect of that paſſage to the ſcaffold, in which the ſufferer might ſhew to the ſurrounding people, *with what tranquil fortitude the innocent can die*!— O thou who, from delineating A SKETCH OF THE PROGRESS OF THE HUMAN MIND, didſt withdraw thy hand, but to preſent the deadly beverage to thy lips; thy final determination to die, was founded upon different ſeutiments, and different reaſons: Thou didſt ſet thy republican ſoul at everlaſting liberty, by the uſe of that poiſon which we had ſhared between us, as two brothers would ſhare their laſt morſel of bread!— Thou art no more!— but I ſtill live, to meet the accuſations of men, who, as well as I, invoke thy name with paſſionate veneration; but who would not, like me, expoſe themſelves to dangers infinitely greater than thoſe which actually environed them, in order to ſave from the graſp of the executioner, a life of which the loſs muſt long be felt as a misfortune by France and by Europe.* "

Proſcription now embraced a multitude of perſons whoſe names will live diſtinguiſhed in the the brighteſt annals of ſcience and liberty,—and had Salluſt been the hiſtorian of theſe unhappy times, he might have found that his picture given of the Catalinian war† would have applied, only with the change of names.

But the revolting ſenſes turn from thoſe ſcenes of deliberate aſſaſſination, and find a ſtrange refuge even in the wider deſolations of war. The hurricane, the earthquake, the volcano, thoſe convulſions in nature which ſhake the earth to its baſis, and ſeem to

* This beautiful apoſtrophe is addreſſed to the memory of Condorcet.
† "In primo cœpere peſſimum," &c. Sall. in Bello Catil. et paſſim in fragmentis.

threaten annihilation, are not ſo terrible in their effects as war, and yet compared with the proſcriptions of civil commotion, even theſe effects appear leſs henious leſs afflicting to the heart. We read of cities beſieged and taken by ſtorm, of the inſidious mine which ſhatters a thouſand limbs at a blow, and of the cannon and the bomb that performs deſtruction openly, and ſtrange we do not ſympathiſe very deeply or durably in their hiſtory. But the miſeries of civil proſcription live for ever on the memory, and excite indelible ſympathies.

When the laws of war even according to the regulations of civilized ſociety are obſerved, the miſeries are ſtill tremendous; the laws of nature are perverted; it is the young, not the old, that deſcend firſt to the grave, and all the dear and tender relations of life are broken: the father laments his ſon, the wife her huſband; the orphan its parent;—whole countries are depopulated, the fields lie uncultivated, and famine pervades all and produces deſpair; but theſe ſcenes are familiar to hiſtory; civil preſcription is more rare. The ſoldier climbing precipices, or ſcaling walls, ſeeking the bubble reputation in the cannon's mouth, attach ideas of valour, of heroiſm, which diminiſh the horror of their effects, becauſe perhaps our inſtincts anticipate our reaſon, and declare that in the exiſting ſtate of man, deeds of hardihood and valour are eſſential to the general preſervation; war has its limits beyond which it cannot proceed, we know and ſee its utmoſt bounds; but civil proſcription knows no limits, it violates all maxims and principles, and the moſt virtuous are too conſtantly its victims; hence perhaps it is that we feel its afflictions the more, and that the carnage of battle, the indiſcriminate rage of the mercenary and diſciplined murderer, the maſſacre of the old, the infant, and the defenceleſs, the conflagration of whole cities, and the deſolation of provinces, appear with only a ſecondary horror; and that removed from the ſcene in which they are paſſing, they are treated as the themes of romance, and no more regarded than if they could never occur again.

The decree of the convention for riſing in a body and marching againſt their enemies, acted like an incantation, and ſeemed to preduce an army as if by a miracle. Early in September Landau had been inveſted by the combined powers; but while the French maintained the ſtrong lines at Weiſſembourg, and on the Lauter, there was little proſpect of ſucceſs. On the thirteenth of October therefore, general Wurmſer made a grand attack on the lines of Lauter, and carried the whole with the town of Lauterbourg. The French accounts of this action ſay that their generals betrayed them, that they permitted the Auſtrians to force the lines without taking means to reſiſt the onſet effectually, and Wurmſer acknowledges in his diſpatches that the place might have held out for ſeveral days. The barbarity of the Auſtrians after this action harrows up the ſoul; when they took the poſt of Anterre, the inhabitants precipitately fled, and the women ſought refuge in the woods. They were purſued by the Auſtrian ſoldiers, who hewed off the breaſts of the mothers, and toſſed the infants from one to the other on the points of their bayonets; they broke the arms and thruſt out the eyes of the old men and women, and left them to expire in that miſerable condition. This ferocious and inhuman conduct produced a retaliation, the people of the ſurrounding country were rouſed, and ſix thouſand of them, with the firſt weapons they could find, ruſhed upon a body of the aſſaſſins, and deſtroyed ſifteen hundred of them without mercy.



P.J.CAMBON

Weiſſembourg made a more formidable reſiſtance, and was not carried without the loſs of eight hundred men. The French retreated towards Hagenau, from which however they were diſlodged on the eighteenth, and the Pruſſian general proceeded towards Straſburg, defeating a body of the republicans on the twenty-fifth, and took poſſeſſion of Wanzenau. On the twenty-ſeventh the French attacked the Auſtrians, but after an obſtinate engagement, in which they were ſuppoſed to have loſt three thouſand men, were obliged to retreat.

In the beginning of November the deputies St. Juſt and Lebas, were ſent to Straſburg, to reorganize the diſcomfitted troops. They ordered immenſe reinforcements from the neighbouring departments, and to afford a ſalutary example of ſeverity, general Irembert, who was convicted of treachery in the affair of Weiſſembourg, was ſhot at the head of the army on the ninth of that month: A conſpiracy was alſo diſcovered at Straſburg, ſeveral emigrants having found means to obtain admiſſion into that city, in the diſguiſe of wounded ſoldiers, and had organized a plan under the direction of the marquis of St. Hillaire, for the delivery of the place; their correſpondence was diſcovered, and the conſpirators ſeized together with a banker in whoſe hands their funds were depoſited, and the whole were executed.

Theſe vigorous proceedings, however, were not ſufficient to preſerve Saar Louis (or Fort Vauban) which fell into the hands of Wurmſer on the fourteenth, though not without ſuſpicions of treachery on the part of the commandant. Here however the ſucceſs of Wurmſer terminated, for on the twenty-fifth of November, the Auſtrians were compelled to retreat, and the republican army penetrated to Vautruan and almoſt to the gates of Hagenau.

Meanwhile the army of the Moſelle advanced to co-operate with the grand army on the Rhine, and on the 17th of November the Pruſſians were defeated near Saarbruck with ſome loſs. On the ſucceeding day the Pruſſian camp at Blieſcaſtel was ſtormed and taken by the republicans, under the command of general Hoche, then in about his 24th year; he immediately advanced toward Deux-Ponts, and carried the poſt of Hornback, and the heights of Milleback; theſe three attacks were conducted with ſignal intrepidity and ſkill, and obliged the Pruſſians immediately to abandon Deux-Ponts.

On the twenty-ninth, and thirtieth of November the French were repulſed with conſiderable loſs in two ſpirited attacks near Lautern; but theſe were more than compenſated by the ſucceſſes of Pichegru, who on the eighteenth of December carried with fixed bayonets all the redoubts of the allies which covered Hagenau; and on the twenty-ſecond drove them with immenſe ſlaughter from Biſchoiliers, Duſcheim, and Hagenau, notwithſtanding the almoſt continued works with which they had covered the line which joined the two poſts. The entrenchments on the heights of Beiſhoffen, Jauderſhofen, and Treyewillers-Radneith, are repreſented to have been not leſs formidable than thoſe of Gemappe, and preſented three amphitheatrical ranges of redoubts which the allies deemed impregnable. They were ſtormed however by Hoche with the army of the Moſelle, who had recently joined Pichegru, and carried at the point of the bayonet. On the twenty-third aud twenty-fourth the French purſued the enemy to the heights of Wrotte, where they had alſo erected moſt formidable entrenchments. On the twenty-ſixth Pichegru prepared to attack them in form, but after a fruitleſs cannonade, the republican ſoldiers called out

to ſound the charge, and marched up to the foot of the entrenchments. The conflict was deſparate; and laſted from two to five o'clock in the afternoon. At half paſt ſix the French were maſters of the heights, and at ten all the enemy's poſts were abandoned. On the twenty-ſeventh the republicans entered Weiſſemburg in triumph. Wurmſur made good his retreat to the Rhine, and the duke of Brunſwick haſtily retreated to cover Mentz.

The prince of Hohenloe had ſummoned Landau, on the fourteenth of December; but receiving an indignant reply from general Labaudere, the Pruſſian general Knobelſdorf attempted to eſtabliſh an illicit intercourſe with the garriſon which was indignantly repelled. In conſequence of which the ſiege was raiſed. Keiſerſlautern, Guermerſheim, and Spires immediately ſubmitted to the republic.

In the north but little was performed on either ſide during the latter part of the campaign. On the nineteenth of November a trifling ſkirmiſh took place between a part of the garriſon of Ypres, and a party of French who attempted to eſtabliſh themſelves at Poperingue, from which they were diſlodged with the loſs of forty-five priſoners. On the twenty-eighth they attacked the out poſts of the duke of York at Nechin and Liers, but were repulſed with ſome loſs, and on the thirtieth were again unſucceſsful in an attack on the ſame poſts.

The tranſactions of Toulon were in themſelves ſo momentous, that in the progreſs of the preceding hiſtory no more than a tranſient glance could be beſtowed on them without breaking in on the thread of events more cloſely connected, and without compreſſing the tranſactions within bounds not conſiſtent with their importance.

The general ſtate of the ſouth of France has been deſcribed. The diſtractions in the north and on the coaſts of the ocean, afforded ample opportunities for the machinations of the malcontents. Lyons was unqueſtionally a rendezvous of the royaliſts, although whatever may be laid to the citizens of that place on the ſcore of ſuperſtition, of envy and rivalſhip with Paris, and of that effeminacy and corruption of mind inſeparable from commercial avarice, they muſt be, at leaſt the majority, acquitted of actual hoſtile diſpoſitions againſt their country. The diſtractions of faction at Paris, muſt of neceſſity have unſettled the minds of millions, and the horror excited by the ſanguinary proſcriptions of Robeſpierre muſt in themſelves have conferred a ſhare of odium on the very principles of virtue under the name of which the atrocities were committed. This effect could not be confined to that city; thoſe of Toulon and Marſeilles, were affected by ſimilar diſguſts and fears, and continual anxieties. It was with them difficult to diſcern what would be the ultimate iſſue of circumſtances ſo calamitous.

The royaliſts employed their efforts to aggravate the diſorder, and the important port and arſenal of Toulon, the key of the Mediterranean, was deemed the moſt ſuitable place for the combined operations of the internal and external enemies of the republic. The commiſſioners Albite, Gaſparin, and Salicetti, ſtationed at Marſeilles, ſo early as the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, ſignified to the convention, that the Engliſh ſquadron under admiral Hood was cruiſing in ſight of that port, that he had opened a communication with Toulon, and publiſhed a proclamation addreſſed to the French people, containing propoſals for reſtoring monarchy in France; they alſo ſignified that conſiderable numbers of the Touloneſe had mounted the white cockade; that they admitted an Engliſh frigate into the harbour; and that money was diſtributed plentifully among the inhabitants, and that

proviſions, money, and military ſuccours were promiſed by the Engliſh admiral; that he deſired the ſquadron in the harbour to be diſarmed, and the batteries near the ſea to be diſmounted.

Jean Bon St. Andre read an intercepted letter from Toulon, ſtating that the ſections of that city had cloſed with the Engliſh admiral, and that rear-admiral St. Julien had been obliged to fly, having been abandoned by his officers, and finally that eight Engliſh ſhips of war had actually entered the port.

On the ſeventh of September the convention received further advices, that general Brunet and admiral Trugoff had participated in the treaſon of Toulon. The former, however, had been ſeized, ſent to Paris, and referred to the revolutionary tribunal.

It ſoon after appeared that the plot was not confined to Toulon, but was intended to comprehend Marſeilles, and to be extended to all the ſeaports of France. Hood had been cruiſing off the iſlands of Hieres during the month of Auguſt, having on board his fleet, which conſiſted of twenty-one ſail of the line and thirteen frigates beſides cutters, a large number of emigrants and ſome troops, more being expected. On the twenty-fifth of Auguſt he had by means of his emiſſaries laid the foundation of the treachery by a declaration dated the twenty-third, and on the twenty-eighth he landed fifteen hundred men to whom the batteries at the mouth of the harbour were betrayed. The republicans had moved the French fleet into the inner road, and on the twenty-ninth the Engliſh fleet, with the Spaniſh ſquadron under Don John Langara, anchored in the outer road of Toulon.

As the tranſactions of this place continued to form one of the moſt prominent features of the war, and conſiderably influenced the deliberations on the ſubject of peace in 1797, and muſt continue to be objects of the firſt intereſt, a ſuccinct account of the whole is indiſpenſably neceſſary to the accurate comprehenſion of the critical points.

The preliminary declaration of admiral Hood was in the following terms;—"If a capital and explicit declaration in favour of monarchy is made at Toulon and Marſeilles, and the ſtandard of royalty hoiſted, the ſhips in the harbour diſmantled, and the port and forts proviſionally at my diſpoſition, ſo as to allow of the free and ſafe egreſs and regreſs, the people of Provençe ſhall have all the aſſiſtance and ſupport his Britannic majeſty's fleet under my command can give; and not an atom of private property of any individual ſhall be touched, but protected; having no other view than that of reſtoring peace to a great nation upon juſt, liberal, and honorable terms; this muſt be the ground-work of the treaty. *And whenever peace takes place*, which I hope and truſt will be ſoon, *the port, with all the ſhips in the harbor, and forts of Toulon, ſhall be reſtored to France, with the ſtores of every kind, agreeable to the ſchedule that may be delivered.* Dated on board the Victory, Auguſt twenty-third, 1793—(Signed)—Hood."

The proclamation addreſſed to the inhabitants of the ſame date, was a mere declamation againſt the revolution, recommending monarchy, and profeſſing the moſt diſintereſted and benevolent regard for the peace and proſperity of France.

The counter-declaration of the general committee of the ſections of Toulon, was founded on the proclamation and declaration of admiral Hood; and contained a ſeries of eight articles in the form of a capitulation, expreſſing the terms of ſurrender; namely, 1. The eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution of 1789, and the acknowledgment of Louis XVII. 2. That the white flag ſhould be hoiſted and the Engliſh fleet meet a friendly reception. 3.

That the ſhips of war in the road ſhould be diſarmed as deſired. 4. That the citadel and forts ſhould be proviſionally at the diſpoſal of the Engliſh admiral, the garriſon to be compoſed of half French half Engliſh, but the command to be in the Engliſh. 5. That the Engliſh ſhould furniſh with ſpeed a force ſufficient to repel the army of Italy and the army of Marſeilles then marching againſt Toulon. 6. That perſons in civil and military appointments ſhould not be removed nor annoyed. 7. That ſubſiſtence and ſuccours ſhould be furniſhed by the allies. 8. That when peace ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed the *ſhips and forts put into the hands of the Engliſh ſhould be reſtored to the French nation* in the ſame ſtate as when delivered. This was ſigned by the ſeveral perſons in power at Toulon.

The conditions were agreed to and meaſures taken for landing the troops. St. Julien to whom the ſeamen had given command of the fleet, reſiſted the overtures of the ſections, and threatened to oppoſe force; he was however, deſerted by ſeveral of the ſhips, and he determined with his own veſſel and ſix others to fight his way through the enemy rather than betray the fleet. The Engliſh admiral however deemed it more prudent to permit his departure.

After landing a body of troops admiral Hood iſſued another proclamation on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, as follows—"Whereas the ſections of Toulon, by their commiſſioners to me, have made a ſolemn declaration in favour of monarchy and proclaimed Louis XVII. ſon of the late Louis the XVI, their lawful king, and have ſworn to acknowledge him, and no longer ſuffer the deſpotiſm of the tyrants, which at this time govern France, but will do their utmoſt to eſtabliſh monarchy, as accepted by their late ſovereign in 1789, and reſtore peace to their diſtracted country.

"I do hereby repeat, what I have already declared to the people of the ſouth of France, that I take poſſeſſion of Toulon, and hold it in truſt only for Louis XVII. until peace ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in France. (Signed) Hood."—

On the firſt of September a fleet of tranſports with a conſiderable body of Spaniſh troops arrived, being part of the army of Rouſillon.

The convention had received detailed particulars of the proceedings at Toulon, which were publiſhed in an official report, the legal adminiſtrators had been depoſed, artillery planted at the doors of ſuch as were deemed faithful to the republic; religious proceſſions of prieſts, nobles, and emigrants were performed in the ſtreets, and the bones of traitors exhibited as the reliques of martyrs to excite the rage of the ignorant; the traitor admiral Trugoff was borne about in triumph; two ſols per day was added to the pay of ſuch of the military as joined them, and intoxication was employed to ſeduce thoſe to perfidy who ſoberly reſiſted, and double rations of wine were daily iſſued; a conſiderable number however ſooner than betray their country had fled and joined general Cartaux who commanded all the ſtrong paſſes near Toulon.

Meaſures had been vigorouſly taken to inveſt Toulon, and Carteaux was ſo active as to open the ſiege immediately after the reduction of the inſurgents at Marſeilles. On the eighth of September Carteaux arrived at the paſſes of Olioulles. The Engliſh with a body of Spaniards had occupied the heights on the right of that poſition, and the royaliſts on the left. As ſoon as the French general was perceived by the enemy, he was ſaluted with a general ſhout of *Vive Louis XVII.* and a diſcharge of muſquetry. The general ordered the enemy to be attacked about noon, and in about two hours they were completely diſperſed, killing one hundred and fifty and taking a conſiderable number of

priſoners, and ſome ſtands of colours. The French loſt only one man and two wounded.

On the firſt of October the republican troops carried the important poſt on the heights of Pharon, which the Engliſh had ſtrongly fortified, and which commanded the city; but after poſſeſſing it a few hours, the republicans were attacked in turn and obliged to abandon it.

Reports had been circulated that two of the repreſentatives of the people, Beauvais and Bayle, had been put to death by the Engliſh in Toulon, which excited the moſt ardent ſpirit of revenge among the troops, and indeed all over France: this effect has been noticed before; however, it ſubſequently appeared that though the repreſentatives had been treated with exceſſive barbarity, that they had eſcaped death.

On the fourteenth an action took place between the garriſon which had marched out to the defence of the redoubt of Malboſquet, and the republicans, in which the former loſt forty and the French thirty men. The Engliſh never made any return of their loſs in this affair. On the next day, two actions took place at the ſame time; the republicans attacking with great bravery the poſt of Cape Brun, and poſſeſſed themſelves of it: a detachment from the garriſon ſent to occupy the heights of Thouars was diſlodged at the ſame time, and compelled to retreat precipitately to the town. The allies loſt in both theſe affairs one hundred men.

The troops of the allies by different convoys that had arrived, now conſiſted of 2000 Engliſh infantry, 2000 Spaniards, 1500 Savoyards, 5000 Neapolitans, 2000 Sclavonians, in all about 10,700 men; further reinforcements of 6000 Spaniards, 6000 Portugueſe, and 2000 Engliſh were expected; and with this force amounting to 25,000 men, it was deſigned to force their way to Aix, and there call the members of the old parliament. Two firſt rates were prepared to proceed to Naples to take on board D'Artois, Monſieur and the biſhop of Toulon. The rope-yard was converted into a ſtable for the Spaniſh cavalry amounting to 1000, and efforts were making to procure horſes to mount a corps of emigrants and other deſerters.

In the latter end of October, general O'Hara arrived from Gibraltar with a body of troops, he being appointed governor of Toulon and commander in chief.

On the fourteenth of November general O'Hara having received inſtructions from England on the concerns of Toulon, which appointed admiral Hood, ſir Gilbert Elliot, and himſelf commiſſioners plenipotentiary for regulating affairs there, a deputation of the inhabitants was deſired to attend them on the twentieth, where the general addreſſed the inhabitants in a written ſpeech, at the concluſion of which he read the declaration of his Britannic majeſty on the circumſtances of the ſurrender of that city and port.

This document in itſelf preſents one of the moſt extraordinary examples of machiavelian policy and breach of faith, that hiſtory can produce; under pretence of a full and general compliance with the conditions under which the place was betrayed into the hands of the Engliſh, it was couched in phraſeology ſo vague and equivocal as to leave it in any caſe diſcretional, whether they ſhould or not ever comply with the ſolemnly pledged faith of the Britiſh king by his repreſentative—It ſtated, that "informed of the circumſtances under which the town, forts, harbour, and ſhipping had been delivered up, his Britannic majeſty thought fit to give *a further aſſurance*, that when monarchy ſhall be re-

ſtored and a treaty of peace concluded, containing ſtipulations in favour of his majeſty and his allies, reſtitution of all conqueſts made by France during the war, and a juſt indemnification for the loſſes and expences of the war, and a *proper ſecurity for the future, then* they ſhould be reſtored according to the engagements entered into by admiral Hood!"

The ſame declaration diſclaims any ſupport of the conſtitution of 1789, contrary to what admiral Hood had proclaimed; and that his Britannic majeſty was not ſolicitous to preſcribe any form of government, though he does not heſitate to declare that the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy in the perſon of Louis XVII. and the lawful heirs of the crown, appear to be the beſt, that form of government having prevailed in France from the earlieſt times!

Such a declaration containing ſo groſs and palpable a breach of faith, was not calculated to produce confidence or ſucceſs: the Toulonese openly manifeſted ſome jeolouſy, many deſerted and threw themſelves upon the generoſity of the republicans, and meaſures of rigor became neceſſary on the part of the Engliſh.

On the other hand, admiral Hood found himſelf diſhonored by the conduct of miniſters, who blindly ſecure in the conqueſt of France from the eaſe with which they had gained, that port, unfolded their deſigns, and ſcrupled not to ſacrifice the national honor and the character of a gallant officer, who diſguiſed his feelings, until the ſervice under him was accompliſhed, when he reſigned his command and refuſed to ſerve under miniſters who paid no regard to public faith, or the honor of their repreſentatives.

In the beginning of November Carteaux was removed from the command and put under arreſt for his inactivity, and Dugomier ſucceeded him in the command of the French before Toulon.

Several ſlight actions occurred in the courſe of the month; on the thirtieth the garriſon made a ſally, drove in the French advanced poſts, and took a redoubt; but the French charged them with ſo much impetuoſity, that the enemy were every where beaten and forced to return with precipitation, leaving behind them one thouſand priſoners and two hundred killed and wounded, among the latter general O'Hara the commander in chief, who was ſeverely wounded in the arm.

A ſmall camp of the enemy was alſo ſeized upon with all the tents, baggage, &c. General O'Hara on being taken was extremely faint from loſs of blood, the French ſoldiers treated him with ſo much tenderneſs and brought him ſurgical aſſiſtance ſo ſpeedily that he was induced to make them a preſent of ſixty louis d'ors. The money however was returned to the general with an intimation that "they were contented with the pleaſure they felt in aſſiſting unfortunate humanity." The action was fatal to the hopes of the enemy, and was only the precurſor of the fall of the place.

The commiſſioners with the army purſued their advantage, and not waiting for the arrival of all the troops on their march, determined to attack the town. It was on this occaſion that Buonaparte who has ſince exalted himſelf to the loftieſt rank of illuſtrous men, became diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill and his intrepidity, and here it was that Barras, afterwards one of the directory of France, diſplayed his talents and zeal as a commiſſioner of the convention.

An addreſs from the convention to the army before Toulon at this period produced a ſignal ſpirit of enthuſiaſm; it ſaid—"Too long have you deferred the national vengeance, too long have you poſtponed your own glory; our enemies brave us, tyranny threatens

us, and you continue quiet ſpectators of this diſgraceful ſight. Is it becauſe you have ceaſed to exiſt, that they ſtill live? Before your eyes floats the ſtandard of royaliſm, defies your courage, and hides from your view the Mediterranean! Has the tricolor flag then loſt its hues? Is it no longer capable of rallying the defenders of the country? Will you ſuffer France and Europe to ſay to you in future—the republic commanded them to conquer, and they were afraid to die?"

The enthuſiaſm of the commiſſioners Salicetti, Ricord, Freron, Robeſpierre junior, and Barras, correſponded with that of the convention, and was ſoon communicated to the troops. It was determined to attack the out-poſts poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, at the ſame time that the whole of the batteries ſhould pour their thunder on the town at every point likely to produce diſorder and confuſion.

The diviſion under general Lepoype with Barras, attacked the heights of Pharon on the ſixteenth in three columns, which was carried with the utmoſt intrepidity, and eighty priſoners with a lieutenant colonel taken. In this action ſome emiſſaries of the enemy had endeavoured to excite diſtraction by crying out "fly, treachery, ſave yourſelves;" but by the conduct of the general and the ardour of the troops, the republican flag was ſoon diſplayed. Mean while the principal object of attack was fort Mulgrave, which commanded the forts of l'Eguillette and Ballaguier, which was defended by three thouſand men, twenty pieces of cannon, and ſeveral mortars; the enemy had exhauſted all the reſources of art and nature to render it impregnable, however it was attacked by the commander in chief Dugomier with the general Laborde at five o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth, and at ſix the republican flag was flying on the ramparts. The French loſt two hundred killed and five hundred wounded; the allies loſt the whole garriſon, of whom only five hundred were priſoners, including a Neapolitan prince. Here alſo the royaliſt emiſſaries had found means to introduce themſelves among the republican troops, and endeavoured to excite diſmay; but at the rallying ſounds of liberty and the republic, the ſoldiers flew to victory; and the forts of l'Eguillette and Ballaguier were alſo carried by aſſault; the former was defended by a double encloſure, a camp entrenched with hedges, conſiſting of chevaux de frieſe, abbatis, bridges, thirteen cannon, thirty-ſix and twenty-four pounders, and five mortars, with five thouſand choſen troops, and ſupported by the traverſe fire of three other redoubts, containing three thouſand men.

Diſmay and terror now ſpread through the city of Toulon, and the cannonade which was inceſſantly kept up in every direction, aggravated the terror and conſternation of the allies and the traitors who had betrayed the place to them. The forts of Malboſquet and Pommet next fell, and the troops from every out-poſt took refuge in the city, the gates of which were ſhut, and ſuch meaſures taken as to prevent every communication between the town and the beſiegers, except by the mouths of their cannon. This ſtep was taken to cover the precipitate flight and embarkation of the allies and the traitors. Meaſures were taken for removing the ſhips from the harbour to the outer roads, and out of the reach of ſhot and ſhells which the republicans inceſſantly poured upon them. The bombardment was continued till ten o'clock at night, the ſcaling-ladders were already applied to the walls, and four thouſand ſhells ready to be thrown to cover the ſtorm, when it was found that the enemy had fled, after ſpiking all the cannon. So precipitate, however, was the flight that above twelve thouſand priſoners fell into the hands of the republicans, a conſiderable number of oxen, ſheep, hogs, and large quantities of forage and proviſions of all ſorts, beſides ſeveral pieces of Engliſh cannon.

The whole of the republican army marched in triumphantly at ſeven o'clock in the morning, after five days and five nights of inceſſant combat and fatigue. Their conduct was a ſingular contraſt to that of the departing friends of Toulon, whoſe ſailors and ſoldiers were ſuffered to plunder the city, and to vent their rage on the houſes and property of thoſe, who had under all the diſaſters of Toulon and the treachery of their fellow citizens continued faithful to their country. A proclamation was iſſued by general Dugomier, declaring the puniſhment of death on any perſons found in acts of pillage, and reſerving for the law alone the puniſhment of traitors.

The retreat of the allies was as diſgraceful as their mode of entrance. That city which was entered upon profeſſions of friendſhip, and thoſe ſhips which were to be kept only as a depoſit to be reſtored to France at a peace, were ſet on fire in ſeveral places; the fire in the town was ſoon extinguiſhed; but the allies blew up ſeveral of the ſhips and ſet fire to the arſenals, rope houſes, maſt houſes, and magazines of timber. The Themiſtocles of ſeventy-four guns, which had been converted into a priſon ſhip by the Engliſh, they ſet fire to, with all the priſoners in it, but by the exertions of the republicans they found means to eſcape in boats or by ſwimming, except a few who were in fetters and who periſhed in the exploſion. We have it on the authority of admiral Hood himſelf, that a ſettled arrangement had been made for deſtroying all the ſhips and the arſenal, but that it was only prevented from being completely accompliſhed by the ſuddeneſs of their retreat. Sir Sydney Smith, who at a ſubſequent period was captured by the French and kept in cloſe confinement for his incendiary conduct at this place, was the principal perſon in ſpreading the conflagration.

The French account of the ſhipping deſtroyed and ſaved was as follows:— Veſſels remaining in the port, thirteen ſhips of the line,—one of 120 guns, three of 80, nine of 74, and one on the ſtocks, and five lighters.

Burnt, nine of the line, three frigates, and one careening pontoon.

Carried off by the enemy, three of the line, five frigates, two ſloops of war, three lighters and a brig. Theſe ſhips of the line were, the Commerce de Marſeilles commanded by the traitor admiral Trugoff, the Puiſſant, and Pompee.

To the Spaniſh admiral had been entruſted the taſk of ſcuttling ſeveral veſſels in order to ſink them in the harbour, but they ſet fire to the Iris frigate on board of which were ſeveral barrels of gunpowder, the exploſion of which deſtroyed two Engliſh gun-boats. The Montreal another frigate ſerving as a powder magazine was alſo blown up.

The general magazines of pitch, tar, tallow, oil, and the hemp magazines were all ſet on fire by one train; but the effect was not equal to the preparations made; the maſt houſe was burnt, but the timber magazine was ſaved by the activity of the people of the yards, but particularly of ſome hundreds of the galley ſlaves, moſt of whom had continued in chains from before the revolution, theſe had extricated themſelves, and ſaved the hemp-houſe completely. The powder magazine of Cape Brun and Fort Pommet had been blown up on the eighteenth. But no ſtone powder magazine was effected; they were preſerved by the active intrepidity of the troops, who broke off the communication of the trains, even while the exploſion was ſpreading.

While the work of deſtruction was going on and the town on fire, the fugitives were embarking with the utmoſt impatience; ſeveral chaloupes with them on board were ſunk in the harbour by the fire from the batteries, which the republicans had taken poſſeſſion

of. Vaſt numbers continued to croud to the ſhores, with the hope of eſcaping, and demanding that protection of the Britiſh Crown which had been ſolemnly pledged to them. A ſcene of riot plunder and confuſion enſued, and continued till morning, and though the utmoſt efforts had been made to embark all the fugitives and troops, only ſix thouſand of the latter could be brought off, while thouſands of the betrayed inhabitants were left on the ſhore a prey to the vengeance of their injured country. Many of them plunged into the ſea, and made vain efforts to reach the ſhips by ſwimming, others were ſeen to ſhoot themſelves in the wildeſt phrenſy of deſpair. While the flames of the ſurrounding conflagration, the roar of bombs and the clamour of the croud, rendered the dark ſtillneſs of the night prodigiouſly terrible.

This is but a faint deſcription of the ſcene on ſhore, and it was ſcarcely leſs dreadful on board of the ſhips. Loaded with the moſt heterogeneous mixture of all nationss, with aged men and infants, as well as women; with the ſick from all the hoſpitals, and with the mangled ſoldiers from the poſts juſt deſerted, their wounds ſtill undreſt; nothing could equal the horrors of the ſight, except the ſtill more appaling cries of diſtraction and agony that filled the ear, for huſbands, fathers, children, left on ſhore.

To increaſe the diſtreſs, they were without ſufficient proviſions for this mixed and helpleſs multitude of human beings; and ſuch as they had were almoſt unfit for uſe.

Of the thirty-one ſhips of the line which the Engliſh found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, nine were burnt at Toulon, and one at Leghorn; and four lord Hood had previouſly ſent away to the French ports Breſt and Rochfort, with five thouſand republican ſeamen, whom he was afraid to truſt. Great-Britain therefore obtained, by an immenſe profuſion of blood and treaſure which the Toulon expedition coſt, only three ſhips of the line and five frigates, which were all that lord Hood was able to carry away.

The war on the ſide of Spain was productive of nothing but petty ſkirmiſhes, not worth detailing; and on the ſide of Savoy the king of Sardinia appears to have made but a ſlow progreſs in recovering his poſſeſſions, which the Britiſh miniſtry was ſo generous as to guarantee to him at an immenſe expence. The Piedmonteſe were repulſed in attempting to penetrate between Mourienne and Briançonnais. The republicans ſaw them fall from the top of the mountains, and carried their redoubts with the bayonet. The city of Cluz was then in the hands of the French, and they were proceeding to Salons. In the mean time an Engliſh veſſel arrived at Nice with a flag of truce, and a proclamation to the inhabitants, exhorting them to accept the royal conſtitution of 1789; but the magiſtrates of Nice replied, that French republicans would never become ſlaves, and that no other anſwer would be made to royaliſts except from the mouths of cannon.

While the republic was thus ſtruggling with mighty efforts againſt the hoſts of internal and external enemies and aſſaſſins, her colonies were involved in calamities equally extraordinary. Early in the year the iſland of Martinico continued in an unquiet and divided ſtate. It appears to be a neceſſary conſequence of a toleration of ſlavery in any ſhape, and under any qualifications, to gradually undermine the virtues, and liberty itſelf. In the Weſt-Indies, where the labours of the unfortunate and betrayed African, not only ſupplied the wants, and pampered all the luxeries of the European, the inexperience of toil and the apprehenſion of any alteration in his condition, by principles that would re-

duce him to the neceſſity of perſonal labour, or the abridgement of his ſupernumerary indulgencies, would render him hoſtile to them, and diſpoſed to ſupport that ſyſtem of civil coercion which would beſt ſecure their enjoyments. Hence a majority of the white inhabitants of all the colonies of every country are tyrants in epitome, and thoſe of France though always more humane to their ſlaves than any other nation under heaven, were ſtill decided advocates for royalty.

On the contrary that love of freedom ſo inherent in human nature, appearing in ſo many forms in every ſtate, civilized or ſavage, muſt have been as conſpicious on the part of the Africans and their deſcendant. Hence the negroes, and all thoſe under the name of people of colour, who are deſcended in any degree from an admixture of African blood, were as decided republicans. Unlike the ſlaves in the colonies of every other nation, thoſe of France had better means of information; that urbanity which has ſo long characteriſed the French people, and which has been conſidered as only an artful and inſinuating mode of behaviour, has been found among their ſlaves to be a real diſpoſition of the heart, cultivated by education and improved by the gratification which the exerciſe of it beſtows. Independent of a careful religious inſtruction, and of that unreſtrained ſociality which the French maſter maintained with his ſlaves, they had the means of disfranchiſement in their own power by extraordinary induſtry; and the philanthrophic ſpirit of the age had been ſtudious to make experiments on their capacity for the acquirement of ſcience and letters. Such circumſtances muſt have rendered the ſlaves in the French colonies more ſuſceptible of that equal diſtribution of rights, which the convention had decreed to be extended to them during the period that the Gironde party retained the reins of adminiſtration.

Polverel and Santhonax, had been ſent to St. Domingo, with full powers from the convention to extend freedom to the ſlaves, by a wholeſome regulation which would gradually operate to the happineſs of the enfranchiſed and the ſecurity of thoſe who had been their bond maſters. But unhappily, this moderation was unſuitable to the views of the planters, who already wrought upon by emigrants and emiſſaries of England, determined to ſhake off the authority which would wound their pride, by reducing them to a level with thoſe whom they had been habituated to conſider as legal and purchaſable property.

We have before noticed the convulſions that took place in the iſlands. Every oppoſition of the whites became a ſource of conflict, which at length terminated in the maſſacre of many, and the expulſion of the greater number of them. The wretched exiles thus the victims of their cupidity and imprudence, in their flight fell a prey to thoſe who had been moſt inſtrumental in encouraging them to obſtinacy and treaſon againſt their country. Britiſh ſhips of war cruiſing in the neighbourhood plundered the unhappy fugitives, and happy were thoſe thouſands of both ſexes who were enabled to obtain an aſylum on the hoſpitable ſhores of the United States of America.

The machinations of the Britiſh extended to every one of the French iſlands. Private emiſſaries, and public bribes, ſeduction and threats, armies and fleets combined to expel the French from all their colonies. But virtuous intentions ſo rarely actuating political deſigns, and which are not always ſo ſucceſsful as they ſhould be, proved to be the ſole and effectual ſalvation of the French colonies. The blacks and their deſcendants,

attached to the government that extended to them the equal rights ordained by providence, returned for this juſtice the moſt inflexible and magnanimous loyalty.

The iſland of Tobago however, was taken by an Engliſh ſquadron under the command of admiral Laforey in the beginning of April; and profiting by the ſtruggle between the royaliſts and republicans in Martinico, admiral Gardner attempted a deſcent upon that iſland alſo; he landed three thouſand men; but the republican party had diſcomfited the royaliſts, before he could effect any operation, and he was obliged to reembark his troops with the utmoſt precipitation, to ſave them from that deſtruction with which thoſe were purſued who invited him thither.

Upon the fall of the Gironde, however, thoſe of the coloniſts who made their eſcape to France, had acted with ſo much induſtry among the party in power, as to produce an impeachment of Polverel and Santhonax in the convention on the ſixteenth of July. The ſubſequent changes and the overthrow of Robeſpierre rendered this decree nugatory; and the ſpirit of the firſt decree was religiouſly maintained.

The Engliſh however continued their ſecret manœuvres, and had already laid the foundation of a conſpiracy which was to put into their hands ſeveral of the French colonies. In the begining of October the royaliſts of Fort Jeremie, in St. Domingo, had invited the Engliſh to take poſſeſſion of that iſland, and Cape Nicola Mole ſubmitted in a few days after.

The operations of the Engliſh were in the year 1794, attended with further ſucceſſes, which we ſhall notice. The phrenzy that pervaded the politics of the nation was extended to every part of ſociety; and as from overthrow of deſpotiſm to obtain liberty, fanaticiſm had produced almoſt an anarchy; ſo in diſguſt with the abuſes of religion and the vices and treachery of prieſts, they ran into the extreme of irreligion. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that this phrenzy was but limited and temporary; that although there were a few whoſe ſcepticiſm was confeſſed, and more who doubted only becauſe they had heard ſome celebrated philoſopher had done ſo likewiſe; thoſe who doubted upon reaſoning were generally moral, while thoſe of the other deſcription might be conſidered as mad. On the ſeventh of November, ſeveral eccleſiaſtics both catholic and proteſtant, among whom were Gobet biſhop of Paris and his vicars, entered the convention and ſolemnly reſigned their functions, acknowledging that their religious inſtitutions were calculated only to controul the vulgar. One prieſt declared that prieſts of all religions were impoſtors more or leſs, that there were ſome who from want of capacity or reflection believed a great deal, but that one and all profeſſed more than they believed; that in ſhort prieſts partook very much of the nature of the mountebank.

This ſpirit prevailed for ſeveral days, but although for the moment the overthrow of prejudice was received with applauſe; the majority of the convention, and the people very generally, apprehended that the more ſolid principles of morality and virtue, which had been for ſeveral ages gradually incorporating with mummery and pageantry, would be mingled in a common ruin. The reſentment of the people of Paris was particularly excited by an intolerant decree of that commune, ordering the churches to be ſhut up; but on the firſt of December they were compelled to reverſe that decree, and Barrere from the committee of public ſafety produced a decree, which was adopted, proclaiming the freedom of religious worſhip. Among thoſe frequent but ſtill lamentable, becauſe

they are too powerful artifices of great villains, is that of addreſſing the popular feelings by the countenance and ſupport of their prejudices; religion in France, and taking the majority of every country, conſiſts in little more than an accordance with certain periodical cuſtoms, and in an adoption of certain tenets upon the credit of thoſe by whom they were taught; and as to futurity, it is a ſentiment of fear not to believe, rather than an actual adoption of truth from a well digeſted and reaſonable conviction; this was particularly the caſe in France, but that *fear not to believe* was a ſentiment upon which the broadeſt baſis of popularity was to be laid; Cromwell had acted upon it with a degree of ſucceſs that ought to teach mankind a perpetual ſuſpicion of *violent* religious declaimers; but Robeſpierre knew too well how feeble the impreſſion is which is communicated by remote example, however ſtriking, and upon this he laid the foundation of a power with the people, which promiſed, even in ſpite of the murders he was committing, a ſecurity againſt the moſt potent meaſures of his rivals; he ſtood forth the advocate of the divinity, and the people did not ſee his ſoul bathed in the blood of the virtuous.

Such was the ſtate of France at the cloſe of the year 1793. We have ſeen her amidſt all her afflictions and diſaſters, torn in the body of her ſenate, convulſed by an unexampled civil war, attacked by all the powers of Europe, one of her principal ſea-ports delivered into the hands of her moſt inveterate enemy, and her finances and her circulating medium undermined by every effort of induſtry and intrigue.

It may be uſeful then, ere we enter upon the tranſactions of the year 1794, to advert briefly to the conduct of the allied powers, and to preſent ſuch an outline of their meaſures as will leave the mind to form its own concluſions on the conduct and conſiſtency of the rival powers, and upon their probable ſucceſs.

We have ſeen in the principles and deſigns of the treaty of Pilnitz, the actual cauſe of the general war; and in the events that followed the declaration, the means by which it was to be conducted by the allied powers. The retreat of the Pruſſians and the treachery of their conqueror; the open junction of England in the confederacy, and the French armies compelled to evacuate not only Holland but Flanders, that had been ſo rapidly conquered. At this period the declaration of the prince of Cobourg on the fifth of April, 1793, proclaimed in the face of all Europe, that the only deſign of the emperor and allies was to give France a conſtitutional king and the conſtitution which ſhe had formed for herſelf, that ſuch places as might be put into his hands ſhould be deemed only as ſacred depoſits; and in four days after with the moſt conſummate and ſhameleſs effrontery he publiſhed a declaration, annulling all that he had pledged his honor to obſerve in his former proclamation.

On the twenty-third of Auguſt lord Hood declared to the people of Toulon that he had no other view than to reſtore peace to the French nation, and the conſtitution of 1789; he accepted the terms of their ſurrender on the twenty-eighth, by his proclamation, and ſolemnly daclared that he had taken poſſeſſion of the place in truſt only.

Yet it is remarkable that on the twenty-fifth of January 1793, Auckland the ambaſſador at Holland, deſcribed this conſtitution thus ſupported by Hood, and proclaimed by Cobourg, as the work of "certain miſcreants" &c.—and yet the Engliſh government not only retained their miniſter at Paris during the exerciſe of the authority under the conſtitution of 1789, and continued to negociate and treat under it, until the month of Auguſt 1792; when the Engiſh miniſter was recalled.

On the twenty-ninth of October, 1793, the king of England's miniſters declared that all they wanted was a ſtable government in France, yet the king of Sardinia was ſubſidized by this power to defend his own dominions; while the king of Pruſſia, who in the month of July 1793, was to act as above mentioned, about the cloſe of the year applied for a ſubſidy from England (and obtained it on the nineteenth of April 1794,) in order to ſecure this co-operation.

The year 1793 produced ſeveral other events which were not developed till the following year; among theſe, ſeveral treaties, the deſign and importance of which render a notice of them eſſential to this hiſtory. The foundation of the policy of theſe treaties, is to be found in that ſource of affliction, diſgrace, and diſaſter the convention of Pilnitz —the exiſtence of which had been queſtioned in the early part of the war, but which was acknowledged in the courſe of debate in the year 1794, by a member of the Britiſh parliament in the confidence of that government.*

A treaty or convention was concluded between Great Britain and the empreſs of Ruſſia on the twenty-fifth of March, 1793—which ſtipulated, the ſhutting all their ports againſt the ſhips of France, and prohibited the exportation in any caſe from their ports, of military or naval ſtores, corn, grain, ſalt-meat or other proviſions for France; and to take *all other meaſures* in their power for injuring the commerce of France, and for bringing her by ſuch means to conditions of peace: the fourth article ſtipulates—That their majeſties engage to unite all their efforts to prevent other powers, not implicated in this war, from giving, on this occaſion of common concern to every civilized ſtate, any *protection whatever, directly or indirectly, in conſequence of their neutrality to the commerce or property of the French on the ſea, or in the ports of France.*

A treaty was formed on the fourth of April of the ſame year, with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel ſtipulating for eight thouſand troops, infantry, cavalry and chaſſeurs, completely equipped for the field. The price of theſe troops was fixed at eighty crowns banco for every horſeman, mounted; the foot ſoldiers thirty crowns banco, each crown counted at four ſhillings and nine pence three farthings, Engliſh money! beſide a ſubſidy of 225,000 crowns per annum.—And a proviſion was made that they might be employed in Great Britain or Ireland. Proviſion was alſo made for killed, and wounded, and recruits in lieu of them were to be furniſhed at twelve crowns a head.

A treaty between the king of Sardinia and Great-Britain, wherein the former ſtipulates to keep five thouſand men for the defence of his own dominions, as well as to act againſt the common enemy; and the latter was to pay a ſubſidy of two hundred thouſand pounds per annum in punctual quarterly inſtalments, beſide keeping a fleet in the Mediterranean to co-operate therewith.—This treaty alſo guaranteed all the then poſſeſſions of the king of Sardinia, and the reſtitution of all that belonged to him at the commencement of the war, and of ſuch as he might in the courſe of the war obtain poſſeſſion. This was concluded on the twenty-fifth of April 1793.

A treaty between his Britannic majeſty and the king of Spain, engaging to act in perfect concert and to make a common cauſe in the war; to convoy the ſhips of each other, to ſhut their ports againſt the French; not to permit warlike ſtores, wheat, or other

grain, ſalted meat, or other proviſions to be exported from their ports to France, and to take every other means in their power to diſtreſs the trade of France and to reduce her by that means to juſt conditions of peace. By the fifth article which is exactly a tranſcript of the fourth of the Ruſſian treaty—They declare the preſent war to be intereſting to every civilized ſtate, and that they will unite to prevent *thoſe powers which do not take part in the ſaid war, from affording in conſequence of their neutrality*, any protection direct or indirect *on the ſeas or in the ports* of France, to the commerce and property of the French. This treaty was concluded on the twenty-fifth of May, 1793, at Aranjuez.

A treaty between the kings of England and the two Sicilies, which ſtates that being convinced of the common dangers which threatened Europe from the principles adopted in France, they agree to make a common cauſe, guarantee each others dominions; the latter to ſupply ſix thouſand troops, four ſhips of the line, four frigates, and four ſmall ſhips of war; as ſoon as the troops leave the dominions of Sicily the ſubſiſtence and forage to be provided by the former power. Dated at Naples, twelfth of July, 1793.

A convention between the Engliſh and Pruſſian kings, concluded in the camp before Mentz, the fourteenth of July, 1793, which beſide recapitulating the cauſes for a renewal of the alliance and the motives of the war, the fourth article is an exact copy of the fourth of the Ruſſian and the fifth of the Spaniſh, for coercing neutral powers.

Another convention with the emperor, the third article of which is alſo an exact copy of the fourth of the Ruſſian and Pruſſian, and the fifth of the Spaniſh treaties. It is dated at London, Auguſt the tenth, 1793.

A treaty between the Engliſh king and the margrave of Baden, for a body of ſeven hundred and fifty-four troops of the latter to ſerve againſt France; conditions the ſame as with Heſſe.

A treaty of England with Portugal for making a common cauſe againſt France, dated the twenty-eighth of September, 1793.

A treaty with Heſſe Darmſtadt, for three thouſand troops on the ſame conditions as thoſe of Heſſe Caſſel, dated at Langen Candel, the fifth of October, 1793.

Theſe tranſactions exhibit a combination of deſigns, a prodigality of ſacrifices, and an inveteracy of hatred, the moſt violent and terrible that any age or nation has ever manifeſted. The fourth article of the Ruſſian treaty, perhaps in the atrocity of conception and the univerſal tyranny of its intention, ſurpaſſes every thing ancient and modern. The uſurpations of imperial Rome and the rapacious tyranny of Barbary, the inroads of the Saracens, and the Goths and Vandals, and the predatory marauding of the Normans and the Danes, may find a colour and excuſe in the ignorance and barbariſm of their ſeveral periods—but in the attempt to force neutral nations, nations living in peace, cheriſhing virtue, and cultivating all the arts uſeful to the comfort and freedom of man, from their happy condition into a war, wherein not only they had no concern, but whoſe intereſts were concerned in avoiding every colour of hoſtility, was left for an age of refinement, for nations profeſſing chriſtianity and warring for civilization!

The Britiſh ambaſſador (Daniel Hailes) at Copenhagen, entered into a correſpondence with the count Bernſtorff miniſter of that cabinet, upon the propriety of entering into the armed confederacy againſt France; but with a dignity and candour that has immortaliſed that ſtateſman, he not only repelled every ſuggeſtion that was urged, but

ſhewed to the ſatisfaction of the world the propriety of preſerving an inviolable and impartial neutrality.

The republic of Genoa poſſeſſed large property in France, her weakneſs beſide pointed out the prudence of avoiding every hoſtile meaſure againſt a neighbour ſo formidable; notwithſtanding this, Mr. Drake, then the Britiſh envoy at that ſtate, peremptorily inſiſted upon an immediate and unqualified declaration of hoſtilities againſt France. This ſpirited though ſmall republic was not to be bullied out of her neutrality, and an Engliſh ſhip of war in defiance of the law of nations entered her port, fired into a French veſſel lying under the protection of the Genoeſe flag, and killed about forty of the crew.

At Florence the Engliſh envoy, lord Hervey. undertook not only to intimidate the grand duke of Tuſcany out of his neutrality, by obliging him to ſend away De la Flotte the French ambaſſador. in twenty-four hours; but alſo dictated internal regulations concerning the French remaining in Tuſcany, as particulars inſiſted upon by the Britiſh Cabinet. This conduct was the more ſingular in the preſent caſe, from the circumſtance that the grand duke was the brother of the emperor, the ally of England and the firſt power that engaged in war againſt France. This conduct left Tuſcany no alternative between a war with either party, and after repeated ſtruggles to ſupport the neutrality ſo eſſential to its proſperity, the grand duke was at length reduced to a declaration of war on the tenth of October, againſt France.

Tuſcany felt the afflictions of this foreign influence, at a ſubſequent period, when the French triumphant in Italy expelled the Engliſh indignantly from that territory, but generouſly allowed Tuſcany to reaſſume its neutrality, without even inflicting on it that vengeance which might have been juſtified by the rights of conqueſt and the laws of war.

On the thirtieth of November, 1793, lord Robert Stephen Fitzgerald, the Engliſh miniſter in Switzerland, addreſſed a moſt inflammatory letter to the ſtates, in which he ſays, he "thinks himſelf bound to expreſs his indignation at the outrage committed againſt them by thoſe vile and ferocious men aſſembled at Paris under the name of the convention; who not being able to corrupt the brave Swiſs in the ſervice of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and deſpairing to make them accomplices in their robberies, diſarmed, ſtripped, and murdered them. Europe will never forget the noble ſacrifice of ſo many generous Swiſs, who died defending Louis XVI. It will never forget the cruelties which thoſe cannibals made them ſuffer!" After a long-continued and uniform invective of this temper, he wiſhes to inſinuate that the French meant to ſurpriſe the Swiſs in the moment of ſecurity, and overthrow their government alſo, and then continues—"The miniſter of his Britannic majeſty will not decide, whether juſtice, and the true intereſts of a ſtate, permit it to remain neuter, againſt thoſe who would reduce them to barbariſm; in a war of almoſt all the powers of Europe; in a war, where not only the exiſtence of every eſtabliſhed government, but even that of all property is at ſtake." Beſtowing on them the titles of the enemies of god and man, atheiſts, working for blood and pillage, he concludes with a profeſſion of the attachment of his court.

The agents of the Helvetic body replied to this letter—and after profeſſions of eſteem they ſay—"However afflicting the remembrance of thoſe terrible events in France (which your excellency has brought to our recollection) and the ſad fate of our brethren

who ſuffered ſo unfortunately may be, yet our grief muſt nevertheleſs yield to the principles of our conſtitution: the principle has laſted for ſeveral centuries on the relations of peace, amity, and good neighbourhood with all the ſurrounding powers. Accuſtomed to obſerve ſcrupulouſly all engagements entered into, we will neither wander from our declared neutrality, on any pretence whatever, nor will we liſten to any inſinuation which might give riſe to juſt complaints."

Letters ſimilar to that to the Swiſs, the Britiſh cabinet addreſſed to every independent neutral ſtate in Europe, and even to the United States of America. The ſingular ſecrecy that has veiled the proceedings of the American government, has completely ſecluded from the public eye, letters addreſſed to the American executive by lord Grenville, which however have been treated of by political writers on the continent of Europe. They are ſaid to have contained aſſurances of a knowledge on the part of the Britiſh government, that the rulers of France had determined to overthrow the American conſtitution; that they had ſent emiſſaries to America, to ſow hatred of that conſtitution on account of its reſemblance to the conſtitution of England; and concluded with aſſurances of the greateſt readineſs on the part of England to lend her aid by fleets or armies at any time, to preſerve her government from the threatened inroads of anarchy and atheiſm. Theſe reports however, are not ſo authentic as to deſerve the moſt implicit credit for their correctneſs, though little doubt has been entertained that a correſpondence on ſubjects of this nature had been exchanged in 1793—between the Engliſh and the American governments.

But the principle that dictated the treaty with Ruſſia alſo was not confined in its conſequences to the European ſtates; the riſing empire of America, whoſe exiſtence, freedom, and proſperity was a perpetual ſatire upon the government and policy of England; and a ſecret and conſtant cauſe of envy and diſquietude; theſe ſtates producing ſo many of the articles of firſt neceſſity, and extending her commerce under the benign influence of popular government, to the remoteſt corners of the earth, was a principal object of apprehenſion to England, whoſe power and conſideration in the world, is founded on that commercial dominion which ſhe has maintained ſo long at the expence of every other people.

The United States had derived from France in the ſtruggle for her liberty, aid ſo effectual as to baffle all the tyrannical deſigns of England, for the enſlavement of the new world. A treaty of friendſhip dictated by generoſity and gratitude had bound the Americans to France, and had, as was cuſtomary with nations between whom obligations of the firſt importance had ariſen, given to the latter the title in form and fact of the moſt favoured nation in the American ports.

A nation poſſeſſing ſuch reſources, ſo attached, was a powerful obſtacle to the views of thoſe who wiſhed to blot France from the map of Europe. But the ſituation of France while it rendered her peculiarly in need of the friendly aid of her ally, rendered it out of her power ſhould her ally be attacked, to give her that aid which on a former occaſion had ſealed her independence. The Engliſh cabinet knew the weakneſs of France. They knew the actual condition of America, and they determined to effect the deſtruction of the treaties between France and her, by force and cunning, and to accompliſh the annihilation of France and republican government in defiance of all faith, and to the ſacrifice of all principles of ſubſtantial juſtice and univerſal law.

On the ſixth of November, 1793, an order of the Britiſh cabinet was ſecretly iſſued to their ſhips of war—in the following words:—

"George Rex—Additional inſtructions to the commanders of all ſhips of war and privateers, that have or may have letters of marque againſt France. Given at St. James's the ſixth day of November, 1793, in the thirty-fourth year of our reign.

"That they ſhall ſtop and detain all ſhips laden with goods the produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying proviſions or other ſupplies for the uſe of ſuch colony, and ſhall bring the ſame with their cargoes to legal adjudication in our courts of admiralty.

By his majeſty's command, (Signed) Dundas."

The conſequences of this order were the ſeizure of a vaſt number of American veſſels, and a conſequent remonſtrance from the American government. In the courſe of this hiſtory we ſhall have to mark the conſequences of that ſyſtem which appears to have been firſt publicly put into operation in the treaty with Ruſſia in March, 1793, and firſt publicly acted upon by England in the order of November of the ſame year.

Such was the political conduct of the allies; we have before noticed the military folly that guided the attack on the *iron frontier* of France. Greater ability perhaps was never diſplayed than France now exhibited in every department of war, finance, and public inſtitutions; a campaign which commenced under the moſt inauſpicious circumſtances, was terminated every where with ſignal and unqualified triumph; in the centre of the nation the civil war of La Vendée was cruſhed, the Pruſſians defeated and driven from the banks of the Rhine, the Auſtrians on the Moſelle, the Engliſh from Toulon, and the Spaniards in the face of their own territory, the Sardinians driven from their populous cities, and the number, valour, and experience of the republicans augmenting daily, and producing from obſcurity, men, whoſe ſplendid genius and ſucceſs have elevated them to the firſt places in the hiſtory of military heroiſm.

The triumphs of the republic and of liberty were diſplayed at the ſame moments at the gates of Italy and Germany—on the ſhores of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

At Toulon valour and enthuſiaſm under Dugoumier were paramount over the combined forces of the allies, and officers of the moſt approved military ſkill and acknowleged bravery, At Landau, ſteadineſs, patience, and intrepidity united under Hoche. At Toulon the climate was favourable to the ſoldier and mitigated the fatigue of a winter campaign. At Landau the ardour of battle was diſplayed amidſt the ſnow and rigour of the frozen North.

In the South victory reſembled the productions of the climate quick and overwhelming; in the North vigorous but ſlow, arriving at maturity by invincible patience.

In all views preſenting a wonderful example of the power of a nation acting under the grand impulſes of liberty; refuting thoſe abſurd ſuggeſtions of the hiſtorians of monarchy, who have ſaviſhly copied the prejudices of the long enſlaved and enervated Italians, that the French valour was but a momentary impetuoſity. The hiſtorians of the republic, and of thoſe nations who have been oppoſed to her, have learned important leſſons, and poſterity will look back with wonder at the blindneſs of thoſe who preceded the republic, and the raſhneſs of thoſe who have ſo vainly oppoſed her.

A. D. [1794.] The utility of hiſtory depends upon the fidelity, accuracy, and regard for truth, with which facts are diſplayed; upon the candour and intelligence with

which cauſes and motives are inveſtigated, and the ſprings of human actions laid open. All human knowledge is experience, and hiſtory is philoſophy delivering its leſſons, for the uſe of nations and for poſterity.

America fortunately yet enjoys that enviable ſtation in which her citizen if ſwayed by no mercenary intereſts, nor baſely ſervile to the vices of faction, may confidently lay the moſt ſubſtantial claim to diſintereſtedneſs in narrating thoſe momentous events from which ſhe is ſo remote, but which ſo largely influence the fate of mankind.

In tracing the events of the revolution in France, the acknowledgment of difficulty has been already made, which occurs in unfolding the true cauſes of events in themſelves are liable to obſcurity, born as it were in confuſion, and claiming their birth from countleſs ſources. This difficulty muſt exiſt until thoſe halcyon days return to France, under which the unobſerved but obſerving eye of philoſophy ſhall open to the views of the world, many of thoſe hidden cauſes, which the conflicts of war and the prudence of patriotiſm yet retain undivulged.

From the materials that publicity and cloſe obſervation have furniſhed, this hiſtory ſprings, and no facts are produced for which there are not approved and reaſonable evidence. The agitations of party, preſent the moſt difficult ſubjects in which the revolution is involved, becauſe they are fraught with contradictions. The uniform profeſſions of all parties if believed, would lead to an opinion of their common innocence and integrity. And their denunciations of each other, if credited, would lead to a concluſion of their common and incorrgible profligacy.

But it cannot be too conſtantly conſidered, that all parties are compoſed of individuals, actuated by motives frequently the moſt oppoſite; ſubject to prejudices, weakneſſes, hatreds, fears, envy, and other malignant paſſions; and that in this anomaly of characters and paſſions, it is not extraordinary, if we find much incoherency, and great inconſiſtency. If we find, however, amidſt this combuſtion of paſſions that great principles are regarded, truth reſpected, and virtue revered. We have only to enquire in what degree and by whom precept has gone hand in hand with practice, in order to form an accurate judgment of the actors in the ſubject of enquiry.

Frequently the characters of men afford the beſt illuſtration of events in which they are concerned; as from actions we learn to eſtimate characters. The Gironde who had promoted the depoſition of the king, in concert with Danton, had been deſirous of reſting there and founding the republic in peace. The ſecond of Sepember had erected a new tyrant, whoſe power though not yet viſible in the individual, was exerciſed progreſſively from the influence of fe r over ſeparate individuals, and by jealouſies fomented in the convention until it obtained the ſevereſt tenſion of general terror. The Gironde had given arms and power to the commune of Paris, to create an ally againſt this terror; men poſſeſſed of power, whether they are of the great mob or the ſmall, are never willing to relinquiſh it; they are prone from cupidity to abuſe it; and a multitude from infancy accuſtomed to obedience at the implicit nod of a ſatelite of tyranny could not be ſuppoſed to relinquiſh their novel authority for ſubordination.

Robeſpierre who by an extraordinary capacity for crimes, and without any of thoſe qualities of perſon or mind, which are calculated to attach men in the bonds of affection or eſteem, had obtained by his daring intrepidity and ſervility in flattering the weakneſſes of the populace, the means of getting a force with which he was enabled not only to

ſacrifice his adverſaries to his ambition, but to overawe the firmeſt members in the convention, and to reduce many of them in order to effect their own ſafety to become the inſtruments of his murderous vengeance, and at length to fill the tribunals with proſcriptions and the ſcaffolds with victims.

Contrary as the ſpirit of war undoubtedly is to every good and ſound principle, and hoſtile as it muſt be to all the beſt affections of the heart, it was in the armies of France that active virtue and patriotiſm were moſt uniform and conſpicious. Talents were no doubt diſplayed in both, and the combinations of thoſe vaſt plans of conqueſt which were laid in the committees, and carried into effect in the field, are the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of that ſuperiority of genius which could combine them under circumſtances ſo adverſe to ſtudy and reflection.

The hall of the convention appeared but as a great theatre, on which bad men contended for power, while the genius of the republic ſeemed occaſionally to appear by the organ of a reporter, on ſome immenſe plan of finance, of war, of education, of public inſtitutions, or relation of victory; while the pyramidal column of tyranny, which on the fall of the throne, had formd the wideſt baſe and gradually and inſenſibly elevated itſelf towards its apex and terminated in a viſible point.

The progreſs of the factions in France will form an important part of future hiſtory; the fall of Gironde, was the ſignal for conteſt between the Jacobins and Cordeliers, who having both compoſed the mountain, and either actually or tacitly concurred in the overthrow of their great rival, were to ſtruggle for power among themſelves. Robeſpierre and Danton were now the prominent heads of the two clubs. The former retained all the violent and the infamous—The latter poſſeſſed the moſt ſplendid men of genuis who had eſcaped the proſcription. Before we enter on theſe ungrateful topics, it will be neceſſary to notice ſome proceedings of the convention.

On the firſt of January, a decree was paſſed, "That every general condemned to death ſhould in future be executed at the head of the army which he ſhould have attempted to betray." At the ſame time the affairs of the navy were taken into conſideration, and it was repreſented that as the puniſhment of flogging, ſo unatural and ineffectual, ſo derogatory of the character of freemen had been aboliſhed from the foundation of the republic in all its armies, that the ſame principle ſhould be extended to the navy; which was accordingly decreed; and other puniſhments, ſuch as ſtoppage of pay, portions of proviſions, confinement, reduction of rank, and expoſure before their comrades, when guilty of petty offences, ſhould be ſubſtituted.

On the third of February three deputies from the iaſlnd of St. Domingo were received into the convention, as repreſentatives from that place. One of the deputies was a negro, and the other two perſons of colour. On the ſucceeding day theſe deputies gave an account of the troubles of that place, they aſcribed them to Galbaud, the friend of Dumourier; who with the gold of Spain aided by the influence of England wiſhed to corrupt the coloniſts; that finding his intrigues fail, he fled to the Engliſh in Canada, leaving behind him marks of his ferocity and rage at the Cape. The orator then delivered a panegyric on the people of colour. "Who are theſe men." ſaid he, "repreſented ſo worthleſs and ſo wicked? Who can ſay they are not good fathers, huſbands, and ſons? that they are not friends to the poor. protectors of the helpleſs, the guardians alike of infancy and age? That they are not hoſpitable? Is it to be wondered at that ſix

hundred thouſand men of colour, ſhaking off their chains ſhould be terrible to thoſe who would wiſh to enſlave them, contrary to the example and wiſhes of the country that has adopted them? But ſince civil war has ceaſed who ſhall accuſe them of a neglect of their duties? What have they demanded? *Liberty to work*— and *wages for their labour*! What unnatural—what unreaſonable—what extravagant deſires!— How henious in the eyes of thoſe who, plunged in debauchery and idleneſs, lament the ceſſation of that human traffic which ſupported them in a ſtate of effeminate tyranny, that diſgraced the country from whence they ſprung and human nature itſelf! Who are they that outrage the ears of France by calumnies that exhibit us as unworthy of liberty, of even the acquiſitions of our toil, and what is the evidence of their veracity and our crimes?—They are the emigrants, thoſe beings who carry themſelves abroad the living monuments of vice, prejudice, and tyranny, who fear for the freedom of France and her colonies, becauſe the country will lay its hand upon two milliards forfeited by their treaſons againſt the republic—and mark the evidence of our crimes—we are black, or we are of different ſhades removed from black and white!—Theſe are the men and this is the evidence! Legiſlators ſuch accuſations and ſuch evidence merit no confutation—They carry it along with them—the republic is juſt. Inſtruct the men of colour and they will be found true and worthy republicans. They have ſworn to live free or die—the power or the perfidy, of Spain and Britain are in vain—we have ſworn it, and our oath is that of nature."

The deputy had no ſooner concluded, than Lacroix roſe, and moved the total abolition of ſlavery in the French colonies, and that all perſons of all colours from white to black incluſive, are French citizens. The convention roſe by a ſpontaneous emotion and paſſed the decree. A moſt affecting ſcene took place, the members individually embraced the deputies, and tears of joy trickled down their cheeks; a female negro, who had diligently attended the ſittings of the convention fainted with exceſs of delight.

Danton then obſerved—'hitherto you have decreed liberty only to yourſelves, but to-day in the the face of the Univerſe, you have decreed univerſal liberty. Hitherto your liberty has appeared with a kind of ruſt, to-day it is brightened. Yeſterday when I ſaw the preſident embrace the negro citizen now our fellow deputy, I was ready to move the propoſition which is now decreed. The aſſembly was not ſufficiently full— This day you have done juſtice to humanity. But let us be moderators of this wiſe decree. Let us reflect that a ſudden tranſition from ſlavery to liberty may produce misfortunes, while we wiſh only to produce bleſſings. It belongs to the republic to bear the torch of truth to every part of the globe. We now labour for poſterity, and they will judge the benefits beſtowed on them. You have given liberty to man, and at the ſame time, without perceiving it, you have given a deadly blow to our moſt implacable and incurable enemy, to that enemy whoſe exiſtence is foſtered by the ignorance and indolence of all nations, by the enſlavement of two quarters of the world, and by rendering the other two quarters tributary to her for the labours of thoſe ſlaves. In ſpite of the intrigues of St. James's and of the blindneſs and treachery of nations who are ſervile to her, liberty will extend its branches. I move that the decree be referred to the committee of public ſafety that they may take prudent meaſures for carrying it into execution, without danger or impediment." It was agreed to do ſo.

On the ninth of February it was decreed, that the ſoldiers of the republic, from the general to the private citizen ſoldier, ſhould have the ſame allowance of proviſions. And the ſame regulation was extended to the navy. On the fifteenth of February the maritime flag decreed by the conſtituent aſſembly was ſuppreſſed, and it was decreed that in future it ſhould conſiſt of the three national colours in equal bands, placed in a vertical direction, ſo that the blue ſhould be affixed to the ſtaff of the flag, the white in the middle, and the red floating in the air; the jack and the enſign to be diſpoſed of in the ſame manner, obſerving the uſual proportion of ſize; the pennants or ſtreamers of the ſame colours in the ſame order, only that one fifth ſhould be blue, one fifth white, and three fifths red.

On the ſecond of February a report was brought up on the celebrated law of the *maximum*, or higheſt fixed rate, above which the neceſſaries of life ſhould not be ſold throughout the republic. The table of articles comprehended proviſions, clothing, grocery, firing, and military ſtores. The labours of this committee were conſiderable, and Barrere pronounced a panegyric on them and the good effects that would ariſe from the decree; he obſerved that it would at once defeat the efforts of the ill-diſpoſed and avaricious—'Let the rich,' ſaid he, 'reſign the ſuperflueties of their ſumptuous tables, where luxury and vanity alone are fed! Let them ceaſe to conſume in one day the food of many months! Let us all impoſe on ourſelves ſome civic privations, let us ſuppreſs all the delicacies calculated for voluptuaries and not for republicans!'

A member oppoſed the law, becauſe he deemed it impoſſible to execute it while the price of labour was not fixed. 'How can you require a ſhoemaker to ſell ſhoes at a fixed price, when the workman he employs aſks a higher price for his manual labour?' Barrere acknowleged the juſtice of this remark, and ſaid, that 'ſeveral good works written at the commencement of the revolution ſhould be ſtudied—the workman certainly ought to find for his labour and for the time he had expended in acquiring his art, not only a preſent compenſation but wherewithal to ſupport his family and to provide for old age. Work is the real wealth of a nation;' he moved to refer the ſubject to the committees of commerce, agriculture, and public welfare, which was ordered.

Thoſe concluſions are flattering and ſolid, but the premiſes appear not to be ſo well founded. In a time of natural ſcarcity and danger, the firſt principle is the ſecurity of the whole, and the retrenchment of what is not abſolutely neceſſary to ſubſiſtence and health becomes an eſſential duty. But a maximum of prices is in many reſpects calculated to produce miſchief, eſpecially in a country which from general or temporary circumſtances is reduced to depend on foreign importation. No doubt it operates againſt monopoliſts and extortioners, and in theſe reſpects was of much importance to France at that time, when foreign agents and foreign gold were employed to foreſtal thoſe articles, to enhance their price, and to aggravate the general diſtreſs. On the ſame day Chaudot, a notary, who had been engaged in negociating a loan of money for the Engliſh prince of Wales, was ordered for execution, it having been ſatisfactorily proved that he was not only an agent in that tranſaction, but in tranſporting the ſpecie of the country abroad. The conduct of this man and others tended to render the maximum more palateable, and leſs ſubject to clamour, but experience proved it to be an injurious meaſure, and it appears to have been one of thoſe fatal ſacrifices which the tyrant made to the populace

of Paris, although he made it a ſubject of accuſation againſt thoſe he wiſhed to proſcribe at a ſubſequent period.

On the twenty-ſixth of February another pernicious decree was paſſed, which inveſted the committee of public ſafety with powers of a dangerous nature. The ſubject was introduced by St. Juſt in a ſpeech upon a report ordered to be made of the number of perſons in confinement. He ſaid 'there muſt certainly be ſome conſpiracy in agitation, for the enemies of the republic confined in priſon for their treaſons were ſought to be enlarged. A political ſect exiſts in France, which plays on all parties. It walks a ſlow pace. When you mention terror, it talks of clemency; and when you are clement, it talks of ſeverity. When you experience diſaſters, it propheſies misfortunes more extenſive; and if we are ſucceſsful, our victories are either not mentioned or diminiſhed. Revolutions march from weakneſs to audacity, and from audacity to crimes. The indulgence with which the rebels of La Vendée were treated on their firſt ſuppreſſion has already coſt an additional loſs of two hundred thouſand lives—terrible and inſtant vengeance would have ſaved thoſe lives, and annihilated thoſe who will not ceaſe to diſturb the republic until they ceaſe to exiſt—for it is upon their enmity they live, upon the republicans whom they deſtroy they erect new claims and incitements for foreign pay and foreign ſuccours. Our enemies, ſince ſo many partiſans of theirs have been arreſted, accuſe us of acts of cruelty—but compare our acts in defence of our liberty againſt their machinations, with the acts of kings themſelves—in 1787 Louis XVI. ordered one thouſand men to be ſhot in the ſuburb of St. Germain, and in every petty diſturbance the military were ordered to fire on the people. We have a revolutionary tribunal which in the ſpace of one year condemned only three hundred perſons, and this in the midſt of a revolution, and in the heart of a nation beſet with ten thouſand emiſſaries of royalty and ariſtocracy, fomenting inſurrections and crimes. How many hath England condemned for deliberate iniquity in the midſt of peace, with her boaſted government and laws, every year for a century paſt?—treble that number! But we are called cruel!—and by whom?—by the goalers of Olmutz and Madgebourg, and the tranſporters of the candid and courageous Magarot!—They talk to us of clemency when they are throwing aſſaſſins on our ſhores, laying ſnares for our deſtruction, and inviting and threatening every power of Europe to maſſacre us, to annihilate us, to blot us from the map of Europe!' He then propoſed the following decree:—

I. The committee of general ſafety is inveſted with power to ſet patriots at liberty. Every perſon who claims his liberty under this decree, ſhall be obliged to give an account of his conduct ſince the firſt of May, 1789.

II. The property of patriots is inviolable and ſacred; the effects of ſuch perſons as may be deemed enemies of the revolution, ſhall be confiſcated to the benefit of the republic. They ſhall be detained until peace is reſtored, and then baniſhed for ever.

On the twenty-fifth of February a decree was paſſed founded on a report from the committees of domains and alienation, as follows:—

I. The liſts of names, which according to the law of the twenty-ſixth of Frimaire, (the 16th of December, 1793,) was to be made of all perſons whoſe property has been, or ſhall be confiſcated to the profit of the republic, ſhall be ſent and proclaimed in the ſame manner as the general liſt of emigrants, and ſhall, beſides, be poſted up in the

chief towns of each diſtrict only. In conſequence, there ſhall be only ten thouſand impreſſions of each liſt.

II. In the decade following the publication of the preſent law, there ſhall be made out particular liſts of the Engliſh, the Spaniſh, and all the ſubjects of the other foreign powers at war with France, who have any property in France, whether conſiſting of moveables or immoveables, or of credit. Theſe liſts ſhall be made out by the reſpective municipalities, within whoſe precincts they poſſeſs any property or credit.

III. Theſe liſts ſhall, within the following decade, be ſent by the national agents of the communes to the adminiſtration of diſtrict, who ſhall verify them, and ſhall add, if there be occaſion, a general ſtate, which the agent ſhall addreſs, within the third decade, to the adminiſtration of departments, and to the adminiſtration of domains.

IV. Moreover the national agents of the diſtricts ſhall be bound to ſend every month to the adminiſtration of their departments, and to the adminiſtrator of the national domains, and the national adminiſtration of regiſters, all new information they may have procured concerning the profit and the credit of each of the individuals compriſed in the ſecond article.

V. The adminiſtrator of the national domains ſhall compriſe theſe liſts and theſe informations in the tables mentioned in the firſt article of the preſent law, and in the ſtatements whoſe formation is ordered by the tenth article of the law of the twenty-ſixth of Fremaire (December 17th, 1793.)

VI. The creditors of the emigrants ſhall from henceforward have only one declaration and one depoſit of titles to make. They ſhall make them at the ſecretaries office of the diſtrict where their debtors laſt reſided, indicated by the general liſt, made in conformity to the ſecond article of the law of the twenty-ſeventh of Brumaire (November the ſixteenth, 1793.)

VII. The creditors of baniſhed perſons, of impriſoned prieſts, of Engliſhmen, of Spaniards, and the ſubjects of other powers at war with the republic, or of perſons outlawed and whoſe property is confiſcated, are ſubject to the ſame declarations and depoſit of titles as the creditors of emigrants.

VIII. Theſe declarations and depoſits ſhall be made by the creditors of emigrants and others, deſcribed in the preceding article, within four months, reckoning from the day of the publication, made in the chief town of the diſtrict. Where this term is paſt, their debts will be forfeited.

IX. The depoſitaries, public and private, the debtors, the farmers, or the holders of property belonging to emigrants and others, compriſed in the liſts or general tables mentioned in the preſent law, ſhall, within the ſame period, make the declarations preſcribed by the laws of the twenty-fifth of November, 1792, the twenty-fifth of July, and the twenty-ſixth of Frimaire, (December 16th, 1793); and this under the penalties there pronounced.

X. The diſpoſitions of the laws of the ſecond of September, the twenty-fifth of November, 1792, the thirteenth of January, 1793, the twenty-ſixth Frimaire, (December the ſixteenth, 1793,) and others, which may be contrary to thoſe of the preſent law, are annulled.

A declaration of the Engliſh government on the motives for continuing the war, had been recently publiſhed, to which the convention publiſhed a reply on the twenty-eighth

of February, or rather a ſevere commentary on the declaration; the anſwer begins by reciting what is ſtated in the declaration as the object of the war—namely, "the preſervation of that ſtate of civil ſociety, happily eſtabliſhed in the ſeveral nations of Europe". The greater part of the governments of Europe being in their nature deſpotic, this part of the declaration is treated as the direct avowal of a purpoſe to uſe the reſources of Great-Britain, for the end of perpetuating "the bleſſings of deſpotiſm." —If this be the object, the anſwer proceeds to ſay—it is eaſy to conceive what part is to be acted in a country, where deſpotiſm has been overthrown. It follows as a neceſſary conſequence that famine, fire, and ſword, are to be employed to replunge that country into its ancient ſtate of ſlavery.

The Engliſh miniſter always faithful to his principles, rejoices in his manifeſto on the approaching proſpect of ſucceſs in this laudable enterpriſe. He ſees every event through the teleſcope of his wiſhes. He is ſo ardent as to take the viſion for a reality, that like Macbeth graſping at the ideal dagger, he reaſons on the fiction, as if it were an exiſting object.

It is ſtated in the declaration, that a deſire for the reſtoration of monarchy, prevailed "almoſt univerſally" in France. But where, the anſwer proceeds to enquire, was the manifeſtation of their deſire to be found? Was it in La Vendee? If it was, the ſmall cruſade of banditti in that quarter, though ſuſtained by Engliſh gold, and furniſhed with Engliſh arms, had been put to the route, and their leaders puniſhed as traitors to their country. Was it in Lyons or Toulon? The comparatively ſmall party which had been excited in thoſe towns by the perfidious ſtratagems of the Engliſh miniſter, had been defeated and puniſhed in the ſame manner. The latter town was ſaid to have been induced to revolt "by their confidence in the Engliſh government!"—After corrupting the commandants of the place to deliver up the town, the effects of corruption are quoted, with conſummate effrontery, as ſo many proofs of the confidence of the citizens!

After having eſtabliſhed the motives which induce him to continue the war, the Engliſh miniſter, ſays the anſwerer, proceeds to ſtate the conditions "on which he will conſent to make a peace." He ſtates his ardent deſire to ſee himſelf in a condition to treat for the re-eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity. But how are theſe proteſtations realized, or his "juſt and moderate propoſitions" ſtated? If he wiſhed for peace as much as he pretends to do, theſe propoſitions would at leaſt be clearly laid down. He would not avail himſelf of any circumlocution---of any ſubterfuge. But what does the Britiſh miniſter ſay on this ſubject?—He ſtates, in the firſt inſtance, that he does not conteſt, in any ſhape, the right of France to reform her laws; that he does not wiſh to influence by any external force the form of the government, to be eſtabliſhed in an independent nation. He adds, that ſuch an object was never within the limits of his deſire!

If there had been one word of truth in theſe aſſertions, the obſtacles to a peace might have been eaſily removed. He had nothing to do, but to recal his fleets and armies; to concede to the French their indubitable right to form a government for themſelves, and a negotiation for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, would naturally have followed.

But what ſhall be ſaid if all that he has advanced on this ſubject is found to be nothing more than falſehood and impoſture; and that his profeſſions are contradicted by himſelf almoſt in the inſtant that they are uttered!

In the very next paſſage of the declaration the Britiſh miniſter promiſes "a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; and friendſhip, ſafety, and protection, as far as the courſe of events will permit, to all Frenchmen who, by declaring for a *monarchial* government, ſhall ſhake off the yoke of anarchy."—He invites the French people to co-operate for that purpoſe —to ſerve under the colours of a hereditary monarchy, and to unite, under the empire of law, morality, and religion. This is the man who rejects the influence of all exterior force. This is the man who deſires not to interfere in the internal form of the French government. The miniſter of England deſires peace ſo ardently that he dictates the very terms on which he knows it will not be accepted!

Whilſt he complains againſt anarchy, he himſelf excites ſedition. He invites the minority of the French nation to revolt againſt the majority; to oppoſe themſelves to the general will; and to take up arms for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing an abſolute monarchy. He ſtates, at the ſame time, the number of "well-diſpoſed" perſons in France, and to theſe he addreſſes particularly his declaration. This deſcription of perſons, which he omits to ſtate, conſiſts of honeſt bankrupts, of prieſts, without faith or law, of ſtarving nobles, and inſolent proſtitutes, of pickpockets out of employ, and of knights of induſtry of the order of St. Louis;—of men who live like worms but from corruption, and exiſt like muſhrooms only on the dunghill.

The character of the late queen of France is then exhibited in a very diſguſting view, for the purpoſe of contraſting her debaucheries and political intrigues with thoſe of the Princeſs Sophia of Hanover, the mother of the dynaſty that occupies the Engliſh throne. It then returns to a review of the internal ſituation of France.

This country is now in a revolutionary ſtate. It turns on its political axis, and tends by its gravitation to the centre of liberty. The laws are the neceſſary reſult of the exigencies of the moment; they are either mild or vigorous, corrective or encouraging, as the public welfare and the importance of the object may require. England has had its revolution; and it is not juſt to compare a nation which has effected its revolution, to another now in the criſis of an effort in ſome meaſure ſimilar, but immenſely more mighty, effectual, and diſaſtrous. The former is in a ſtate of repoſe, the latter in progreſſive motion. The anſwer after diſplaying this difference very perſpicuouſly, proceeds to draw a ſtrong picture of the actual ſtate of England. The common-law, ſo much extolled by thoſe who do not feel its rigour, inequality, chicanery, and oppreſſion, or by thoſe who are placed by opulence or power above its reach, is as corrupt and as much the ſubject of barter as law in any of the deſpotic nations of Europe; juſtice adminiſtered in its courts, is as much a lottery as the ſcheme of gambling which produces an annual ſupply to the government. The crimnal code of England is equally barbarous, and can find no parallel but in the bloody laws of Draco; at certain periods, which occur every ſix weeks in the metropolis and every three months in the provinces, human victims are plunged into eternity in ſuch numbers, that if their crimes were but in proportion to their executions, the iſland of Britain alone would ſurpaſs the collective wickedneſs of the whole earth; but the barbarity is in the law, which inflicts death alike on the wretch whom poverty condemns to ſteal for ſubſiſtence and the wanton murderer; the laws themſelves are ſo multitudinous, ſo confuſed, ſo contradictory, that thouſands obtain ſubſiſtence only by giving opinions upon them, and the laws afford ſo many means for ſubter-

fuge and doubt, that opinions may be had on any queſtion on either ſide ſide without ſtill admitting of any certainty whether the judge who is to decide may not hold an open or interpretation of the law different from both; beſide theſe laws there are opinions of judges and lawyers in ages remote which have all the authority of laws—and although it is a conſtant maxim that diſcretion in the judges is tyranny, yet under the ſhield of precedent, the Engliſh judges are not only poſſeſſed of complete diſcretion, but a diſcretion to decide by their own judgment in civil affairs where no precedent is found applicable; yet theſe laws, are ſo ſacred that to find fault with them is to incur the puniſhment of fine, impriſonment, or pillory.

In the declaration of the Engliſh miniſter, tranſmitted to the commanders of the Engliſh fleets and armies, and which was expected to work miracles, ſound took place of ſenſe—and words of argument; in one place all was menace and haughtineſs, in another all was ſoftneſs and reconciliation; in one place the aſs brayed, and in the other the lion roared. In the exordium "a juſt indemnity" is demanded for himſelf and allies; in the middle of the piece he prefers no ſuch demand, In the concluſion he makes a number of requiſitions which he knows will never be granted! He aſks among other things that a legitimate government may be eſtabliſhed in France. But who was to be judge of this legitimacy, the Engliſh miniſter or the French people? The work was already accompliſhed, he ſaw, he heard, and felt it—the French republic knows no arbiter but the general will of its people, and it has already decided and Europe has ſeen that the deciſion is legitimate.

The time is not far diſtant when neceſſity will compel the preſumptuous and ignorant miniſter of England, to ſolicit peace from that government which he really trembles at, but effects to contemn. If France were to copy the example he now ſets, what ſhould then be her language to England? Go form a ſtable and legitimate government in England? and France might add--Go and reſtore to the Engliſh people the rights of which they are robbed---reform that corrupt ſyſtem which you now ſupport, and by which you are ſapping the foundations of proſperity and happineſs in every nation with which you are even the moſt remotely connected—The cabinet, the miniſters, the parliament, France would conſider, as you now effect to conſider France—as a combination of uſurped powers. The people of France will treat only with the people of Great-Britain!

The conflicts of party occaſioned by the ambition of Robeſpierre became at this period ſo important in their conſequences, that even the brilliant victories of the armies carry but a ſecondary intereſt; it will be neceſſary then to take up the chain of events from the year preceding, and to carry forward the civil tranſactions to the middle of the year; after which the military annals may be taken up from the commencement of the campaign without interruption.

Already have the two rival clubs been deſignated, which at this period divided the political hopes and fears of the nation. Jealouſy which had proved ſo fatal to the leaders of the various factions, had gradually detached many members from the Jacobins and Cordeliers, and attached them to their former rivals. The Cordeliers club became diſtinguiſhed for its energy and its talents, but theſe were circumſtances ſufficiently alarming to the leaders of the Jacobins, and Danton ſeeing the danger to which diſtinction was expoſed, had judged it neceſſary to his ſecurity to abandon that club to other leaders. Hebert, Vincent, and Ronſin, whoſe ſervices to Robeſpierre in the commune, and in the pro-

ſcriptions which he had contrived, were repaid with the contempt and flight of the great leader; the Jacobin club became irkſome to them, and they took refuge in the Cordeliers, where the abſence of Danton left a vacancy which was not likely to be filled with equal energy or effect. Theſe perſons, however, ſoon retreived that notice which had been clouded in the Jacobins, and there is little reaſon to doubt that they became as eager to promote the fall of Robeſpierre as they had been before active in the perpetration of his deſires. There belonged to this club ſtill men of the firſt literary talents and eſtabliſhed patriotiſm, ſuch as Camille Deſmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine. Hebert, however became the leading man, for the literary members mentioned, were more ſolicitous of producing good than obtaining popularity, which appears to have been now the object and the misfortune of Hebert, and he did not ſpare the members of his club any more than others, whom he deemed deſerving of animadverſion in his journal, called Pere Ducheſne; he had been at the head of the municipality, and arreſted by the commiſſion of twelve prior to the thirty-firſt of May, 1793, and that tranſaction was the ſignal of revolt for the mountain party; now the mountain was divided, Robeſpierre ſaw his inſtrument become his rival for popularity, and ſoaring on the baleful wings of vulgarity and indecency, to a height that might render Hebert dangerous to his own power. The facility with which plots had been effected rendered this probable, and fearing perhaps that the perfidy of the man whom he had made the inſtrument of his crimes, might be the inſtrument of his own condemnation and paſſage to the ſcaffold, it became neceſſary to his ſecurity to make a new ſacrifice.

Not only the anti-religious principles of the Cordeliers were at this period carried to the moſt extravagent lengths, but philoſophy itſelf became ridiculous in the hands of maniacs and aſſaſſins who affected to profeſs it. But to conciliate the poor and ignorant, the wildeſt theories were preached, and even Agrarian law was held forth as the ſummit of perfect government, and indiſpenſible to true equality. With theſe tenets the fanatics had aſſumed a conſiſtent garb. The term Sanſculotte, which from its origin had become a term of pride, and had been adopted with much effect by the victorious legions of the republic, was now the only appellation which was tolerated by them, a ſqualid ſhabby external, long trowſers or pantaloons, ſhort jackets, black wigs, red caps, or the hair cut ſhort behind and worn without powder, and linen always ſoiled, were the faſhionable habilaments of theſe enrages.

This ſpecies of attire was a very ſingular contraſt to Robeſpierre's, who always appeared dreſſed with ſtudied neatneſs and powdered hair; this circumſtance did not paſs unobſerved in the Journal of Hebert, who, alſo jealous of the genius of Camille and Fabre, attacked them as diſguiſed Briſſotines.

In the beginning of March, the table of the rights of man, in the hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with black crape; and Hebert from the tribune of the ſociety aſſerted—"That tyranny exiſted in the republic."

At this period ſome actual conſpiracies had been diſcovered, and ſeveral reports were made to the convention from the committees. On the ſixth of March Barrere ſignified the diſcovery of ſeveral foreign intrigues, and ſaid—"We have deduced from hiſtory all the leſſons and all the experience with which ſhe could furniſh us. We have our eyes fixed on all our agents, and on all the public functionaries; even the national repreſentation in the departments is not exempt from our vigilance. We have agents in every

part of Europe—we have agents even in America, from whom we learn the plots of the emigrants from the colonies, and of the envoys from the European courts. We are not ignorant that theſe courts uſe every artifice to penetrate into our projects. We therefore attack them with the ſame meaſures which they employ againſt us. The combined powers cannot ſpeak a word which we do not hear. The conferences of Mack at London, of Luchefini at Frankfort—the new tactics of the ſlave in uniform—are all known to us.

" If Paris, which is the firm centre of patriotiſm and courage, be each day fretted and teazed by petty conſpiracies---if every hour gives birth to ſome counter-revolutionary intrigue, and to a variety of falſe reports---if corruption and ſtock-jobbing go hand in hand in the metropolis, what muſt be the ſtate of intrigue on the frontiers? In the ſpace of one month four plots have been detected---At Havre, the national wealth has been in conſtant exportation, and the paper medium depreciated by the ſame agency; we have ſeized the perſons with all their correſpondence, and they are before the tribunal. At Liſle a lawyer, named Legoſne, was occupied as the agent of the emigrants and foreign powers, in ſending ſpecie abroad and circulating aſſignats forged in England. He is ſeized and his papers. At Maubege a national agent had ſold himſelf to our enemies, kept up a correſpondence, enliſted recruits, and ſent packets of intelligence to the prince of Cobourg. He is ſeized and confeſſed his correſpondence with ſeveral Engliſh agents, particularly one Fielding at Calais; they are ſeized. Finally, at Landrecy a new treaſon has been diſcovered and baffled. We ſhall ſoon publiſh the inſidious advice given by the Engliſh general Moira on the project entruſted to him."

On the thirteenth of March St. Juſt made a report of a conſpiracy which, he ſaid, was to produce the corruption and loſs of Paris—" ſince the decree depriving ſuſpected perſons of their property the ſtroke is felt, and efforts are made to famiſh us in the interior while our enemies abroad attempt to block up our coaſts. A law was lately paſſed againſt foreigners, next day an exception was made in favour of artiſts, and the day following all the foreigners were artiſts, even the phyſicians."

A decree was paſſed on the report, for an arreſt of ſuſpected perſons, and on the fifteenth of March, St. Juſt communicated to the convention the following letter of the public accuſer of the revolutionary tribunal.

" In conſequence of the information received at the revolutionary tribunal, in execution of the decrees of the national convention, which order the public accuſer to arreſt the authors and accomplices of the conſpiracy formed againſt the liberty and ſecurity of the people, I haſten to announce to you, that the reſult of my enquiries permitted me not to defer any longer the arreſt of Ronſin, Vincent, Hebert, Momoro, Ducroquet, and general Lamur. A Dutch banker, of the name of Koch, is alſo ordered to be arreſted, at the moment I am writing. The enquiries and informations are going on; I hope ſoon to obtain intelligence. I promiſe you that that the tribunal will neglect nothing to find out all the culpable. (Signed) Amar."

It was in vain that Hebert in his journal affirmed, that he was not preſent when the club of Cordeliers covered the table of the rights of man with a mourning veil; it was in vain he affirmed that he meant not to glance at Robeſpierre in his denunciations againſt Camille, Philipaaux, and others. Some letters either real or fictitious were produced, ſaid to have been detected in which the ſtate of parties was deſcribed, that the committees and

Jacobins were in concert to carry on the revolution effectually, but that Hebert and the Cordeliers had the popular voice, and were endeavouring to deſtroy Robeſpierre.

On the twenty-firſt of March he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, together with Momoro, Ronſin, Vincent, Ducroquet, a hair-dreſſer and commiſſioner againſt monopoliſts; Koch, a Dutch banker; Lamur a colonel of the ſixth regiment; Proly a natural ſon of prince Kaunitz reſiding as a wine merchant in Paris, and publiſhing a journal; Desfieux, a wine merchant; Pereira a Portugueſe jew; Anacharſis Cloots, a Pruſſian and deputy of the convention; Le Clerc chief of the ſecond diviſion of the war department; Dubuiſſion, a man of letters; Marie Anne the wife of Quieteneau; and ſix others.

The following are the moſt material charges againſt them, which were ſet forth much at large in the act of accuſation:—

"That the conſpiracy tended to reſtore deſpotiſm, and to murder the repreſentatives of the people; that the tyrant who was to govern the French nation was firſt to have the title of Great Judge!

"That the Engliſh government and the allied powers were the real chiefs of that conſpiracy, and made uſe of men inveſted with the public confidence, namely, Hebert, Ronſin, Momoro, and Vincent, whoſe only ambition was to obtain places and wealth by the revolution, that they might indulge their vices and exceſſes.

"That the principal conſpirators, Ronſin, Hebert, Vincent, and Lamur, uſed to meet at night at Paſſy, at the houſe of the Dutch banker Koch, where they concerted their plans, and revelled in debauchery till late in the morning.

"That each of the conſpirators had a part preſcribed for him; that Ronſin with Mauzel went to the different houſes of arreſt, to take down the names of all thoſe priſoners whom they thought the fitteſt to execute their plots.

"That Hebert and Vincent would at one time denounce the bad citizens, at another the courageous defenders of the people, to miſlead the public opinion, and to involve in one common ruin the national repreſentation and all the patriots, as the authors of the want of proviſions, while it was manifeſt that they alone, in concert with Ronſin and Mazuel, kept a part of the revolutionary army in the moſt ſhameful inactivity.

"That thoſe ſame conſpirators, with their accomplices Momoro, Ducroquet, Labourdeau, Ancard, and Bourgeois, propoſed to cover the rights of man with a funeral crape.

"That the above parties went to all the public places to calumniate and vilify the national repreſentation.

"That they caluminated in a like manner the members of the committees of public and general ſafety, and demanded the renewal of the national repreſentation.

"That the ſyſtem of reducing Paris by famine was purſued by all the conſpirators at one and the ſame time; that the public functionaries, in different communes, gave orders in conſequence of this plot, that no proviſions ſhould be brought to Paris, in order to bring on the criſis which was to reſtore deſpotiſm and tyranny.

"That it was the deſign of Ronſin to employ the revolutionary army in the execution of this dreadful plot; that Ronſin wiſhed that the revolutionary army conſiſted of one hundred thouſand, inſtead of ſix thouſand men; which manifeſted his deſire of being a Cromwell, were it only for twenty-four hours.

"That this fictitious famine made every day a greater progreſs.

"That the conſpirators inflamed the people, by making them believe that this famine was occaſioned by their repreſentatives, whom they intended to maſſacre.

"That Vincent declared that he would dreſs out mannikins like repreſentatives of the people, and place them in the Thuilleries, to call the people around him, and to tell them, 'Behold the fine repreſentatives you have; they preach plainneſs and this is the way they dreſs!' That this ſyſtem of vilifying the national repreſentation, formed by Vincent and his accomplices, correſponds actually with the horrid plans of the leagued deſpots.

"That other conſpirators, namely, Desfieux, Pereira, Proly, and Deſcombes, even publiſhed the names of thoſe repreſentatives whom they wiſhed to murder; and that they circulated by their agents incendiary bills throughout Paris and the adjacent communes, exhorting the people to rebel againſt the national repreſentation and the conſtituted authorities.

"That pamphlets and bills were diſtributed in all the public markets and places, ſtirring up the people to open the priſons, that the conſpirators and their accomplices might the more eaſily exterminate the repreſentatives.

"That falſe patroles were to maſſacre the citizens on duty in the houſes of arreſt; that the conſpirators meant to ſeize the mint and the national treaſury; but that the convention, at the moment when the conſpiracy was to break out, publiſhed a decree againſt the parties concerned." &c.

The principal evidence was Louis Legendre deputy in the convention for Paris, and Louis-Pierre Dufournie, architect; but their teſtimony went no farther than to prove ſome raſh and intemperate expreſſion which had been uſed by the priſoners, and the charges were generally unſupported by evidence. Labourdeau was the only perſon acquitted. There were among them, however, men to whom no part of the evidence applied, and whoſe only crime was attachment to Hebert, and the principals of this groupe of victims; among theſe was Anacharſis Cloots, a man who had been a Pruſſian baron and relinquiſhed his titles and a ſmall patrimony from an enthuſiaſtic devotion to liberty and the moſt refined philanthrophy; his paſſions had been ſo much ſuperior to his reaſon as to derange the order of his underſtanding, and to lead him into puerelities that injured the diſintereſted principles he profeſſed, and threw a ſtrong ſhade of ridicule over his character. The principal cauſe of his proſcription, was not any alliance with the perſons to whoſe fate his was linked, but the circumſtance of his atheiſtical principles, which he not only acknowledged, but preached. He had publiſhed ſeveral works, which he fantaſtically dated from Paris the capital of the globe, and had formed an enthuſiaſtic notion that as ſoon as the potentates of the earth ſhould be overthrown, all nations ſhould ſend their deputies to Paris, and the world become one great republic. But theſe chimeras were not ſo much a ſubject of cenſure as of mirth, while his atheiſm excited the hatreds of thouſands. It has been a received notion, becauſe great induſtry has been employed by the enemies of the French revolution to propogate it, that the French people were all atheiſts, Robeſpierre who knew better, ſaw that the ſacrifice of Cloots would aſſure him of a greater ſhare of popularity, becauſe the bulk of the people were really devoted to religion, and inveterate againſt atheiſm; the "orator of the human race," as Cloots called himſelf, was therefore ſacrificed to the policy of Robeſpierre and for no

real crime. In the death of Hebert and his colleagues no one commiſerated, it appeared to be a juſt retribution for their crimes, and for that apathy in wickedneſs which could conceive the laſt charge againſt the late queen. Their conduct was far different from that of thoſe patriots in whoſe fall they had been ſo inſtrumental; along thoſe ſubterranean galleries were the light of day never refreſhed the ſight; terrific phantoms covered with blood ſeemed to purſue their ſteps, the headleſs trunks of murdered victims ſeemed to encumber the ground over which they trembingly crept, while the groans, and ſighs of the unfortnnate in thoſe gloomy cells ſeemed to proceed from the ſpirits of thoſe matyred patriots, calling forth from the hollow vaults this band of aſſaſſins to a juſt death.

Cloots, however, partook neither of their crimes nor their terrors—while Hebert, Momoro and Vincent paſſed their time like the fallen angels of Milton in mutual accuſations, he rallied the ſpirits of thoſe who were ſinking under the infirmity of their minds, and preached atheiſm to them until they ſucceſſively paſſed that bourne which was to teſt his awful doctrines.

As the characters of theſe men excited no reſpect, ſo their death commanded no compaſſion, they were executed amidſt the applauſes of the ſurrounding multitude, and the air reſounded with acclamations at the death of thoſe conſpirators and with ſhouts of vive la Republique!

The death of Hebert was the ſignal for throwing off the hideous maſquerade of Sans-culotiſm, in which all the world had been arrayed during the winter, in ſubmiſſive deference to the interpretation of a falſe equality. Black wigs, red caps, and ſhort jackets were now thrown aſide, and the eye once more was gratified with the appearance of decent apparel, clean linen, and powdered locks; the women too who for ſome months had reluctantly bound up their hair beneath round eared caps, now unfolded their treſſes to the vernal air, and decorated their perſons at will, provided always that the national cockade formed a part of the ornaments.

The ſucceſs and popularity of Robeſpierre on this proſcription was ſuch as to enſure him a complete power over the lives of all who ſtood in the way of his ambition; and he loſt no time in hatching another conſpiracy, and dubbing a new brood of traitors. The Gironde had fallen before him, the Cordeliers had been rent and deſtroyed, his coadjutors on the mountain were now to partake of his unquenchable ire. Amar, who now became the agent of Robeſpierre, as Hebert had been before, had on the ſixteenth of March made a report on an alleged conſpiracy of Chabot, Delaunay of Angers, Julien of Thouloufe, Bazire, and Fabre d'Eglantine. Theſe he deſcribed as engaged in a conſpiracy with the rebels of La Vendée and the court of London. That they were only the ſucceſſors in iniquity of Lafayette, Dumourier, Cuſtine, Briſſot, and the correſpondents of Cobourg and Pitt. That they had engaged in a vaſt plan of ſtockjobbing, in conjunction with count Proly, two German barons of the name of Frey, baron Batz, a member of the conſtituent aſſembly, Renulph a Genoeſe, Goeth an Engliſh banker, and Guſmah a Spaniſh intriguer, all in Paris. That the accuſed deputies made uſe of their ſituations under the republic for the purpoſe of amaſſing fortunes, and in ſome inſtances had accepted bribes; that they maintained a venal correſpondence to forward their avaricious views. The bankers Frey were deſcribed as unworthy republicans, having accepted of noble titles from Maria Thereſa, had a brother ſerving in the imperial army, and had given two hun-

dred thouſand livres portion with their ſiſter who was married to Chabot. Delaunay was ſaid to be the friend of Batz, a profound calculator and ſtockjobber, and that with Julien they had contrived to enrich themſelves by the operations againſt the Eaſt-India company, that had been in the laſt year impoſed on the convention. That Fabre d'Eglantine propoſed to make the company pay ſix millions to the republic, when he knew they owed eight; that India ſtock was lowered by their manoeuvres, and that Chabot and Delaunay by their influence in the commiſſion which was appointed to report on the affairs of the company, had completed this plot of fraud, by altering the decree in conjunction with Fabre, and ſending it ſo altered to the committee of minutes. That Benoit, the agent of the directors, paid Fabre one hundred thouſand livres, and a like ſum to Chabot. And the ſum of five hundred thouſand was depoſited to be divided between Chabot, Fabre, Julien, and Delaunay; and that Benoit offered Chabot one hundred and fifty thouſand for his ſhare.

The charge of ſtock-jobbing appears to have been unequivocally proved, for the parties accuſed each other, with a view ſeverally to their own ſafety. It alſo was ſtated in the evidence, that 510,000 franks had been depoſited to ſave the lives of Fonfrede and Ducos who fell with the Girondiſts, and ſome of the members now accuſed were to have received that ſum could they have effected that object. It was alſo among the charges laid againſt them, that they had attempted to ſend a letter with fifty louis-d'ors to young Capet in the Temple, with a view to his eſcape and to place him on the throne.

The debate on this report was highly characteriſtic of the terror that prevailed. Billaud Varennes expreſſed much anger at the reporter, for having neglected to fix the attention of the convention on the real ſource and object of corruption. He ſaid it was intended to involve in infamy not the names of a few deputies, but the whole of the repreſentatives and the nation. Robeſpierre expreſſed his anger alſo at the neglect—"There is one ſtriking obſervation which I ſhall ſubmit to you; I call upon the tyrants of the earth to compare themſelves with the repreſentatives of the people; I dare to this compariſon one man, whoſe name has too often ſullied this place, and which therefore I will not repeat—I throw down the gauntlet to that body which aſſociating itſelf with that man, fixes its attention on France, to ſee what will be the reſult of that frightful ſyſtem of treachery with which he endeavors to undermine us—What is the difference between us? They boaſt of ſelling themſelves to the beſt bidder, while we, as ſoon as we diſcover a traitor or a corrupt deputy, ſend him to the ſcaffold."

The confounded reporter with the utmoſt humility acknowleged the judiciouſneſs and ſtrength of the obſervations that had been juſt made, that the omiſſion was not from any deſire to ſuppreſs truths ſo important, but from an opinion that he was bound to confine himſelf to ſimple narration; but, ever ready to give up all ſelf-love, he was free to declare, that the able ſpeeches juſt delivered had convinced him of the propriety of inſerting ſuch obſervations in the report, and he wiſhed his report to be referred to a committee for the purpoſe, which was ordered accordingly.

On the ſame day one of the ſections of Paris ſent a deputation to the convention, demanding that they ſhould decide on the fate of Elizabeth Capet;—"It is time," ſaid they, "that the impure remains of the family which butchered the people on the tenth of Auguſt ſhould fall under the avenging and protecting law."

On the ſeventeenth of March report was made that Herault Sechelles and Simond had been arreſted as partiſans in the recent conſpiracy.

On the eighteenth Danton congratulated the convention on its vigor, and after paying a compliment to the Pariſians on their patriotiſm, he propoſed that every thing concerning the conſpiracy ſhould be referred to the committees of public ſafety and general ſecurity. This propoſition which was intended by the mover as an aſſurance of confidence in the independence and juſtice of the committees which he did not feel, and with a view to cover a grand and benevolent conſpiracy upon which he had bent all the energies of his ſoul, was adopted, and only accelerated his own fall and protracted for a longer period the tyranny of Robeſpierre and the afflictions of France.

On the twentieth Couthon had notified, that the conſpirators would be tried the next day. He ſignified at the ſame time, that another ſeparate conſpiracy exiſted which would ſpeedily be developed. Whether the jealous penetration of Robeſpierre had diſcerned in the motion of Danton on the eighteenth a cauſe of alarm, or that the treachery or indiſcretion of ſome of thoſe who had entered into Danton's views, betrayed the plan that was agreed upon for doing away the ſanguinary ſyſtem that had ſo deeply wounded France, has not been diſcovered; ſeveral members of both committees had entered warmly into the deſign, and Danton had pledged himſelf to go into retirement as ſoon the plan ſhould be accompliſhed. But the vengeance of Robeſpierre never ſlept; Danton in the meantime had diſcovered that his ruin was ready to be decided, and in vain endeavoured to compromiſe the jealouſy by propoſitions manly and benignant.

On the thirty-firſt of March, Legendre on entering the hall ſaid—"Four of our colleagues were arreſted laſt night by order of your committees—the celebrated Danton is one of them: I know not the names of the other three. If they are guilty, I will be the firſt to call for their puniſhment; but you ought to hear them. I am pure, and I believe Danton to be as pure as myſelf."

A member called out to keep to order, and a noiſe was made with a view to interrupt Legendre. Robeſpierre it was obſerved attempted to ſpeak, but his utterance was ſtopped by his ſurpriſe at the boldneſs of Legendre.

The preſident ſaid he would not ſuffer ſuch diſorderly proceedings, nor the freedom of ſpeech to be infringed; that this day would be glorious to liberty, and that the people and poſterity would judge their conduct.

Legendre reſumed—"He feared that private animoſities were about to ſacrifice men who had rendered ſervices to the republic that would immortalize them." He ſpoke of his own connections with Danton, which were founded only on the purity of his moral and republican principles; of what Danton had done in 1792, when miniſter of juſtice, "to the advantage of the republic, and to the ſalvation of ſo many innocent lives." He concluded with moving that the deputies arreſted laſt night ſhould be heard at the bar. This motion was received with much, but not general applauſe. Fayau oppoſed the motion.

Robeſpierre aſcended the tribune, with a diſordered countenance.—"From theſe diſturbances, for a long time unknown in this aſſembly, it is evident that a grand intereſt is in queſtion,—Whether certain men ſhall be more powerful than their country? Why elſe is this motion, which was rejected when made by Danton in favour of Chabot

and Bazire, now applauded by ſome individuals? I repeat it, the queſtion is, Whether or not certain ambitious men ſhall be ſtronger than liberty? What then!---ſhall we have made ſo many ſacrifices only to fall under the yoke of intriguers? Little do I regard the eulogies which people beſtow on themſelves and their friends. No more do we aſk what a man has done at this or that period: we aſk what has been his conduct during the whole of his political career. Legendre pretends not to know the names of the deputies arreſted. Knows he not that Lacroix, his friend, is of the number? he effects ignorance, becauſe he knows that he cannot pronounce the name of Lacroix, but with ſhame. He chooſes rather to ſpeak of Danton, the intimate friend of Lacroix, becauſe the name of Danton is leſs offenſive. We ſhall now ſee whether or not the convention can break in pieces an idol. Could not all that is ſaid of Danton be ſaid of Briſſot, Hebert, and Chabot? They were, at certain periods, the defenders of liberty. Why then ſhould Danton be allowed a privilege which was denied to his companion Fabre d'Eglantine?—Attempts are made to alarm you on the abuſe of power. What have you done which you have not done freely, which has not contributed to the ſalvation of your country, which has not drawn upon you the bleſſings of the people? It is feared that individuals may be ſacrificed. Do you then diſtruſt that juſtice which conſtitutes the people's hope? I declare, that whoever trembles at this criſis is guilty. Me too they have tried to intimidate. The friends of Danton have written, that if Danton be overthrown, I muſt periſh under the ſtrokes of the ariſtocrats. They have imagined that connections might induce me to divert the courſe of juſtice. What ſignified to me the dangers that might threaten? My life is my country's, my heart is free from reproach, and above all fear. I was alſo the friend of Petion, of Roland, and of Briſſot: they betrayed their country, and I declared againſt them. Danton wiſhes to take their place: Danton, in my eyes, is only the enemy of his country. The guilty are not ſo numerous as they would have us believe. The moſt criminal are thoſe who would raiſe up idols and domineerers. To propoſe a courſe with ſome members, not allowed in behalf of others, is an inſult to liberty. The cauſe of the guilty could be pleaded only by their accomplices. I move the previous queſtion on Legendre's motion."

St. Juſt then appeared at the tribune, and ſpoke as follows:---"The revolution is in the people, not in the renown of certain individuals. The revolution conſiſts in the love of the country; and it was by the irreſiſtable impulſion that Manlius was hurled from the capitol, and Regulus delivered into the hands of the executioner. It is by this ſentiment, and by its ſubline counſels, that, in the midſt of ſtorms and perils, your committees have ſtriven againſt the faction they had juſt ſubdued, and have made war againſt all thoſe who, purſuing different means, but agreeing as to their plans, have conſtantly endeavoured to degrade the national repreſentation. After ſo much ſeverity, it certainly requires ſome courage to practice a new ſeverity; but the courage of Juſtice is the fruit and reſult of the energy of virtue. To defeat the new plot, about which I am now to ſpeak, a plot which is merely the ſequel and the laſt thread of all the others, I muſt ſhortly deſcribe to you the hideous conſpiracies that have menaced public liberty. On the ſtage of the revolution, we have ſeen a great number of performers, the greater part of whom had ſufficient talents to do good, but wanted the heart and integrity to do ſo. It will be pleaſing to us, nevertheleſs, to ſee that all the wickedneſs with which tyrants reproach us, ſpring from themſelves; and that from their thrones have iſſned the rivers of corruption

that have inundated France. We will follow the foreign powers ſtep by ſtep, and meaſure the route of their agents. England and all the inimical governments have perceived, that ſhould they attack us with one faction alone, that faction would be readily diſconcerted.—They therefore ſet on foot at one and the ſame time ſeveral factions, which are involved in each other, like the ſkies of Deſcartes, and the aim of which is the ſame, although they are not known mutually to each other. In the firſt place ſprang up, on the ruin of all principles, and with the progreſſion of every deſcription of crimes, though without energy and audacity, the faction called d'Orleans, after him whom it wiſhed to be placed on the throne: all the aſcendancy of Mirabeau, all the talents of Dumourier, were the inefficacious vehicles of this daſtardly faction. By federaliſm, which was to beſtow on each commune an independent authority, an endeavour was next made to corrupt with great facility the French nation, which would thus have been divided; a part of the convention was led into this opinion, and the members who became the accomplices of this treaſon, merited juſtly the fate they experienced. An infinity of other means have been practiſed to annihilate the republic; all of theſe have been deſtroyed, but new conſpirators have formed new plots from their ruins. At length, Hebert appeared on the political horizon; Hebert, who, to deceive the people, addreſſed them in a groſs language, Hebert, the partizan of royalty, the friend of Chabot, whom he afterwards ſtigmatized, but with whom he was to have ſupped on the evening of the day when the latter was apprehended. The league, at the head of which this Hebert was, was completely connected with the abortive plans of Briſſot and Carra; and around this new conſpiracy, the ſecret and moſt ſkilful partizans of the plots that had been defeated, rallied. Among theſe we ought to diſtinguiſh Fabre d'Eglantine, the panegyriſt of d'Orleans; a man ſupple, inſinuating, cunning, laborious, ſpeaking every tongue, flattering all the paſſions, tender of every party, daſtardly, ſubtle, a nice obſerver and propheſier of events, and one who obtained the eſteem of all, touching their paſſions, as a muſician tries, liſtens to, and determines the effect of the notes of his compoſition. Together with Petion, Carra, and Briſſot, he on the tenth of Auguſt implored the people in favour of the king. During the firſt ten months of the ſitting of this convention, he was ſilent; but obſerving the cataſtrophe of the contending parties, he made the finances his ſtudy, and ſpoke learnedly in all the diſcuſſions on financial matters. He ſoon perceived to what the deſtruction of public worſhip would lead; and becoming accordingly a loud declaimer againſt the eternal baſis of morality, he attacked providence, denied the immortality of the ſoul, which comforted Socrates when he ſwallowed the juice of hemlock, and wiſhed, in concert with his followers, to baniſh from nature the Supreme Being. At the head of this ſyſtem was Chaumette, the flatterer of the people, but the friend of kings; who, when he remitted thirty thouſand livres to his father, requeſted of him neither to purchaſe national domains, nor the confiſcated property of the emigrants. Let not the people loſe ſight of the divinity! Thoſe who made religion a pretext for the reſtoration of royalty, have endeavoured to diſſeminate among us the horrible doctrine of atheiſm. In the front of the latter, marched another party, the one which demanded the calling together of a new convention. The party pretended, that you were decayed; but the tyrants, ſome of whom have been the ſcourge of Europe for fifty years, are they decayed? Are the intrigues of our enemies, and the genius of counter-revolution decayed?

Are crimes more vigorous than virtue, and do they weary ſooner? Among the potentates of the earth, the firſt is the national repreſentation; for it conſiſts of the people. Can one ſingle man and the country be weighed in the ſame ſcale. From one end of Europe to the other, the ſtyle of patriotiſm is aſſumed; let us ſee, Danton, what the ſtyle of patriotiſm is? You conſpired with Mirabeau, Dumourier, Hebert and Herault. You ſought the protection of Mirabeau; and during his life you remained mute. This faction-monger knew the value of your audacity and diſplayed againſt the court a menacing front. He periſhed, and his death again plunged you in obſcurity. You appeared again in the Champ de Mars, and it was then that in the Jacobins you ſupported the motion of Laclos, and drew up with Briſſot the celebrated addreſs. You ſoon after, however, contrived, to enjoy tranquillity at Arcis-ſur-Aube; but on the night of the tenth of Auguſt you returned, and it required all the perſuaſion of your friends to keep you out of bed. When miniſter of juſtice, you were ſurrounded by knaves; and ſpeaking of Noel, one of your agents, you obſerved, that you knew him to be a good-for-nothing fellow, but you had him watched. Upon Fabre d'Eglantine you heaped riches; and it was by your influence that both he and d'Orleans were choſen for the convention. In this convention you were the friend of the Briſſotines, with whom you concerted ſham attacks to be made on yourſelf; and while they demanded your accounts, you preſented to them the olive-branch of peace. You talked of your indolence, but you well knew how to ſhake it off in the defence of Dumourier and Weſtermann. Dumourier, Danton, Fabre-Fona, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Lacroix, are all of the ſame political faith, and of the ſame faction. If there is a reputation more tarniſhed than the reſt, it is that of Lacroix, on whom the public opinion has already pronounced. He has at all times been ſuſpected, and regarded as a man of immoral character. The defender of Miranda, and friend of Dumourier, he has an hundred times inveighed againſt the Jacobins, and has as often teſtified his hatred againſt them. The corruption of public morals was one of the arms of Lacroix, who, in concert with Danton, propoſed the baniſhment of Capet. Such, Danton, were your friends. Your robuſt make ſeemed to diſguiſe the feebleneſs of your counſels; you began like the thunder, but you never made a vigorous propoſition againſt the federaliſts. You ſeemed energetic, but your energy was falſe; and if, in the month of March 1793, on your return from Belgium, you cauſed a ferment in Paris, if you excited an inſurrection, it was to enable Dumourier to march to the capital with his army. Like Sextus Quintus, you pretended ſimplicity; but flaſhes of light ſoon dazzled the political tortoiſe, and made you appear a very camelion, giving a diverſity of colours to your crimes. Philipeaux was known by his writings againſt Marat, and for his appeal to the people: his works of a more recent date, betray the foreign pens by which they were dictated, and have occaſioned more than one revolt. Hebert delighted in repeating, that the revolution, like Saturn, would devour its children. No! it will devour no other than the friends of tyranny—not one true child of liberty will periſh. Danton and Lacroix talk in vain of clemency. Let us be inflexible: it is indulgence that is ferocious, when it protects the enemies of the people. In the territory of France, no other than freemen ſhould remain: let us, like Promotheus, ſteal from heaven the fire which ſhall deſtroy tyrants, and give life to the republic."

This report, frequently interrupted with applauſes, concluded with the following decree;—

The convention decrees the following deputies to be in a ſtate of accuſation—namely, Camille Deſmoulins, Herault, Danton, Philippeaux, and Lacroix. They are convicted of having plotted with d'Orleans, Dumourier, Fabre d'Eglantine, and other enemies of the republic; and of having ſhared in the conſpiracy which tended to re-eſtabliſh monarchy, and to deſtroy the national repreſentation, as well as the republican government. They are accordingly to be tried with Fabre d'Eglantine.

Theſe proceedings exhibit the moſt forcible picture of the combined influence of ambition and hypocriſy, of the rage to which the luſt of power will lead men. And how ready tyrants are to employ the revered authority of liberty and religion to ſanction crimes the moſt outrageous of their principles.

On the morning of the ſecond of April, Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, Lacroix, Chabot, Philippeaux, Camille Deſmoulins, Delaunay of Angers, Herault Sechelles, the abbé d'Eſpagnac, Guſman, the two Freys, Diendrichien, and Lullier, were brought before the revolutionary tribunal, with the celebrated general Weſterman. It will be evident from the tranſactions already ſtated, that the charges againſt theſe perſons were the moſt oppoſite to each other. Hebert had been accuſed among other things of his calumnies on Fabre d'Eglantine and others; Fabre is now accuſed of thoſe things as counter-revolutionary which Hebert had been condemned for aſſerting. Camille Deſmoulins and Danton, whoſe names will ever live among thoſe of the founders of the republic and men of genius, were not accuſed of any connection with Fabre or his aſſociates; Danton had been a republican and a leader in the revolution before Robeſpierre was yet publicly known; and Camille on the day preceding the taking of the Baſtile, had the glory of being the firſt man in France who placed the national cockade in his hat, and calling his fellow-citizens to ſhake off the fetters of deſpotiſm. But Robeſpierre was not to be deterred from making them his victims by the conſiderations of gratitude or early affection. Danton had by his intrepidity and his eloquence reſcued Robeſpierre from an accuſation brought againſt him by Louvet for the maſſacres of September, and which excited ſo much indignation in the convention that he expected to be ſent to the ſcaffold. Camille had been his ſchoolfellow and early friend.

But Robeſpierre had always envied the ſuperior talents of Danton, and indeed he was ſo formidable a rival, that to ſucceed in his deſigns it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to remove Danton. It appears that the latter was not inſenſible to his danger, and was perfectly acquainted with the perfidious character of his rival. A few days before his arreſt, he had gone to a villa at ſome diſtance from Paris, and returned to town in the ſame carriage with Robeſpierre; the object of the viſit was to obtain a reconciliation; but after all Danton's remonſtrances and thoſe of a common friend, finding Robeſpierre implacable and that he eyed him with a ſarcaſtic malignity that expreſſed the black purpoſe of his ſoul, he left him with this prophetic exclamation—"I ſee that my fate is decided, but my "death will be your ruin."

The real crime of Camille was a ſatirical parallel between the revolutionary practices under Robeſpierre and the capricious tyranny of the Roman emperors, which he publiſhed in a periodical paper of which he was the editor called "The old Cordelier;" wherein he expanded the glowing preciſion of Tacitus into charges ſo extremely ludicrous, that they found an echo in every heart but that of the tyrant, upon whoſe ſoul they inflicted tortures incurable.

Philippeaux was among the moſt to be regretted of the deputies; his heart open to the impreſſions of tenderneſs, had reported with great feeling the horrors he had witneſſed in La Vendée, whence he had lately returned from a miſſion.

Fabre's crimes were certainly not againſt the revolution, admitting even the truth of his concern in ſtock-jobbing; he poſſeſſed fine talents for literature, was an excellent poet, and had written a celebrated comedy called Phelinthe. It has been ſaid of him that the ſpirit of intrigue which prevails in his comedy diſtinguiſhed him as a legiſlator. The love of fame, however, continued to prevail even over the fear of death, and his laſt cares were fixed upon a comedy which he had cauſed to be depoſited with the committee of public ſafety, leſt Billaud Varennes ſhould claim the credit of having written it.

At the tribunal Fabre alone appeared agitated. Danton maintained a hilarity that mortified his accuſers, he had made up his mind to his fate; when the uſual queſtion was put to him concerning his name and reſidence, he replied—" my reſidence will ſoon be a nonentity; but my name will forever live in the pantheon of hiſtory." Herault Sechelles being aſked the ſame queſtion, ſaid he formerly poſſeſſed a ſeat in that hall where he was deteſted as the decided friend of liberty. Chabot took poiſon, but it was counteracted by an emetic. Camille and Herault entertained the ſpectators by completely turning the act of accuſation into ridicule; and Danton perplexed the judges by the keeneſt ſallies of wit and pointed invective. His contempt for the tribunal he diſplayed by every means in his power, and amuſed himſelf with throwing little balls of paſte in the faces of the judges. This conduct it was which was the pretext for and application to the convention, and produced that decree, propoſed by St. Juſt, which prohibited the hearing of contumacious culprits.

The priſoners loudly demanded to be confronted with the tyrant, whom they accuſed of being afraid to look in the face of innocence, they lamented that they had not ſucceſsfully conſpired againſt him, and declared that " Nothing would be more glorious than to conſpire " againſt a government which itſelf conſpired." Robeſpierre however had abſented himſelf from the convention and refuſed to attend, upon a pretence that a plot was formed to aſſaſſinate him at the tribunal—They refuſed to anſwer interrogatories unleſs their accuſers, Robeſpierre, St. Juſt, and Barrere, were compelled to attend, and confronted with them to give evidence. The jury therefore found Danton, Camille, Lacroix, Philippaux, Herault, and Weſterman, guilty of conſpiracy againſt the republic; Chabot, Fabre, Julien, d'Eſpagnac, the two Freys, Guſman, and Diendrichien, guilty of corrupt practices; and acquitted Lullier. Delaunay appears not to have been tried.

At two o'clock the ſame day ſentence of death was paſſed; and at five in the afternoon they were conveyed in three carts from the Conciergerie to the place de la revolution. They all behaved with the moſt magnanimous reſolution except Lacroix; Danton, while the condemned deputies were getting into the carts, amuſed the crowd with many ſportive obſervations; on his way to the ſcaffold he continued his jocularity; his head which was bare, ſtruck many perſons with a reſemblance of Socrates He was the laſt perſon executed, and when tied to the plank, he caſt his eyes towards the fatal knife, and his countenance and figure aſſumed an air of magnanimity with which the ſpectators were deeply penetrated.

Danton was a native of Arcy-ſur-Aube in the department of Calais; he had been educated for the bar. But his talents were ſuperior to his education. From the firſt

firſt dawn of the revolution he had taken an active part, in his own commune and in the capital. His popularity commenced in the Cordeliers club, to which his talents gave a celebrity that excited the envy of the ambitious. He was originally intimate, beloved in and loved the Gironde party. Their characters, however, did not poſſeſs that energy which he deemed expedient in a revolution; he acted with them however in counteracting the flight of the court in Auguſt, 1792; he was the principal contriver of the affair of the tenth, and patroniſed Weſterman, who commanded the citizens on that occaſion, and who at length fell on the ſame ſcaffold on the ſame day with him. He had early foreſeen that the impulſe which then actuated France would lead to her emancipation from deſpotiſm. When he became diſtinguiſhed at the Cordeliers, the great places of the revolution were already pre-occupied in that dangerous ſyſtem of limitted liberty which admits of a throne. Danton ſtill wiſhed for a place ſuited to his genius, and he it was that firſt conceived the plan of turning France into a republic.

There are two ways which may be taken, in order to accompliſh a great political change in a ſtate. Either the innovators produce a change of opinion, which of courſe changes powers and inſtitutions; or they overthrow inſtitutions and powers, by which a conſequent change of opinion is alſo effected.—The firſt way is the longeſt; and it is to be ſlowly travelled. The ſecond is not a road, but a precipice that is to be leaped over; it requires but one bold leap, and but a moment of time.—It was the latter which beſt ſuited the boldneſs, the ſluggiſhneſs, the ardent yet indolent character of Danton.

He had in him ſomething which cannot be deſcribed, but which drew men about him, to make themſelves his inſtruments, and to await his orders. Petty ſucceſſes he never conteſted with any one; and this was the reaſon why all concurred to aid him in attaining the greateſt ſucceſſes.

When you firſt approached him, his figure and voice were terrible. He knew it, and was not ill pleaſed with the idea; for the more fear he commanded, ſo much the leſs ill was he obliged to do.

When once Mirabeau was thoroughly corrupted, the court then employed all their means of corruption, in order to get in the ſame way at Danton; but he remained faithful to the republicans.

After the twentieth of June, every one began to make his court at the caſtle, which was apparently riſing in power. Danton prepared the events of the tenth of Auguſt; and the caſtle was no more.

This was the motion, this the decree, that truly created the republic.

Thoſe days of glory were nearly allied to the ſecond and third of September; and Danton has been accuſed as a partner in all the guilt and horrors of the latter.—But it is known, that, while thoſe bloody men with whom he had been aſſociated by the greateſt victory of liberty, cut off men who were all moſt innocent and peaceful, Danton hiding his pity under the roarings of his voice, ſnatched on the right-hand, and on the left, as many victims as poſſible from ſlaughter; and theſe acts of his humanity at that very period were afterwards recorded as crimes againſt the revolution, in the act of accuſation, which hurried him to the ſcaffold.

Conducted at once to the miniſtry, and into the convention, Danton too well knew the revolution and human nature, not to be aware, that to continue a miniſter, would be but to expoſe himſelf to certain ruin; and he reſigned an executive power which placed

the unfortunate perſons entruſted with it, abſolutely at the mercy of any one who deſired to cruſh them.

On the other hand, what a field for glory, and for the expanſion of mind, did not the convention preſent to thoſe legiſlators who were employed to give to a nation of five and twenty millions of men, a republican conſtitution?

Danton had never regulary ſtudied the works of thoſe philoſophers who have, for about a century now paſt, deduced from the nature of man, the principles of the ſocial art. He had looked only into his own meditations for thoſe vaſt yet ſimple combinations which the organization of a vaſt empire requires. But his natural capacity, which was very great, and was as yet unoccupied, naturally excluded vague, complex, and falſe notions, and as naturally opened itſelf to receive thoſe truths of experience, which were confirmed by ſatisfactory evidence.

He had that invention, that inſtinctive apprehenſion of *the great*, which conſtitutes geniüs; and that ſilent circumſpection in which conſiſts the majeſty of reaſon.

Danton never wrote or printed a diſcourſe. He uſed to ſay, *I never write*. This has been, in different ages, the caſe with ſeveral extraordinary men, who have paſſed over the earth leaving on it their words and diſciples, but none of their writings.—They muſt no doubt have felt that they could not write in a ſtile worthy of their characters or of their ideas.

The great models of ancient eloquence were almoſt as little known to him, as the views of modern philoſophy. But thoſe ardent expreſſions uttered amidſt the burſts of paſſion, and by the moſt illuſtrous characters, which the literature of antiquity has preſerved us—thoſe words which, from age to age, have been reſounded in every ear,—were deeply engraven on his memory; and their forms had, without thinking of it, become the ordinary forms of the ſallies of his character, and of his paſſions.

His imagination, and that ſpecies of eloquence, an eloquence ſingulary adapted to his figure, his voice and his ſtature,—were thoſe of a great leader. His firſt view of men and of things, were quick, correct, and impartial. He poſſeſſed that ſolid practical prudence, which experience alone can confer.

He *knew* hardly *any thing*. He did not pretend to *foreſee*. But *he opened his eyes*, and *beheld*.

In public aſſemblies, he uttered ſome expreſſions which were long remembered. In private company, he was ſilent, and liſtened with intereſted attention when thoſe around him talked little; with aſtoniſhment when they ſaid a great deal—he excited Camille Deſmoulins to ſpeak, becauſe his genius diſdained to trifle, and his eloquence was dignified and pure; he endured the prattle of Fabre d'Eglantine—only becauſe it was poetical, and relieved the ſeverity of profound abſtraction.

Such was the man who was almoſt adored by his friends, and whom his enemies ought to have treated with that delicacy and forbearance which the intereſts of the republic demanded.

But his enemies, to whom he was of all men the moſt formidable, ever believed him to be the moſt dangerous of men to the republic. All the faults of his party were attributed to him, becauſe he did not prevent them: his power was repreſented as enormous, on purpoſe to defame and ruin him.---Marat was ſaid to be but a ribbald and madman; Robeſpierre but an oratorical dictator; and becauſe Danton alone had talents

fitted to accompliſh a grand project of ambition, he was ſuppoſed to be continually buſied about ſuch a project.

Danton ſaw his ſafety endangered by the fears which he commanded; and could not but uſe means for his defence.

At the very time when the right ſide had the majority, he had loudly called for a government, and this not more from fear of the miſchief which his enemies might do to him and his party, than of that miſchief which his party and he might do to their enemies. If his friends and he might be but ſafe, it appeared to him a matter of indifference, whether the paſſions of all ſhould be ſuppreſſed by the public force, or ſhould be ſacrificed by the prudence of the leaders of the parties.

He believed, he ſaw—himſelf to be always menaced; it was actually ſo. To ſave himſelf and his friends, therefore, he overleaped all the barriers—By him were demanded the revolutionary tribunal, the revolutionary army, the revolutionary committees, the forty ſols of daily pay to the members of the ſections. He ſtruck on all ſides with his trident; and on all ſides furious tempeſts aroſe.

Hardly had he ſeen his firſt dangers removed from before him, by the decrees of the thirty-firſt of May, when he diveſted himſelf of his power, and turned all his cares to ſave thoſe who unfortunately were already loſt. They had been given up to Robeſpierre and Billaud. Billaud and Robeſpierre eagerly graſped at the government, when the ſeaſon of combat was over, and nothing remained but to rear and to crowd the ſcaffolds with victims.

Obſerve from that moment, the train of Danton's conduct in the national convention: you will ſee him buſied in marking out for himſelf an oblique path, in which he might ſeek at once his own ſafety and the ſafety of the members over whom he had gained a victory that gave him more ſorrow than joy. He uttered cries for vengeance by which the vaulted roof of the ſanctuary of the laws was ſhaken, yet at the ſame time ſuggeſted meaſures by which the cruelties of vengeance might be averted.—All the extravagance and fury of the demagogue were but feigned.—Love of order, of juſtice, of humanity, was the ſentiment which prevailed in his heart. He affected a barbarity of ſoul, in order to retain his popularity, that he might be able to bring back the people to a due reſpect for the laws, and for the lives of their fellows.

When the fate deſtined to the two and thirty appeared to be inevitable; Danton heard, ſo to ſpeak, his own death-warrant in theirs. All his ſtrength ſunk to feebleneſs, oppreſſed by the ſenſe of the revolutionary diſorders and crimes.—He could no longer talk of aught but the country. He felt a ſuffocation at his heart.—He needed to retire from the preſence of men, in order to reſpire freely. At his native place of Arcis-ſur-Aube, the aſpect of nature, while it calmed the anxieties of his breaſt, inſpired him with generous and magnanimous reſolutions—In the ſilence of the country and of retreat, he conceived the deſign of a new and benevolent conſpiracy. All his friends entered into it.

He often ſpoke in a tone of candour and deſpair, of the quarrels in the convention, of the errors of others, of his own and the unfortunate events which they had occaſioned.--- "Twenty times," ſaid he to a friend one day, "did I make them offers of peace; "they refuſed to believe me; that they might ſtill remain at liberty to deſtroy me: they

"forced us to take refuge in the arms of ſanſculottiſm, which has deſtroyed them, "which will deſtroy us all, which will at laſt deſtroy itſelf."

The deſign and plan of Danton's conſpiracy, although carefully concealed, were however very evident.

Its deſign was to reſtore for the benefit of all, the reign of juſtice and of the laws, and to extend clemency to his enemies; to recal into the convention, thoſe of its members who had been expelled from it, reciprocally granting to them, and requiring from them, a general amneſty; to ſubject to the moſt thorough examination of the repreſentatives of France, of the whole nation, of all Europe, that conſtitution of 1793, which had been framed by five or ſix young perſons in the ſpace of five or ſix days, but which ought to have been the maſterpiece of the beſt efforts of human genius, ſince it was to be the firſt model upon earth, of a democracy of five and twenty millions of men; to offer peace to the powers of Europe, yet ſtill continue to defeat them; to raiſe commerce and induſtry up from their ruins, by giving them unlimited liberty; arts and ſciences from their ſtate of ſhattered decline, by holding out to them magnificent encouragements; to annihilate all the barriers dividing department from department; and put an end to thoſe inquiſitions which looked upon cards, and into port-folios, for proofs of a civiſm which can have no exiſtence except in ſouls which are exempted from all ſuch inquiſition; to regard as the only cards of ſecurity to the republic,---good laws, a good government, their armies, and victories.

The meaſures by which he propoſed to carry his conſpiracy into execution, were,---to prepare the minds of men for ſuch a change, by means of ſuch papers as thoſe of Camille Deſmoulins;--- to open a communication and a mutual underſtanding between the left ſide of the convention, and the remaining members of the right ſide;—to put an end to that diviſion which had laid them both at the mercy of tyrannical committees;--- to regard none but Collot, St. Juſt, and Couthon, as irrecoverably attached to the exterminating ſyſtem;--to try to detach Barrere from them by addreſſing the humanity of his heart;---ſtill to augment the power of the committee of public ſafety, becauſe ambition, when diveſted of private views, could not be too ſtrongly armed to accompliſh the public welfare,---and becauſe, ſhould it, on the contrary, continue to employ new powers ſtill in the perpetration of new crimes, its authority becoming every day more odious, would proceed from crime to crime, with that inſolence and effrontery, which are always the ultimate exceſſes, and the termination of tyranny;-- in ſhort, to accompliſh either by gradual movements, or by ſome impetuous unexpected effort, a total or partial renovation of the two committees; and by a fortunate irruption, to introduce into the government, thoſe grand, generous, and patriotic views, with which the conſpiracy had been conceived.

The ſole ambition of Danton at this period was, by accompliſhing a grand and laſting good to mankind, to make amends for thoſe terrible but tranſient miſchiefs which anarchy had occaſioned to France;---to extinguiſh by a democracy organiſed with profound wiſdom, all the delirium and diſaſters of fanaticiſm; to make the revolution expire under a republican government, ſufficiently powerful and brilliant to eſtabliſh an eternal alliance between order and liberty; to ſecure the happineſs of his country; to give peace to Europe; to return then to Arcis-ſur-Aube, and grow old in indolent retirement, with his children around him, and cultivating his farm.

To this grandeur of ſentiment and views, had the ſoul of Danton been raiſed by that ſame conſpiracy which animated the genius of Camille Deſmoulins with all Tacitus's profoundity and elevation of thought. Thoſe who ſhall be ſurpriſed at it, will by their ſurpriſe declare, that they know what effects can be produced on a ſoul that has not yet ceaſed to be ſuſceptible of the tender affections of nature---by thoſe reproaches of conſcience which urge it to embrace virtue as an altar at which every crime may be expiated; that they know not how much the views of virtue can do, to create, or to exalt human genius---Danton dying for the cauſe of humanity, was ſeen to turn his looks towards that heaven which he was truly worthy to behold. Whatever might be his faults, virtue muſt, throughout every future age, bear witneſs for him in reſpect to two things:---he overturned the throne; and he periſhed on the ſcaffold for having wiſhed to ſtop the effuſion of human blood, which flowed in torrents by the hands of the executioner, and upon the very foundations of the republic.

The principle once admitted of puniſhing upon ſuſpicion and not on evidence, no boundaries can be preſcribed to vice or paſſion. The letter of la Flotte which had been laid before the convention, was now employed as the foundation of further murders. Arthur Dillon, an Iriſh general, who had formerly commanded that diviſion of the army which at the paſs of Beiſme in the foreſt of Argonne in 1792, repulſed the Pruſſians and ſaved France, was an intimate friend of Camille Deſmoulins, and was naturally intereſted in the fate of his friend. The baſeneſs of la Flotte had led him, in order to ſave his own life, to betray his converſations with Dillon; and Camille having fallen, his unfortunate and beautiful widow was comprehended in the liſt of the proſcribed. By one of thoſe ſingular chances of which the revolution was ſo fruitful, the wife of Hebert was led to the ſcaffold on the ſame day; Madame Deſmoulins who deplored her huſband with the moſt virtuous ſorrow, felt an heroic conſolation at ſuffering ſo ſoon on the ſame ſcaffold; and comtemplated with rapture the flattering hope of being reunited to her huſband in a happier ſtate of exiſtence. Her charms which were of a ſuperior order were adorned by a ſweet and ſerene ſmile on her way to execution; the people as ſhe paſſed along frequently exclaimed—"How beautiful ſhe is!—How mild ſhe looks—What a pity "'tis that ſhe ſhould ſuffer." at the foot of the ſcaffold ſhe embraced the wife of Hebert, bad farewell to her friends, and met her fate with angelic ſerenity. Dillon who ſuffered with her met his death with a dignified compoſure.

Along with them alſo ſuffered general Beyſſer, accuſed of counter-revolutionary practices in la Vendée where he commanded. Chaumette, one of the principal agents of Robeſpierre in the proſcriptions of the thirty-firſt of May, and Gobet who had been archbiſhop of Paris, and had renounced this prieſthood for the worſhip of the popular gods of the day; the only charge againſt theſe two were their atheiſm. Robeſpierre had adored the goddeſs ef reaſon till the church was deſpoiled of thoſe treaſures with which ſuperſtition enriched it, Chaumette continued his devotions, but his real crime was that of Hebert, a knowledge of the vices of Robeſpierre. Gobet was in his ſixty-ſeventh year, and appears to have been executed only as a cover to the death of Chaumette.

At this period, however, terror had arrived at its higheſt tenſion; and from ſeeing a ſucceſſion of able and virtuous men ſent to the ſcaffold in conjunction with real traitors, the convention began to feel and recover from the ſtate of degradation in which they were ſinking. A deputation from the popular ſociety at Cette appeared at the bar on

the fourth of April, and delivered an addreſs by its ſpokeſman containing ſentiments adapted to the ſanguinary ſpirit of the tyrant,—they wiſhed "death to be the order of the day. Marat ſaid off with 500,000 heads, and liberty is ſecured for ever," they recommended ſimilar principles. The preſident however ſignified to the deputation "not death but juſtice ſhould be the order of the day. That their language was unworthy of republicans, and the citizens in the galleries had proved by their murmurs that they did not ſhare their ſentiments---in ſpite of thoſe who wiſh to annihilate all public and private virtue—republicans will not ſuffer themſelves to be diſgraced by bloodſhed—virtue and juſtice, ſhould be the motto of Frenchmen---report this anſwer to thoſe who ſent you."---

The convention loudly applauded this ſpeech of the preſident, and ſeveral voices, exclaimed to turn out the deputation from the hall, and they were accordingly expelled.

On the 6th of April the convention decreed on the motion of Couthon—"that every deputy ſhould be obliged, upon pain of death to give an account of his revenue before and ſince the revolution." This was profeſſedly intended to obviate a repetition of the ſpeculation of which ſome of the condemned deputies had been accuſed; but really to throw odium on their memory and to ſpread terror more widely.

On the fifteenth of April St. Juſt made a report on the general police of the republic, in which he took a retroſpect of the revolution and endeavoured to unfold a variety of anomalous combinations—of Necker with Orleans, in forming the number of the *tiers etat*; of Necker and Mirabeau, to eſtabliſh monarchy, under a falſe pretence of liberty; of Danton, Ducos, Fonfrede, Dumourier, Ronſin, acting in concert, to introduce ariſtocracy.

He deſcribed Marat as mild in his deportment but terrible to traitors, and aſſerted that Rouſſeau profeſſed the ſame virtues. The tyrants of Europe had derived their power from the ſanction of ſeveral ages of folly; that the republic was eſtabliſhed by five years reſiſtance againſt that folly. Who in the times of Pompey, he aſked, were the parents of the exiſting race of kings? They were all but the grand children of labourers, ſailors, ſoldiers, or robbers. At his death the tyrant of France bequeathed civil wars; that the legacy would remain until the executors were deſtroyed. He noticed an expreſſion of Earl Stanhope in the Engliſh Houſe of Peers, who had declared that the Engliſh government had employed every artifice of treachery and bribery—of revolts and calumny—to deſtroy the French national repreſentation. He concluded as uſual with profeſſing the moſt ſacred reverence for religious worſhip and the divinity.

On the ſixteenth Couthon produced a decree founded on this report, by which all aliens belonging to the countries at war with the republic, and all ex-nobles were ordered to depart from Paris, and from all fortreſſes and maritime towns. This decree, however, is ſo important that it merits a particular record; the following is a copy of it:—

Art. I. All perſons accuſed of conſpiracy, in any quarter of the Republic, ſhall be conducted to Paris, in order to be tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal of that Capital.

II. The Committees of Public and General Safety ſhall immediately take meaſures to arreſt all accomplices of conſpirators, and ſhall order them to be conducted before the above Tribunal.

III. Popular commiſſions ſhall be eſtabliſhed on the fifteenth of Floreal next.

IV. All adminiſtrations and civil courts of juſtice are ordered to decide upon all pending ſuits, within three months after the publication of this decree, under the penalty of

being deprived of their functions. All private law-ſuits ſhall, for the future, alſo be terminated within the above fixed time, under the ſame penalty to the judges.

V. The Committee of Public Safety is expreſsly charged to inſpect the conduct of all the public authorities and agents of the government, whoſe duty it is to co-operate in the adminiſtration of public buſineſs.

VI. No ex-noble, nor foreigner from a country with which the Republic is at war, is allowed to ſojourn in Paris, any fortreſs of the Republic, nor any maritime town, during the preſent war. Every noble or ſtranger under the above circumſtances, who ſhall remain in Paris, &c. within ten days after the publication of this law, ſhall be declared outlawed.

VII. Workmen employed in the manufactories of arms at Paris, foreign women married to French patriots, and noble women married to citizens not noble, are not included in the former article.

VIII. Foreigners, workmen, who had lived upon their labor previous to this decree, or dealers in detail ſettled previous to this decree; children under the age of fifteen, and old men above the age of ſeventy, are likewiſe exempted from the rigour of this law.

IX. Exception, with reſpect to nobles and foreigners in the armies, are referred to the Committee of Public Safety: this being a meaſure of government.

X. The Committee of Public Safety is equally authoriſed to retain, by a ſpecial requiſition, all *ci-devant* nobles, and foreigners, whom it might judge uſeful to the Republic.

XI. The Revolutionary Committees are authoriſed to deliver paſſports; and thoſe who ſhall obtain them, ſhall be obliged to declare the place whither they intend to retire, and the name of the declared place ſhall be mentioned in the paſſport.

XII. The Revolutionary Committees ſhall keep exact regiſters of all the paſſports they ſhall diſtribute: and an extract of ſuch regiſters ſhall be daily delivered to the Committees of Public and General Safety.

XIII. The *ci-devant* nobles and foreigners above mentioned, are obliged to produce their paſſports before the municipality of the place where they intend to reſide; they are, moreover, obliged to make daily their perſonal appearance before the municipality of the place of their reſidence.

XIV. The municipalities are ordered to ſend to the Committees of General and Public Safety, a liſt of all the *ci-devant* nobles and foreigners living in their juriſdiction, or of ſuch as lately arrived there, with paſſports according to the letter of this decree.

XV. The *ci-devant* nobles and foreigners ſhall not be admitted members of Popular Societies, of the Committees of Inſpection, of Aſſemblies of the Communes, nor of thoſe of the ſections.

XVI. Generals are prohibited from reſiding at Paris, in fortified places, or in maritime towns, unleſs commanded thither in the courſe of actual ſervice.

XVII. Proper reſpect ſhall be paid by citizens to their magiſtrates: every citizen, however, has a right to complain againſt them, in caſe they are unjuſt, to the Committee of Public Safety, which will puniſh them according to the rigour of the law.

XVIII. The National Convention enjoins all public authorities ſtrictly to confine themſelves within the limits of their inſtitution, neither to extend nor to reſtrict their powers.

XIX. The Committee of Public Safety is ordered to require punctual accounts to be rendered to them, of the operations and conduct of all public agents, to profecute with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who ſhall have favoured conſpiracies, and who ſhall have turned againſt liberty that power with which they have been intruſted.

XX. Every citizen is obliged to give information to the public authorities within his diſtrict, or to the Committee of Public Safety, of every theft which ſhall come within his knowledge, of uncivic ſpeeches held, and acts of oppreſſion committed againſt themſelves and others, within their knowledge.

XXI. The repreſentatives of the people may employ the conſtituted authorities in the execution of what may be neceſſary for the public weal, but can never delegate their own powers to others.

XXII. No authority has the power of ordering requiſitions, except the commiſſion of proviſions, and the repreſentatives of the people with the armies, under the ſpecial authorization of the Committee of Public Safety.

XXIII. Any body convicted of having complained againſt the Revolution, at the ſame time leading an idle life, being neither of the age of ſixty, nor afflicted with infirmities, ſhall be condemned to the puniſhment of tranſportation to the Iſland of Guianna, after having been tried before the popular commiſſions.

XXIV. The Committee of Public Safety ſhall encourage, by indemnifications and rewards, manufactories, the exploration of mines, and the draining of marſhes; ſhall protect induſtry, promote due confidence between traders, ſhall advance proper ſums to patriotic merchants, who engage to procure proviſions; ſhall guarantee the goods which are imported into Paris; ſhall watch over the ſafety of the circulation of the goods in the interior of the Republic, and ſhall puniſh every attempt made againſt property.

XXV. Two commiſſions ſhall be appointed, each compoſed of three members of the Convention; one to be charged to collect, in an abridged and complete manner, all the laws which have been made unto this day, in order to form a correct national code of laws, at the ſame time ſuppreſſing ſuch laws as ſhall have become confuſed. The other commiſſion ſhall form a civil code of the exiſting civil laws and inſtitutions for the preſervation of the morals of the citizens, and of the ſpirit of liberty. A report of thoſe ſubjects ſhall be made by the ſaid commiſſions, within a month's time after their eſtabliſhment.

XXVI. The preſent decree ſhall be proclaimed to-morrow in Paris; and the inſertion in the Bulletin ſhall give it the due publication in the departments.

The Committee of Public Safety publiſhed an order, by which, according to the tenth article of the above decree, all military perſons, in actual ſervice in the Republic, are declared in a ſtate of requiſition, and ſhall remain at their reſpective poſts. (Signed) Barrere, Carnot, Couthon, Billaud-Varennes, Robeſpierre.

On the ſeventeenth of April an account was laid before the convention of patriotic gifts made by the inhabitants of Bourdeaux; it appeared that from the firſt of Frimaire (twenty-firſt of November, 1793,) to the twentieth of Germinal, (fifth of April, 1794,) they had given 2,134,680 livres in ſpecie or aſſignats, including the expence of fitting out a man of war, 12,542 ſwords, 23,123 firelocks, 150,000 pounds of iron, 130,000 pounds of lead, 200 oak trees for the navy, and 50,049 ſhirts for the citizens defenders of the country. Theſe donations coming from the department of the Gironde, whoſe

deputies had been ſacrificed by the tyrant, exhibit the national zeal in a very ſtong point of view.

On the eighteenth of April the caſe of Maria Cecilia, the daughter of Achmet III. ſultan of Turkey, was laid before the convention by the committee of ſuccour. It appeared that ſhe was eighty years of age, had fled to France at the age of ſixteen, and had lived on a penſion of three thouſand livres thence to 1789, when it was reduced to one thouſand and fifty, and during the laſt eight months had not been paid. It was decreed that the citizen Maria Cecilia ſhould be immediately ſupplied with ſix hundred livres, and a proviſional aid, and that arrangements ſhould be made for enſuring her an ample ſubſiſtence during her life.

The rage of proſcription had however not yet ceaſed; but to relieve the mind from the ungracious reflections which ſuch relations excite, it may be proper to take up the operations of the armies from the concluſion of the laſt campaign; but firſt it will be neceſſary to advert to the ſtate of affairs in La Vendée, where, in the tranſactions of 1793, the diſcomfiture and diſperſion of the malcontents has been noticed.

By a report to the convention on the twenty-ſecond of February, by Carrier, who had returned from a miſſion thither, it appeared that there had been ſixteen diſtricts in revolt, and the inhabitants of the whole country from the Loire to the ſea, from Painbœuf to Saumur, a ſpace of more than forty miles, were in arms.

The rebels were divided into ſeveral columns. Whenever they wanted reinforcements they ſounded the alarm-bell and ſet the wind-mills going, whoſe ſails ſerved for ſignals, and immediately a large force was collected. In Auguſt, 1793, they had amounted to 150,000 men in arms; but the victories obtained over them at Montagne and Cholet were ſo fatal, that the reporter had paſſed over fourteen leagues of country entirely covered with dead bodies, heaped in ſome places to the number of twelve over each other.

After theſe defeats they paſſed the Loire to the number of fifty thouſand, women and children included. On the left ſide of the Loire, Charette the principal leader ſtill remained with an active army in the heart of La Vendée. Their general however acknowleged that in the battle of Montagne alone 20,000 rebels fell by the ſword. Generals Dutruy and Hoye were charged to purſue Charette, and they obtained over him fifteen ſucceſſive victories.

Theſe conteſts were always terrible and deſparate, and even the women and children, infuriated by ſuperſtitious incitements, engaged in the conteſts; at the battle of Cholet, when the republicans for a moment gave way, and the rebels were thought victorious, the women ruſhed forward with knives in their hands and mixed in the conflict, ſtabbing the republicans and deſtroying ſuch as fell wounded.

The rebels were ſtill far from being wholly ſubdued. The foreſts, mountains, and natural receſſes of that luxuriant and romantic country afforded them an aſylum. A party of them however which eſcaped to the iſland of Noirmoutier did not make that deſparate ſtand which their critical ſituation appeared to encourage and require. Though the town was remarkably well calculated for defence, they ſurrendered at diſcretion on the third of January, even before the republicans had reached the batteries. In the reduction of the iſland five hundred of the royaliſts were killed and twelve hundred taken priſoners: fifty pieces of cannon, eight thouſand ſtands of arms, and thirty thouſand pounds of powder, fell into the hands of the republicans.

The fanatic rage of the rebels excited the moſt fell and deſparate retaliation. Nantz had been the centre of their reſources, and the rendezvous of their chiefs and foreign abettors. On the fifteenth of February five hundred of the rebels were publicly ſhot. From the numbers that fell and the ſummary mode of trial, there is too much reaſon to believe that many innocent perſons ſuffered. Even the guillotine was conſidered as too ſlow an inſtrument of death, and numbers of the unfortunate and deluded rebels were ſhot to death with grape-ſhot diſcharged from artillery; others were confined in barges, which were ſent out into deep waters, where they were ſcuttled and ſunk. It has been aſſerted that four thouſand perſons were drowned in that way. Theſe accounts however have been publiſhed by royaliſts or enemies to the revolution, whoſe accounts may be ſuppoſed to be exaggerated.

This immenſe inſurrection being for the preſent ſubdued, the republic was enabled to attend to the great concerns of the campaign againſt the allies. The army of the north had now enjoyed a ſhort but neceſſary repoſe, after ſeveral months of brilliant ſucceſs. Jourdan, however, had notwithſtanding the energy and ſucceſs of his plans, loſt the confidence of Rebeſpierre. His ſteady attachment to principles, and his ſentiments concerning the proſcriptions, had been reported to the committee of public ſafety, and Robeſpierre propoſed his removal. Nothing but the exemplary poverty of the general, the ſimplicity of his manners, and the total diſconnection from party, now ſaved him from the ſcaffold. In vain were cauſes of complaint ſought after; and diſappointed in the ſearch, the motive for his removal was at length fixed to be not for want of energy in what he had already atchieved, but for want of energy in what yet remained to be done. Pichegru, who had ſignalized himſelf by his attachment to the Jacobins, from whom he derived his rank in the army, and with whom he always communicated upon his tactics, with the ſame punctuality as with the committees, was now propoſed to be placed at the head of the army from which Jourdan was removed.

The report on this occaſion ſays—"after our ſucceſs at Maubege, the committee prepared a plan for driving the enemy from the territory of the republic. For the execution of this plan, great boldneſs was neceſſary in the general. This quality is wanting in Jourdan, who ſeems to have forgot the maxim 'that nothing is done while any thing remains to be done;' the committee thought that he ſhould be replaced by Pichegru, who poſſeſſes all that Jourdan wants. The latter may return home for ſome time, but not as ſuſpected generals do; he ſhall obtain an honorable retreat, worthy of his probity and patriotiſm. He is poor, and the conquerer of Maubege ought to receive a teſtimony of the national gratitude. We propoſe to you to grant him the penſion fixed by law."

In the latter end of January the French eſtabliſhed ſeveral redoubts in the environs of Maroilles, and the fire from theſe works conſiderably annoyed the advanced poſts of the allies. The allies however detached a diviſion acroſs the Sambre, and attacked the redoubts and killed five hundred of the republicans. The French in turn made an attempt on the twentieth of January, on the poſts of Aelback but without ſucceſs; they ſucceeded from Waterloo, with nine hundred infantry and one hundred cavalry, and by an impetuous onſet obliged the Auſtrians at firſt to retire; but the Auſtrians ſoon rallied and compelled them to retreat in turn with the loſs of twenty-two men.



M.DE LAFAYETTE.

Theſe petty ſkirmiſhes were but preludes to the vaſt plans that were about to unfold themſelves. Both ſides had made the moſt vigorous preparations. The combined powers had formed a plan different from thoſe of the former campaigns. It was the plan of colonel Mack, an Auſtrian adventurer. The princes and the nobles of Germany had been baffled by the plebeian genius of the republic, and compelled to ſeek in the talents of this ſon of an obſcure tradeſman, ſome dernier reſource to retrieve their fortunes and ſecure their cauſe from the overwhelming force that had been conjured up againſt them. Mack had proceeded to London with the duke of York in the month of February, in order to concert with the Britiſh miniſters and ſuch men of military talents as were collected in that capital, the operations of the campaign; and it appeared that in order to accompliſh the new project, the emperor had agreed to ſend a reinforcement of thirty-one thouſand men to the army. It was recommended to Pruſſia to augment her force to eighty thouſand.

The French project was ſaid to be very ſimple; it was to penetrate with a ſtrong column through the country of Namur and Liege; while a ſtronger column ſhould attack the Auſtrian cantonments near Tournay, and blockade Conde, Queſnoy, and Valenciennes. This plan however was betrayed to the allies by an officer who deſerted.

There appeared, however, among the allies a ſpirit of relaxation and jealouſy, which augured little ſucceſs. The abandonment of Weiſſembourg and the raiſing the ſiege of Landau in the preceding campaign, appear to have completely diſheartened the duke of Brunſwick. About the end of January of this year a remarkable publication appeared at Berlin, entitled "an official report of the events which took place from the thirteenth of "December, 1793, to the fourth of January, 1794. With notes by an officer, who "was an occular witneſs of all the events."—This officer was the duke of Brunſwick himſelf, and as an hiſtorical document of the firſt moment, ſhall be preſented here in abſtract.

After a ſhort exordium explanatory of the nature of the ſervice, and expreſſive of candid intentions and much regret on the ſtate of affairs, the writer proceeds—'When the duke of Brunſwick by his victory near Moorlautern, had prevented the French from penetrating on that ſide to Landau, he foreſaw, that for this purpoſe they would direct all their efforts againſt general Wurmſur's right wing. He therefore, repeatedly adviſed that general to quit his precarious poſition behind the Motter, and to occupy the much more advantageous one behind the Saar. So far back as the twelfth of October, he adviſed the count de Wurmſer to take this poſition, and his advice he repeated on the eight of December, very particularly. But all his remonſtrations being in vain, he did every thing in his power to ſupport the right wing of the Imperialiſts by reinforcing the Pruſſian poſts in the vale of Onweiler, and repaired in perſon on the thirteenth of December, to Bergzabern, to be nearer at hand for making ſuch diſpoſitions, as circumſtances might require.

'On the ſame day the enemy forced the poſt of Tannbruck, and the next day made themſelves maſters of the wood of Marienthal, and the height of Kraehenburg. On the ſifteenth, the Imperialiſts, ſupported by the prince of Brunſwick, baffled all the attempts of the republicans againſt the poſt of Lembech, which was garriſoned by the Pruſſian troops, retook the heights of Kraehenberg, and drove the French back near Haguenau

'On the eighteenth, an attack of the Imperial troops were determined upon, but not executed, becauſe on account of the badneſs of the roads, it was found impoſſible to convey the artillery to the point of attack. In the firm perſuaſion that general Hotze would maintain *caute-qui'l-caute*, Liebfrauberg, on account of its great importance, his highneſs ſent captain de Kampz, of his etat-major, to general Wurmſer with a written meſſage, 'reiterating the advice to quit the poſition at Haguenau; to ſupport his right wing by Leibfrauberg, and his left by the Rhine: to attack the enemy if it was poſſible, in any way to do ſo on the twenty-third of December; to drive them from Werdt, of which they had taken poſſeſſion; and his highneſs added, that he had every diſpoſition to aſſiſt him in his whole force in the execution of this plan.'

'The Auſtrian general approved this plan. But, contrary to all expectation, and without any ſufficient reaſon, general Hotze abandoned the height of Liebenfrau, which obliged the whole of the Pruſſian corps, poſted at Lembech, to retreat towards Weiler. In the night between the twenty-ſecond and twenty-third, the Imperial army paſſed the Saar, repulſed the enemy, who endeavoured to turn their flank, with great loſs, and on the twenty-fourth took poſt on the Goiſberg and the heights of Weiſſembourg. On this and the following day, the French made different attacks on Taubenheim, defended by the Pruſſians, but were repulſed, and many priſoners taken from them.

'On the morning of the twenty-fifth of December, almoſt all the Auſtrian officers reſolved to abandon the ſtrong poſition of Weiſſembourg, to repaſs the Rhine with the army, and conſequently to raiſe the blockade of Landau. General Funck was ſent to the duke to intimate to him this reſolution. His highneſs then publicly and ſolemnly declared —'that in the preſent circumſtances, they muſt not think of a retreat, but only of an attack on the enemy, in order to bring them to battle. That he found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of declaring in the face of all Europe, that he would not give his conſent to a meaſure that muſt for ever diſhonor the two armies in the eyes of the univerſe. That it would be inexcuſable to retire thus, without trying any thing againſt the enemy, inasmuch as the moſt diſaſtrous reſult of a loſt battle could not be more calamitous, than would be the effects of ſuch a retreat. The hereditary prince of Hohenlohe was ſent to Weiſſembourg with this formal declaration of the duke; and in conſequence of this the Auſtrians agreed to hazard the fate of a battle, and of theſe important facts, the duke's aid-de-camp, major de Kleiſt, and captain Kampz, were witneſſes.

'The duke went himſelf alſo to general Wurmſer, and prevailed on him to attack the French on the twenty-ſixth. On the twenty-fifth, a general reconnoitring took place, when prince Hohenlohe, with fifteen ſquadrons of Pruſſian cavalry and ſome horſe artillery, defeated a conſiderable number of the enemy's horſe, and took many priſoners. The enemy were repulſed every where, and the poſt of Seebach maintained. Unfortunately the attack, concerted for the twenty-ſixth, was not made, and the troops deſtined for this attack, were ordered to fall back. The gallant colonel Goetz, who was mortally wounded in chaſing the French from the height near Taubenheim, was replaced at this important poſt by the prince of Brunſwick. Some Auſtrian battalions had, in the mean time, by the enemy's great ſuperiority in number, been forced back near Weiſſembourg; a thick fog at firſt prevented the prince from ſeeing this circumſtance; but it being perceived in a little time that the fire advanced more and more towards Weiſſembourg, the-

duke galloped at full ſpeed to that place, and found on his arrival the left wing of the Auſtrian troops in complete route. The muſqueteers of the enemy already occupied the height by which alone the communication with Weiſſembourg could be maintained, and the French cavalry were on the point of placing themſelves between this city and the Auſtrian army, which would have made their retreat impoſſible. In this deciſive inſtant, the duke, ſword in hand, rallied ſome Auſtrian battalions, and led them right on to the enemy, whom he drove from the heights; and after this valorous action, he found the right wing of the Auſtrians re-eſtabliſhed in perfect order, and by this means ſaved them from total flight. He was bravely ſeconded in this by the Auſtrian general Wartenſleben.

'The enemy now confined themſelves to a briſk cannonade, but the imperial army retreated behind the Lauret, towards Guermerſheim, and paſſed afterwards the Rhine on the thirtieth, near Philipſburg, notwithſtanding the duke's ſtrong remonſtrations of the ſtrength of the poſt of Guermerſheim, and the poſſibility of maintaining it without any great difficulty, which would have preſerved the communication of the Pruſſians with the Rhine, and prevented the loſs of the conſiderable magazines eſtabliſhed in that quarter. The retreat of the Imperialiſts obliged the duke's army alſo to fall back, which was done with the greateſt order, He took a poſt between Oppenheim, Obernheim, and Alzey, in the centre of which poſition lies Mentz. Colonel Szekuly was detached to Kreutznach to ſecure Coblentz, and lieutenant general Lindt ordered to occupy Bingen. The enemy made on the thirtieth an attempt to attack the rear of the Pruſſian army, but major-general Ruchel repulſed them with a conſiderable loſs.'

The above paper had alſo been circulated at Vienna, and there it was called, 'the correſpondence between count Wurmſer and the duke of Brunſwick, previous to the repaſſing of the Rhine.' This copy has the following additional paſſage: 'count Wurmſer thanks the duke for his aſſiſtance at Geiſberg, without which his army might have been deſtroyed; he bewails the ſituation of his army, of which the duke was an eye-witneſs, and requeſts his advice what to do?' The duke, on his part, 'ſincerely wiſhes he could do more, and tells him that it is his advice to him to paſs the Rhine, but not haſtily, that he might not ſpread too much terror throughout the German empire; that he might have time to ſave the magazines, and give the inhabitants an opportunity of eſcaping with their moſt valuable effects; that he (the duke) ſhould go towards Mentz to protect that important fortreſs, and the paſſage over the Rhine in that neighbourhood.' In a very little time after the Auſtrians had croſſed the Rhine, the court of Vienna removed general Wurmſer from the command. And before the end of January 1794, the duke of Brunſwick reſigned his command of the Pruſſian army, in which he was ſucceeded by general Mollendorff. The prince of Waldeck ſucceeded general Wurmſer.

Towards the end of January the following letter was publiſhed at Baſle in Switzerland, written by a perſon who alſo ſtyles himſelf an occular witneſs of the events he relates.

'Previous to the famous affair of Gerſheim, the utmoſt diſcontent prevailed among the armies.—The Auſtrians accuſed the Pruſſians of hanging back, and leaving them foremoſt to the fire of the enemy; the Pruſſians retorted the charge. The Saxons quarrelled with the Bavarians, and the Heſſians accuſed the Palatines of cowardice. In this ſtate of things, the French continually haraſſing them, and a dearth of liquor taking place (a gill

of ſpirits ſold for twenty-two ſols) the Auſtrians were benumbed with cold, and ſaw the French ſoldier enjoying his bottle, with every comfort that the ſeaſon required. A general diſcouragement and numberleſs deſertions were the conſequence. At length the French ſtormed the batteries at Gerſheim, the moſt formidable that have been ever known; three tiers of artillery, the guns placed *en cremailliere*, ſo as to produce a triple line of croſſed fire, and the whole well manned. But what cannot bravery do? the line broke—the French fell upon the combined troops with the bayonet.

'To the firſt and ſecond courier, General Wurmſer refuſed belief; upon the third, and a band of huſſars flying, without knowing where, a council was called, and the retreat was ordered — but it was too late; the French were marching all the while, with their bayonets in the flank of the Auſtrians. In diſpair they threw away their arms, and fled, without knowing the road: their officers abandoned their corps to ſave their baggage, for the Emperor never indemnifies that loſs—with difficulty could they ſave themſelves. For ſix hours, the French never ceaſed killing with the bayonet, without firing a ſhot; fatigue obliged them to halt;—the deſerters arrived in hundreds.

'The inhabitants of Alſace who had declared for the Auſtrians, requeſted two days notice from general Wurmſer, in caſe of evacuation; he promiſed, and anſwered for their ſafety upon his head; thirty thouſand at leaſt were forced at this juncture to abandon all their property, and to ſave themſelves as well as they could.

'At the lines of Weiſſembourg the generals endeavoured to rally their troops, but the panic was too great, they never halted till near Germerſheim; a body of Pruſſians were here attempted to be ſtopped by the combined forces, but they made their road through them with their ſabres. The French, ſtill purſuing, arrived at the lines of Weiſſembourg, where in addition to the immenſe capture of baggage, they found all the artillery they had loſt at this place, with an enormous magazine of powder deſtined for the ſiege of Landau; a part of the allies reſerve artillery was alſo abandoned at Lauterbourg. The Auſtrians had the barbarity to place a lighted fuze to blow up the magazine, though they had left near fifteen hundred of their wounded in the town, and near one thouſand priſoners; the French arrived time enough to prevent the exploſion. The Auſtrians croſſed the Rhine at Manheim, and the Pruſſians retreated to Worms.'

On the ſixth of January the duke of Brunſwick addreſſed a letter to the king of Pruſſia entreating his recal, this document is not leſs important than the former, as it exhibits at once his perſonal motives and the formidable character in which the republicans now appeared to the moſt experienced general then in Europe. 'The unhappy experience,' ſays he, 'that want of connexion, diſtruſt, egotiſm, and a ſpirit of cabal, had diſconcerted the meaſures adopted during the two laſt campaigns, and ſtill continues to diſconcert the plans of the combined armies: oppreſſed by the misfortune of being involved in the error of others, in the unfortunate ſituation in which I find myſelf, I feel very ſenſibly that the world jud ges of military characters by their ſucceſſes, without examining cauſes. Raiſing the ſiege of Landau will make an epoch in the hiſtory of this unfortunate war, and I have the misfortune to be implicated in it. The reproach will fall upon me, and the innocent will be implicated with the guilty.'

He proceeds to urge that the objects of one campaign were loſt, and that there appeared no hope that a third would offer a more favourable iſſue. The ſame reaſons he aſſerts, ſtill divided the powers which had hitherto divided them. 'When a great nation like

that of France is conducted by the terror of punishments, and by enthusiasm; an unanimous sentiment, and the same principle ought to prevail in the measures of the coalesced powers. But when instead thereof, each army acts separately and alone of its own accord, without any fixed plans, without unanimity, and without principles, the consequences are such as we have seen at Dunkirk, at Maubege, at Toulon, and at Landau! Heaven preserve your majesty from great misfortunes! but every thing is to be feared, if confidence, harmony, uniformity of sentiments, of principles, and of action, do not take place of the opposite sentiments which have been the sources of all misfortunes for two years past."

With this representation the actual state of the opposed armies correctly corresponded. At Paris in the midst of distraction a few men of transcendant talents combined the immense plans of operation, provided troops, stores, and every supply for their armies, and discovered generals capable not only of carring their plans into effect but of profiting by events that could not be foreseen, and converting them to the facilitation of the general project. On the other side every power had its plan, and as they were founded more on their particular aggrandizement, than the subjugation of the republicans, the latter had beside their pre-eminent ardour and intrepidity, the advantage of operations combining all against one point only at a time.

The state of the opposite armies at the opening of this campaign have been variously stated, the French however have been allowed to maintain in the field 780,000 men; while the allies have been represented as having little more than one half of that number; the following distribution of both armies, however, is taken from the medium of several accounts:—

French Armies.		*Allied Armies.*	
Of the North, - -	220,000	Cobourg's, - - - -	160,000
Rhine and Moselle, -	280,000	Duke of York, - -	30,000
Alps, - - - - - -	60,000	Dutch, - - - - -	25,000
Eastern Pyrennees, -	80,000	Austrians on the Rhine,	64,000
Of the South, - -	60,000	Prussian, - - - - -	64,000
Of the West, - - -	80,000	Of the Empire, - -	40,000
		Emigrants. - - -	22,000
	780,000		405,000

The French troops it is to be observed, were composed of men brought into the field without so much as having recourse to more than the first requisition; and three of those armies, amounting to 200,000 men, were in fact neutral with regard to the allies in the north and on the Rhine; and that of the west, was no more than an army of observation. On the side of the allies also, was to be counted the forces of Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, and Naples, which were opposed or kept in check by two of those armies; beside the emperor had been making preparations with great vigour for a diversion on that side, and four regiments of Hungarians of Esterhazy and Nedasty, were ordered to Oneglia to embark for Savoy. So that in point of numbers in the field the disparity was trivial if not on the side of the allies.

The exhauſted ſtate of the reſources of Auſtria however was greatly felt at this period; and extraordinary meaſures were neceſſary in order to ſupport the campaign. The members of the Germanic body appear to have been as much divided as the leading parties of the coalition, and they appeared to be impreſſed with the common ſentiment of Europe at the time, that the idea of conquering France was at beſt but a chimera.

In the month of January, the Auſtrian envoy at the diet of Ratiſbon delivered a note on the part of the emperor, to demand the ſenſe of the Germanic ſtates, reſpecting the neceſſity of arming the inhabitants of the frontiers, and furniſhing a triple contingent on behalf of the ſeveral ſtates. This note, as cuſtomary with the allies, was animated with invective and virulence in proportion to its defeats and diſappointments. The revolution was reviled and atheiſm reproached, the decrees of France for raiſing the people in a maſs were impugned as violent and tyrannical, and yet a like meaſure was ſuggeſted; and it was intimated that coercive means ſhould be adopted by the diet againſt ſuch members as had not fulfilled the decree of the twenty-third of November, 1792, for the effectual furniſhing of the contingents agreeably to the mode regulated in 1681.

With all this immenſe preparation, it was later than uſual before any movement took place. This was publicly attributed to the reluctance of the Pruſſian court to engage further in the conteſt. It is not improbable that the cabinet of Berlin which has ever regulated itſelf by a policy for its own aggrandizement, might be ſtrongly influenced by the repreſentations of the duke of Brunſwick; the prize of Poland which had been thrown by the adverſe circumſtances of France into the hands of Pruſſia, perhaps ſatisfied the king, and as he had evidently entered into the conteſt with no other view than to ſhare in the propoſed partition of France, when that object appeared no longer attainable, it appears no longer ſurpriſing that he ſhould wiſh to ſecure what he had gained, by a ſeceſſion from the grand alliance, the time was not however arrived to throw off the maſk. He thought it neceſſary therefore openly to contradict the ſuſpicions which had been inſinuated againſt him; and in his name a declaration was delivered to the ſtates of the Germanic circles aſſembled at Frankfort.

The tenor of this declaration was, that he heard with high diſpleaſure deſigns imputed to him of an intention to ſecularize biſhopries and chapters, of appropriating to himſelf certain cities of the empire, in order to indemnify him for the immenſe expences which he had been at for two years in defending the German empire. That with the well-diſpoſed this would not be believed, but he had given orders to baron Hochſtetter to declare, that while he made war upon the French, he had never any views but the defence of the Germanic empire and the maintenance of its conſtitution; that it never was his majeſty's deſign to make conqueſts for himſelf only, *and if conqueſts were made from France, the empire would have its ſhare;* that he never meant to deviate from ſuch intentions, but he expected above all that the ſix circles moſt expoſed to danger, would co-operate as much as the conſtitution and patriotiſm required of them.

Explicit as this declaration was, ſo far as the intention of the allies concerned France, the diſpoſition of the monarch was ſtill a ſubject of doubt under the circumſtances of the war. The plan of arming the people in a maſs gave the Pruſſian monarch a very ſenſible alarm; thoſe who were ſuſpicious of his earneſtneſs to purſue the war, conceived the oppoſition made by his envoy at the diet, to this meaſure, as an unequivocal indication of his intention to ſecede, as he intimated that he ſhould withdraw his troops were

ſuch a meaſure attempted. The reaſonings of the Pruſſian monarch, however, on this point not only diſplay a deep ſagacity, but are very ſtriking in themſelves, and abſolutely unanſwerable. The principal effect of his oppoſition was, a conviction on the minds of the allies, and an explicit aſſurance to France, that Pruſſia deſpaired of the conteſt, The king obſerves :— 1. That by employing the huſbandmen and yeomanry againſt the enemy, agriculture will want hands. 2. That it is difficult to arm ſuch a maſs of people. 3. That it is impoſſible in a reaſonable time to teach them diſcipline. 4. That it requires troops *well diſciplined* to oppoſe the French. 5. That it is *infinitely dangerous*, at a time when the French are eagerly graſping at every opportunity *to inſinuate their principles, to bring together a body of men in arms, whoſe ideas upon government muſt be various, and among whom diſcuſſions may ariſe, diſaſtrous in their conſequences.*

Theſe fears which were thus ſo pointedly expreſſed, were exactly what all the coaleſced powers affected to feel; the feudal and Gothic eſtabliſhments which ſubſiſt only upon the ignorance which they have ſo much operated to continue, would be entirely endangered could the bulk of the European people obtain ſuch a mode of intercourſe as would propagate opinions among the illiterate, which are underſtood and diſcuſſed by the learned alone under deſpotic governments.

In the month of February, however, ſome tranſactions of a ſingular nature took place at Frankfort. A negociation profeſſedly for an exchange of priſoners was opened between the king of Pruſſia and the republic at that city. The French commiſſioners entered Frankfort with a degree of ſplendor very unuſual in matters of an ordinary nature; they appeared in one of the ſtate carriages of the late king, decorated with the cap of liberty and other republican emblems; they diſplayed the national cockade, and their whole ſuite was diſtinguiſhed for its elegance and the number of perſons that compoſed it. The Pruſſian general Kalkreuth, well known to poſſeſs the fulleſt confidence of the king, was the perſon appointed to tranſact the buſineſs of the negociation, which was conducted under the moſt profound ſecrecy, contrary to the ordinary practice on negociations concerning priſoners. Whatever may have been the nature of theſe tranſactions, it is certain that a good underſtanding thenceforward prevailed between the two powers; and it has been aſſerted with much plauſibility, that the baſis of the treaty between France and Pruſſia, which tranſpired in 1795, was laid at Frankfort on this occaſion.

What appears moſt extraordinary on the ſubject of this notorious tranſaction is, that the powers coaleſced do not ſeem to have felt any conſiderable alarm on the occaſion, but that they continued to repoſe confidence in the co-operation of Pruſſia. This crafty monarch had in the early part of the year attempted through the elector of Mentz to obtain a ſum from certain of the Germanic ſtates for the proviſioning of his army; the effort was not ſucceſsful; but he had ſet his mind on obtaining a reimburſement of his expences, and knowing no power ſo eager for the proſecution of the war, nor ſo capable of paying his military ſervices as England, he appears to have ſet his mind upon that object. The appointment of mareſchal Mollendorf to the command of his troops has been noticed before, the king now notified to the prince of Cobourg that he had directed that officer and general Kalkreuth to withdraw with their armies from the environs of Mentz, and march to Cologn; and on the thirteenth of March he addreſſed the Germanic body, in a public paper, announcing his receſſion from the confederacy. This remarkable document ſtated, that " the war was not a war with a civilized

nation, and with diſciplined armies, but a conteſt with a delirious and never diminiſhing ſwarm of men—with a highly populous nation, provided with every reſource for war—a ſet of men who did not fight merely for victory, but who fought by fire, ſword, and the poiſon of their pernicious doctrines, to ſubvert the whole reverend and ſocial edifice of Germany." He ſtates the efforts he had made to oppoſe "*this almoſt unconquerable enemy*;" that he had made every poſſible ſacrifice to the common cauſe which the natural ſtrength of Pruſſia would admit, and had not heſitated to expoſe "*his moſt ſacred perſon.*" For this object alone, he continues, ſo much Pruſſian blood has been ſpilt—for this ſo much treaſure has been drained from his dominions; and he concludes this part of his declaration, that he is able "no longer to take an active part from his own means, without utterly ruining his own dominions, and entirely exhauſting the property of his ſubjects."

He then ſtates the means which he had employed to obtain from the circles of the empire the neceſſary ſupport; he cenſures in unqualified terms the inſane propoſal of arming the peaſants—"a meaſure obviouſly inefficient againſt an enemy who preſſes forward with *irreſiſtible fury*, *ſkilled in tactics*, and with a numerous artillery,"—"a meaſure *dangerous*, becauſe *when the peaſant is armed* and brought away from *his ordinary mode of life*, the enemy may become his moſt dangerous ſeducer." He declares therefore his reſolution to withdraw his troops from the protection of the empire.

This declaration was no ſooner known in England than it began to operate as was intended. How far Auſtria connived at this manœuvre, or whether the emperor was himſelf duped in this tranſaction has not been declared; certain it is that colonel Mack was ſent expreſs to England to encreaſe the alarms of the miniſters there, and that he actually carried on the negociation for a ſubſidy to Pruſſia.

On the nineteenth of April a treaty was ſigned at the Hague by lord Malmſbury, by which Great Britain and the ſtates general agreed to take into pay 62,400 Pruſſians, *to be commanded by a Pruſſian officer*, for which a ſubſidy of *fifty thouſand pounds ſterling* per month was to be paid, beſides the ſum of *three hundred thouſand pounds* to be paid immediately to defray the charge of completing the army, and *one hundred thouſand pounds* to pay their expences home; beſides the ſum of *one pound twelve ſhillings per man, per month*, for bread and forage, amounting to an additional ſum of *one hundred thouſand* pounds per month, or one million two hundredthouſand pounds per annum. To the whole of this expenditure Holland was to contribute only four hundred thouſand pounds per annum.

It is difficult to determine, whether the duplicity of the Pruſſian, or the abandoned extravagance and folly of the Engliſh miniſter, was moſt conſpicuous in this tranſaction. A writer on the continent of Europe converſant in diſplomatic affairs remarks upon it—"That every article in the treaty betrayed the incapacity of the Engliſh miniſter, and the circumſtance alone, of the army being commanded by a Pruſſians was ſufficient to render it totally inefficient." Experience juſtified the remark.

To theſe various negotiations it was owing that the campaign opened ſo late. A council of war was held on the ſeventeenth of April, at Valenciennes, where the duke of York lately returned from England, and general Clairfait, attended with Cobourg. After the council adjourned, the two former returned to their camps.

Towards the end of March the republicans had appeared in Weſt Flanders, and on the twenty-ninth of that month attacked the Auſtrian outpoſts of Cateau, Beauvais, and Seleſmes; in the vicinity of Landrecy. The poſts were carried, but a large body of Auſtrian cavalry coming up, the French were obliged to retreat with loſs. About the ſame period a party of French ſurpriſed the Heſſian poſts at Tenbreuil, between Werwick and Ypres, and purſuing their advantage attacked the Hanoverian pickets and cut them off. A body of troops advanced from Menin to the ſuccour of the Hanoverians, the French deliberately paſſed the Lys, carrying with them three officers, and one hundred and thirteen other priſoners.

Inaction ſo fatal in camps had cauſed great havoc in the imperial armies, it appears that in the month of April there were 23,000 thouſand perſons in the hoſpitals of the Auſtrians, including the wounded. The natural vivacity, and mode of feſtivity that had been adopted in the republican armies, contributed to preſerve them from thoſe dyſenteries that proved fatal to the Auſtrians. Theſe, nor the common chances of war, were not ſo ruinous to the allied powers as the diviſions among their leaders. A general council of war was convened at Ath, about this period, and the arrangements for the campaign ſettled at Vienna, to which we have before alluded, were brought forward by general Hadick. According to this plan Clairfait was to command the advance of the combined army, and the duke of York to command under him. The duke of York, who appears to have been calculated to form ſuch a hero as the late duke of Cumberland his relation, that never gained a victory but over the unfortunate Highlanders, would not ſubmit to act in a ſubordinate rank. The talents and experience of Clairfait were unqueſtionably great, and that of the duke was acknowledged to be ſmall; he had already nearly deſtroyed an army by his confidence and ignorance of tactics at Dunkirk; but the ſucceſs which had attended the operations of the engineers before Valenciennes in the laſt campaign, had dazzled his vanity; for although utterly ignorant of the ſciences neceſſary to conſtitute an engineer, he had taken to himſelf that merit which belonged to other officers in the conduct of the ſiege. An altercation enſued at the council, in which the pride of the duke was hurt by the fair reaſonings of the veterans who compoſed the committee, and it was with much difficulty that the archduke Charles and lord Elgin, could prevent the conteſt from proceeding to the laſt extremities. The duke however, declared that the Britiſh troops ſhould not act until he had conſulted the cabinet of St. James. A compromiſe was at length effected, by the emperor taking upon himſelf the whole nominal command, and thus Clairfait and Mack, who had laid the plan of the campaign had the actual conduct of the operations. Such jealouſies muſt have been fruitful of diſaſter and diſtruſt, and in the end proved to be ſo.

The emperor who had conformable to the compromiſe reviewed the armies; reſolved to proceed to Bruſſels on the ninth of April, in order to go through that ſolemn pageantry, under which, for the laſt time, he was to be inaugurated as the duke of Brabant. The ſtates waited on him in a body which the keys of the gate of Louvain, the inſcription upon which was calculated to reflect a ſevere ſatire on the perſon and the occaſion—"*Cæſar adest, fremant Galli!*"—Cæſar appears and the Gauls tremble!

The ſelf-infatutation of power is very conſpicious in this inſignificant ceremony—a number of children decorated with white ſcarfs drew the imperial ſtate coach, and *Te deum* was chaunted, and congratulatory verſes were preſented to Cæſar! Pageantry where it

is not characteriſtic of truth is indeed a groſs abſurdity, for the meaneſt underſtanding can diſtinguiſh between objects which call forth wonder or demand eſteem. Bruſſels had already felt how little competent the emperor was to enſure its ſecurity, and this triumphal ſhew muſt have appeared to the thinking citizens like thoſe oriental pageants which call forth the adoration of the devout and cruſh them beneath their gorgeous wheels in order to enſure their ſanctification.

From Bruſſels the emperor proceeded to Valenciennes, and his preſence diffuſed at leaſt an apparent joy through the army. On the ſixteenth of April he renewed the troops on the heights of Cateau; and on the next day the army proceeded in eight columns to inveſt Landrecy, a ſmall but well fortified town in antient Hainault. The firſt column compoſed of Auſtrian and Dutch troops, under the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, advanced upon the village of Catillon, which they forced. The ſecond under general Alvinzy, forced the French entrenchments at Mazinguer, Oiſy, and Nouvion, and took poſſeſſion of the foreſt. The third column led by the emperor and prince Cobourg, after carrying the villages of Ribotville and Waſſigny, detached forward the advance guards which took poſſeſſion of the heights of Grand and Petic Blocus. The fourth and fifth colums, were under the duke of York, who commanded the firſt of them in perſon, the latter was under ſir William Erſkine, their object was the redoubts and village of Vaux, and the French intrenchments in the Bois de Bouhain, which ſervice they accompliſhed. The ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth columns under the hereditary prince of Orange were not engaged, being only a corps of obſervation on the ſide of Cambray.

On the morning of the eighteenth the prince of Orange's advance guard was attacked by a ſmall party of French, who were repulſed. The ſiege of Landrecy commenced in conſequence of theſe ſucceſſes, under the direction of the hereditary prince of Orange. General Wurmb with a detached party at Denain was vigorouſly attacked by the republicans on the nineteenth, and on the twenty-firſt an entrenched camp and redoubt at the village of Elogues was taken from the French; who on the ſame day attacked two detachments of the prince of Cobourg's advance guard at Nouvion and Blocus. At the latter place they were repulſed, but at the former they ſucceeded in forcing Alvinzy to retreat.

Meanwhile the French had aſſembled a formidable force at the camp of Cæſar, in the neighbourhood of Cambray; and on the twenty-third general Otto was ſent with a body of cavalry to reconnoitre them in that poſition; but finding them too ſtrong, he was compelled to wait till the following morning for a reinforcement, when he ſucceeded in forcing them to retreat to Cambray, with the loſs of twelve hundred men, three pieces of cannon, and their general Chapuy taken priſoner, with three hundred and fifty others officers and privates. The loſs on the part of the allies was never publiſhed.

This action may be conſidered as the opening of the campaign on the part of the French. The attack it appears extended along the whole frontier from Treves to the ſea. The diviſion under the emperor was attacked at the ſame time by three columns, and repulſed the French. At one point the French however were ſignally ſucceſsful, and there is much reaſon to believe that the actions juſt noticed were no more than feints to cover the main movement of their deſign. General Clairfait with ſome battalions of Auſtrians and Hanoverians had taken poſt at Moucron, and waited only to be joined by

ſix more battalions of Auſtrian infantry to commence an attack. On the twenty-ninth, Pichegru anticipated the enemy's deſign by a vigorous aſſault on the allies at that point, and after an obſtinate conflict drove them from that poſt; while the republicans at the ſame moment inveſted and took the town of Courtray, and by that means ſo effectually deprived Menin of any hope of ſuccour, that it alſo fell into their hands. The garriſon of Menin, however, conſiſting of four battalions of Hanoverians and four companies of emigrants, determined to force their way through the conquering army, which they did, and with great loſs arrived at Ingelmunſter, harraſſed ſeverely during the fatal march.

Landrecy in ſome degree conſoled the allies for the loſs of Menin; though the former was not taken until ten days after the opening of the trenches, and a bombardment ſo ſevere that no more than three houſes were left ſtanding, and two hundred of the inhabitants and twelve hundred of the garriſon killed. The remainder when they ſurrendered conſiſted of four thouſand four hundred men.

On the ſide of Treves, Jourdan who had been ſo ſingularly ſuperceded in the command of the army of the north, was now appointed to command on the Moſelle. Early in March the committee of public ſafety had directed this army to advance towards Longwy near Arlon, in order to cut off the communication of the counties of Treves and Luxembourg with thoſe of Namur and Liege. Jourdan, who had felt the love of his country riſe ſuperior to the reſentments of party, here diſplayed once more the vigour of his mind and military capacity. The movement which it appears was originally ſuggeſted by himſelf, was executed with complete ſucceſs. On the memorable ſeventeenth of April, when the grand attack was made by the whole French line, Jourdan attacked general Beaulieu, and in an action which laſted for two ſucceſſive days, defeated him, and took the enemy's poſt at Arlon; the loſs of the Auſtrians in this action was ſaid to be very conſiderable. The French commander, however abandoned Arlon a few days after the action it being found untenable. Some advantage was gained over the Auſtrian general Melas at the ſame time near the Moſelle and Saar.

On the fourth of May the French attacked a ſmall party at Rouſſalaer, under colonel Linſinghen, but after a bloody conflict they were repulſed with the loſs of two hundred men. On the tenth the duke of York was aſſailed near Tournay by the republican forces in different columns to the amount of thirty thouſand men. The attack began at day break, when the French attempted to turn the right flank of the combined army, but were driven back by the Auſtrian regiment of Kaunitz, which was poſted in a wood to cover the enemy's flank. The French then directed their efforts againſt the duke of York's centre, upon which they advanced in the face of a heavy cannonade with great firmneſs. An occaſion ſoon offered to attack the French on their right flank, and they retreated. The loſs in this affair on either ſide has never been authenticated. The Engliſh troops and their commanders appear to have been much elated by their ſucceſs againſt the French on this occaſion, and advanced their front conſiderably beyond their former poſition in conſequence.

On the Sunday after this action general Clairfait, who had croſſed the Heule on the preceding night, was attacked by the republicans. The only account that has appeared of this affair is the Auſtrian, in which it is ſaid the French were repulſed and driven back to Courtray; but it is difficult to reconcile this account with itſelf, ſince, we find that Clairfait found it nevertheleſs expedient not only to retreat precipitately and recroſs the Heule, but alſo to paſs the river Mandel, ſtill further in the rear.

This war among many ſingular phenomena, has more than once exhibited the declaredly victorious commander of the combined forces flying before the beaten and diſcomfited republicans. General Clairfait, it has been however allowed, ſuffered conſiderably in this engagement, and being cloſely purſued even after he had croſſed the Mandel, found himſelf obliged ſtill to continue his retreat to Thieldt, where he was at length enabled to take a poſition which covered Bruges, Ghent, and Oſtend.

It was nearly about this period that the French army of the North croſſed the Sambre, and, according to their own report, ſeized the town of Beriche. General Kaunitz was forced to retreat, and to take a poſition between Rouveroy and Beriche in order to cover Mons. With that impetuoſity which has diſtinguiſhed their whole military carreer, the republicans did not long permit him to continue unmoleſted in this ſituation. They attacked him on the fourteenth of May; the conflict was long and bloody, but the French were repulſed, and obliged to re-croſs the Sambre, with a loſs of between four and five thouſand men and ſome artillery.

This unexpected ſucceſs lulled the Auſtrians into a fatal confidence that they had ſecured that part of the country completely; the emperor therefore determined to march without delay to the aſſiſtance of the duke of York, who ſtill retained his poſition unmoleſted near Tournay.

Here a grand attack upon the French lines was concerted, which it was concluded would clear the whole of Flanders from the French armies. In order to render the project deciſive the army under Clairfait was likewiſe ordered to co-operate. On the ſixteenth at night, the allied army moved forward in five vaſt columns; two of which on the left were to force the paſſages of the Marque, and by a vigorous attack on the French poſts along the river to cover the operations of the three remaining columns. Theſe columns however forced the paſſages ſo late, and were ſo fatigued with their march, that they were unable to accompliſh the remainder of the propoſed plan. The column on the right under general Boſche was equally unfortunate: for finding the republicans at Moucron in much greater numbers than had been expected, he was obliged to relinquiſh his project and retire to Warcoing. General Otto was more ſucceſsful with his column; he drove the French from Waterloo, and puſhed forward to Turcoing. The column commanded by the duke of York was alſo ſucceſsful in its firſt movements; after a ſhort cannonade the French retreated from Laumoy before the duke's army in full march; the republicans halted at Roubaix, and made a ſtand; after ſome faint reſiſtance this alſo was abandoned.

The French appear to have been perfectly poſſeſſed of the enemy's deſigns in the whole of their operations, and to have taken ſuch meaſures as would lead the allies into a belief that their plans were not penetrated, at the ſame time that the moſt effectual means were taken to diſconcert the whole.

The duke of York after forcing Roubaix was purſuing his march; but as he could not learn any intelligence concerning the two columns which were to have acted on his right and left, he thought it prudent to halt. Having acquainted the emperor, with his intentions, the neceſſity of co-operating with Clairfait induced the emperor to order the Britiſh column to proceed to the attack of Mourveaux. The French entrenchments here were carried with great eaſe, the conteſt being very general but not cloſe, and thus the action of the ſeventeenth was concluded with the brighteſt aſſurances of ſucceſs to the allies.

It appears that the French purpoſely gave way on their right, and retreated in diſorder, after they had got out of reach of the enemy's guns, with a view to deceive them; and with the deſired effect, for the Engliſh troops appear to have been ſo much elated that they thought of nothing leſs than of marching to Turcoing without oppoſition, to join colonel Davay, and obſtinately retained poſſeſſion of the poſts into which they had been decoyed the next morning. The French ſucceeding to their wiſh, had during the night poured out an immenſe body of troops from Liſle with a view to turn the left flank of the Engliſh in the morning, while a large body detached from Courtray actually paſſed the Engliſh right flank, and another heavy column was poſted in the centre of their front; ſo that at noon the Engliſh were nearly ſurrounded, and were ſo much intoxicated by their previous day's ſucceſs as not to be fully aware of their danger until its peril was conſiderably encreaſed. Generals Moreau, Souham, Bonnaud, were the principal leaders on the part of the French.

Early on the morning of the eighteenth the republicans made an aſſault, on Turcoing, occupied by colonel Davay; two battalions of Auſtrians were diſpatched by the duke of York, to make a diverſion on that quarter, with expreſs orders to fall back on the main army if hard preſſed; but by ſome miſtake the battalions joined the troops at Turcoing. This circumſtance left an opening in the right wing of the duke of York's diviſion, of which the French general immediately took advantage.

At this moment the French counter-project began to unfold itſelf; a column of 15,000 men appeared advancing from Liſle, while another at the ſame time attacked general Otto's poſition near Waterloo with the moſt effectual vigour, and drove the allies before them upon the rear of the Britiſh, which they alſo attacked without heſitation, and carried diſmay and conſternation among the whole of the Britiſh column. In this ſituation the Britiſh found themſelves compelled to inſure even a retreat by fighting their way through the French. And this they accompliſhed with great valour, but with a melancholy loſs both of officers and men. The Hanoverians were the firſt to fly, and their cavalry not only deſtroyed the Engliſh infantry, but threw the whole army into ſuch diſorder that they became a helpleſs prey to the well concerted plan of the French. They fled in all directions, the duke endeavoured to rally them without the laſt effect, and he found himſelf compelled to fly with the utmoſt precipitation, accompanied by a few of the ſixteenth regiment of Iriſh dragoons, and made his way after many dangers and eſcapes to general Otto's corps, with whom, from the diſaſtrous and diſperſed ſtate of his own diviſion he was obliged to remain. After this ſeparation of the commander from his column, the very delicate and difficult taſk of collecting and extricating the Engliſh forces devolved on general Fox (brother to the celebrated ſtateſman) and the ſervice was performed by him and general Abercrombie with great firmneſs and addreſs.

The diſcomfited general on this occaſion accuſed the allies of a want of vigour and ſpirit, and attributed to them his defeat. The Auſtrian accounts on the other hand confer the blame on the bad conduct of the column itſelf, but principally the Hanoverians who compoſed part of it.

No authentic return of the loſs of the allies has been made on this occaſion, the whole has been computed at three thouſand men, but it certainly muſt have been very ſevere, ſince the Britiſh alone were acknowleged to have loſt more than one thouſand men and forty-two field-pieces. Two columns of the imperial troops, which were brought up by

the emperor and Cobourg, were alſo included in the defeat. The army of Clairfait eſcaped the common deſtruction by being ſeparated from the main army by the river Lys, where he could only act as a ſpectator of the defeat.

This conflict decided in effect the fate of the Netherlands. Terror and diſmay ſpread over the country. The allies, however, collected their ſcattered forces with as much diligence as poſſible, and took poſitions in their rear at Marquain, Templeuve, and Leers, which they had before occupied, while the emperor endeavoured to cheer the drooping ſpirits of his troops by proclamations.

The allies, however, were more conſoled by the affair of the twenty-ſecond. When the republicans renewed the attack, with a force of one hundred thouſand men, directed againſt the right wing of the combined army, with the intention of forcing the paſſage of the Scheldt, and inveſting Tournay They ſucceeded in forcing the out-poſts, but receiving a reinforcement under general Fox, that officer by an operation of great ſkill and intrepidity, reſiſted the impetuoſity of the republicans, and maintained the poſition. The conflict, however, was ſevere, and continued from five in the morning till ten at night. The French finding it impoſſible to accompliſh their object withdrew unmoleſted to Liſle. The allies reported that the loſs of the French on this occaſion was twelve thouſand men, but as it was allowed that the Britiſh loſt only one hundred, and no return was made of he loſs of the Auſtrians, no reliance is to be placed on that computation. The loſs muſt have been conſiderable on both ſides. Pichegru commanded the French on this occaſion, and his arrangements are ſaid to have been made with ſo much judgment, that although he failed in his deſign, his wings and rear were ſo well covered by a wood that they could neither be aſſailed nor turned by cavalry.

About the ſame period in which theſe deſparate conflicts took place, another partial ſucceſs occurred in favour of the allies. General Beaulieu made an incurſion into the duchy of Bouillon, defeated a body of the French ſtationed in that canton, took the town by ſtorm, and delivered it up to pillage. Above twelve hundred Frenchmen were maſſacred in cold blood on this occaſion, and only three hundred left, who had ſecreted themſelves during the maſſacre, and afterwards ſurrendered priſoners. Six pieces of cannon were alſo taken by the allies. The pretence for this barbarity was, that ſome people of the town had taken arms and fired on the Auſtrians.

On the twenty-fourth general Kaunitz alſo gained a victory over the French who had again croſſed the Sambre and taken a poſition with their left to Rouveroy and their right to Fontain l'Eveque. The allies advanced upon the French by ſurpriſe, and they were compelled to abandon fifty pieces of cannon; their loſs was computed at between two and three thouſand priſoners; of the Auſtrian loſs there was no return made. Mareſchal Mollendorff commanding the Pruſſians, on the ſame day ſurpriſed the French entrenchments at Keiſerſlautern, and defeated them with conſiderable loſs.

This gleam of ſucceſs on the part of the combined powers was again of ſhort duration; for while general Beaulieu was making his barbarous incurſion into Bouillon, Luxembourg was penetrated by general Jourdan at the head of forty thouſand men, who immediately took poſſeſſion of the important poſition of Arlon. Beaulieu was therefore obliged to abandon the ſcene of his maſſacres, and to retire with the utmoſt haſte to Marche, in order to cover Namur.

No time was loſt in making uſe of this firſt judicious movement by Jourdan; the communication between Charleroi and Bruſſels, was now completely cut off, and the former

place was immediately inveſted. On the third of June however they were attacked by the prince of Orange, who compelled them to raiſe the ſiege and re-croſs the Sambre with loſs. But this momentary ſucceſs was not attended with any durable advantage, for in the courſe of a few days the French croſſed the river again with ſixty thouſand men and commenced the ſiege; on the 14th general Devaux with ten companies of grenadiers deſtroyed a redoubt erected by the beſieged and on which they had placed great dependance.

On the eleventh of June general Moreau with three diviſions of the right wing of the army of the Moſelle, moved from their poſition, and took poſt at Permaſens, Blieſcaſtel, and Hornbeck, the enemy flying at their approach.

On the ſixteenth (28 Prairial) the army of the north was joined by a diviſion from the Moſelle, and marched to meet the enemy, who were at the ſame moment marching to attack them; a thick miſt prevailed all the morning, and it was not until they had approached very cloſe that they each diſcovered the other; the battle commenced with terrible fury. Generals Kleber, Duhem, Dubois, and Lefebre diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this gallant conflict; and the celebrated engineer general Mareſcot was engaged in this action; he took charge of the works againſt Charleroi immediately after. In this action the allies loſt ſix thouſand men. During the conflict the French loſt ſeveral pieces of cannon in the miſt, but they regained them, and ſeven pieces of the enemy's were taken by the French cavalry.

The danger to which Charleroi was now expoſed, as well as Bruſſels itſelf, determined the prince of Cobourg to make one grand effort for its relief. In compliance therefore with the ſolicitations of the prince of Orange and general Beaulieu, he marched with the greateſt part of the combined army, leaving behind at Tournay the duke of York with the Britiſh and Hanoverians only. On the twenty-firſt he reached Ath; on the twenty-fourth he effected a junction with the two generals to whoſe ſuccour he came.

Charleroi however capitulated in the following form on the twenty-fifth—"To citizen "Hatry commanding the French army before Charleroi, We ſubmit every thing to the "French generoſity; hoping that a garriſon, which has by its conduct merited the eſteem "of French ſoldiers, will have ſuch a lot as honor demands. (Signed) Regnac, major "general commanding the fortreſs. Dated Charleroi, June 25th, 1794". A capitulalation more honorable to a beſieging enemy is perhaps not to be found in modern hiſtory; and it forms a ſingular contraſt with the barbarity of the Auſtrian general Beaulieu ſo recently at Bouillon. The French ſoon after levelled the fortifications of Charleroi, ſo that it no longer ranks among the fortified places.

The Auſtrian general remained ignorant of the fall of Charleroi; and on the ſame evening had aſſembled his troops in great force at Nivelle, having withdrawn the corps ſtationed at Cateau, and in the environs of Cambray. Jourdan addreſſed a letter to the Committee of Public Safety the ſame evening announcing the ſurrender of Charleroi, and intimating the diſpoſitions making by the enemy, and concludes thus—"I truſt I ſhall be "fortunate enough to announce to you to-morrow, a victory that will be deciſive of the "fate of the low countries." His diligence was equal to his foreſight.

On the other ſide the army under Cobourg was reinforced by twenty thouſand Pruſſians, at the camp near Nivelle. Jourdan had poſted the main body of his army with the happieſt addreſs to cover the ſiege, ſo as to deceive the enemy concerning the actual number of his troops, which occupied Goſelies, Templeuve, and the plains of Fleurus; where he waited impatiently for the attack.

The allies had combined all their force from Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and Landrecy, to the amount of 100,000 men; artillery, had been collected from all parts, and their cavalry was double in number to that of the French. Their disposition into five columns was made with great judgment, for the situation of the ground and the nature of their proposed attack; their design was to advance along the Sambre, to surround the French by turning their flank, securing Marchiennes and Chatet. The prince of Orange commanded their right, and Beaulieu, their left; the emigrant prince of Lambesc led the cavalry, and Cobourg commanded in chief.

Jourdan had learned the disposition but could not ascertain their number; however on the evening of the twenty-fifth he made such arrangements as were necessary for the approaching day, and issued general orders prefaced with the significant parole for the morning—"*No retreat to-day!*" Lefebre commanded the advance of ten thousand men, Dubois led the cavalry; and the generals Kleber, Jardin, and Marceau commanded the different divisions.

On the morning of the twenty-sixth of June at three o'clock the battle commenced by an attack on the French entrenchments between Lambusart, Espines, and Goselies, and was followed by an assault on the whole line. Lefebre had to sustain the assault of an entire column of the enemy, which he did for five hours at Herpigny, beside the charge of a body of cavalry. They were received on the point of the bayonet with the utmost coolness, and thrown into the greatest confusion; at that moment Dubois charged with the French cavalry, and the route of the enemy was complete. Lefebre entered Herpigny, which had been possessed by the enemy on the onset; and Kleber pursued this success, driving the enemy before him from the bridge of Marchiennes. Meantime Marceau on the right was attacked by the whole left wing of the enemy under Beaulieu and Cobourg in person; who attempted to force the French with the bayonet; the conflict here was most terrible, Marceau had two horses killed under him.

For nine hours victory remained suspended; through the whole French line the animating parole—"*No retreat to-day!*" was constantly reiterated. A division of the enemy appeared in red uniform, and the decree of the convention was called to mind, they were attacked with fury and not a man escaped. "*Vive la Republique!*" resounded along the whole line, and indicated that the enemy were giving way. At six o'clock in the evening Jourdan having ordered to be brought up the corps de reserve, and a new train of artillery, the order was made for an uniform charge along the line. The charge was made with terrible impetuosity, and the enemy abandoned their arms and artillery, and fled on all quarters.

The action was perhaps one of the most desparate that history has recorded, having lasted from day break till night had closed; the valor of the allies, must be allowed to have been signal, as the ground upon which they fought was a gentle declevity, entrenched with a line of admirably disposed redoubts commanding the whole front of the French line. The victory, however, was so decisive that the enemy never ceased from their flight, until they had reached Halle, thirty miles from the field of battle. The French took thirty eight standards, and the loss of men was variously stated at from ten to fifteen thousand. A corps of Austrians deserted to the French after the action. The French general pursued the advantage of this brilliant victory, pushed on towards Brussels, forced Cobourg to fly from Halle, and leave Brussels, so recently the scene of Cæsar's empty pageant, to the discretion of the trembling Gauls.

The art of æroſtation was employed by Jourdan at the ſiege of Charleroi; he had obtained a corps of artiſts for this purpoſe from Paris, and conſtructed two balloons of taffeta, twenty-nine feet in length, nineteen in diameter, and fifty-ſeven in circumference; theſe were attached by cords, which being held below enabled them to be elevated or depreſſed as occaſion might require; in the car attached to the balloon was ſeated a ſkilful engineer, who held one of the cords that were attached below, and on this cord were fixed a number of braſs rings; the engineer by means of his elevation and good glaſſes was able to diſcern not only the interior ſtate of the fortreſſes but the movements of armies; and Jourdan employed them with thegreateſt a dvantage in this memorable battle; before the advance under Lefebre was charged by the whole column of Auſtrian cavalry, a note ſent down with great rapidity, being tied to a ring and a ſmall bullet attached to it, informed the general of the movement of the enemy, when about to be effected, and afforded him time to order Dubois to charge with all the French cavalry on the flank of the Auſtrians. The effect was anſwerable to the deſign.

Ypres, the key of Weſt Flanders, had been in the mean time inveſted by a French army of thirty thouſand men, with a covering army of twenty four thouſand; the great importance of this place rendered it neceſſary to encounter great riſques to maintain it, and Clairfait determined to riſque the whole army under his command rather than ſuffer it to fall. On the thirteenth of June he attacked the republicans, and drove them from their firſt poſition; but preſently he experienced a melancholy reverſe. In the courſe of five days this experienced and brave officer was three times defeated; and at length obliged to retreat, without being able to raiſe the ſiege, in the utmoſt confuſion to Ghent, where he had the additional mortification to find that the French had been prepared for his defeat and retreat, and completely cut off the communication with Oudenard.

Ypres ſurrendered to general Moreau, on the ſeventeenth of June after a gallant defence, and that general in conſideration of the bravery with which the place was defended allowed the garriſon honorable terms.

The defeat of Clairfait was fatal to the allies. General Walmoden found himſelf no longer able to maintain his poſition at Bruges; and the magiſtrates of that place on the twenty fourth opened their gates to the victors, and ſigned a formal ſubmiſſion to the armies and ſovereignty of the republic.

The Hanoverian general had effected his retreat, and joined the right wing of Clairfait's army. The duke of York's poſition at Tournay had been always hazardous, and the miſunderſtanding between that pragmatical prince and Cobourg has been ſaid to have cauſed his being left behind; on the twenty-fourth finding it no longer ſafe to remain there, he marched to Renaix, in order to ſupport Oudenarde, already inveſted, leaving only a ſmall garriſon for the defence of Tournay.

Previous to theſe events the emperor and colonel Mack, the projector of the plan of this campaign, left the army in utter deſpair of ſucceſs. The force of the allies, which in the beginning of the campaign had amounted to one hundred and eighty ſeven thouſand men was now reduced to leſs than one half that number. In vain the emperor called on the inhabitants of Belgium to riſe in a maſs, his repeated proclamations were anſwered by ſpecious but deluſive profeſſions, dictated either by a few of his actual partiſians or by prudential perſons in ſeveral cities who knowing the decided attachment which the people every where expreſſed for the French, wiſhed to ſteer between the chances of war.

* Diſcomfiture ſo general and ſignal, was not calculated to cure that jealouſy which had ſubſiſted at the opening of the campaign, accordingly the allied powers, though they did not openly accuſe each other, were privately active to throw the blame on the powers of whom they were diſtruſtful—But it is not the leaſt remarkable of thoſe private tranſactions, that Pruſſia, whoſe conduct ſpoke ſo unequivocally, eſcaped from cenſure, while the two principal powers in the war, the Engliſh and Auſtrians mutually villified each other. Letters written for the expreſs purpoſe of publication, were ſent from the Engliſh camp, accuſing the emperor of having from the beginning of the campaign withheld a number of troops neceſſary to complete the army which he had ſtipulated by treaty to bring in to the field, that the number at the cloſe of the campaign was ſixty thouſand ſhort of the number; a letter from the Engliſh camp, intended likewiſe for the public eye, dated the 23d of June, ſtated that "three weeks before, the emperor had began to remove his military ſtores from Bruſſels, into Germany. That finding the duke of York prudently refuſe to garriſon Tournay, which moſt likely would have been attended with the capture of the army, on their marching for Charleroi the Auſtrians had broken down all the bridges over the Scheldt which left no mode of retreat over that river but through Tournay, which would endanger the army. That the army being without pontoons they found it difficult to make temporary bridges; and to add to the difficulty, the navigation of the Scheldt was completely blocked up by barges ſunk by the French ſome time before, which the Auſtrians took good care ſhould not be cleared away; ſo that great part of the military ſtores lying in barges, could not be carried off for want of waggons, but muſt be either ſent up to Conde or Valenciennes, or committed to the charge of the Auſtrians."

The recriminations on the Auſtrian ſide were not ſo violent. They aſſerted a diſpoſition in the Britiſh army (this was underſtood to mean only the duke of York) to thwart the plans of the Imperial generals. That the raſhneſs and confidence of the Britiſh column had been the cauſe of that diſaſter which loſt to the allies all the previous advantages of the campaign. That the emperor had ſupplied the number of men ſtipulated, and if there was ſo great a deficiency after ſo many battles, it was to be attributed to their conſtancy in action, to the number of priſoners taken by the enemy, the numbers that had fallen, and thoſe who had been ſeduced to deſert in large bodies to the French; that the hoſpitals themſelves contained a ſmall army; and that no part of the failure was to be attributed to the Auſtrian generals whoſe ſentiments had never been divided on the plans that had been concerted, but which had been ſo unfortunately fruſtrated.

The fate of the Netherlands and of Weſt Flanders in particular was no ſooner decided, than the Engliſh cabinet determined to ſend lord Moira to Oſtend, with the remains of that army which had been raiſed to eſtabliſh royalty by invading France from the ſea; but with the ſame wiſdom that had diſtinguiſhed all their military operations, this ſuccour arrived in time to aſſiſt in the evacuation of the place which it was deſtined to defend. This body of troops amounted to ten thouſand men, and it was the latter end of June before they landed. The capture of Ypres on one ſide, and Bruges on the other, rendered lord Moira's ſituation peculiarly critical; he had ſtipulated with the miniſters, that he ſhould not take any part in the operations in the field, owing it was ſaid to his diſapproval of the conduct of the duke of York, under whom he did not chuſe to act; but the French were advancing to Ghent in great force, and little expectation was entertained that general Clairfait would be able to make any effectual reſiſtance

in that quarter. By the reinforcement remaining at Oſtend, the place might perhaps have been defended for ſome time; and while the Britiſh remained maſters of the ſea the greater part of the troops might have been able to reimbark, ſhould they be cloſely purſued. On the contrary to relieve the allies, and to ſupport the Britiſh diviſion of the grand army, appeared to lord Moira a matter of ſo much neceſſity as to ſupercede all etiquette, and of more importance than to preſerve for a ſhort period the town of Oſtend; expedition and diligence were likewiſe eſſential to the object, ſince the French might in caſe of delay cut off the communitation. A council of war was held, and it was determined to evacuate Oſtend. This difficult taſk was committed to colonel Vyſe of the Engliſh guards, and on the morning of the firſt of July he commenced the embarkation, which was completed before night. The French entered the town in three columns by the weſt gate, as the laſt detachment of the Engliſh embarked, and immediately began to fire on the Engliſh tranſports, which was anſwered by the frigates and gun-boats in the road. The Engliſh veſſels amounted to a hundred and fifty ſail, and took their departure for Fluſhing on the third of July; the Glatton Indiaman laden with ordnance ſtores was run aground and ſet fire too. The wealth left in the place by the Engliſh in their flight was conſiderable, and great quantities of ſtores fell into the hands of the republicans. The inhabitants received the French with the utmoſt joy, and the republican general Vandamme immediately convoked them, and deſired that they ſhould chuſe a municipality to regulate the peace and order of the town. The port from its convenience and ſituation was as important an acquiſition as the French made during the war.

During the evacuation of Oſtend, lord Moira with the main body of his reinforcement repaired to Malle, four leagues from Bruges on the great cauſeway leading to Ghent, and ſhortly after effected a junction with Clairfait. On the fifth of July the duke of York retreated from Renaix to Gramont, and the wretched ſick and wounded were removed in open waggons to Antwerp. On the ſame day the French entered Tournay, the ſmall corps left there to garriſon the place, having fled on their approach. The republicans entered Ghent on the ſame day, which reduced the Engliſh troops to a very precarious ſituation as the French were now nearer to Antwerp by twenty miles than the duke of York. Oudenard was evacuated by the allies at the ſame time, and at this place the republicans found twenty-four pieces of artillery beſide the magazines with all the ammunition. At Tournay they found twenty guns ſpiked, ten thouſand muſket balls, a large quantity of gun-powder and two thouſand rations of forage and barley, and ſeveral magazines. Near that city they alſo took fourteen large barges laden with ammunition.

About this period a ſtatement of the loſs of the combined powers in killed, from the capture of Landrecy on the thirtieth of May, was preſented to the national convention; no other has been publiſhed, and this was never contradicted; indeed the reduced ſtate of the combined armies fully corroborate it. As it affords a curious ſpecimen of the ſtyle of the reports of that period it is given in an exact tranſlation from the original.

'On the ſecond Prairial (21ſt May) in the firſt combat near the wood of Bonne Eſperance, fifteen hundred ſlaves were killed.

'On the fifth Prairial (24th May) in the combat near the abbey of Obbe, fifteen hundred ſlaves.

'On the ſeventh Prairial (26th May) in the attack of Montigny, one thouſand.

'From the ſeventh to the fifteenth Prairial (3d June) when Charleroi was firſt blockaded, two thouſand Auſtrians.

'On the twenty-eighth Prairial (16th June) in the very bloody engagement on that day, ſix thouſand of their accomplices.

'On the thirtieth Prairial (18th June) near Harleymont, two thouſand.

'On the ſeventh Meſſidor (25th June) eight hundred bit the duſt.

'On the eighth Meſſidor (26th June) in the celebrated battle of Fleurus—in that battle which will eternally call to our remembrance the ſkilful march of the ſoldiers of the army of the Moſelle, who penetrated the woods of the Ardennes, and croſſed the rocks of the Meuſe, to afford an example of diſcipline to the enemy, and to beat the enemy at Charleroi, in concert with the armies of the North and Ardennes, in that battle we have ſtated the loſs of the allies to be between eight and ten thouſand. The repreſentatives of the people have informed us that the reports of deſerters ſince the battle of the eighth Meſſidor, eſtimate the loſs of the enemy at fifteen thouſand. On this part of the frontier the number of deſerters from the imperial ſtandard is ſix hundred. To this we may add the garriſon of Charleroi, which amounted to three thouſand ſlaves, and which ſurrendered at diſcretion.

'Total of the killed, &c. 31,600.

'On the ſide of the ſea the *deficit* is the ſame, during the ſhort period in which the French have over-run all Weſt Flanders.

'Beſides theſe ſix thouſand were taken and ſixty-ſeven pieces of cannon, in the battle fought before the capture of Ypres. To this number muſt be added the amount of the garriſon of Ypres, which is ſeven thouſand men.

'Let then this emperor Francis addreſs himſelf to his reverend fathers in God, and to his nobles and to his dearly beloved, to recruit that army which was to ſhake the walls of Paris, and re-eſtabliſh royalty.

'Three months are ſcarcely paſſed over ſince this crowned Auſtrian dared to tread upon the ſtill ſmoaking ruins of Landrecy, and to give each of his ſoldiers twenty-five ſous, with theſe words, "My children, have patience; in a few months I will grant you peace, and we will go and eſtabliſh our winter quarters at Paris." His winter quarters at Paris! Aſſuredly the road he has marked out is rather a curious one.'

The remainder of the campaign againſt the allies was ſo important, that no occaſion ſo opportune can be found at which to ſuſpend the hiſtory of its operations as the preſent, in order to take up the tranſactions of the other armies of the republic and to continue the intereſting but melancholy narrative of the proceedings of the faction which ſtill held authority over the lives and happineſs of the national repreſentatives.

The armies of the republic in the ſouth, were not leſs active, than thoſe in the north, and as ſucceſsful. In the begininng of February a battle was fought near St. Jean de Luz, in which the Spaniards were defeated; three of their regiments were taken priſoners or diſperſed, and the Iriſh regiment of Ultona, in the ſervice of Spain, infuriated by their prieſts who preached in their ranks againſt the French, maintained a conflict ſo deſparate that every man was cut to pieces. A ſimilar victory was obtained the fifth of the ſame month near the ſame place. In the eaſtern Pyrennees, the armies were not ſo early in motion. In April the Spaniards were compelled to evacuate Boulon and the

camp of Ceret. The city of Urgel ſoon after ſurrendered to general Dagobert: but, as the citadel was in a condition for defence, and the Spainards had broken down the bridge which communicated with the town, the general retired to Puycerca to wait for reinforcements, where he was killed by a cannon ball. On the firſt of May a conſiderable victory was gained by the republicans at Ceret, two hundred pieces of cannon were taken with the Spaniſh camps, magazines, equipage, and two thouſand priſoners. About the ſame period the main army of the Spaniards was totally defeated near Collioure, and the whole of the baggage and artillery fell into the hands of the conquerers, and ſuch was the ſenſe of the convention on the importance of this victory, that a column was ordered to be erected on the ſpot with an inſcription—"Here ſeven thouſand Spaniards laid down their arms before the republicans." On the twenty-third of May St. Elmo was evacuated by the Spaniards, and port Vendries capitulated to general Dugommier.

In Italy the arms of the republic were equally triumphant. Early in April the city and poſt of Oneglia in Piedmont ſubmitted to the republic. As this port is ſituated on the Mediterranean and very near the ſouthern departments, its fall proved extremely injurious to the commerce of the enemies of the republic in that quarter, from the number of cruiſers which it regularly ſent out, and which the convention ſupplied with ſtores from the arſenals in order to render the attachment of the new citizens more firm and their felicity more fatal to their enemies. In proceeding to the attack of this place it was neceſſary for the republicans to paſs through the Genoeſe territory, but previous to this ſtep the commiſſioners Salicetti and Robeſpierre junior, publiſhed a proclamation promiſing the ſtricteſt regard to the neutrality of that republic, and reſpect for the peace and proſperity of its citizens. The Genoeſe were at firſt alarmed, conſidering how much they had already ſuffered from the barbarity of the Engliſh for their inflexible adherence to a pacific ſyſtem, the conduct of the French troops, however, was ſuch as to leave them no reaſon whatever to complain. This ſucceſs was immediately followed by a victory, in which five hundred men principally Auſtrians, were killed. Ormea on the Tanaro, and the county of Nava, immediatedy ſubmitted, ſo that the whole communication between Turin and the ſea, except through neutral countries appears to have been cut off. Immenſe magazines, a ſuperb manufactory of cloth, and large quantities of proviſions, cannon, and ammunition, fell at the ſame time into the hands of the victors.

In the beginning of May Dumerlion, the proviſional commander in chief of the army of Italy, poſſeſſed himſelf of the poſts of Saorgio, Belvedere, Rocabiliere, and St. Martin. The enemy were alſo obliged to abandon their famous camps at Fouche, and Raous. On this occaſion the French took ſixty pieces of cannon, an immenſe quantity of proviſions, and two thouſand priſoners. This was ſucceeded immediately by another victory in which Dumerlion drove the enemy, amounting to eight thouſand men, from their entrenchments near the village of Tende, and took ſome priſoners and ſtores.

About the middle of May, Dumas, commander of the army of the Alps, obtained a deciſive victory on Mount Cenis. The Sardinians had doubled their forces on this celebrated mountain; the French general therefore found it neceſſary to form a ſyſtem of vigorous diverſion, which ſhould extend along their whole line; the diſpoſition for this purpoſe were made with profound ſkill. On the night of the tenth, the fort Mirabouk was attacked by Caire, commander of the chaſſeurs, and the garriſon capitulated leaving

twenty pieces of cannon, and conſiderable ſtores of proviſion and ammunition to the victors. At the ſame moment that Mirabouk was attacked, Dumas at the head of three thouſand men entered the rich vallies of Bordonack, the whole of the enemy's poſts were carried and the French eſtabliſhed themſelves at Oux. The general next croſſed the ſteep precipices of Gollibier, in order to proceed to Maurienne, and immediately to execute the principal object, the attack on Mount Cenis; and here it was that the courage, ſkill, and patience of the French were put to the ſevereſt teſt; from Lenebourg they aſcended the craggy ſteeps, amidſt a heavy and inceſſant fire; grape ſhot was poured upon them in ſhowers, and the heavy ſhot rebounding from the rocks, carried tenfold dangers into their ranks; but the French with almoſt incredible patience reſtrained their fire, excepting from a few cannon that had been dragged to an elevated point which raked the enemy's batteries, and entered the redoubts, with fixed bayonets. The left column, under general Bagdelune, made their way over precipices more frightful, and turned the enemy's flank. The junction of the columns was no ſooner effected, than the Piedmonteſe abandoned their well-appointed and numerous trains of artillery, their equipage, and magazines. The French purſued them for three leagues beyond Mount Cenis. The deſtruction was great; only nine hundred perſons were taken; but the French loſt only eight killed and thirty wounded.

On the borders of Italy and the Mediterannean, the arms of the republic were generally ſucceſsful; but in Corſica the intrigues of England had obtained a degree of ſucceſs which threw a momentary eclat over her political tranſactions, which ſerved to diſſipate the recollection of her diſgrace at Toulon. After admiral Hood left that place he cruiſed for ſome time of Hierres bay; and having detached a ſmall ſquadron to Corſica, repaired thither himſelf in the month of February, and found the iſland in a general ſtate of revolt.

The political connection between the people of this iſland and that of England, was not of a long ſtanding, nor of a very firm or durable nature; after the Corſicans had ſtruggled againſt the oppreſſion of the Genoeſe, and in 1768 were transferred to the dominion of France, the Engliſh government ſecretly ſupplied the Corſicans with ſtores and ammunition. An eccentric Scotch traveller poſſeſſed of a handſome fortune and weak intellects, in the courſe of the faſhionable European tour, ſtruck out of the ordinary path, and landed in Corſica, where his vanity found an untrod path upon which he hoped to eſtabliſh a reputation. Without any knowledge of the true character of the Corſicans, he publiſhed a book on the ſubject of their ſtruggles, and as his work was more allied to poetry than hiſtory, he choſe the ſimple chief of the Corſicans for his hero, and gave him a celebrity which neither his talents nor the ſtate of things entitled him to. The ſtruggle of the Corſicans was not for independence nor for an enlightened liberty, but for the choice of maſters, and Paoli was in fact only the head of a faction. Their ſtruggle terminated in being incorporated with France, and Paoli who had received the ſecret ſuccours of England was compelled to fly thither, where he enjoyed a penſion, until the commencement of the revolution in France, when he reſigned it, and under the ſanction of the conſtituent aſſembly, returning once more to his native country, was one of the foremoſt in applauding the revolution. He obtained the confidence of the ſeveral ſucceſſive adminiſtrations that had charge of the affairs of France, and was himſelf entruſted with a very ample authority in his native iſland.

His long reſidence in England and the ample ſupport which he had ſo long obtained there, muſt have naturally made very durable impreſſions on his mind. Habituated by

education to obey a chief, and dazzled with the meritricious grandeur of the Engliſh court, his principles and his diſpoſition, were alike capable of embracing the views and objects of thoſe who oppoſed the French revolution. He had acted in concert with the Engliſh miniſtry from his return to Corſica, and upon the declaration of war againſt England, his attachment to France viſibly decreaſed, and the duties of the ſtation with which he was entruſted by the republic, were ſo entirely neglected, that he was called to Paris, to anſwer for his conduct. It has been noticed before in the courſe of this work, that he refuſed to go, on the alledged ground of ill health. On the appearance of the Britiſh troops at Toulon he no longer diſguiſed his reſolution to adhere to the Engliſh intereſts, and was ſucceſsful in deluding great numbers of his countrymen to follow him under the Britiſh banners. The republican troops ſtationed at Corſica had frequent occaſion during the year 1793, to lament the defection of Paoli, and ſeveral bitter conflicts had been the conſequence. When Hood arrived off the iſland, the garriſon of Mortella ſurrendered to him on the tenth of February. The tower of Torneli was abandoned by the republicans on the ſeventeenth, and in two days after St. Fiorenzo fell into his hands, the republicans being obliged to retreat to Baſtia.

The number of perſons capable of bearing arms in this city originally amounted to no more than three thouſand. The fortifications had been left in the worſt ſtate of repair, and even the garriſon was not half provided. Hood appeared before the place with the utmoſt diligence, Paoli who had collected a large body of his countrymen in the mountains, detached a conſiderable corps to co-operate with the Engliſh. The place was cloſely inveſted by ſea and land, and notwithſtanding the want that prevailed in the town, it reſiſted until the 19th of May, when the Engliſh admiral "in conſideration of the very "gallant defence made by the garriſon of Baſtia, and from principles of humanity," offered honorable terms to the republican commandant Gentili, which he was conſtrained from neceſſity to accept.

On the 24th the garriſon marched out with the honors of war, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſon of Baſtia. The loſs on either ſide has not been accurately aſcertained. But to the honor of the Corſicans under their countryman Gentili, they diſplayed a fidelity and attachment to the liberties of their country, which neither the ſecret proffers of the Engliſh, nor of their countrymen who had taken the oppoſite ſide, could weaken or ſhake. In conſequence of this ſucceſs the whole iſland, excepting the town of Calvi, and another ſmall diſtrict, ſubmitted to the Engliſh arms.

Upon this conqueſt being made known in England, letters of convocation were iſſued, and the general aſſembly of Corſica was ordered to be ſummoned; they met on Sunday the eighth of June at Corti. The letters ſpecified, that "the union of Corſica with Great Britain, and the tender of the crown to his majeſty," was the object of the meeting,—general Paoli was elected preſident; and opened the meeting by a ſpeech, in which he extolled the advantages of a union with England, and propoſed the tender of the crown to the king of England. After returning thanks to Paoli, the aſſembly paſſed two reſolutions, one declaring the ſeparation of Corſica from France, and the other its union with Great Britain. A committee was appointed to draw up articles of union, and it was declared "that *all who came* ſhould have voices, and in fact ſeveral perſons of "character and talents who were not even members of the aſſembly, were admitted and "took a ſhare in the diſcuſſion."

Such was the firſt repreſentation of the Corſican people. The conſtitution that was framed reſembles the French conſtitution of 1791 more than that of Great Britain, and it was diſtinguiſhed by this fundamental difference from the latter, that there was nothing equivalent to an houſe of lords; having only one chamber of repreſentatives, elected by a certain proportion of population, for two years, the repreſentative poſſeſſing property. The conſtitution conſiſts of twelve ſhort chapters, the tenth of which contains only three articles, and declares that "the catholic, apoſtolic, Roman religion, in all its evangelical "purity, ſhall be the only national religion of Corſica." But this conſtitution did not provide for the trial by jury in civil caſes.

Sir Gilbert Elliot was appointed the firſt viceroy. And it appears that England had undertaken to pay the whole expence of its civil and military eſtabliſhment.

The town of Calvi was ſoon after beſieged; general Caſabianca who commanded there, made a gallant reſiſtance till the tenth of Auguſt, when he ſurrendered on capitulation; and the garriſon marched out with the honors of war, and were tranſported at the expence of the Engliſh to Toulon.

The meaſure of annexing this iſland under the crown of England, even without conſidering that the very nature of the country, if it ſhould be reduced, muſt render it an eternal and fruitleſs expence, was one of the ſtrongeſt manifeſtations of incapacity and want of information or digeſted ſyſtem which the war exhibited. The folly was carried to the extreme by an order for annexing the Moor's head, which is the inſignia of the arms of Corſica, to thoſe of the Britiſh monarch!

But on the ocean her plans, though not calculated to produce benefits to the Britiſh nation, nor to overthrow the freedom of France, were yet ſucceſsful in obtaining that ſpecies of triumph which by elating her pride, encouraged the hopes and extravagance of her miniſters to the protraction of hoſtility. The ſtate of the French navy we have before had occaſion to notice; it was under the old regimen the lazy couch of an inſolent ariſtocracy; where talents were neither encouraged by the hopes of promotion nor allowed to compete for honors in the paths of merit. For ſome ſhort periods, men have appeared ſuperior to the vices and diſſipation of the French court, and devoting themſelves to the ſevere ſtudy of naval affairs, acquired for themſelves and their country a a bright reputation, as Suffrein, Piquet, and Peyrouſe. But at the commencement of the French revolution, France retained few of her experienced officers. The very nature of naval command is deſpotical; for the diſcipline of ſhips of war conſiſts wholly in a ſyſtem of ſeverity, which when conſidered renders the Spartan diſcipline no longer extraordinary, but comparatively mild. The equality of rights was not likely to comport with the heavy and lengthened chain of naval ſubordination. The empty vanity of titular diſtinctions, of official conſequence, the inconſequent hauteur of commiſſioned ſuperiority, were ſeverely ſhocked by a declaration of rights, wherein the admiral whoſe eſcutcheon quartered the arms of an hundred noble houſes, was to learn that his botſwain, or his boatſwain's ſwabber, had rights equal with his own.

Such a change was not calculated to produce even the moſt moderate ſhare of neceſſary attention to naval diſcipline, on the minds of men bred up in the groſſeſt of all ignorance. Of all men thoſe who have lived on board of ſhips of war for a time, are the leaſt regardful of moral obligations; their lives are an uniform ſcene of hardſhip, and of debauchery; ſecluded from the ſoftening influence of the virtuous of the fair ſex, they rarely know the joys of ſocial life; the paſſions ſo predominant in human nature lead them to exceſſes,

which are at war with morals, and the continual indulgence of licentiouſneſs, creates diſpoſitions which are inimical to the firſt principles of ſociety. Men thus retain all the apathy and fierceneſs of the ſavage but little of the mildneſs or ſympathy of the man.

Such was the ſtate of the old French marine; ſuch is at of the Engliſh at preſent. The French in the carreer of their military ſucceſſes, had conceived the hope that the enthuſiaſm of her ſeamen alſo would ſupply the want of experience; but either forgetting the vaſt difference between the operations of men, or bodies of men, and a cumbrous and weildy machine, or numbers of them on an inconſtant element; or driven by neceſſity to take the riſks of their ſituation; the convention had turned their attention to the equipment of naval force.

Perhaps the efforts made by the Britiſh government to prevent the neutral powers from entering the French ports was the true ſource of this extraordinary effort of the French government; and the ſcarcity of proviſions which in general prevailed, had tended ſo much to aggravate the diſtreſſes of the country muſt have been a ſtill ſtronger ſtimulus.

They had firſt endeavoured to counteract England by detaching ſmaller ſquadrons and ſmall veſſels to annoy the commerce, and had met with vaſt ſucceſs; for in the month of May alone of this year, it appears, that they had taken ninty-nine Engliſh merchantmen, ten of which were outward bound Weſt Indiamen, and four homeward bound, and a packet from Liſbon laden with an immenſe ſum in ſpecie; while the Engliſh had taken in the ſame time only one frigate of thirty-eight guns.

There can be little doubt that this ſyſtem of naval operation was beſt ſuited to the circumſtances of France at that time, and the moſt fatal to her rival that ſhe could purſue in any circumſtances; but the preſſure of ſcarcity compelled them to equip a fleet, in order to protect a large convoy which was to ſail from the United States of America at a fixed period, laden with abundant ſupplies.

The Engliſh adminiſtration had obtained the moſt minute information concerning this fleet, and the expected convoy, and Admiral Howe, with twenty-ſix ſail of the line proceeded to ſea early in the month of May, with a view to intercept the convoy. On the 19th of May cruiſing off Breſt, he received advice that a French fleet had put to ſea ſome days before; and at the ſame time he received intelligence from the Engliſh admiral Montague who had been cruiſing with another ſquadron for ſome time in thoſe ſeas; admiral Howe determined immediately to form a junction with him, as he ſhould then have a great ſuperiority over the French fleet which he underſtood to conſiſt of twenty-ſix ſail alſo. On the 21ſt he received intelligence that the French fleet were but a few leagues to the weſtward, upon which the Engliſh admiral altered his courſe.

Early on the morning of the 28th the two fleets were diſcovered by their reſpective frigates, the French bearing down on the weather bow of the Engliſh. They advanced for ſome time in looſe order, and ſoon after hauled up to the wind; but were ſome hours before they could form in order of battle; this delay afforded time to the Engliſh admiral to detach a ſquadron of his fleet under rear-admiral Paiſley, with a view to take an advantageous ſtation and make an impreſſion on the French rear; meanwhile the two fleets approached.

The French fleet was commanded by rear admiral Villaret, a young officer who had been recently elevated from the rank of lieutenant and the command of a frigate to the poſt of rear-admiral and the command of the fleet. He had his flag on board the Mon-

tagne, and Jean Bon St. Andre, a member of the convention, was on board the ſame ſhip in quality of commiſſioner.

The only accounts that have appeard of the action that took place, were thoſe officially written by the Engliſh admiral and the French commiſſioner. In the report of Jean Bon St. Andre he ſtates, that while the two fleets were monoeuvring, the Revolutionnaire, a three decker, ſlackened ſail, for what purpoſe was not underſtood; and the Engliſh rear-admiral Paiſley taking advantage thereof attacked this ſhip with his whole diviſion. In the conflict however the Engliſh rear-admiral had his top-maſt diſabled; and the Leviathan and Audacious puſhed up to ſupport him and attacked the Revolutionnaire, whoſe captain fell in the action, and the ſhip was ſo much damaged that ſhe was not manageable; night ſeparated the fleets, and the Revolutionnaire was towed into Rochefort by the Audacieux, a French ſeventy-four. During this day the wind blew freſh S. by W. with a rough ſea. Latitude 47. 33. N. Longitude 14. 10. W.

The fleets continued in ſight during the whole of the night, and on the morning of the twenty-ninth ſignals for the line were flying in both fleets. The Engliſh admiral intending to harraſs the French rear, ordered his fleet to tack; the French admiral penetrated his intention, and ordered ſuch manoeuvres as were calculated to fruſtrate his purpoſe, and directly the line was from van to rear, excepting a few ſhips, whoſe tardineſs in ſome degree obſtructed the evolution; however, the advance ſhips of the Engliſh were forced to give way and tack about. The delay in executing the admiral's ſignals occaſioned the French ſhips L'Indomptable and La Tyrannicide to be engaged with an infinitely ſuperior force, and they were in conſequence entirely diſabled. The French admiral now hoiſted the ſignal for tacking towards the rear, but this alſo was not obeyed, and the headmoſt ſhip of the line eſpecially keeping her ſtation without a movement, obliged the reſt of the line to remain fixed in order to prevent confuſion. The French admiral ſuppoſing himſelf betrayed by his own ſhips, determined upon a deſparate evolution, he tacked alone and threw out the ſignal for the fleet to follow, this ſignal was obeyed with the utmoſt alacrity by every ſhip but one. The line nevertheleſs was inſtantly formed, and the whole French line attacked the Engliſh with great ſpirit, and put them for a time into great diſorder. The Engliſh admiral after having arranged his line, threw out the ſignal for breaking through the French line, and a ſevere conflict enſued. The Cæſar, the leading ſhip, had not kept the wind, and the intended movement had nearly failed through that circumſtance and the prompt evolutions of the French admiral; the Engliſh admiral immediately tacked and was followed by the Belerophon and Leviathan, the two ſhips of the van next to the Cæſar, and paſſed directly between the fifth and ſixth of the French line, keeping up a ſteady and powerful fire, which was returned with equal firmneſs and regularity. The Engliſh admiral having paſſed through the line, followed by the other two ſhips, immediately put about to renew the attack, but the reſt of his line being by this time completely to the leeward and without the ſternmoſt ſhip of the French rear, he was obliged to tack and cloſe with his fleet; and the French admiral wore again to the eaſtward, in order to ſuccour his ſhips that had been in action. Having performed this evolution with great adroitneſs and ſucceſs, the French admiral again wore round and hoiſted his ſignal for the line of battle on the larboard tack, which was alſo followed by the Engliſh fleet, and both formed with admirable regularity in the ſame order.

The French had at the commencement of the action the advantage of the wind, but the manoeuvres that had been made enabled the Engliſh to gain it, and they withdrew

under a crowded ſail, leaving behind them two ſhips, but they eſcaped being purſued only by ſome frigates. The engagement laſted between ſeven and eight hours, and the action was fought on the very ſpot over which the convoy from America was to paſs.

The French admiral attentive only to the main object of his cruiſe, the ſafety of the convoy on its way from America, had manœuvred with a view ſolely to keep the fleets out of the track in which the convoy was to come; ſtanding away occaſionally to the northward and eaſtward, and making ſhort tacks to the weſt; by this means he was obliged alſo to ſuffer the Engliſh fleet to keep the weather gage. A heavy fog prevailed during the thirtieth and thirty-firſt of May, and the fleets were occaſionally in ſight, but on the laſt evening the miſt cleared away, the Engliſh ſtill keeping the wind. The Engliſh admiral determined to make uſe of this great advantage in naval actions, and accordingly between ſeven and eight o'clock on the firſt of June, bore up with a view to cloſe action. The French admiral whoſe object was to be accompliſhed equally by an action which would cripple the Engliſh fleet and force them into port, and adroit manoeuvres, appeared equally eager to come to cloſe battle, and bore up alſo with great regularity.

The French fleet conſiſted on putting to ſea of twenty-ſeven ſail of the line three of which were three deckers; four ſhips of this fleet had been much exhauſted by a long cruize under admiral Neilly, the Revolutionnaire had been diſabled in the action of the twenty-eighth, and had gone into port.

When admiral Howe put to ſea he had thirty-ſix ſhips of the line, according to the liſts publiſhed; but his account publiſhed of the action reduces his fleet to twenty-five, the Audaciaous having been compelled to retire into port by the action of the twenty-eighth. The advantage in the number of ſhips therefore was one in favour of the French, but the Engliſh fleet had the ſuperiority in the ſize of their ſhips and the weight of their metal, having ſeven ſhips of three decks in their fleet, on board of which broad-penants were flying, the French had only three broad-penants. So that in weight and number of guns the Engliſh had the ſuperiority, as well as in the number of able and experienced officers, and in the condition of their ſhips.

Under theſe circumſtances the action commenced about nine o'clock, and laſted with unremitting fury till three! All the advantages of diſcipline and naval ſkill were on the ſide of the Engliſh. The French manoeuvred, however, with a degree of correctneſs that ſurpriſed their opponents. Their diſpoſitions were allowedly excellent, their ſhips were indeed generally old and crazy, and one of their captains (Gallin of the Jacobin,) had committed a falſe manœuvre, which enabled the Engliſh to cut off a part of the French line to the rear of the Montagne. The conteſt however was maintained with a degree of bravery on both ſides, that has if ever equalled, never been exceeded. Several ſhips in both fleets were diſmaſted, and the hulls of ſhips on both ſides ſo terribly wounded that they could ſcarcely keep the ſea; diſtinguiſhed above all was the Vengeur of ſeventy-four guns; the crew of this ſhip proved indeed to how high a degree the love of liberty can ſublimate the heart of man, and lead him to contemn the moſt terrible dangers and death itſelf; three Engliſh veſſels, one of which was a three decker, poured in broadſides at the Vengeur at the ſame inſtant, her maſts were all ſhot away, her colours had been torn to ribbons, and the fragments as frequently nailed to the ſtaff; ſeveral port holes were beat into one, and the ſhot holes were ſo numerous below water that ſhe was ſinking. "Picture to yourſelf

" this ſhip pierced through and through, open on all ſides, and raked by a larger ſhip from " her ſtern; her helm unmanagable, not a rope of running rigging whole, her decks " ſpread over with the dead and dying, the waves already cover the mouths of her lower " guns—they are under water—but her upper tiers ſtill pour out inceſſant broadſides, ſhe " gradually ſinks—the gallant crew ſee the abyſs of death before them, and their only " thoughts are to die with honor; their colours every inſtant ſhot away, and freſh co- " lours are ſupplied; the ſtumps of the ſhattered maſts are ornamented with new ſtrea- " mers—ſhouts of Vive la Republique, Vive la Liberte, are heard amidſt the thunder of can- " non which never ceaſe to fire—the enemy ſee the Vengeur ſinking, they haſten to retire " from the vortex that is about to involve her, and the general diſcharge of her guns, " and a ſhout of Vive la Republique is the laſt memorial of her gallant crew—they have " diſappeared with the accents of freedom on their lips."

The action had been general and cloſe in leſs than an hour after its commencement. The oppoſed admirals had been deſparately engaged; at the cloſe of the action the van of the French had given way and got half a league to leeward; this falſe ſtep, defeated the French admiral's purpoſe of tacking, by which he would have not only covered his own diſabled ſhips, but cut off thoſe of the Engliſh alſo. By this means, he had only the choice left of going to the aſſiſtance of the rear, or rallying the van, the latter was the moſt uſeful meaſure, but by it he loſt way. The Engliſh fleet, however, were ſo much crippled, that they ceaſed firing firſt according to the French accounts; the Engliſh accounts do not deny this; but ſix of the French ſhips were ſo badly diſabled as to be unfit to make ſail, and the Engliſh having the wind were enabled to throw their unhurt ſhips between them and the French line; ſeveral others, of the French were in as bad a condition, and it is a concluſive evidence of the bad ſtate of the Engliſh, that ſeveral of the diſabled French ſhips were towed off by a corvette mounting only eight four pounders, and within gun ſhot of the Engliſh ſhips, who did not fire a ſingle gun at her; two or three other French ſhips had no other means left but their ſprit-ſails. But ſix remained in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and were carried into Plymouth, viz. La Juſt, La Sans Pareille, L'America, L'Achille, L'Impeteux, and Northumberland, which with the Vengeur ſunk makes the loſs of the French to conſiſt of ſeven line of battle ſhips.

The number of men killed in action on both ſides was conſiderable. Captain Bazire of the Montagne, the French Admiral's ſhip, was killed, and Jean Bon St. Andre was wounded, eighteen officers only were able to remain at their poſts to the cloſe of the action, and nearly three hundred killed and wounded on board the ſame ſhip; ſhe received three hundred and thirty ſhot in her hull. In the ſix ſhips taken were ſix hundred and ninety killed and five hundred and eighty wounded.

The number of the Engliſh killed was, by return two hundred and ſeventy-two, and ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven wounded; among their killed was the captain of the Montagu; and three admirals among the wounded, two of whom and the captain of the Queen had each loſt a leg.

In its conſequences this action was very important in many points of view. The Engliſh by having the wind at the cloſe of the action, and not making uſe of it to renew the attack, evinced that the French with an inferior force, inferior diſcipline, and the diſadvantage of the wind could meet them and diſable them in ſo great a degree as not only to defeat the object of the Engliſh fleet, but to obtain the object which they themſelves had

in view. The French fleet not only proved their capacity to conteſt with the Engliſh upon equal terms, but that with equal diſcipline and equal ſhips, the iſſue of an action, merely for the honor of victory would be at leaſt uncertain. And that any object depending upon the protection of a Britiſh fleet might be fruſtrated only by an inferior French fleet entering into a naval action.

The French conſoled themſelves on the loſs of their ſhips, with the very diſtinguiſhed bravery of their fleet, and the evidence which the action furniſhed of what France would be capable of accompliſhing under her republican energy as ſoon as circumſtances admit of her turning her earneſt attention to a naval force. They had alſo the ſatisfaction by this action of ſecuring the ſafe arrival of the convoy of one hundred and ſixty ſail of veſſels from America, with a cargo valued at eight millions ſterling, conſiſting of naval ſtores and proviſions, of the latter of which France was then ſo much in want as to be threatened with a famine. In this latter view, the defeat was equal to a victory, ſince it prevented that calamity, and fruſtrated all the efforts that England had made to prevent proviſions paſſing from neutral nations into France. This valuable convoy arrived in the port of L'Orient a few days after the action, and the veſſels paſſed through the wrecks of maſts and timber which had been made by the conflict.

France, relieved from the alarming preſſure of famine, was now enabled to turn her attention undiverted to the great concerns of offenſive and defenſive tactics. A very curious and intereſting account of the ſtate of the republic at this period has been publiſhed by a French count,* who was employed as a ſpy by the Engliſh court, and reſided in France for a conſiderable time. Upon his return to England his employers ſlighted him, and the ſtipulated reward of his dangerous and intelligent ſervices was but partially paid, and at length wholly withdrawn. His account throughout diſplays a comprehenſive underſtanding, although the prejudices of the old noble and inveterate emigrant break through his narrative, upon many occaſions; the correctneſs of his general ſtatement, however, has been confirmed by ſubſequent events, and it has been ſaid, that his accuracy and truth were among the cauſes which rendered his ſervices diſagreeable to the Engliſh miniſters.

Speaking of the ſtate of France in May, 1794, he ſays—'The power, the action, the right of ſovereignty, are concentrated in the committee of public ſafety. The thirty committees, among whom are divided the labours of the convention, have no ſhare in the actual executive government; they are ignorant of the meaſures of the committees until they are executed; but the greateſt activity every where prevails in the execution; laws are made, roads are conſtructed, and canals dug, all at the ſame moment. The moſt abundant reſources are laviſhed, public ſchools eſtabliſhed, and the French language carried to the foot of the Pyrennees and amidſt the heaths of lower Britanny. One ſitting frequently produces fifty decrees, upon objects the moſt remote, orders fifty millions to execute them, and every where erects ſcaffolds againſt thoſe who might be elſe diſpoſed to oppoſe them. In finances the convention is richer than all Europe united, ſeven-ninths of the ſoil belongs to the republic; and this continual pledge of paper credit is now become inexhauſtible, by the rapidity with which property is exchanged, and always to the advantage of the aſſembly. They have already conceived the project to

* The count de Montgaillard.

nationalize the whole ſoil of France, to regiſter the territory like a public debt in a great book; and to reſume the property of the clergy and nobles, purchaſed as they aſſert at a price below its value. About twenty millions ſterling are depoſited in gold and ſilver in the coffers of the national convention. The mint of Paris, to which was tranſported all the bullion of the ſuppreſſed provincial mints, contains about three millions of pounds ſterling in metal; and daily additions are thrown in by depoſits, collections, and penalties. The riches of the church produced near 1,350,000 pounds ſterling, and through the whole extent of France there no longer remains a ſacred vaſe of the precious metals, not even in the domeſtic chapels.

'The military committee directed by Carnot, La Fitte, d'Aniſſi, and others, draw the projects of campaigns, and plans of attack, combine operations, and adapt their tactics to the ſpirit of the revolution. From the memoirs, and from all the veſtiges of the exploits, the zeal, and intelligence of the great generals, miniſters, and ſtateſmen, who adorned the old government, theſe men have extracted the means of its annihilation—850,000 effective men fight under the orders of the committee of public ſafety, and this number may be augmented. After the harveſt and ſowing ſeaſon have aſſured the future ſubſiſtence of their new ſoldiers, when they are no longer uſeful at home, we may fear that France in the end of the campaign will adopt ſome alarming meaſure, of war, generally offenſive.' The event diſplayed the ſagacity of the Engliſh emiſſary; and he foretold with the ſame intuitive ſpirit, facts of a more intricate nature, 'Even Robeſpierre,' ſays he, 'may be brought to the block without occaſioning any grand convulſion. The ſpirit of the revolution would ſurvive ſuch events.' Theſe were opinions too hoſtile to the fond and blind deſires of the Engliſh miniſtry, who, deluded by their ambition, as they had been in the wanton and oppreſſive hoſtility againſt America, would liſten to no counſels but ſuch as were favourable to their wiſhes, and conſidered thoſe as enemies who propoſed truths that detected their errors.

In the midſt of the ſtruggles of faction, thoſe who ſecretly endeavoured to call back the French nation from its diſtractions, were conſtantly, propoſing ſome benevolent or philoſophical project; or offering ſome tribute to exalted genius, which might tend to reſtore the public mind to ſober and moral thinking without endangering freedom. The aſhes of Deſcartes had been removed to the pantheon in the laſt year; the remains of Rouſſeau, were now propoſed to be honoured in the ſame way; a deputation accompanied by Rouſſeau's widow made the requeſt at the bar of the convention; the application was converted into a motion by Lequino, and decreed with unanimous applauſe.

Several other decrees were paſſed about the ſame time; one obliged all aged non-juring clergymen to repair to their reſpective departments, where houſes were prepared for their reception. Perſons concealing eccleſiaſtics ſubject to baniſhment, were made liable to the ſame puniſhment. State coaches and other enſigns of royalty were aboliſhed. Men of the firſt requiſition or thoſe abſent upon furlough were obliged to return to their corps, The laws of divorce were newly regulated, and the wives of emigrants forbidden to marry foreigners; this law was intended to prevent a means of evaſion that had been purſued, by contracting pretended marriages with Swiſs and others, and that way obtaining a means of flight from the country.

Several diſcoveries were made about this time, of quantities of aſſignats forged in England; a quantity had been found among other depoſits at Oſtend, amounting to the

nominal value of 2,270,010 livres; and paſſports had been iſſued by the public agents of the emperor to let them paſs free of the uſual duties on paper, through the emperor's dominions. Unleſs in the inſtance of the forgeries committed by the Britiſh government during the American revolution, perhaps there does not exiſt in hiſtory ſo ſhameleſs and immoral a violation of ſocial probity,—the following are copies of the paſſports iſſued on this occaſion, "under God's holy protection"---they ſupercede all comment.

'The treaſurer general, counſellor and clerk of domains and finances, of the emperor and king:—To the principal officers at Oſtend:

'Very dear and faithful friends, M. Dufour having demanded permiſſion to have forwarded to Liege a trunk containing aſſignats addreſſed to him, and arrived at Oſtend, we authorize you by this preſent to forward it accordingly free of all duties. You will do the ſame with reſpect to any aſſignats which may be hereafter forwarded by you to the ſame deſtination. May God keep you under his holy protection. (ſigned) Bouniſet.'

'Council of finances, Bruſſels, May twenty-ſixth, 1794.

(A true Copy) 'Dolbannaud.'

'Principal office of Oſtend. Extract from the regiſter of paſſports, June the third, 1794.

'Paſs to Liege, by the way of Dormael, a trunk containing aſſignats, free from all duties, conformably to an order of council, bearing date May twenty-ſixth ult, and to the addreſs of Dufour. (ſigned) Libne.

'Oſtend July the fourth, 1794. (A true Extract.) 'Dolbannaud.'

Another ſubject equally extraordinary was brought before the convention about this time. In relating the tranſactions of the tenth of Auguſt 1792, the conſtruction of an iron cloſet containing the ſecret papers of the king, was noticed. This ſubject was now brought before the convention in conſequence of a petition from the ſmith who conſtructed that repoſitory, claiming aſſiſtance. A member ſtated that Francois Gamain lock-ſmith of the cabinets and laboratory of the late king, and three years ſince a member of the commune of Verſailles, had declared that in the beginning of 1792 he received orders to come to Paris, and was directed by the king to conſtruct a ſecret cloſet in one of the walls of his apartment with an iron door, which was not finiſhed until the end of May in that year, when employed in finiſhing it, the king himſelf brought a large bottle of wine, which he deſired the ſmith to drink, he being very warm. That on returning home in ſome hours afterwards, he was ſeized with violent pains, which did not ceaſe till he had taken an emetic. After which he contiuued ill for fourteen months, and was then after ſuch a lapſe of time ſo far from recovered that he was unable to attend his buſineſs. That the information from this citizen was the means of diſcovering the proofs of conſpiracy againſt the late king and others his agents; that after twenty-ſix years of ſervice and the ſacrifices he had made the leaſt that could be done was to allow him ſuitable means of ſupport, being diſabled by the effects of the poiſon given him, from obtaining ſubſiſtence.—The convention, after hearing the facts alleged by Gemain, and they being delivered in writing very minutely and at large, decreed:—

I. That the papers relating to the proof of this repreſentation be referred to the committee of aids and liquidations to report thereupon.

II. After their report that they ſhall be depoſited among the archives of the convention as an eternal monument of the baſeneſs and perfidy of Capet.

III. That they ſhall likewiſe be publiſhed, in order to make known to the univerſe the wickedneſs of the laſt tyrant of the French.

The complaint of Gemain exhibits a very awful ſubject of reflection indeed, to the mind; charity, which extenuates the errors of thoſe who have fallen, which would fain 'let the good which men do live after them, and the evil be buried with their bones,' turns with an averted and ſuſpicious eye from a relation ſo dark and diabolical, and would fain diſbelieve it; the character of Louis had never been charged with a purpoſe ſo mean; the ſituation and health of the perſon who laid the charge could not be an impoſture; the circumſtances and period of his alleged ill-health could be minutely aſcertained; or the illneſs might have been accidental, or even the effect of drinking an innocent beverage when over-heated.

About the ſame time the convention having referred to a committee, certain documents concerning abuſes committed by the farmers general under the old governmert, developed a ſcene of long concealed iniquity that renders ſtill more clear the neceſſity of the revolution; they had been guilty of the groſſeſt exactions, and in ſome caſes where they were authoriſed to levy the heavy amount of four per cent, taxes; they had actually levied ten per cent. A great clamour was raiſed againſt this meaſure as an *ex poſt facto* proceeding, and aſſerting that thoſe robbers ſhould be tried by the laws of the government under which the crimes were committed; as if the acts was not immoral and criminal becauſe committed under the monarchy; as if juſtice was only a creature of convenience, and that the nation did not exiſt until the monarchy had ceaſed. They were taken to the revolutionary tribunal on the 5th of May, and they expiated their crimes on the ſcaffold, as an example to villains of all nations, that the reign of corruption cannot be for ever, and that juſtice will not admit of the generality of vice as an exemption from that puniſhment which is due to the ſupporters of tyranny and groſs turpitude.

To enter on the detail of perſons and characters who fell either the victims of juſtice or of faction, would incumber the hiſtory with a liſt of names whoſe vices forbid notice, or whoſe characters where no otherwiſe remarkable then by becoming often for their virtues the victims of the controlling tyrant. One victim, however, rendered illuſtrious by her misfortunes and her alliances, demands a particular regard. The ſiſter of the late king. On the 10th of May, Fouquier Tinville, the public accuſer, made a formal demand, to the commune of Paris, that Elizabeth Capet ſhould be delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. On the ſame day ſhe was conveyed to the Conciergerie, and on the 12th went through the forms of a ſeries of interrogatories, which was called a trial.

No witneſſes were called, no papers produced criminating her. She neither impugned the exiſting authorities, nor had ſhe been party in any plot. When queſtioned concerning the conſpiracy of 1789, ſimply anſwered ſhe had no knowledge of any. She acknowledged accompanying her brother to Varennes, but conceived it to be no crime. She was aſked concerning her diamonds, and if ſhe had not ſent her jewels to the Emigrant princes? She acknowledged ſhe had placed them in the hands of Choiſeul, but knew not what became of them. She was charged with having encouraged her nephew in the hopes of ſucceeding to the throne; ſhe replied, "I have converſed familiarly with that unfortunate child, who is dear to me on more than one account; and I have given him all the conſolations which appeared to me likely to reconcile him to the loſs of thoſe who had given him birth." The two laſt charges appear to be the only circumſtances up-

on which a colour of criminality could be even preſumed. She was condemned without further interrogatory, her laſt reply being decreed ſufficient evidence of her having encouraged hopes in the ſon of the late king to obtain the throne. She was carried to the place of execution, and ſuffered the laſt of twenty-ſix perſons.

Terror and miſery had now ſaddened every mind; Paris the gay, the brilliant, where every heart bounded with gaiety, and every eye ſparkled with delight, was now the ſeat of gloomy horror and diſtruſt. The citizens in general ſaw with ſtupified terror thoſe proceſſions of death that daily encumbered the ſtreets, and the feelings of ſympathy and indignation were only repelled by that fatal impreſſion, that ſo often prevails under tyranny and in calamitous times, that every man's neighbour is an informer, and that ſilence and ſubmiſſion are the only means of ſecurity. Even in the boſom of his family no man dared to utter a complaint but in whiſpers, leſt any one ſhould hear the forbidden expoſtulations of humanity, and denounce him as a counter-revolutioniſt. Many perſons wearied of ſpectacles of horror put an end to their exiſtence.

In the midſt of theſe ſcenes ſo baleful and repugnant to humanity, the arch-murderer and impoſtor led the enchained nation to inſult the divinity by a ſolemn farce;—that monſter—Robeſpierre, who violated all precepts and all principles, knew how deep the impreſſions of religion ſink into the heart; no circumſtance that could inſure his influence with the ignorant million, was left unpractiſed or uncultivated; and as he had drowned the recollection of ſucceſſive ſacrifices, by new proſcriptions, by keeping public attention alarmed or awakened by ſome new object, he now meditated to drown his murders in a ſolemn mockery of heaven.

On the ſeventeenth of May he made a report to the convention on the ſubject of worſhip, with a view to dedicate the decades of the new calender to religious duties. After an inflated declamation too contemptible for particular notice, he propoſed a decree of eleven articles, which was adopted:—The firſt of theſe decrees that the French nation acknowledges a ſupreme being and the immortality of the ſoul. 2. That the worſhip worthy of God conſiſts in ſerving our fellow creatures. 3. It ranks among his duties the deteſtation of treachery, and tyranny, puniſhment of traitors, ſuccouring the wretched, defending the oppreſſed, reſpecting the weak, the avoiding of injuſtice, and performing all poſſible good. By the fifth, the feſtivals were to be named either after the glorious events of the revolution, or thoſe virtues deareſt and moſt beneficial to man. By the eighth freedom of religious worſhip is eſtabliſhed. By the eleventh a feſtival is appointed to be celebrated on the eighth of June, in honour of the ſupreme being.

The day arrives—And David, that painter, whoſe pencil rivalled the firſt maſters of Italy, was to be the mean marſhal of this mockery;—at this ſpot by David's command, the mother's are to embrace their daughters—at that, the fathers are to claſp their ſons—here, the old are to bleſs the young, and there, the young are to kneel to the old—upon this boulevard the people are to ſing—upon that, they muſt dance—at noon they muſt liſten in ſilence, and at ſun-ſet they muſt rend the air with acclamations.

Ah! what was then become of thoſe civic feſtivals which hailed the firſt glories of the revolution! What was become of that ſublime federation of an aſſembled nation which had nobly ſhaken off its ignominious fetters, and exulted in its new-born freedom! What was become of thoſe moments when no emotions were pre-ordained, no feelings meaſured out, no acclamations decreed; but when every boſom beat high with admiration, when

every heart throbbed with enthuſiaſtic tranſport, when every eye melted into tears, and the vault of heaven reſounded the burſts of unpremeditated applauſe!

But let us not even now deſpair of the cauſe of liberty. Let us not abandon the fair and noble region filled with objects which excite the thrill of tenderneſs or the glow of admiration, becauſe along the path which France has choſen ſerpents have lurked beneath the buds of roſes, and beaſts of prey have iſſued from the lofty woods; let us diſcover, if we can, a leſs tremendous road, but let us not renounce the land of promiſe.

The citizens of Paris had been invited, and the invitation amounted to a command, to decorate their houſes in honour of the feſtival. Accordingly Paris on that morning, lighted up by brilliant ſunſhine, preſented the moſt gay and charming ſpectacle imaginable. Woods had been robbed of their ſhade, and gardens to the extent of ſome leagues rifled of their ſweets, in order to adorn the city. The walls of every houſe were covered with luxuriant wreaths of oak and laurel, blended with flowers; civic crowns were interwoven with national ribbands; three-coloured flags waved over every portal; and the whole was arranged with that light and airy grace which belongs to Pariſian fancy. The women wore garlands of freſh blown roſes in their hair, and held branches of palm or laurel in their hands—the men placed oaken boughs in their hats, and children ſtrewed the way with violets and myrtle. The repreſentatives of the people had large three-coloured plumes in their hats, national ſcarfs thrown acroſs their ſhoulders, and noſe-gays of blended wheat-ears, and flowers in their hands, as ſymbols of their miſſion.

From this profuſion of gay objects, which in happier moments would have excited delightful ſenſations, the drooping ſoul now turned diſtaſteful. The ſcent of carnage ſeemed mingled with theſe laviſh ſweets; the glowing feſtoons appeared tinged with blood, and in the back ground of this feſtive ſcenery the gullotine aroſe before the diſturbed imagination.

A great amphitheatre was raiſed in the garden of the Thuilleries immediately before the palace, now the ſeat of the convention. Upon a tribune in the centre of the theatre, Robeſpierre as preſident of the convention appeared; and having for a few hours diſencumbered the ſquare of the revolution of the gullotine, this high-prieſt of Moloch, within view of that very ſpot where his daily ſacrifice of human victims was offered up, covered with their blood, invoked the Parent of univerſal nature, talked of the charms of virtue, and breathed the hope of immortality! When the foul fiend had finiſhed this impious mockery, he deſcended from the tribune, and walked with great ſolemnity towards a groteſque kind of monument that was raiſed upon the baſon in the front of the palace, which had been covered over for that purpoſe. On this monument was placed a miſhapen and hideous figure, with aſs's ears, which for ſome hours ſerved as an enigma to the gazing crowd, who knew not how to account for this ſingular appearance; till Robeſpierre having ſet fire to this image of deformity, which was declared to be the ſymbol of atheiſm, its cumbrous drapery ſuddenly vaniſhed, and a fair and majeſtic form was diſcovered, emblematical of wiſdom and philoſophy.

Atheiſm being thus happily deſtroyed, the convention, attended by a numerous proceſſion of people, and preceded by triumphal cars and banners, marched to the Champ de Mars, where with much toil and coſt a rocky *mountain* had been reared, upon whoſe lofty ſummit the tyrant and his attendants climbed, and from whence he once more harangued the people; and the feſtival cloſed with hymns and choral ſongs in honor of the ſupreme being.

Robeſpierre on this day, intoxicated with his power, loſt ſight of his uſual prudence, and diſplayed all the littleneſs of his vanity. He cauſed a line of ſeparation to be made between himſelf and the other deputies of the convention, and marched at ſome diſtance before them, like a captain at the head of his band. He had the folly to diſplay his importance by keeping the convention and the aſſembled multitude waiting, and the ceremony ſuſpended for two hours, while he was ſought for in vain. During the proceſſion his creatures attempted to raiſe the cry of "Vive Robeſpierre!" but it was faintly re-echoed by the ſpectators, many of whom followed him with curſes, not loud but deep, which the poor heart would fain deny, but dare not.

Two days after this feſtival in honour of the ſupreme being, Robeſpierre, the ſcourge of his creatures, compelled the enſlaved convention to paſs a law, which permitted the revolutionary jury to condemn thoſe who were brought before them, from their own internal conviction, without any proof whatever or hearing any witneſſes; and which alſo ſuppreſſed the ſuperfluous office of official defender, or counſel; a privilege that Couthon, who made the report in the name of the committee of public ſafety, aſſerted conſpirators by no means deſerved. In other words, the jury were now authoriſed to paſs ſentence without even the forms of trial. From this period to the fall of Robeſpierre, all the judicial ſolemnities of the revolutionary tribunal conſiſted in reading over the names of the accuſed, who were immediately after declared by the jury to be guilty of a conſpiracy againſt the ſafety of the French people, and the indiviſibility of the French republic.

If any of the unhappy perſons thus proſcribed attempted to ſpeak in their defence, they were thus ſilenced by the preſident: "It is not your turn to ſpeak," and if they perſiſted in declaring their innocence, they were put what was called "hors de debats;" that is, ordered immediately out of the court, condemned in their abſence, and ſent to execution. "I was not in priſon when this conſpiracy took place," cried madame de Noailles, madame Lafayette's ſiſter. "But you would have been in the conſpiracy if you had been there," anſwered the preſident; and this unfortunate lady, the mother of three children, periſhed with her own mother and grandmother. Madame Lafayette being in another priſon was, in the hurry of forming the liſts of death, forgotten when her family ſuffered—and ſtill lived to undergo new ſorrows. From this period the priſons became ſcenes of unaccountable horror and deſpair. Till now, the crowds by which they were inhabited had ſubmitted to their fate with that cheerful reſignation, and often with that careleſs gaiety which is buoyant at a Frenchman's heart in circumſtances that would altogether overwhelm the ſinking ſpirits of the people of other countries.

During the long interval which paſſed between preſenting the report and celebrating the feſtival, ſome events took place which it is neceſſary to note. On the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, an attempt was made to aſſaſſinate Collot d'Herbois, a member of the committee of public ſafety, as he was walking the ſtreet. The aſſaſſin's name was Ameral, who, after diſcharging a piſtol at Collot, immediately returned to his lodgings, which he fortified in the beſt manner he was able. Collot requeſted Geoffroi with whom he was walking to call a municipal officer while he purſued Ameral to his lodgings. Ameral having loaded ſeveral piſtols threatened inſtant death to whoever ſhould attempt to enter his apartments. Collot, however, endeavoured to break open the door, but Goeffroi prevented him, exclaiming "I demand you in the name of the peo-

ple to remain here. I will put this villain under the axe of the law or periſh in the attempt—To exterminate ſuch men is to practiſe juſtice and virtue." He immediately broke open the door ruſhed upon Ameral, diſarmed and ſecured him, not however before Goeffroi was wounded by the diſcharge of the aſſaſſin's piſtol.

Upon inſtituting an enquiry into the ſituation and profeſſion of Ameral, it was found he had belonged to the guards, and was diſmiſſed on the threatened invaſion of Brunſwick. He acknowledged on his trial that the meant to aſſaſſinate Robeſpierre and Collot. That he had become weary of exiſtence, and reſolved to render his country a ſervice by the act. He gloried in the attempt and lamented that it had not been ſucceſsful. He aſſerted that no perſon was connected with him, and had even procured arms by the ſale of his effects.

On the ſame day at nine o'clock in the evening, a young female, about twenty years of age knocked at the door of Robeſpierre's lodging, and deſired to ſpeak to him; being informed that he was not at home, ſhe ſaid—"It is very aſtoniſhing that, as he is a public functionary, he is not at home. Poſſeſſing ſuch a ſituation as he does, he ought to be always ready, to ſee thoſe who have buſineſs with him."

Her mode of expreſſion excited ſuſpicion, ſhe was ſtopped and carried before the committee of public ſafety. On the way thither ſhe exclaimed "that during the old government the king was acceſſible at all times, and that ſhe would ſpill every drop of her blood to reſtore the ancient government." Being introduced to the committee ſhe ſaid her name was Aimée Cecile Regnault, twenty years old, the daughter of a ſtationer in the ſection of La Cité. Being queſtioned on her trial what ſhe wanted of Robeſpierre, ſhe replied that "ſhe only wanted to ſee what kind of a being a tyrant was." Two knives were found upon her. She ſuffered death with Ameral and ſixty-nine others, brought from different parts of the republic upon counter-revolutionary accuſations.

This attempt on Robeſpierre's life had raiſed his popularity to the higheſt; and in the convention he took occaſion to diſcant upon it in a ſtyle ſo hypocritical as to render the compariſon between him and Cromwell even more than uſually complete. He returned thanks to God that he and his party had ſerved their country ſo well as to be deemed worthy of the poniards of tyrants. It was a ſpectacle, he ſaid, worthy of heaven and earth to behold the repreſentatives of the French people, ſtationed on the almoſt inexhauſtible volcano of conſpiracies, placing with one hand at the feet of the *great eternal* the homage of a mighty people, and with the other launching the thunder-bolts againſt the tyrants of the earth.

It is impoſſible to reflect without emotions of diſguſt, on the crimes of this monſter and his continual profeſſions of devotion to the great eternal. In every age, in every nation, religion has been the uniform maſk of tyrants and knaves. Religion! Venerable ſource of ſecret joy, emanation of affection and gratitude, ſweet reconciler of man to his being, ſtrong bond that unites the individual with the cauſe of his exiſtence! Wiſdom's ſolemn and ineffable tie, which diſdains alike the trammels of ceremony and the proud boaſts of oſtentation! Which builds her loved abodes in the modeſt receſſes of the heart! Who ſhuns the haunts of worldly cunning that ſo often aſſumes her name! Benignant ſympathy, that turns with ſorrowing eye and iron tears from the abuſes, the hypocriſy, the crimes, which are perpetrated under the ſacred ſhadow of thy name!

On the 28th of May a report was laid before the convention by the Committee of Public Welfare, on the formation of a military ſchool—the decree was paſſed in the following terms :—

I. There ſhall be ſent to Paris, from each diſtrict of the Republic, ſix young Citizens, under the name of *Eleves de l'Ecole de Mars*, from the age of ſixteen to ſeventeen and a half, to receive, by a revolutionary education, all the knowledge and habits of a Republican ſoldier.

II. The agents of the diſtricts ſhall make choice, without delay, of ſix pupils from the children of the *Sans-Culottes*. One half of theſe pupils ſhall be taken from citizens of ſmall income in the country, the other from the towns; a preference being given to wounded volunteers, and to thoſe ſerving in the armies of the Republic.

III. The National Agents ſhall chooſe the beſt formed, the moſt robuſt, intelligent, and thoſe who have given the beſt proofs of civiſm and good conduct.

IV. The Eleves of the ſchool ſhall come to Paris on foot, and unarmed: they ſhall travel as the Defenders of the Republic, and ſhall receive a ſtate of the route. One ſhall have the care of the reſt, and ſhall be reſponſible for their conduct.

V. The National Agents of the diſtricts ſhall be authoriſed to give them the neceſſary ſtate of the route to Paris. They ſhall take ſuch meaſures that the Eleves of their vicinity ſhall march ten days after the receipt of the preſent decree by the Bulletin.

VI. None ſhall be received in the Military School after the 20th Meſſidor.

VII. The Military School ſhall be formed on the Plains of Sablons, near Paris.

VIII. The Commune of Paris, on account of its population, ſhall furniſh twenty-four Eleves. They ſhall be choſen as in the diſtricts, and the liſt ſhall be ſubmitted for the approbation of the Committee of Public Welfare.

IX. The Eleves of the Military Schools ſhall be clothed, armed, and fed, at the expence of the Republic.

X. They ſhall be exerciſed in the uſe of Arms, the manœuvres of Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery. They ſhall learn the principles of the Art of War and Fortification. They ſhall be trained to fraternity, diſcipline, frugality, good manners, love of their country, and a hatred of Kings.

XI. They ſhall remain in tents as long as the ſeaſon will permit.

XII. The Military School is to be under the immediate inſpection and management of the Committee of Public Welfare.

XIII. The inſertion of the preſent decree in the Bulletin ſhall be conſidered as its publication.

On the 30th of May, Barrere making uſe of ſome recent diſcoveries of the machinations of the Engliſh government, and of the meaſures and declarations of the miniſters and ſome members of the Engliſh parliament connected with them, introduced the conduct of England to the notice of the convention in a long and minute ſtatement of the artifices and treacheries which had been practiſed againſt the liberties of France; he quoted the letter addreſſed by lord Auckland to the Dutch government prior to the commencement of open war, and ſhewed that the conduct of the government was in perfect alliance with Auckland's letter; he quoted a ſpeech of that lord delivered in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers on the occaſion of a meſſage delivered by the Engliſh king on the 28th of April concerning the enormous ſubſidy lately granted to Pruſſia; wherein that lord ſaid

—" that he had always thought this war ſhould he waged *uſque ad interneciones*"—that lord Mansfield, Mr. Windham, and earl Fitzwilliam, as well as Mr. Burke, had repeatedly declared in the ſame terms, that the war was and ought to be againſt France an *inſidious exterminating war*; that Burke had declared on the 17th of April in public debate, that if one individual of thoſe traitors and aſſaſſins which England has armed and equipped under Moira, to throw them on the ſhores of the republic to ſpread deſolation on the country that gave them birth,—he declared that if one of theſe ſhould be executed as traitors, that England ſhould retaliate on the republican priſoners ſhe ſhould take fighting in defence of their country and its liberties; he noticed the defence of the treaty of Pilnitz delivered in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons by Mr. Jenkinſon on the 6th of March, and the declaration of Earl Mansfield in the Houſe of Peers on the ſame day that Auckland had declared the war to be an inſidious and exterminating war; and that Mansfield had ſupported the doctrine; that Pitt and his co-adjutors Grenville and Dundas had maintained the ſame ſame doctrines; and that the inſtructions to ſtarve France, manifeſted in the treaties of England with Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Spain, and other powers; diſplayed that this ſyſtem of exterminating France, and blotting her from the map of Europe, was a regular deeply digeſted, and uniform ſyſtem; that the atrocity of the deſign was only the more odious, ſince the imbecility that dictated it muſt bring down a retaliation of ſyſtem on itſelf; diſgraced at Toulon and Dunkirk, they meditated new corruption; that the Engliſh miniſters were at that moment employed in the moſt diabolical efforts, open and ſecret againſt France, that the latter ſhould in due time be diſcloſed, but that it was neceſſary to keep the knowledge which the committee poſſeſſed ſecret, in order to render the efforts of the enemy more completely deſtructive to themſelves; he proceeded with great animation in an appeal to the paſſions—England he ſaid was capable of outraging humanity in every ſhape, of every crime towards the republic and towards all nations whom ſhe could not cajole or corrupt and render ſubſervient to her avarice and ambition—ſhe attacks the rights of nations with the ſame audacity that ſhe had enſlaved her own people and attempted to enſlave Europe; ſhe dreads the eſtabliſhment of liberty in France as fatal to her uſurpations, and ſhe wiſhes to annihilate it; ſhe wiſhes to make the deſpots of Europe her allies, in order that the corruption of her government may be guaranteed—How long will the republic ſuffer to continue on her frontier the ſlaves of the ideot George—the ſoldiers of the moſt ſtupid and atrocious of tyrants? He who was diſappointed in America wiſhes to renew his hopes on that country by the deſtruction of the power now republicaniſed which tore from his talons the republic of the new world. He who formed the Congreſs of Pilnitz, and bribed and ſeduced, degraded and then betrayed, both his own promiſes and the objects of his deſigns; he who maſſacred the republicans in the neutral ports of Genoa; he who corrupted the cities and endeavoured to deſtroy the national repreſentatives—he who expended millions to create a league of all Europe, to ſtarve the French people for the crime of ſeeking their liberties—he who purchaſed treaſons in every direction, and diſſeminates forged papers in France for which he daily ſigns death warrants againſt his own impoveriſhed and corrupted ſubjects! What is the mode of proceeding ſuitable to the atrocities of ſuch a monſter and ſuch a government? Are the forms of civilized war to be obſerved towards tygers and bears? Are miſcreants who contemn all moral and civil obligations, and put men fighting for their freedom out of the pale of civilization, are they to be treated as civilized men? Are the republicans of France to indure,

an inſidious exterminating war, and not retaliate? No! forbid it juſtice; "When the events of battle ſhall put in your power either Engliſh or Hanoverians, bring to your memory, ſoldiers of liberty, all thoſe acts perpetrated againſt you—recollect all the wrongs and hatreds you unmeritedly ſuffer—the vaſt tracts of country laid waſte by the hired ſlaves of England. Carry your eyes to La Vendee, Lyons, Toulon, Landrecy, Martinique, and St. Domingo, places ſtill reeking with the blood which the atrocious policy of England has ſhed. Do not truſt to their artful language, that affected bluntneſs which hides a dark, ſelfiſh, and tyrannical ſoul—a language worthy of their perfidious character and machiavelian government. Thoſe who boaſt that they abhor the tyranny of George, ſay can they fight for him? No!—no, republican ſoldiers:—you ought therefore when victory ſhall put into your power either Engliſhmen or Hanoverians, to ſtrike; not one of them ought to return to the traitorous territory of England, or be brought into France. Let the Britiſh ſlaves periſh, and Europe be free."

This meaſure the effect of repeated aggravation, produced an enthuſiaſm that raiſed the French armies to the utmoſt pitch of hatred; and ſtruck a terror ſo fatal into the hearts of the enemy, that in almoſt every ſucceeding action, the Britiſh and Hanoverian troops could ſcarcely be brought to rally if their ranks were once broken. A decree was paſſed in a few days after upon the ſpirit of this propoſition of Barrere, that if the garriſons of Valenciennes, Condé, and Queſnoy did not ſurrender within twenty-four hours after being ſummoned, they ſhould not be ſpared; thoſe garriſons ſurrendered without making that reſiſtance which under other circumſtances they might.

Robeſpierre whoſe power had been daily elevating to the higheſt and moſt unlimited extent, did not perceive, that beneath his feet the very means by which he had poſſeſſed himſelf of it, were alſo, working a mine that was to annihilate him by a ſudden and momentary exploſion. What hath been obſerved by naturaliſts of the encreaſed ferocity of thoſe animals, which have once taſted of human blood, may be applied to the chief of ſavages, man, when he has once diſcarded humanity and become intoxicated with power. The priſons of Paris were ſtill crowded with victims from all parts of the country, in conſequence of that decree which rendered all priſoners of a certain claſs to be tried by the revolutionary tribunal only. At one period they amounted to between ſeven and eight thouſand. No preciſe return has been publiſhed of the trials; the newſpapers French and Engliſh have been the ſources of many errors on this ſubject, and have conſigned to death many victims who never exiſted.* A few names, however, diſtinguiſhed hy their celebrity deſerve notice. Lamoignon Maleſherbes, the generous defender of Louis, was one of thoſe, his principles need no better teſt than his connection with the great Turgot, with whom he entered into adminiſtration, and in whoſe diſmiſſion he had been joined under the miſtaken and capricious rule of that unfortunate king. His virtues were an affliction to the heart of Robeſpierre, and he periſhed. The eccentric baron Trenck, he whoſe life had been an uninterrupted courſe of ſuffering from the

* The Engliſh newſpapers dwelt with lengthened horrors on the execution of the widow of the *Bailie Suffrien*, whoſe naval ſerivces has reflected ſo much credit on France. The ignorance of the author of this execution defeated his malignity, by giving in the title of Bailie, which is a ſuperior honorary diſtinction of the order of Knights of Malta, an evidence of the falſehood; becauſe the Knights of that order by their vows are bound to celibacy, and Suffrein conſequently could have no wife or widow.

ingenious cruelty of deſpotiſm, was doomed at length to fall by a tyranny more dreadful, even when he had conſoled himſelf with the reflection of obtaining the goal of freedom. The princeſs Lumbomirſka, a Ruſſian lady whoſe devotion to liberty had led her from the banks of the Viſtula to participate in the brilliant carreer of the revolution, was alſo proſcribed by the tyrant, the celebrated Koſciuſko had humanely interpoſed his venerable voice to atteſt her virtues and her devotion to freedom, but with that black ſpecies of ambition, which, like pope Sixtus the Fifth and the Engliſh Elizabeth, could revel with the intoxication of delight upon the murder of female beauty and innocence united in a princeſs, ſhe was marked down for death by the ſanguinary tyrant. Among the proſcribed whom the better genuis of liberty preſerved, was Thomas Paine, whoſe luminous writings ſo much contributed to the eſtabliſhment of union and independence on the ſhores of America; by a ſingular, but yet unaccounted for, perverſion of all reaſoning, the tyrant had marked him down for execution, as neceſſary to the "common good of America and France;" a critical fever had ſeized him, and as if the monſter could not enjoy his murders unleſs the victim were ſuſceptible of the painful circumſtances of his ſtate, his execution was ſuſpended until he ſhould be reſtored to health. Meanwhile the tyrant's fate was decided. But ere that auſpicious event, the priſoners ſuffered all the miſeries of want and apprehenſion. Impriſonment became more ſtrict, they were prohibited from receiving proviſions by their families or from taverns, but compelled to eat out of one diſh and at one table; they were reſtricted to a ſcanty meal in twenty-four hours, and the expence of each priſoner was to be fifty ſous a day.

Men in power rarely diſcern the foundations upon which it reſts. The alarm created by the denunciations of Brunſwick, the artifices of England, and the treachery of men purchaſed by her gold; had led the people of France to ſubmit patiently to any evils leſs grevious, than ſubjection by their wanton and inveterate enemies, or the ſwords of foreign mercenaries. While their country was menaced, the ſufferings of individuals were only conſidered as leſſer calamities. But in proportion as the arms of the republic became triumphant, as plots were defeated, and the enemy chaſed from the frontiers of the republic; apprehenſion of external danger were removed, and people began to feel and think of their ſituation at home. The ſigh long ſmothered was lengthened into a murmur, and the moans of miſery excited a keen but dumb ſympathy. The recollection of the many virtuous men who had paſſed acroſs the ſtage to the bourne of death, made the heart of the generous and the tender throb with revolt; and the death of Danton and Camille, thoſe men whoſe great minds and firm patriotiſm had compreſſed the revolution into the compaſs of a few ſhort years, daily preſented to the reflection an exceſs of tyranny, which was too dangerous for all to be tolerable for any.

The fate of Danton had excited a degree or horror in the members of the convention with a very few exceptions. His death was viſibly a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of ambition, and thoſe who before dreaded the ambition of Danton, ſaw when too late how much more grevious was that tyranny under which they had fallen. The members of the committees were each anticipating a ſimilar fate, and ſatisfied, that to be ſucceſsful the country muſt be relieved from the bondage in which the minds of thoſe were enthralled who held the poſts of truſt and action; with Robeſpierre and thoſe devoted to him, there could be no confidence, becauſe fidelity to be permanent muſt be reciprocal.

Barrere whoſe verſatile capacity foreſaw intuitively every danger from the colliſion of party and every advantage that the revolution could obtain from improving the current

of popular fear, paſſion, or reſentment, appears to have been the author of a conſpiracy exactly correſponding with that of Danton. Profiting by the fall of Danton, and poſſeſſing an addreſs more flexible and inſinuating, more perſuaſive, and leſs ſevere; he had contrived to obtain an exact knowledge of the temper and thoughts of the two committees, individually, and found that the greater number were like himſelf, inſpired with abhorrence of the ſtate of ſubjection in which they were held. Among men ſo circumſtanced, the diſcloſure of ſentiments is the bond of attachment, and a plan was agreed upon, which was to guide the meaſures of the conſpirators. The temper of the public mind was not yet entirely awakened to the identity of the public misfortunes, they ſaw not ſufficiently clear that in Robeſpierre was concentred the very origin and vital principle of the pervading calamities; they reſolved to order public meaſures ſo that the ſource ſhould be ſeen, and it was left to the courſe of events to unfold him to the public eye in ſuch a form as would afford them a fit opportunity to rouſe the public indignation, and by falling upon him at once extricate the country and themſelves from their afflictions; beſides the members of the committees, conſiſting chiefly of Billaud, Barrere, Carnot, and Lindet others were united in ſimilar views ſeveral of the earneſt friends of all the parties that had been proſcribed; Tallien, Legendre, Bourdon of the Oiſe, Freron, and many of thoſe of the Gironde who had remained in a ſtate of negative exiſtence ſince the fall of their friends.

A report was preſented on the ſeventh of June from the committee of finance, upon the ſubject of an extraordinary contribution; Cambon was at the head of that committee, and from him the great meaſures of finance that had ſupplied the vaſt wants of the revolution uſually iſſued.

Robeſpierre ſpoke of this man's plans with comtempt; he called them little, fraudulent, and mean; the members of the committee heard him with ſilent indignation; all but Cambon, who lifted up his voice and had the courage firſt to break through that reſtraint which had ſo long chained the minds of the convention in ſervile obedience to whatever meaſure the tyrant ſignified an attachment; he had been entruſted with the purpoſes of the conſpirators, but his wounded pride as an author, his official vanity as a financier, could not ſuffer him to reſtrain himſelf at a moment when all others thought the time not yet ripe for his undoing; he upbraided him with bitterneſs and with anger, Robeſpierre, whoſe name was ſynonimous with terror, was aſtoniſhed, and even condeſcended to aſſure Cambon, that his reflections were only of a general nature, and not intended to inſult or injure him. It was now viſible to all that the period approached when they ſhould ſtrike.

On the ninth of June, the convention had been, in the recently uſual ſilent way, led to paſs a decree which inveſted the committees with a power of conveying before the revolutionary tribunal all perſons who ſhould be *deemed to have incurred the penalties of the national juſtice*. On the next day Bourdon of the Oiſe took upon him to cenſure that decree, in the moſt pointed terms. "Does this right," ſaid he, "extend to the members of the convention? Can they order the national repreſentatives allo before that tribunal?" He was anſwered only by murmurs. "I love thoſe conſolatory murmurs," exclaimed he, with a warmth of enthuſiaſm that made the hall reſound—"I love thoſe "conſolatory murmurs, by which I am ſatisfied that liberty can never periſh! I love "thoſe murmurs, becauſe they declare to me that you did not mean to confer on the

" committees a power with which they ought not to be entruſted, and which they ſhould " not accept, if you were ſo baſe. I move that you formally pronounce, that the com- " mittees ſhall ſtill preſerve the ſalutary right of apprehending, whenever the ſafety of " the republic ſhall require it, the repreſentatives of the people; but, that they ſhall not " be authoriſed to bring them before the revolutionary tribunal without a previous decree " of this aſſembly."

A diviſion on this queſtion was called for. A member obſerved that ſuch an idea could not poſſibly have been conceived, as that of giving ſuch a power to the committee. "But," added he, " as the decree in queſtion abrogates all preceding laws, I demand that the propoſition of Bourdon be adopted.

Merlin of Douay propoſed to decree that the national repreſentation had an excluſive right to paſs decrees againſt its own members, and to have them tried before the criminal tribunals. This he thought an unalienable right. It was decreed.

On the eleventh of June, Couthon made a further report on the organization of the revolutionary tribunal; Bourdon and Lecointre moved an adjournment. Robeſpierre oppoſed it—" I obſerve," ſaid he, " that the period when liberty triumphs moſt, is that in which the enemies of the people are moſt active to deprive us of the fruits of our labours. We conſent to die, but we wiſh the country and the convention to be ſaved." On the twelfth Couthon attempted once more to revive the ſubject of the former diſcuſſion, and wiſhed to exonerate the committee from the charge of ambition and wiſhing to accumulate exorbitant powers; he named Bourdon as a perſon wiſhing to diſtract the convention; and ſaid the reſolution paſſed concerning the Committees' power was equally injurious to them and the convention.

Bourdon ſaid he would not permit ſuch inſinuations of bad intentions to paſs unrepelled. —He argued at large to ſhew it was dictated by the pureſt intentions, and to produce the beſt effects. Robeſpierre thereupon roſe and in a very long ſpeech attacked Bourdon; he ſaid, that after the overthrow of Briſſot, other conſpiracies had been ſecretly formed, " elſe why thoſe attempts to divide the committees from the mountain? The mountain the convention, and the committees are the ſame, [loud plaudits.] Behold then a project of intrigue in this diſtinction; therefore there are intriguers"—" Name them!" Exclaimed Bourdon. " I will not name any perſon, for the intriguers diſcover themſelves [applauſe,] one fact will tend to prove there are people who wiſh to divide us. Two couriers belonging to the committee were yeſterday in the ſtreets addreſſed in theſe words, " what do you do there? You are two of the twenty thouſand ſpies of the com- " mittee"! He concluded with a hope that the convention would reſtore its confidence to the committees.

Tallien obſerved reſpecting the couriers, that five perſons came up to him and two of his colleagues, and forced themſelves into their company with a view to join in their converſation, while walking the terrace; but not a word paſſed concerning ſpies. Robeſpierre aſſerted that three hundred perſons witneſſed it, and that it was odious to add falſhood to crimes.

The convention did not appear to receive the declamations of Robeſpierre with their uſual promptitude; the effort he now made was viſibly intended to enable him to graſp at the lives of thoſe he feared.

This ſudden check to the authority of Robeſpierre was ſeverely felt; and whether diſtruſtful of his aſſociates or meditating ſome further plan of proſcription and maſſacre,

he abſented himſelf for four decades (forty days) from the committees, under pretence of indiſpiſition; nevertheleſs during this period he directed the whole adminiſtration of the interior police which he had retained excluſively to himſelf, unleſs occaſionally he entruſted ſome meaſures to be executed by Couthon or St. Juſt, who were indefatigable in his ſervice, and diſplayed an attachment to him to the laſt worthy of a better cauſe.

During the period of his abſence, however, no viſible change took place in the order of affairs; Robeſpierre received his daily liſts of the priſoners, and he marked on the margin, as cuſtomary, a croſs oppoſite the names of thoſe who were to be tried, which was ſynonimous with executed.

During the remainder of the month of June, a variety of important decrees were paſſed; literary inſtitutions were eſtabliſhed, and other highly laudable and uſeful plans adopted. Reports of victories were daily brought in, and diſplayed by the florid and inexhauſtible eloquence of Barrere. On the eighteenth of June he preſented a report from the committee of public ſafety on the means of preventing mendicity; by which beggars were directed to be removed from the bridges and other highways; they were to be decently clothed, temporary relief afforded till houſes could be provided, and afterwards each was to be employed in ſuch labour as their reſpective ages and infirmities would enable them to perform. By another decree proviſion was made for the ſubſiſtence of the indigent blind.

Some regulations were alſo made in the early part of July reſpecting prizes and captures; and very judicious meaſures were adopted to prevent the circulation of forged aſſignats, with which England in particular contrived to inundate the republic, and in which as was before noticed, the combined powers all concurred. From ſuch a diſgraceful mode of war, honeſty ſhrinks; if the private forger is a felon, as Barrere obſerved, what appellation ſhall be given to the crowned felon who commits the deed himſelf, and with the ſame hand ſigns the death warrant of the indigent criminal. If ſuch a meaſure could effect the governmentof a country hoſtile to the happineſs of mankind, as the French was alledged to be, ſome excuſe might be found perhaps in that pretended but abſurd code called the "laws of war;" but unfortunately it is the humble and innocent individual upon whom it preys; it is the honeſt and unſuſpecting labourer that ſuffers, who finds himſelf and his family defrauded by royal ſharpers, of that pittance which he had earned with the ſweat of his brow—it is a fraud upon the widow and the orphan! and yet who have been diſtinguiſhed for committing it—the ſupporters and aſſertors of the religion of Chriſt! By a report of St. Juſt it appeared that notwithſtanding the millions that had been ſecretly ſent into France, not more than to the nominal value of one hundred and thirty thouſand livres had been impoſed on the national treaſury, (about ſix thouſand pounds ſterling).

On the joint report of the committees of ſafety and war, the convention adopted a mode of diſtributing military preferments. In every corps, one third of the poſts, from the rank of ſub-lieutenant to that of chief of battalion or ſquadron were devoted to the recompenſe of ſuch of the defenders of their country as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by heroical exploits. The remaining two thirds to be beſtowed by ſeniority or election. Thus the firſt poſt vacant in the corps was to be filled up in the order of ſeniority, the ſecond by election, and in the third caſe the vacancy was to be ſupplied by order of the convention by ſome perſon who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in action. A liſt of all the latter claſs was to be made out every decade and diſtributed throughout the armies.

The wiſdom of ſuch a plan is in itſelf evident, from its equity, and the effect which it muſt neceſſarily produce by the emulation of talents and valour.

While theſe wiſe decrees were paſſing, the armies of the republic were purſuing their triumphs, and the meaſures of the republic were conducted with a vigor which had completely refuted a long received notion, that popular governments were incapable of energy and diſpatch. At the ſame moment the ſtorm was ſecretly collecting which was to terminate at once the fate of the tyrant, his ſanguinary ſyſtem, and gradually alter the whole revolutionary proceſs to a regular and orderly repreſentative government. Yet to ſhake the well eſtabliſhed power of Robeſpierre, was a bold enterprize. The Jacobin club that ſource of power and popularity from the commencement of the revolution, was ſtill at his devotion: the armed force of Paris was ſecured by the agency of Henriot the commandant; the revolutionary tribunal and all the offices of truſt were filled with perſons of his choice; he held an undivided control over the national police; and although his influence with the populace had ſuffered, it was not annihilated, ſince it had not fixed on any other character. His tyranny was of a peculiar caſt; it was not ſupported as deſpotiſm uſually is, by the oppreſſion of the poorer claſſes of ſociety; but it was directed principally againſt the affluent and the learned; as he roſe in power by the blind attachment of the multitude, ſo he never neglected any occaſion to flatter their deſires and conciliate their paſſions.

Man is not naturally ſavage or ferocious; but he is capable of being rendered both; the conduct of the combined powers was in itſelf ſo much diſtinguiſhed by both characters, that it was not ſurpriſing that rage and deſpair ſhould have converted the French people into beings as furious as their threatened dangers were terrific. This prediſpoſition of the people when Robeſpierre obtained an aſcendancy, was calculated to render his firſt proſcriptions leſs odious; but when danger was removed to a greater diſtance, and proſcription became ſo general as to exempt neither age, ſex, nor condition, ſelf-preſervation muſt have excited an alarm, that could not fail of ſettling in diſguſt or hatred. Thoſe who conſpired againſt Robeſpierre muſt have been ſenſible of the great prevalency of ſuch ſentiments. But it alſo appears that beſide the party which was formed in the committees, there was another acting independently in the convention, theſe were the decided friends of Danton, at whoſe head was Legendre, and this party was by far the moſt formidable. As the lenity of Brutus in ſparing Antony, after having ſacrificed Cæſar, is ſaid to have proved the ruin of his party; the ſacrifice of Danton and ſuffering Legendre to ſurvive him, may be ſaid to have precipitated his fall. The moſt inveterate enemies of Robeſpierre were thoſe who had ſtood by his ſide ſo long on the mountain, and it was with Legendre that Tallien and Bourdon united.

The uſurper was not inſenſible of his danger. He only imagined it to be not ſo great, or more remote. He appears to have repoſed no confidence in the committee of public ſafety, although it is equally evident that he did not ſuſpect danger ſo generally from that quarter. Notwithſtanding his abſence from the committee, he attended the Jacobins on the firſt of July, where he pronounced along harangue in his own defence. He complained that he was the object of foreign perſecution, that calumnies of the ſame nature appeared againſthim in the papers paid by Pitt in London and Paris; he ſpoke of a plot to overthrow the republic, and reprobated the moderates, whom he conſidered as in a conſpiracy with the enemies of the nation.

The reports to which he alluded were actually publiſhed in ſeveral journals, and imported that he had formed a new liſt of thirty members of the convention whom he meant to ſend to the ſcaffold; that he meant to proclaim himſelf dictator; and that the whole authority of the nation was to be veſted in the triumvirate Robeſpierre, St. Juſt, and Couthon. That he formed ſome deſign of proſcription may be clearly inferred from the meaſures propoſed concerning the power of arreſt; that the reſt of the charge was medi. tated is not either ſo certain or probable. His ſucceſs had been ſo great in frequently defeating his adverſaries, however, that even this unuſal freedom of the preſs with him ſeems not to have weakened his confidence. On the eleventh of July his brother denounced Dubois Crance in the Jacobin club, and on the fifteenth he appeared there in perſon to denounce a counter-revolutionary committee which he reported, actually exiſted in the republic.

The parties in the convention had not yet acted with all that concert which appeared neceſſary; and remained even on the twenty-third of July without any fixed plan or any external marks of confidence in each other. On this day we find Barrere making a flaming report on five victories obtained by the armies of the republic, in Piedmont, the Weſtern Pyrennees, on the Rhine and Belgium. On the next day he made a further report, on the ſtate of the capital, wherein he urges the convention to beware of conſpiracies, and to place renewed confidence in their government—"In the midſt of victories," ſaid he, "which ſucceed each other like the exploſion after lightning, we ought to be on our guard againſt the evil genius of our enemies, who are forming a party even in our boſom with as much addreſs as activity." On the twenty-fifth he delivered another report on the ſame ſubject; after ſtating that liberty would annihilate the authors of the new plot, he entered into a reply to thoſe miſled citizens who wiſhed for another 31ſt of May. This alluded to an addreſs preſented that morning by the Jacobins, denouncing what they called the party of ſtrangers. He then entered into a compariſon of the paſt with the then preſent ſtate of the republic, and with ſingular felicity expoſed the afflictions of faction, in a manner which while it appeared to favour the ſentiments of Robeſpierre, expoſed his meaſures with a degree of nakedneſs that could be miſtaken only by the infatuation of guilt.

The hopes of the uſurper appear to have reſted wholly at this time on the energy, popularity, and attachment of the Jacobins, and he entertained the idea through them of once more overawing the convention. His brother and other agents had conſtantly reproached the Jacobins with their torpor. On preſenting their addreſs on the twenty-fifth Dubois Crance, who had been denounced in the club by the younger Robeſpierre, took occaſion to juſtify himſelf againſt their aſperſions and calumnies; but the convention entered ſo little into the ſpirit of theſe factious brawls, that after much tumult, the addreſs was referred to the committee of public ſafety.

On the twenty-ſixth Robeſpierre appeared in the convention; he mounted the tribune, and announced his intention to make a report on his own authority of the ſtate of the republic—"Is it true" he ſaid "that alarm hath been infuſed into the minds of the national repreſentatives to ſuch a degree, that ſeveral of them are afraid to ſleep at their own houſes? Is it true that I am accuſed of wiſhing to march to the dictatorſhip over the enſanguined ruins of the national repreſentation? This word *Dictatorſhip*, reviles the revolutionary government; it deſtroys the republic and renders the national juſtice odi-

ous, depicting it as a ſervile inſtrument to one man who directs its operations at pleaſure. What a terrible uſe have our enemies made of a word, which at Rome was applied only to a public function! May I be permitted to return to the duke of York the patent of this dignity, which his friends have made out for me? The cowards! They call me a tyrant: If indeed I were one they would crouch at my feet—If I were one, do you think that tyrants would perſecute me with ſuch virulence? No—they would be prodigal of aſſiſtance to me. Tyrants arrive at the deſtined goal by the aid of ſcoundrels: have thoſe who combat tyrants the ſame object in view?—Truth undoubtedly is deſpotic; but falſhood can no more imitate this deſpotiſm than Salmoneus could imitate thunder. Would you know the ſource of theſe atrocious accuſations brought againſt me? Here is the ſource in the papers of a conſpirator, to whom the ſcaffold has at length done juſtice. "If this cunning demagogue," he ſays, ſpeaking of me, "had never exiſted, the nation would be free, the mind would be unfettered, and we ſhould not have ſeen thoſe aſſaſſinations known by the appellation of the ſentences of the revolutionary tribunal! Would you know the authors of theſe calumnies? In the firſt rank move the duke of York, Mr. Pitt, and his agents. Who come afterwards?—I cannot prevail upon myſelf to remove the veil which conceals ſuch iniquity; but among them are contained thoſe men who oppoſed the decree by which atheiſm was deſtroyed.

"For four decades I have been forced to renounce thoſe functions which you confided to me; but I have never ceaſed to watch over the public weal. I have ſeen that the Engliſh ſo abuſed in our ſpeeches, have not been treated with rigor on the frontiers, and that the decree againſt them has *not in one inſtance* been carried into effect.

"I am aſtoniſhed at that academical levity with which our victories are ſometimes ſpoken of; as if they were gained without any loſs to our brave defenders—I warn you that attempts are made to amuſe you by planting in Belgium the ſterile tree of liberty inſtead of gathering in the harveſt of victory. Without doubt your committees contain the firm ſupporters of liberty, but the majority is paralyſed. Concealment and diſſimulation are practiſed, and conſpiracy rears her head. The artillery has been ſent from Paris. Attempts are made to obtain poſſeſſion of every thing; and conſpiracy, I repeat it, rears her head.

"I have thus diſcloſed to you truths, which, though diſagreeable to particular perſons, are neceſſary to be known, and in ſo doing I have been influenced by no other deſire than that of ſerving my country. It is neceſſary that the committees ſhould act, but it is likewiſe neceſſary to ſuperintend their operations. It is incumbent on the convention to aſſume the dignity which belongs to its character."

As it was uſual to move in the convention for the printing of remarkable ſpeeches, it was expected that ſuch a motion would be made; but Bourdon roſe with promptneſs and ſaid—"I demand that this ſpeech be referred to the committees of public ſafety and general ſecurity, in order that they may examine its contents previous to its being printed; on the ground that, in all probability ſome errors may have crept into the juſt ſtatements that have juſt now been made."—Barrere roſe next—"And I alſo duly eſtimate the privileges of a French citizen. In a free country every thing ought to be known."

Couthon expreſſed himſelf in very ſtrong terms in favour of the immediate printing without any reference—"For a long time calumny has raiſed its tongue againſt the ancient pillars of the revolution." Vadier and Cambon ſupported Bourdon's propoſition;

the latter renewed his obſervations on the freſh attack made in this ſpeech on the financial ſyſtem. Robeſpierre was overwhelmed with this reiterated attack—he aſcended the tribune and ſaid—"I ſpoke of the ſyſtem alone, and, without being very profound in financial knowlege, one may readily perceive that a great number of indigent citizens are ruined by it." The hall became now very much agitated, Freron ſtemmed the tumult, and was heard—"The moment when liberty is to be revived, is that when the freedom of opinion is re-eſtabliſhed. I demand that the convention reſcind the decree which gave to the committees the power of *apprehending* the members of the convention. [Applauſes.] Where is the man who can dare to ſpeak with freedom when he dreads arreſt?" Billaud Varennes—"Should the propoſition now made be adopted, the convention will undergo a ſhocking degradation. He, who is prevented by dread from ſpeaking his ſentiments, is not worthy to be a repreſentative of the people." Panis declared that "if Freron's propoſition was not adopted liberty could not exiſt."

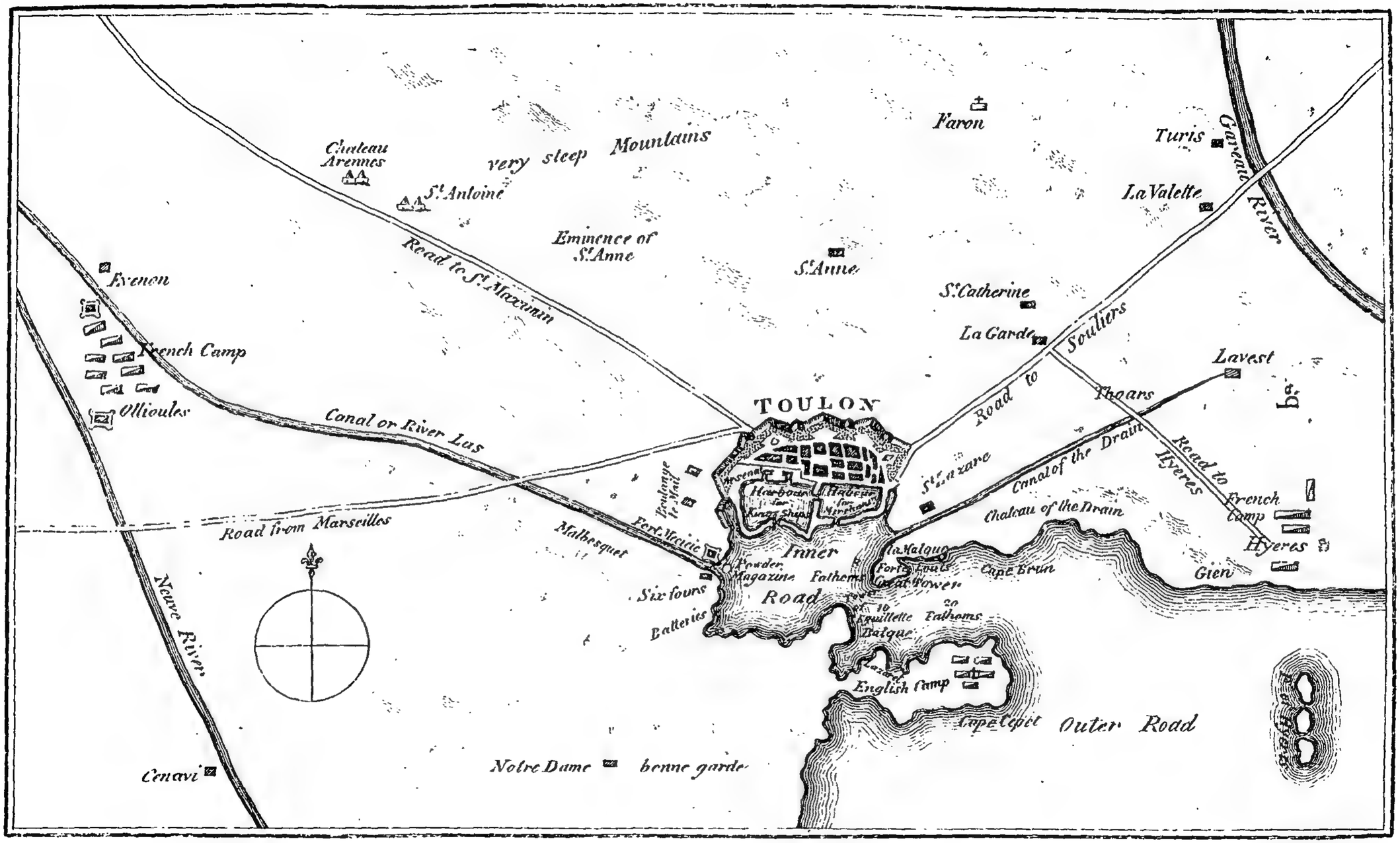
From this oppoſition of the party in the convention and the party in the committees to each other, it is clear there was no concert between them; but it had alſo this particular advantage, that the uſurper was thereby more confident in his ſecurity, which the deciſion of the convention ſtill further ſanctioned, as the ſpeech after a lengthy and violent debate was ordered to be printed without any reference.

The chief reliance of Robeſpierre appears now to have been on his coadjutors St. Juſt and Couthon, and on his own capacity to awake the paſſions and direct them; new combinations formed on the preſſure of the moment had always ſerved his ends, and he was prepared to ſeize upon them. But the moment of his confuſion was approaching, and he whoſe policy had been ſo long wary and profound in the moment of difficulty, acted with the raſhneſs of youth, and the imprudence of a novice. His ſpeech of this day was perhaps the moſt feeble of any he had delivered from the tribune, and as it was a ſtudied ſpeech, for the outline of it was found ſubſequently among his papers in his own handwriting, there is reaſon to believe, upon comparing it with many others of his ſpeeches, which are ably arranged and of a very vigorous and eloquent character, that he had different authors at his command. Every thing was vague and irrelevant on this occaſion, it was a whining complaint to his friends, not the language that was to overawe intrepid rivals—even the attempt to inſinuate a charge againſt his adverſaries, under the affectation of candor on his removing the veil, was a viſible effect of cowardice, or an acknowlegement that he had fallen from his uſual aſcendancy. He ſpoke like a man terrified by the number of his enemies, to perſons impatient to rouſe the vengeance of France againſt him. He diſcovered his fears to a jealous confederacy, willing to increaſe his panic, to aggravate his fears, and to cruſh him beneath them; and while thus making ſignals of diſtreſs, he pointed out without daring to name them, the perſons of whom he deſired to be revenged, who were even in that circumſtance learning from himſelf, that caution, which was ſo long indiſpenſible to their ſecurity againſt his power, was now no longer neceſſary.—Accordingly they did not leave him time to meditate plans of vengeance; the deputies moſt expoſed to his fury met together in the night, they were ſatisfied of the preſſure of their danger, and that on the morrow they muſt deſtroy, or be deſtroyed.—

That morrow was the memorable ninth of Thermidor; (the twenty-ſeventh of July,) a day juſtly celebrated in the French revolution. After ſome petitions had been heard,

St. Juſt appeared at the tribune, and ſaid, "I am of no faction, I will contend againſt them all—your committees of public and general ſafety, have cauſed me to make a report on the cauſes of the evident perverſion of public opinion; but I mean to addreſs myſelf to you, and only in *my own name*"—A burſt of general clamour compelled the orator to conclude, he was entering into a ſpeech in ſupport of what had fallen from Robeſpierre on the preceding day. After ſome tumult, a member of great intrepidity, a bold and energetic character, Tallien, obtained a hearing; he ſpoke to order, "The laſt ſpeaker commenced with telling you that he is of no party;—good;—I likewiſe eſpouſe only the ſide of truth. But we muſt draw alſo the veil that encircles our misfortunes:—Yeſterday a member of the government preſented you a report upon the ſtate of the republic, and he very plainly told you it was upon *his own* authority:—To-day another member comes, and he tells you he is authorized to make a report by the committees which you have appointed, and he tells you that he will *not* diſcharge that duty, but that he alſo will ſpeak to you and report *only in his own name!* What good citizen can refrain from lamenting with tears the abject and calamitous ſtate to which the republic is reduced, when individuals thus pretend not only to diſpenſe with the public truſt given in charge to them, by this aſſembly, but to dictate to you in their own name, and upon their own authority!" The aſſembly applauded, and was ſome moments in a ſtate of ferment. Billaud Varennes mounted the tribune, and profound ſilence prevailed—"Yeſterday the club of the Jacobins was filled with villains and apoſtates; every perſon was admitted who came. An intention was there intimated of murdering ſeveral members of this aſſembly. [Loud murmurs] Yeſterday I heard men utter the moſt abominable calumnies againſt thoſe who had never deviated from the revolution. I ſee one of thoſe wretches now ſitting on the mountain who uſed the expreſſions [a loud cry of 'arreſt him,' it was Le Bas, he was arreſted.] The moment is arrived when truth muſt out; I wonder that St. Juſt ſhould ſpeak at the tribune after what has paſſed. He had promiſed to ſhew his ſpeech to the committee before he ſhould ſpeak it here. The aſſembly will do wrong if it does not perceive that it is in the hands of two murderers. If it is weak and irreſolute it will immediately periſh! ['No! no!' cried a majority of members and ſpontaneouſly riſing moved their hats.—The galleries reſounded with like cries, and ſhouted out 'long live the convention! live the committee of public ſafety!'— Le Bas deſired to be heard—It was moved that he be ſent to priſon.] Billaud continued—"You will ſhudder with horror when you are apprized that the armed force of Paris is intruſted to parricidal hands. Henriot was denounced by the revolutionary tribunal as an accomplice with Hebert. What was the conſequence? One man alone had the audacity to ſupport him. Need I name who that individual was?---Robeſpierre. Lavalette, one of the chiefs of the armed force, the only noble who has been retained in a military truſt, ſharpens the poignards intended to inflict a fatal blow upon the repreſentatives of the people:—under whoſe auſpices has he been protected?—Robeſpierre's. I might quote many more proofs of the ſame audacity on the part of Robeſpierre, and of his infamous deſigns againſt liberty—among others, I need only mention that he has been the author of the impriſonment of the members of the revolutionary committee of the ſection of Indiviſibility—men of the moſt unſullied integrity, and of the moſt diſtinguiſhed patriotiſm; I accuſe him of having withdrawn himſelf from the committee for theſe four laſt decades, ſince the decree with reſpect to the revolutionary tribunal paſſed on the twenty-

SKETCH of the HARBOUR and ENVIRONS of TOULON.



T. Clarke Sculpt.

ſecond of Prairial (June 10,) which he alone deviſed—and which was badly received. Thus he intended to drive from the convention every impure man; that is to ſay, every perſon who did not pleaſe him, or whom he might ſuſpect to be poſſeſſed of ſufficient diſcernment to detect, and integrity to oppoſe, his ambitious views; and as a preparatory ſtep to eſtabliſh himſelf in that dictatorſhip, which has ſo long been the object of his wiſhes, he would have left none in the convention but his creatures and dependants, men as vile as himſelf, and ready to forward his deteſtable views. But his deſigns were diſcovered by the very means which he took to carry them into execution. From the facts which I have briefly ſtated, his intentions to corrupt the military, to enſlave and to degrade the repreſentation, appear plain and incontrovertible.

"I think I ſpeak the voice of the convention, when I ſay, there is not a repreſentative who would exiſt under a tyrant!---['No! no!—let tyrants periſh,' was the cry from all parts of the hall.] Men who are always ſpeaking of their own virtues and probity, are thoſe who trample theſe qualities under foot. Are more facts ſtill neceſſary to ſubſtantiate his general criminality? I accuſe him of having ſkreened from juſtice a ſecretary who had robbed the treaſury of one hundred and fourteen thouſand livres; ſuch is the foundation on which ſtand his pretenſions to diſintereſtedneſs, which were only aſſumed in order to conceal the deep laid projects of his ambition, and to deceive thoſe whom he afterwards meant to deſtroy or enſlave. I accuſe him with being ſurrounded by a band of ruffians, among whom it is neceſſary only to mention the infamous Daubigny. With all his affectation of probity, ſuch were the aſſociates whom alone he could admit into his confidence, or truſt for the completion of his deſigns. I could account to you, citizens, a thouſand other ſimilar facts of this man; and yet it is he who dares to accuſe us; we who ſpend our nights and days in the committee of public ſafety in organizing our victories. I proclaim the tyranny of Robeſpierre! [Loud and repeated burſts of applauſe reſounded from all parts of the hall.]

We muſt not heſitate to fall on him with the hand of juſtice, or ſuffer our country to be manured with our blood and tyranny to triumph. It was his wiſh to mutilate the convention, and to murder the repreſentatives of the nation—again I proclaim the tyranny of Robeſpierre! [The applauſes were renewed.]

Robeſpierre darted towards the tribune, he attempted to ſpeak---the hall was filled with the acclamations of '*down with the tyrant*,' and he found himſelf obliged to deſiſt, and to deſcend in confuſion.

Tallien aſcended---"I juſt now obſerved that we muſt withdraw the veil. I now ſee with pleaſure that it is completely drawn aſide, and the cauſe of all our afflictions is become viſible; that the conſpirators are unmaſked, and that they will be annihilated [loud applauſes,] Every thing ſpeaks that the enemy of the national repreſentation is about to fall! In the houſe of that guilty individual who now ſtands humbled with the conſciouſneſs of detected guilt, and overwhelmed with that diſapprobation which his infamous deſigns againſt liberty have ſo juſtly merited, were formed thoſe liſts of proſcription which have ſtained with ſo much blood the altars of riſing liberty; imitating the example of the deteſtable Sylla, his proſcriptions were intended only to pave the way for his own power, and the eſtabliſhment of a perpetual dictatorſhip: happily however his deſigns have been diſcovered before he had time to execute them, or to add to that ſtream of blood which has already deluged France. His long ſucceſs in villainy made him at laſt lay aſide his

wonted caution. He advanced with ſuch rapidity in the career of lawleſs ambition, that he already conceived himſelf arrived at the accompliſhment of his wiſhes; and that, like Cæſar, the name of *king* was only wanting to him, for the full eſtabliſhment of his power. Was it to ſubject ourſelves to ſo degrading, and ſo abject a tyranny, that we brought to the ſcaffold the laſt of the Capets, and laviſhed ſo much blood of French citizens? Was it in order to acknowledge ſo petty a deſpot, that we declared eternal war againſt kings, and ſwore to eſtabliſh liberty at the price of life? No—the ſpirit of freedom has not ſunk ſo low; the ſenſe of that duty which virtuous men owe to their country is not extinguiſhed. I invoke the ſhade of the virtuous Brutus! [*fixing his eyes on the buſt.*] Like him, I have a poignard to rid my country of the tyrant, if the convention do not deliver him to the ſword of juſtice! The French people, always juſt, are attached neither to Robeſpierre, nor any other individual—Liberty is alone the object of their affections, and whoever forms any deſigns againſt it, becomes that moment their enemy. That liberty they will ever purſue amidſt the intrigues of domeſtic traitors, and the oppoſition of foreign deſpots. The republic is to be eſtabliſhed not only by the victories of our armies, but by the vigilance of our councils, and the juſtneſs of our puniſhments. After the enumeration of facts which you have heard from the laſt ſpeaker, it is only neceſſary for me to remind you of the proceedings of that ſitting of the Jacobins, where Dumas, preſident of the revolutionary tribunal, the creature and confederate of Robeſpierre, had the audacity to inſult the repreſentatives of the people? Need I recall to you the expreſſion addreſſed to the journaliſts in one of the laſt ſittings of the Jacobins? "*I prohibit you from inſerting my diſcourſes in your papers till you have previouſly communicated them to me.*" Here already we find the tone of the dictator---the people ſhall know nothing except through my organ, and in the manner in which I ſhall be pleaſed to communicate it to them.

"Let us, republicans, accuſe this uſurper with loyalty and courage in the preſence of the French people and of Europe. It is fit to enlighten our fellow citizens, liberty is alone the object of their affections. It is not an individual whom I attack, it is a vaſt conſpiracy. I doubt not but the convention will take ſpeedy and efficacious meaſures, and continue its ſittings permanent, to ſave the people; and as it is of the utmoſt importance that the chiefs of the armed force ſhould do no miſchief, I move that Henriot and all his ſtaff be arreſted. It is our wiſh that the preſident of the revolutionary-tribunal ſhould treat the accuſed with decency and juſtice. This is true virtue. I alſo move that our ſitting be permanent until the ſword of the law has ſecured to us this revolution. [It was decreed with applauſe.] Well ought the uſurper count upon the aid of ſilence and deception, whoſe deſigns were too infamous to be revealed, and whoſe conduct required to be gloſſed over with all the artifice of hypocriſy. But the French people are not to be enſlaved after having ſhaken off the tyranny of ſo many ages, and the ſtill greater tyranny that till this moment threatened to overwhelm us for ever. The guilt of the traitor now ſtands revealed, and it remains only to think of his puniſhment. I move therefore that Robeſpierre and his creatures be immediately arreſted. [Reiterated applauſes].

Billaud—"I denounce as accomplices of the conſpirator, Boulanger, the author of the liſt of perſons marked out for proſcription; Dufreſne, who was the accomplice of Dumourier; Dumas, who excited the Jacobins yeſterday to maſſacre the convention; Lavalette ex-noble, one of the commanders of the Pariſian armed force; Daubigny and Si-

jas; it was decreed. Tallien, Freron, Delmas, Eli-Lacoſte, Vadier, and ſeveral other members ſpoke, and by ſucceſſive votes, Robeſpierre the elder and younger, St. Juſt, Couthon, and Le Bas, were all, along with the others named, placed under arreſt. The applauſes from the galleries and all parts of the hall were unuſually great, and joy and gladneſs were once more viſible on the countenances of the members and of the people.

The convention now called upon Barrere to ſpeak in the name of the committee of public ſafety, which he did with great animation, repreſenting the critical circumſtances in which the committee was placed between the powers uſurped over the public force and the popular mind, and their neceſſary duty; and he concluded with propoſing the following decree:—"The national convention on the report of the committee of public ſafety and general ſecurity, decrees—1. That all ranks ſuperior to that of chief of a legion are ſuppreſſed in Paris. The national-guard ſhall reſume its original organization, and each chief of a legion ſhall in conſequence command in turn. 2. The mayor of Paris, the national agent, and he who ſhall be in his turn the commandant of the national-guard, ſhall watch over the ſafety of the national repreſentation, and ſhall anſwer with their heads for all the commotions which ſhall enſue in Paris. The preſent decree ſhall be immediately ſent to the mayor."

Barrere then ſaid that ever ſince the tenth of June, and not before, he had diſcerned the views of that cunning man, whom he could not ſince look upon without horror; he who deceived every body, who had ſacrificed not only his creatures but his friends, who had at one time defended and afterwards betrayed Camille Deſmoulins, and who by his artifices made men without their ſuſpecting it the accomplices of his crimes. He had framed a reſolution and a decree for remodelling the revolutionary tribunal in ſuch a manner as to render his ſacrifices more ſure; he framed it himſelf and Couthon propoſed it even without reading it.

Robeſpierre endeavoured to make himſelf heard, and Couthon and Le Bas ſought for leave to defend him; but neither would be ſuffered.

When the decree of arreſt was paſſed the preſident of the convention, ordered one of the uſhers to take Robeſpierre into cuſtody, but ſuch was the awe this man had been accuſtomed to inſpire, that the officer heſitated ſome time to perform his duty. They were conducted however by a few peace officers to the priſon of the Luxembourg; but the adminiſtrator of the police on duty there refuſed to receive them; and they were conducted rather in triumph than as priſoners to the Hotel de Ville.

The committee of public ſafety in the mean time had inveſted Barras, a military man member of the convention, and afterwards a Director, with the command of the military force; and he had arreſted Henriot, who however contrived to eſcape, and with the alacrity of deſparation had collected a great number of his adherents, at the head of whom he ſallied into the ſtreets, and meeting Merlin of Thionville ſeized him as an hoſtage for the ſafety of Robeſpierre, and carried him to a guard-houſe. Merlin harangued the people, and ſhewed the inſult to the national repreſentation, five gendarms who heard him drew their ſwords, reſcued him and took Henriot and ſome of his adherents. But Henriot eſcaped again, and entered the ſquare of the national palace, where he harangued the populace. He was outlawed by the convention. Six members were united with Barras as commiſſioners with uulimited powers; they were Ferrand, Freron, Rouvere, Delmas, Leonard Bourdon, and Bourdon of the Oiſe.

Meanwhile Henriot's inſurgents became numerous; and he divided them with ſkill; one was detached to the Hotel de Ville, another to the committee of public ſafety, and the third paraded near the convention; he had the alarm-bells rung, the Jacobins and the municipality aſſembled and declared themſelves in a ſtate of iuſurrection; and the party of Robeſpierre in the Hotel de Ville formed themſelves into a new convention, declaring the repreſentatives traitors.

In this dangerons criſis the citizens of Paris, who had been hitherto depreſſed by terror or overcome by indolence, perceived their danger, and recollected what had befallen Paris by their indifference on the memorable ſecond of September. They armed and flew to the convention. The report of Robeſpierre's eſcape through the infidelity of the municipal officers reached the convention. A proclamation was iſſued putting him and his accomplices out of the protection of the laws. The national-guard was now rallied; a party of the inſurgents aſſembled and attempted to force the poſts in the Carouſel with cannon; they were attacked, diſcomfited, and their leader made priſoner. In the evening the ſections of Paris appeared at the bar, and ſwore to acknowlege no authority but the convention. But it was not till between two and three oclock in the morning that Barras had poſſeſſed himſelf of ſufficient force to attack the traitors in the Hotel de Ville. At that hour Bourdon of the Oiſe appeared at the Place de Grave, and read the proclamation. He then ruſhed into the hall of the inſurgent committee, armed with a ſabre and piſtols; the traitors were completely deſerted, Robeſpierre had armed himſelf with a large knife, which was wreſted from him by a gendarm, who ſtruck Couthon with it; who was alſo armed with a knife. Robeſpierre ſnatched a piſtol and attempted to ſhoot himſelf by putting the muzzle in his mouth, he ſhot away his tongue and part of his jaw, but did not kill himſelf; he received a ſabre wound from a perſon who attempted to cut down the piſtol arm. The younger Robeſpierre threw himſelf out of a window, and broke a leg and an arm. Le Bas ſhot himſelf, Couthon ſtabbed himſelf twice without effecting his death. Henriot from one of the windows harangued the ſoldiers and endeavoured to call them to the aſſiſtance of his aſſociates; Coffinthal, a member of the municipality, who had been ſeduced into the inſurrection by Henriot, at the deſire of ſome perſons below threw the miſcreant out of the window, and his arm was broken but he was not killed. Robeſpierre was carried on a litter to the door of the convention, it was aſked if he ſhould be admitted, the preſident ſaid "No! the carcaſe of the tyrant can bring only peſtilence. The ſquare of the revolution is the only place for him and his accomplices." They were immediately brought before the revolutionary tribunal.

In the evening Legendre reported to the convention as follows—"As I went from this tribune I took with me ten reſolute patriots, my intention was to go and blow out the brains of the man who preſided yeſterday and to day in the Jacobin club. With a double-barrel piſtol I entered the hall, but the wretch whoſe name is Vivier, mixed with the crowd. I ſaid to the women in the galleries,—'you are miſled; begone! the convention puniſhes guilt not error!'—I ſhut the gates ot the hall; and here are the keys: As the convention in a maſs has ſaved the country, the convention in a maſs will to morrow be Jacobins: It will be virtue that will go once more to open the gates of that ſociety ſo baſely polluted for ſome time." At ſix in the morning the ſitting was ſuſpended; and they met again at nine.

The perſons of the uſurper and his ſatellites being identified before the rovolutionary tribunal, and ſome papers found upon Robeſpierre produced, they were condemned to

to ſuffer death in the place de la Revolution, and a few ſhort hours after he periſhed upon that ſcaffold to which he had ſent ſo many innocent victims. The perſons who ſuffered on this occaſion were Maximilian Robeſpierre, aged thirty-five, born at Arras; George Couthon, aged thirty-eight, born at Orſai; A. St. Juſt, twenty-ſix years, born at Ciſere; A. Robeſpierre, the younger, aged twenty-nine; F. Henriot, thirty-three; L. Lavalette, forty years, ex-noble, born at Paris; R. Dumas, thirty-ſeven, at Cuſſi, preſident of the revolutionary tribunal; J. R. Leſcot-Fiuriot, thirty-nine, mayor of Paris. They were conveyed from the palace of juſtice at ſeven in the evening of the 28th July, and never was ſo great a concourſe aſſembled, never was joy and tranſport ſo general on a melancholy occaſion. In all the ſtreets through which they paſſed, and in the ſquare of the revolution, unanimous cries of "*Ah! villians! Live the republic! Live the convention!*" were heard. The eyes of the ſpectators were particularly fixed on the elder Robeſpierre, Couthon, and Henriot, whoſe faces were covered with blood and wounds.

Couthon was executed firſt, then the younger Robeſpierre and Henriot; Robeſpierre was executed the laſt but one. He ſtood two minutes on the ſcaffold, while the executioner removed the cloth which covered his face. It is to be regretted that he whoſe voice had been the organ of ſo much evil, ſhould have been rendered ſpeechleſs by his wound. It would have been deſirable to hear in the preſence of death what his ferocious ſpirit would utter; but the den was cloſed, and we know only the actions and cruelty of the monſter without any means of diſcovering whether a ſoul ſo fell was capable of contrition.

Maximilian Robeſpierre, whoſe paſſions appear to have ſuperceded all morals and virtues, to have extinguiſhed every feeling of humanity, every emotion of benevolence, arrived at an height of power by means ſo terrible as to enſure him a place in hiſtory along with the deſtroyers and aſſaſſins of mankind. Illuſtrious for his crimes he will have the diſtinction, upon which his dark ſoul appears to have been ſet, of a detailed hiſtory; and while names of the virtuous and good who fell the victims of his rapacious thirſt of power, are paſſed over in ſolemn negligence, the character of this human fiend will be traced to his cradle and examined with the ſcrupulous nicety of critical wiſdom.

He and his brother were born at Arras, and left orphans at an early age. The biſhop of that dioceſe had taken them under his protection, and beſtowed upon them a liberal education; he was bred up with a view to the profeſſion of the law, and in the courſe of his ſtudies had gained ſeveral literary prizes; at the age of ſixteen elated by this ſucceſs, he fancied himſelf already endowed with ſuch rare powers of genius as would lead him to a ſplendid place on the great theatre of the world. His legal ſtudies were purſued without equal ſucceſs, but with no leſs confidence, and he already imagined himſelf diſputing the palm of eloquence with the firſt men of the age. He muſt ſee Paris, his beniſicent patron removed him thither; but after a long and fruitleſs trial, he was under the neceſſity of recalling him to his native city, where all the ſplended dreams of ambition and vanity were reduced to the ſituation of a poor obſcure attorney, a ſtation which was well ſuited to the mediocrity of his talents.

There are circumſtances in the phyſical conſtitution of the body, as well as in the accidental progreſſion of human life, which form and determine the character. Under different circumſtances the ſame man would be a different character. The loſs of a leg or an eye, the delay of the revolution for ten years, would have ſunk Robeſpierre into the com-

mon obſcurity of an undiſtinguiſhed name; he might have brooded over his diſappointments in circumſcribed bounds, and vented his malignity in the mercenary oppreſſions of a petty-fogger. From the period of his return from Paris, his mind brooded in abhorrence over his diſappointments; and he who had placed his loftieſt hopes on the ſtrength of his endowments and talents, became the implacable perſecutor of genius. His petulance and acerbity were prominent in all his legal undertakings. He ſeemed to repine at his exiſtence, and carried irraſcibility into the moſt trivial of the cauſes with which he was entruſted. His habit of body gradually obtained a correſponding character with his mind: in perſon he was of a low ſtature, not more than five feet three inches; in his early years he was ruddy and round; in his manhood, he became meagre, his features harſh and forbidding, his eye ſcowled, and his complexion was livid and cadaverous; he was ſo atrabilarious, that he appeared to ſtruggle between the diſeaſe of his mind and body—as if nature had expoſed the fountains of genius and glory to his ſight, and excited a thirſt which he was doomed never to allay; diſappointment and envy took poſſeſſion of his ſoul, and he ſoon learned to quench his burning ſpirit in the blood of the good, the wiſe, the virtuous, and the innocent.

The revolution forced him from his deſk. He was elected a deputy in 1789. And for a while his character ſlumbered in inſignificance; having an unhoped for glimpſe of repoſe after the long fatigues of diſappointment. In the conſtituent aſſembly, he was ſcarcely heard of, and had he died during that period, his name would not have ſurvived him; but his ſubſequent conduct recalled attention to what he had then ſaid or done. He was regarded as the fixed friend of monarchy. In July 1792, he publiſhed a pamphlet entitled —"Repreſentative government and the forms of monarchy, the only *conſtitutional* arrangements proper for an *empire ſo extenſive* and *ancient* as France." He was at this time an obſcure and inconſequent attendant at the ſplendid dinners of Orleans, and he has been ſaid, though without any appearance of proof, to have endeavoured to procure the elevation of that perſon to the throne. The brilliant talents of Mirabeau appear to have fixed his attention; ſome faint efforts at imitation of that great orator, are diſcernable in his ſpeeches at a latter period, but he never was able to obtain his ſtrength, promptitude, ſublimity, or dignity. Yet he appears to have equalled if not ſurpaſſed Mirabeau in the talent for intrigue.

By the ſelf-denying ordinance of the conſtituent aſſembly, Robeſpierre loſt his ſeat in the legiſlature. He accepted the place of public accuſer, but reſigned it ſoon after; having by his induſtrious artifices obtained an aſcendancy in the commune of Paris, that already preſented hopes conſolatory to his ambitious deſires. In the affair of the tenth of Auguſt he had no concern whatever; and although he narrowly eſcaped the ſcaffold through the candor and juſtice of Danton upon the denunciation of Louvet, who accuſed him of fomenting the maſſacres of the ſecond of September, he muſt be acquitted of having cauſed that maſſacre, although there is much reaſon to believe with Louvet that he encouraged and ſupported thoſe who were the actors in it, with a view to ſecure his own popularity.

He was elected into the convention by the city of Paris along with his brother, and ſome others, by his influence; but even at this time, active and aſſiduous as he was to cultivate the attachment of the Jacobins, he defended royalty againſt Briſſot. His politics, however, ſoon after changed, and with the death of the king he became as violent



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a defender of republicaniſm; the cant of *empire* and *anceſtry*, were ſuperceded by that of unity and indiviſibility. His ambition appears not to have been ſo extenſive at this as at a ſubſequent period; but after the fall of the Gironde, the black envy and rancour of the Arras attorney appears to have been relighted in the breaſt of the conſpiring uſurper—Power and ambition had now ſupplanted the paſſion for literary and forenſic fame; he once more recollected with aggravated hatred his paſt diſſappointments. Men of genuis and literary diſtinction, whom he once hoped to emulate, and to be ranked among them, were now the moſt formidable obſtacles to his darling hopes. He held them up as perſons hoſtile to the cauſe of liberty, and labored inceſſantly to render them the objects of popular ſuſpicion; he thus flattered the ignorant, gained their attachment, and rendered the ariſtocracy of talents as formidable to the vulgar conception, as the ariſtocracy of vice and prejudice. This ſyſtem of his was not the effect of premeditation, but accomodated at the moment to his views; thoſe whom he feared or hated becauſe they were honoured and reſpected, were men who blended the philoſophy of ſcience with their ethics, and endeavoured to render them ſubſervient to the promotion of each other. Theſe men Robeſpierre ſtigmatiſed with the name of *ſtateſmen*, which he did not mean to be underſtood in its received ſignification; in his vocabulary it meant counter-revolutioniſt or conſpirator. Briſſot in his ſpeech for an appeal to the people on the trial of the king, pourtrayed this ſyſtem of Robeſpierre with a felicity that incurred the mortal and incurable hatred of thoſe whom it deſcribed. 'The ignorance of the multitude is the maſter-ſpring of the power of anarchiſts as well as of deſpots; it is by this they keep alive the breath of calumny. Furniſhed with this engine, they make war on philoſophy, which teaches us that univerſal reaſon is the only baſis of liberty; and thus deride every plan of education, and deny the utility of public ſchools. Theſe are reveries, ſay they; the people muſt be regenerated with blood. This is the reaſon why they are inveighing ſo continually againſt the ariſtocracy of genuis. Alas! why has knowledge only a metaphyſical exiſtence? With what complacency would not theſe Vandals bring it to their own level, if their deſtroying ſcythe could reach it.' Though it is unfortunately too true, that men favoured by education are as prone to exceſſes as the moſt ignorant, it is alſo true that the courſe of violence with the latter is more explicit and not ſo univerſally fatal; with the former cunning and ſtratagem take place of force; Robeſpierre could not be claſſed with the ignorant, yet his diſappointment at being excluded from the claſs of genuis, had thrown him back to the level of the moſt barbarous. No one has yet completely unveiled the ſecrets of his mind, the vaſt and ſanguinary ſcope of his ambition; his views and hopes can only be gueſſed at, and perhaps it will be no more than juſt to conſider him as a preternatural being, with whoſe actions and deſigns from the moſt intimate ſtudy and obſervation, the mind of man cannot enter into affinity. His character can only be drawn by the features that are viſible, and theſe are altogether hideous, notwithſtanding the wonderful power of his diſſimulation.

He appears to have deſired to be the firſt man in France, without regard to the means; but the numberleſs men of genuis which France contained was an inſuperable bar to his ambition. He calculated upon their entire deſtruction or ſuppreſſion; and it was in the moment when the people were in a ſtate of convulſion, when it was neceſſary to ſooth and bring back their minds to order and moderation, that he ſeized upon the whirlwind and directed the ſtorm. He who had never been a republican from principle, from

conviction, or from reaſoning—under the pretence of the moſt zealous attachment to freedom became the moſt horrible of tyrants. In the moment when the reſtraint of law was moſt neceſſary, he broke down the barriers of all reſtraint but that of his will. Once arrived at the ſummit of credit and power, he left no hope for the monſters of any age to ſurpaſs him. As if jealous even of crimes, or eager that they ſhould emanate from himſelf alone, he diſcouraged every villain that was not dependent on him, and obliged them to keep in a ſubordinate rank, to be no more than journeymen murderers and incendiaries.

The fermentation of the public mind was favourable to his purpoſes; and the real danger of the country rendered his ſecret machinations eaſily diſguiſable under the pretence of ſecurity againſt treachery. The convention was neceſſary to his views, and he contrived to render it ſubſervient; by turns he intimidated, ſeduced, and deceived them; ſometimes he ſowed the moſt deadly diſtruſt, and then he reſtored tranquillity; ſhewing reſpect when they were docile, and contempt when they manifeſted an independent diſpoſition; he acted the ſervant of the law, while he violated every principle of juſtice; and profeſſed obedience to the general will, while he domineered over every ſuffrage and enſlaved every voice; when he invoked liberty, then it was that freedom was menaced; if he talked of God and morality, it was but the prelude to crimes.

Robeſpierre has been compared to the Engliſh Cromwell. There appears to be a cloſer reſemblance between them than any other two monſters of which hiſtory records. The interior caſt of their minds was in moſt reſpects the ſame. There is ſome difference in the circumſtances of their early lives and ſubſequent elevation. Both indeed were the creatures of accident. Cromwell negociated with Charles I. even during his captivity. Robeſpierre was a royaliſt even after the tenth of Auguſt. The proſpect of ſovereign authority was gradually unfolded to each by a ſeries of favourable circumſtances, of which each had the courage to take advantage. Both were deſtitute of ſympathy and affection. Both were remorſeleſs and ſanguinary. The difference of their murders was the effect of their ſituations and profeſſions. Robeſpierre's ſcene of action was the capital and the ſenate, he ſlaughtered without diſcrimination and without mercy on the ſcaffold, in the provinces his agents were commended only as they equalled or ſurpaſſed him in crimes. Cromwell did not ſacrifice ſo many in the capital, but in the field and in the provinces his butcheries even ſurpaſs thoſe of Robeſpierre, whether conſidered for number or the lengthened agony of his tortures. Robeſpierre ordered Lyons to be raſed from its foundations. Cromwell ordered the people of a whole province to be ſlaughtered, in order that the inhabitants of another province might be tranſplanted thither, and it was done. Both affected ſimplicity in their manners and appearance; both were adepts in hypocriſy, cunning, and intrigue. Cromwell adopted his harangues to the jargon of the enthuſiaſts of his day; Robeſpierre did the ſame; the name of God, and virtue, and religion prefaced and concluded all their meaſures and ſpeeches. The only difference in their hypocriſy aroſe from the ſcene of action and the characters among which they acted.

The parallel might be traced to a multitude of points. The difference was very ſmall. Cromwell's power was founded upon a great military reputation, which he had acquired, not from his gallantry againſt a diſciplined enemy, but from the numbers he had ſlaughtered of ſimple, innocent, and oppreſſed men, acting by the impulſe of nature,

to procure freedom without any knowledge of the arts neceſſary to oppoſe diſciplined troops; it was alſo founded on the fanatical hatred inſpired by contending religious ſects, which rendered the very circumſtance of deſtroying one ſect, the foundation of glory in that day. Robeſpierre reſted on a fluctuating populace, and a fanatical club. The murders of Cromwell were remote, and committed on two deſpiſed and ſubjugated nations. Robeſpierre's were committed on his countrymen, openly, and glaringly. Hence it is that one died on his bed, the other on the ſcaffold. Cromwell appears to have been his own miniſter, Robeſpierre made others the ladders of his ambition. Cromwell ſeems to have founded ſome good laws, and in many reſpects to have conſulted the happineſs of his countrymen. Robeſpierre does not appear to have founded one. The great meaſures produced under his uſurpation were forced on him by ſtealth or intrigue, and ſuffered only becauſe they ſerved to ſhade his enormities, practiſed by inferior agents. Thus he made philoſophers and ſtateſmen the inſtruments of his fame and aſſaſſins the inſtruments of his vengeance, for a long time all the talents of Danton, Barrere, Camille, Fabre, Sieyes, Carnot, Delaunay, Cambon, and the Lindets, were loſt in the power of Robeſpierre, while at the ſame time Chaumette, Hebert, Carrier, Vincent, Momoro, Marat, Collot, Couthon, Henriot, Lebon, and St. Juſt were ſpreading terror and deſolation to eſtabliſh that power.

When the former became too conſpicuous they were proſcribed. When the latter had accompliſhed their ends and were no longer uſeful, they were dangerous depoſitaries of his meaſures, and it was neceſſary to paſs them acroſs the ſame ſtage over which they had led ſo many victims. The readineſs with which he abandoned his earlieſt and moſt intimate aſſociates, for friends he could not be conſidered to have any, is aſtoniſhing and characteriſtic of his whole carreer; placed on the ſame ſide with him, Danton, a man of a determined character, inflexible in republican principles, and who had the merit of being the firſt propoſer of the republic in France, a man of impetuous eloquence, and wonderful energy of character, who was foremoſt on all occaſions when danger threatened and to propoſe meaſures the moſt ſublime and energetic; he went to the aſſault better than Robeſpierre, but he was alive to every paſſion approachable by ſenſibility; Robeſpierre obeyed but one and was callous to all others; thus while Danton was liable to be aſſailed on the ſcore of generoſity, of tenderneſs, of honor, and compaſſion, and his ardour for the promotion of liberty; Robeſpierre was awakened to ambition alone. They were ſeldom ſeen in oppoſition to each other in the convention, but the mere rivalry of reputation was with Robeſpierre a fault inexpiable. Danton was not ignorant of this, and this ſaying of his has been preſerved, "Every thing will be well while the people cry Robeſpierre and Dan-"ton, but woe to me ſhould they ever cry Danton and Robeſpierre." That day arrived, and he was put to death. Even the aſſociates of his early years, Camille Deſmoulines, his ſchool-fellow, was the victim of his perfidious deſertion; he had with the moſt benevolent intentions employed his great talents and learning on a weekly Journal, by means of which he endeavoured to moderate inſenſibly the rage of the people and to turn them aſide from ſanguinary meaſures, and before he had begun this generous courſe of writing, had aſſured himſelf of the ſpecial concurrence and approbation of the tyrant;—but an outcry was raiſed, and Camille's wit as well as the purity of his life, were ſevere rebukes upon the dullneſs and crimes of Robeſpierre, and notwithſtanding their early connection Camille was ſacrificed.

Heaven was wearied with his crimes, and his fall aſtoniſhed by its rapidity even thoſe who had ſtudied his plans the moſt attentively and were placed neareſt to his intrigues. The myſtery of his ambition will never be perfectly underſtood; it may be doubted if he ever poſſeſſed a confident, entruſted with his final intentions; his ſoul dwelt in ſolitude, and the receſſes of his conſcience ſeem to have been illuminated only by the torch of the furies, and by the gloomy flaſhings of their pale flames. The part he took for ſix weeks before his fall while he abſented himſelf from the ſitting of the committee of public ſafety, cannot be ſatisfactorily explained. He was indeed preſent there by Couthon, and St. Juſt, two men wholly devoted to him. There appears reaſon to believe however, that his abſence was connected with ſome immenſe plan of maſſacre or deſpotiſm. The period muſt have appeared to him not very remote when the people would no longer endure proſcriptions and executions without remorſe and without end, and that a general exploſion on the ſide of patriotic juſtice, would annihilate the tyranny and the tyrant. Could he have blindly conceived the audacious hope of overthrowing the power of the committee of public ſafety, as he had undermined the convention; and by their deſtruction remove the only appearance that remained of a co-diſtinction above the nation. It is remarkable that during the ſix weeks of his abſence the executions were doubled. But he did not ceaſe all this period to direct the ſecret operations of the police. It is difficult to imagine how he could diſplay ſo little prudence, in his plan of attack; how he could ſuffer it to be penetrated before he had ſecured its progreſs by preparation, by well concerted diſpoſitions. —He was confuſed by the rapidity of the aſſault; and this rapidity was itſelf determined by the circumſtances of the moment. He was overthrown when the conteſt was ſcarcely begun. It was not thus that he conducted himſelf to overthrow the Girondiſts. Circumſpect and prudent movements had preceded the proſcription of the 31ſt of May, 1793—In 1794, he relied too much upon the terror he had inſpired; he miſcalculated the ſuccours he expected from the municipality and the Jacobins. At a moment that every thing bent before him, and that he had arrived at the arrogance of reſtricting his ſpeeches from being publiſhed until he had ſanctioned them by a peruſal, he was on the verge of deſtruction—Providence when it will ſport with thoſe coloſſuſes of pride, overwhelms them with a breath, and points out to weak man the folly of proſtrating themſelves before an idol of their own creation.

The municipal officers and others, who excited the inſurrection in favour of Robeſpierre were tried on the thirtieth of July, and between ſixty and ſeventy of them ſuffered death. The vacancies in the committee of public ſafety were filled up by Eſchaſſeriaux the elder, Tallien, Thuriot, Breard, Laloi, and Trielhard, the following old members being retained, Carnot, Collot, Barrere, Billaud, Lindet, and Prieur; the laſt of theſe and Jean Bon St. Andre were ſent on miſſion by Robeſpierre, with a view to obtain full power in the committee, the other five however adhered cloſely to each other, and having the majority over Robeſpierre, Couthon and St. Juſt, had not only the means of ſecuring their immediate ſafety, but of forming that conſpiracy which overthrew the uſurper.

It was alſo regulated that one fourth of the committee ſhould go out in rotation monthly. On the thirtieth Barras who had been appointed to the command of the armed force reſigned his appointment, ſignifying that as tranquillity was perfectly reſtored his powers were no longer neceſſary. Congratulations poured in from all parts of the republic on the events of the ninth of Thermidor, and from all the armies.

Moderation with very little exception now henceforward characteriſed the convention; and conformably to this diſpoſition they proceeded to diſſolve and new-model the revolutionary tribunal. The priſons were alſo opened in ſucceſſion, and the caſes of different priſoners examined by commiſſioners. On the firſt of Auguſt the indefatigable Barrere preſented a new plan of government, to exiſt until a conſtitution ſhould be regularly formed, digeſted, and voted; and on the fifth his propoſition was moulded into a decree which was as follows:---

I. The committee of public ſafety ſhall aſſume the name of "The central committee of government." It ſhall be compoſed of twelve members, to be renewed every month, and not eligible again till after the interval of a month.

II. This committee ſhall be under the direct inſpection of the "commiſſion of foreign affairs," and cannot diſpoſe of any of the public funds except for the ſecret ſervices of government. For this purpoſe it ſhall have upon the national treaſury a credit of ten millions. The credit which it had formerly, and is hitherto unemployed, is hereby withdrawn.

III. The committee of ſurety and ſuperintendance ſhall take the name of "The committee of general police of the republic." It ſhall conſiſt of fifteen members: it ſhall, independently of the convention, have alone the power of arreſting citizens. For iſſuing warrants of arreſt againſt public functionaries, it ſhall act in concert with the committee charged with the ſuperintendance of the adminiſtration to which ſuch functionary may belong.

IV. It ſhall neither ſend to trial thoſe who have been arreſted, nor liberate thoſe ſentenced by the popular commiſſions, without being in concert with the central committee of government.

V. The commiſſion of civil affairs, of police, and the tribunals, ſhall make to it a daily report of the police and interior ſecurity of the republic.

VI. It ſhall have, under its immediate inſpection, the police and armed force of Paris, the revolutionary tribunal, the committees of ſuperintendancce of the republic, and the popular commiſſions.

VII. The national treaſury ſhall credit it for nine hundred thouſand livres, for extraordinary and ſecret expences.

VIII. A fifth part of the members of the committee ſhall be changed every month, and not re-eligible for the interval of one month.

IX. All other committees, or commiſſions of the convention, now in exiſtence, are aboliſhed.

X. The following twelve committees ſhall be eſtabliſhed:

1. One to ſuperintend the commiſſion of agriculture and arts, compoſed of five members.—2. One of public inſtruction, of five members.—3. Of commerce and proviſions, five members.—4. Of tranſports, poſt-offices, and poſt-houſes, five members.—5. Of arms and powder, ſix members.—6. Of the movements of the armies, ſix members.—7. Of the marine and colonies, five members.—8. Of public ſuccour, five members.—9. Of public works, five members.—10. For the ſuperintendance of the public expences and revenues, there ſhall be four ſections. The firſt, conſiſting of five members, ſhall ſuperintend the commiſſion of the public treaſury; the ſecond of ten members, the national revenues; the third of ten members, the general liquidation;

and the fourth of ten members, the office of accounts.—11. A committee of legiſlation compoſed of fifteen members, which ſhall have the ſuperintendance of the commiſſion of civil adminiſtrations, the police, and the tribunals, according to the report of the tribunals and adminiſtrative bodies, ſhall be charged with the reviſion and claſſification of the laws, and the details reſpecting the territorial diviſions of the republic,---12. A committee of inſpectors of the *proces-verbeaux*, conſiſting of fifteeen members, is charged with ſuperintending the tranſcriptions of the convention in its offices and archives, the national preſs, and the commiſſion of civil adminiſtration.

XI. There ſhall alſo be a committee of inſpectors of the hall, compoſed of fifteen members, excluſively charged with the police within the limits of the convention, the committees, and the national garden. It ſhall regulate the expences of the national convention, and its archives, as well as thoſe of the committees; alſo, the travelling expences of the repreſentatives of the people ſent to the departments or the armies.

XII. It ſhall verify and adjuſt the accounts relative to the aforeſaid expences; and the reſolution of that committee, declaring its verification of the expences of the repreſentatives of the people, amounting to ſuch a ſum, ſhall be allowed as admiſſion of that account.

XIII. The national treaſury ſhall give it credit for three millions, to be employed in ſuch expences in the aforeſaid payments; and all former credit, hitherto unemployed, is withdrawn.

XIV. Every executive commiſſion ſhall give a daily account of its proceedings to the committee charged with its inſpection, and ſhall propoſe to it the difficulties to be ſurmounted, and the means of removing them. It ſhall alſo ſubmit for the approbation of the committee, the agents nominated for the execution of its orders.

XV. The commiſſioners ſhall every day lay before the committee for inſpecting the public expenditure and revenue, a detailed account of the expences incurred in the courſe of the day.

XVI. The committees ſhall directly propoſe to the convention all legiſlative objects, after having previouſly communicated them to the central committee of government. They ſhall concert with that committee, through the medium of one of its members, who ſhall be charged to report the executive objects diſcuſſed in the committees.

XVII. All executive objects ſhall be definitively ſettled by the central committee of government which ſhall be reſponſible for the reſolutions it may take.

Theſe reſolutions ſhall be ſigned by at leaſt ſix members in the central committee, and by the commiſſioner of the committee who ſhall make the report.

The reſolution ſhall be ſent to be executed by the commiſſions, and an account of them ſhall then be laid before the convention.

XVIII. Should there be any difference of opinion in the central committee of government; the affair is to be diſcuſſed and decided by a meeting compoſed of one commiſſioner from each of the committees.

XIX. In caſes of urgency where expedition is required, the central committee of government may call upon one or more of the committee charged with the ſuperintendance of the matter in queſtion, and the reſult of their deliberation ſhall be carried into execution But the members who ſhall aſſiſt in ſuch deliberations ſhall make an immediate report of it to the general committee.

XX. The convention ſhall itſelf nominate the repreſentatives of the people, to be ſent on any commiſſion; the generals, the members of the executive commiſſion, the members of the revolutionary tribunal, and popular commiſſions, on the propoſition of the central committee of government, united with the committee charged with what relates to that particular object.

XXI. The national convention alone has power to recall the repreſentatives of the people ſent upon commiſſions.

The central committee of government, in concert with the committee charged with that particular affair, may remove the generals, the members of the executive commiſſions, and other public functionaries, of which a report is to be made to the convention.

XXII. All the committees ſhall have a fifth of their members changed every month.

XXIII. All the committees and commiſſions within the convention ſhall continue to exerciſe their functions till the committees that are to replace them are perfectly organized.

On the fifteenth of Auguſt citizen James Monroe, ambaſſador from the United States of America, was introduced to the convention and delivered his credentials with a prefatory ſpeech; of which notice ſhall be taken in a ſeparate examination of the differences which at that time and ſubſequently aroſe to an alarming height between the two republics. On the eighth of September citizen Reybaz from the republic of Geneva was alſo received, and the flags of theſe two republics were ordered to be diſplayed in the hall of the convention with the national colours,

On the twenty-ſixth of September Freron delivered a long diſcourſe on the liberty of the preſs, and concluded by ſome forcible obſervations on the unjuſt ſeverity of penal laws in the moſt civilized nations — "The revolutionary tribunal," ſaid he, and the general police, require all your attention. The police of ignorant and barbarous nations is impriſonment; and their juſtice, death. Among nations enlightened on the ſocial art, in governments acquainted with the nature of man, a ſkilful and well-diſtributed vigilance renders numerous and cruel puniſhments unneceſſary; and penalties well apportioned to the degrees of guilt, render the puniſhment of death more terrible from being rare. What contempt has been affected among us for theſe maxims! Into what errors has this contempt led us! Let experience, which has coſt us ſo dear, bring us back to thoſe eternal principles which the genius of Monteſquieu and Beccaria draw from the hiſtory of ages. Let us think with them, that the terror of puniſhment is loſt in its frequency; and that to make death be feared we muſt ſeldom inflict it. It is not the axe which is always falling, but the axe which is always ready to fall, on which the imagination and the eye dare not fix. Multiplied puniſhments, by rendering criminals more deſparate, may deſtroy in the minds of a whole people, thoſe tender and ſublime affections, that exquiſite feeling of humanity, which are the principle, the end, and the perfection of all the ſocial virtues. I move that you order your committees of legiſlation to preſent a plan of active police and vigilance, which may keep inceſſantly under the eyes of the magiſtrate all thoſe whoſe manner of living or converſing may excite ſuſpicion. It is the weakneſs, the diſorder, and the ſloth of government, that fill the priſons. A government of order, vigilance, and energy, makes ſociety itſelf the guardian of ſociety; without ſcreening from puniſhment thoſe who are the juſt objects of it. Good patroles prevent bloody battles. Patroles may be a meaſure of police as well as of military

vigilance; and perhaps, if properly organized, the beſt fitted for a revolutionary government." This ſpeech was ordered to be printed.

The concert which had been ſo deciſive againſt Robeſpierre, had not yet ſatisfied the minds of many of the members. On the twenty-ninth of Auguſt Lecointre of Verſailles, produced an accuſation againſt Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, Vadier, Billaud Varennes, Amar, and David. The charges were generally of aiding or conniving at the crimes of Robeſpierre. Bourdon of Oiſe defended the members, and the accuſation was deemed defamatory.

On the 10th of September, an attempt was made to aſſaſſinate Tallien; as he returned from the convention about twelve at night, he was accoſted by a man in a furred great coat and round hat—"Come villain, I have ſtaid for thee a long time!" he exclaimed, and then ſtruck him with his fiſt, at the ſame time diſcharging a piſtol, the ball from which penetrated Tallien's ſhoulder. The wound proved ſlight and he was enabled to reſume his functions. The aſſaſſin eſcaped. This attempt was charged on the Jacobins, which after having been ſhut up by Legendre had been opened again by Billaud Varennes, and Tallien was conſidered as one of the late accuſers of Billaud and the reſt. This circumſtance cauſed that club to be ſhortly after ſhut up intirely.

Eſchaſſeriaux, on the 7th of September, in the name of the committee charged with the reviſal of the laws againſt emigrants, ſubmitted their report to the convention. Upon this it was decreed, that "all perſons of the following deſcriptions are emigrants. Firſt, all Frenchmen who quitted the territory of the republic ſince the 1ſt of July 1789, and did not return into it by the 9th of May 1792; or having abſented themſelves from the place of their reſidence on the 9th of May 1792, or ſince that day, and cannot prove that they have reſided uninterruptedly within the territory of the republic ſince that period.

"Every perſon, who having enjoyed the rights of a French citizen, although born in a foreign country, or having two houſes, one in France, and the other in any foreign territory, who ſhall not in a ſimilar way eſtabliſh the proofs of his reſidence ſince the 9th of May 1792. Every perſon ſhall alſo be deemed an emigrant, who ſhall be convicted of quitting, during the invaſion of foreign powers, the part of the territory of the republic not invaded, and of having retired into that occupied by the enemy. Laſtly, a reſidence in the territory united to the republic, prior to the proclamation of the re-union, cannot be urged as an excuſe."

In the ſame ſitting, Fayau propoſed, that ſuch citizens as were not owners of lands, and ſuch, as were poſſeſſed of but ſmall portions, might be enabled to obtain certain allotments, for which they ſhould account at the end of twenty years; "becauſe," ſaid the orator, "when the national domains are all put up to public ſale, they inevitably become the property of the monied part of the community." Barrere ſupported the good intention of Fayau, and propoſed that the committee of public ſuccour ſhould point out a new claſs of citizens worthy of ſharing the favours of the republic, viz. married men deſtitute of fortune, from twenty-five to fifty years of age. It was alſo his opinion, that workſhops ſhould be opened for the reception of poor artiſans out of employment. He deprecated the idea of beholding commiſſaries and contractors erecting coloſſal fortunes out of the money which they had plundered from the public, and wiſhed that the committee of domains would preſent the plan of a decree, enacting, that the property of the emigrants ſhould be ſold in ſmall portions, ſo that it could not be monopolized by monied men, but might be ſhared among the real friends to the community—men of ſmall fortunes.

On the 19th of September, ſome meaſures were adopted to prevent too great an influx of ſtrangers to Paris; and on the following day, a very ample report on the ſtate of France was preſented in the name of the committees of public and general ſafety, and of legiſlation, by Robert Lindet.

"When a nation deſires to be free, it is not enough," ſays the reporter, "that the people wiſh to be ſo; they muſt be ſtrong enough to reſiſt the coalition of deſpots, and to make their liberty be acknowledged and reſpected. At this period 1,200,000 citizens in arms, who form the advanced guard of the defenders of liberty, ſweep the frontiers of Spain, the Palatinate, and the Netherlands. Every thing yields to their courage; the enemies (adds he) of the republic, ſtruck with terror, fly to their places of retreat, accuſe their chiefs and their tyrants, and murmur ſecret prayers for the ſucceſs of their conquerors; nations ſacrificed to the pride of kings, alone feel the calamities of war, and ſee in the French the avengers of the rights of man. A formidable marine, united and wiſely directed, renders impotent the fury of the enemies of France, prepares the ruin of their commerce, and promiſes the freedom of the ſeas to Gaul. The nations who had been wiſe enough to reſiſt the inſinuations of the courts of Vienna and London, hear and repeat the victories of the republic. The enemies of the French no longer aſk whether they have a government. They know, that to maintain the moſt numerous armies, to cover the ocean with ſhips of war, to fight and vanquiſh by ſea and land, to bring into their ports the commerce of the world, is to govern. The means that France uſed to attain this height of glory were—When liberty and equality were ſolemnly proclaimed, every Frenchman felt that he had a country, and for that country was ready to ſacrifice himſelf. They recalled to the minds of men that they are all equal in rights, that they are all brothers. What a ſpectacle—what an example for oppreſſed nations and for poſterity is that of a people ſacrificing every day to their country at the price of their labour, their clothing, and their ſubſiſtence; regardleſs of themſelves, and renewing to-day the ſacrifices they had yeſterday made; ſacrifices, which nothing but experience could induce us to believe within the limits of human power! The enemies of the French republic had been ſo numerous, ſo widely ſpread, ſo many means of inſinuating themſelves into the adminiſtration, the popular ſocieties, and even into their families, that every citizen was obliged to conſider himſelf as a centinel ſtationed at his poſt. The evils which the commune of Nantz had lately ſuffered, reſounded in every ear. This citadel of the Weſt ſuſtained a ſiege of more than fifteen months; it combatted the rebels and the banditti; it preſerved to the republic an important place, and the navigation of the Loire.

"The army and the navy, with the ſervices requiſite for them, had taken from agriculture and the uſeful profeſſions more than a million and an half of citizens, and in the multiplicity of her dangers and ſervices employed for the republic more on the whole than ſix millions of men, diſperſed over the various communes, independent of the conſumption occaſioned by great numbers being collected in one place.

"While the revolution was ſo powerfully agitating the minds of Frenchmen; while invincible courage, the moral qualities of natural men, the civic virtues, were raiſing them above themſelves, vice too was making rapid advances. Men were ſeen who embraced the revolution only for the ſake of the crimes they hoped to commit, and the private advantages they expected to derive from it, They wiſhed not for equality of

rights; they aimed only at the confounding of fortunes, they hoped to ſquander or accumulate the wealth of others. Errors, abuſes of power, arbitrary acts, are evils inſeparable from a great revolution.

"Some weeks before the army had marched into Weſt Flanders, this country, full of fortreſſes, was covered with the forces of the allied powers. All the fortreſſes fell into the hands of the French, and the capitulation of Oſtend and Nieuport deprived the Engliſh of every communication with the Belgians. The republicans prepared before Charleroy the ſucceſs which was to crown them next day in the plains of Fleurus. A new mode of tactics reſtored Namur to them. They forced the Auſtrians to retreat. They entered Liege, where they made a ſucceſsful conqueſt. They broke the ſceptre of a prieſt, and the chains with which a deſpot bound his fellow men. At this period all the banks of the Rhine reſounded with the victories of republicans. The armies of the Moſelle and the Rhine united, put the Auſtrians and Pruſſians to flight, reſtored the communication with Landau, and ſecured the Palatinate. Collioure and Port Vendre, in the ſouth, were occupied by the Spaniards for a moment, only to give new éclat to the arms of France, and exhibit the beſt troops of Spain compelled to renounce the honours of war, and lay down their arms. The vallies of Boſſon and Lorrain ſupplied the Gallic ſoldiers for ſeveral months. Fontarabia and St. Sebaſtian gave the republic ports that ſecure the navigation of the gulph. Spain loſt founderies and manufactories of arms which would have been an eternal ſource of jealouſy, if they had been preſerved." Such was the ſtate of France, as reported on the 20th of September.

The ſame day the convention paſſed ſeveral decrees, ordering that the committee of public inſtruction ſhould draw up, every decade, a paper of inſtruction, the object of which ſhould be to revive the love of labour, to confirm the citizens in the principles of morals and attachment to their duties, to remind them of the grand events of the revolution, and to lay before them the advantages of the uſeful arts and ſciences. Theſe papers were ordered to be ſent to all the communes, to be read every decade, in the place of meeting of the general aſſembly, to which fathers, mothers, and their children, ſhould be called and incited to repair. The reading to be followed by hymns of liberty. "The national convention, deſirous of accelerating the period at which an uniform mode of inſtruction may be eſtabliſhed over all the republic, alſo order its committee of public inſtruction to preſent, within ten days, a plan of regulation for ſchools, to which ſhall be called the beſt informed citizens of all the diſtricts, in order to be taught, by the ableſt profeſſors in all branches of human knowledge, the art of teaching others."

In the month of September ſome commotions took place at Marſeilles. The principal occaſion of it was the deſire of reſcuing a perſon of the name of Regnier, who had been committed to priſon there, which they effected. The riot, however, was after this ſoon quelled. Regnier was outlawed, and the reſt of the conſpirators ordered before the tribunal.

The conteſts between the party of Tallien, and that of Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, &c. ſtill continued to agitate occaſionally the convention; and to this conteſt the Girondiſts, who had been impriſoned or outlawed from the 31ſt of May 1793, were probably in part indebted for their reſtoration to their functions. On the 22d of October, ſome of theſe members were encouraged to make application to the convention for their liberty. A long debate enſued, which afforded but little proſpect of a ſucceſsful termination. In the

courſe of the ſucceeding month, however, they renewed their application, and on the 3d of December they reſumed their ſeats in the convention to the number of ſeventy-one. For Thomas Paine, though not impriſoned as having ſigned the proteſt againſt the proceedings of the 31ſt of May, but as an alien born, was alſo permitted to reſume his ſeat.

On the 12th of November, Laignelet gave an account of the reaſons which induced the committee of general ſafety to reſolve upon the ſuſpenſion of the Jacobin club. "Paſſion (he ſaid) had no ſhare in this reſolution, it was dictated by the intereſt of the country alone. While they acknowledged the good which that ſociety had done, they ſhut up their hall, only from reſpect to thoſe principles which ought not to be infringed. They were at the ſame time of opinion, that popular ſocieties might be permitted under proper reſtrictions, becauſe they are inherent in a republican government; but they could not conſider the Jacobin club as a ſociety truly and purely popular. The Jacobins were protected and ſupported while they vied in virtue, and not in power, with legitimate authority. If they were not now what they formerly were; the true friends of the people would ſee that they had attempted to vilify and degrade the convention. It is neceſſary (added the reporter) to remind the repreſentatives of the people, of principles that ought to be engraven on their hearts. In a well ordered government, two rival powers ought not to exiſt. In a republic, there muſt not be a government by the ſide of a government. On the 27th of July, the Jacobins were in open revolt: ſince that period, availing themſelves of impunity; conceiving that the national repreſentation had neither courage or character; that it conſidered them as the ſacred ark, which no unhallowed hand was permitted to touch, they have continued their plan of revolt. There is but one republic, there ought to be but one convention. The committees, who love their country, and who wiſh to unite all the members of the convention, have thought it uſeful for public liberty, to extinguiſh a flame of diſcord, of faction and diſſenſion. The committees were of opinion, that the whole people would applaud the meaſure they had adopted. It never was their intention to attack popular ſocieties. They acknowledged that they had no right to ſhut the gates but where factions are engendered, and civil war publicly recommended. The ſocieties of the ſections are truly the ſocieties of the people, and the committees declared they would maintain them." This ſtep of the committees met with the warmeſt approbation of the whole convention, and was alſo greatly applauded by the people at large.

The next meaſure which the convention adopted, was to bring to puniſhment the perpetrators of the horrid cruelties in La Vendée. Carrier, a repreſentative of the people, who had taken a very active part againſt the rebels in that department, was the principal object fixed upon as a public example. The convention paſſed a decree of accuſation againſt him. His defence was able and argumentative; and its failure of ſucceſs may ſerve to convince future inſtruments of tyranny and cruelty, that, though criminal actions may be juſtified by the applauſe of thoſe who order them, and paſs with impunity during the period of their predominant power, yet they will be puniſhed when that power has fallen into other hands. Carrier, after a long trial before the revolutionary tribunal, was ſentenced to death, and executed ſoon afterwards with two of the revolutionary committee of Nantz, who were found participators in his crimes: the reſt of the revolutionary committee were acquitted.

After the convention had, in this manner, atoned in ſome degree for the cruelties committed by Robeſpierre's party and inſtruments, they iſſued a proclamation to the in-

ſurgent royaliſts themſelves, which cannot but be allowed to be both politic and humane, and containing offers too liberal to be refuſed without regarding the name of royaliſts and that of banditti. That proclamation held out a free pardon to all who ſhould depoſit their arms in the reſpective communes within one month after the day of its date; proper commiſſioners were ſent to the rebellious departments to ſee the decree made upon the occaſion properly executed; and it has ſince appeared, that it was attended with the moſt ſalutary effects.

On the thirtieth of December the decree for giving no quarter to the Engliſh and Hanoverians was repealed. The triumphs of the French arms were ſo ſignal at this time that this meaſure ſeems to have been dictated by a magnanimous pity as well as generoſity, for the French ſoldiers had been ſo much at this period in the habit of purſuit, and their enemies of flight, that they forgot all their enmity in their triumphs, and ſpared the Engliſh and Hanoverians wherever they fell in their power out of the heat of battle.

In the courſe of this year the ingenuity and enterprize of the French nation were diſplayed in ſome remarkable inſtances. The important uſe on which the art of æroſtation had been employed at the battle of Fleurus has been before noticed; a company of æronauts was afterwards attached to every army.

Another invention, the telegraph from the Greek *tele* diſtant, and *graphos* to write, was uſed with equal effect. By this machine the intelligence of the capture of Queſnoy was conveyed to Paris in an hour after the French troops had entered that place. The machine is ſimple, conſiſting of ſeveral pannels movable on an axis; the number of thoſe preſented to the view are the indications of particular ſigns previouſly agreed upon; and the number of queſtions or anſwers, or the ſigns of words or letters may be varied to infinity by the variation of the numbers or poſitions of the pannels. One of theſe telegraphs ſtationed at Paris communicated the ſigns to another at a convenient diſtant, and thus by a chain of ſimilar machines repeating the ſigns or diſpoſitions from one to the other, the thing intended to be communicated is effected, without being known to any of the agents, but thoſe who poſſeſs the book containing the key to each ſign; which like ſignals at ſea may be changed and varied at diſcretion.

On the modes which the French have adopted for the production of ſalt-petre in ſuch quantities as to preclude the neceſſity of a foreign ſupply, we are not able to give an exact account, as we believe they have never been made public, One diſcovery, connected with this ſubject it may be proper to notice, as it was preſented to the convention by the Lyceum of arts on the eleventh of September. Of that inſtitution the committee of ſubſiſtence had requeſted, that they would undertake ſome experiment in order to diſcover a ſubſtitute for grain in the fabrication of ſtarch; and they found upon examination of ſeveral different materials, that the fruit of the horſe-cheſnut tree, freed from its acrid parts by a peculiar property, would furniſh a quantity of ſtarch which is well adapted to every commercial purpoſe. They carried their reſearches ſtill farther upon this hitherto uſeleſs vegetable, and the reſult was certainly of great importance to commerce and manufactures. They found that, by burning the horſe-cheſnut, according to a proceſs deſcribed in their memoir, from twelve and an half ounces of cinders they were able to collect the amazing product of nine ounces of pot-aſh of the firſt quality.

Hitherto the civil tranſactions of the revolution have preſented a wonderful ſcene; reformation progreſſing amidſt diſorder, and the liberty of the nation gaining ſtrength and

ſtability in proportion to the magnitude of oppoſition and danger with which it is threatened; often force co-operating with private conſpiracy, and faction ſo fatal to revolutions only adding to the energy required to ſurmount oppoſition; virtue for a while purſuing its grand carreer, but falling under the gripe of licentiouſneſs and uſurpation; and at length like the phoenix riſing out of ruin, the genius of liberty and virtue aſſumes her reign more beautiful, more vigorous, and worthy of admiration.

The importance of the civil events in the laſt half year of 1794, required that they ſhould be detailed without interruption. The military atchievements from the capture of Landrecy, the memorable battle of Fleurus, the fall of Tournay, the evacuation of Oſtend, and other important places, have been already detailed, and returns of the loſſes of the allies, down to the firſt of July.

At that period we ſhall recommence the narration of a campaign, which every moment encreaſes in intereſt, and which for the valour and ſucceſs with which it was carried on eclipſes the moſt ſplendid atchievements of ancient times or previous modern hiſtory.

The unfeeling politician who knows no principle but ambition, no happineſs but what is derived from the poſſeſſion of power, and who never weighs the evils of war by the afflictions which it cauſes to millions, but by the gratification it affords to himſelf or his patron, may admire at leiſure the bravery of the Auſtrians, Pruſſians, and Engliſh, in oppoſing the French revolution and invading France. But the friend of human nature turns with impatience from the miſtakes and madneſs of men who preſs forward as if it were to enjoy the pleaſures of a fine ſpectacle, to ſee men conteſt with others whom they never ſaw, for a victory from which they derive no advantage or ſecurity, for a place which they never ſaw, or for words which they do not underſtand, or things which they never can enjoy. The fierceſt animals of prey never fight but for their food and the objects of their paſſions. The frequency of wars is owing to the ignorance and willing infatuation of the people. The conteſts of the French bear another character; they contended for the quiet poſſeſſion of their homes againſt remote invaders who had no right or intereſt in their domeſtic tranſactions. They ſought only to be happy by means that appeared to them capable of rendering that happineſs moſt diffuſive and durable. Theſe are objects to be comprehended, in theſe objects the meaneſt and moſt ignorant individual has a ſhare, and the pooreſt have the greateſt ſhare, becauſe the rich poſſeſs means which in ſome degree place them above the defects of ſocial inſtitutions, and render even bad laws and bad governments ſubſervient to their riches. It is good government only that can ſecure happineſs to the poor. Theſe are facts ſelf-evident. But what is to be ſaid of intelligent beings who hire others and are hired to ſpill the blood of perſons whom they do not know, who have done them no injury;—of beings who are willing to be hired to kill perſons againſt whom they have no enmity, to gratify perſons with whom they have no acquaintance, for whom they have no cauſe of love or even reſpect! For perſons who aſſume the ridiculous title of their maſter or ſuperior, and who bids them die to ſupport his pretenſions or his capricious or corrupt views!--Are there any countries in which ſuch men of either character are to be found? Are there any in countries which like France have already had to fight in defence of their fire-ſides?

The beginning of July was fatal to the invaders of France at all points; victory ſmiled uninterruptedly on the arms of the republic. There was no longer an enemy to face them in Weſt-Flanders; Nieuport, Sluys, and the other fortified places were left to their own

ſtrength, and the generals Moreau and Michaud with their diviſions were left to reduce them with the left wing of Pichegru's army while the centre and right purſued the enemy.

On the firſt of July, Jourdan with the army now called of the Sambre and Meuſe, drove the enemy from Mount Palliſel and defeated Cobourg near Mons, and that place immediately ſubmitted; and on the third, Oudenarde, Ghent, and Tournay ſubmitted to Pichegru. Cobourg was obliged by Jourdan to abandon St. Amand, Marchiennes, and Cateau, Conde, Valenciennes, Queſnoy, and Landrecy were now abandoned to their own ſtrength.

It is a remarkable circumſtance in the hiſtory of this period, that the ſucceſs of the army under Jourdan, and particularly the glories of the field of Fleurus, excited an enmity in the boſom of Pichegru which never ceaſed, and which had very unhappy though not the moſt fatal effects on the operations of the campaign; this became ſoon viſible, and the commiſſioners with the army therefore took upon them to direct the operations of the army under Jourdan themſelves.

Cobourg next attempted to make a ſtand in the foreſt of Soignes, where he intrenched himſelf ſtrongly. The French attacked them with the bayonet and carried all. The allies loſt in this action, which took place on the ſixth of July, 7,000 men, and with the miſerable remains of this army Cobourg retreated in the night through Bruſſels and its environs. He had previouſly ordered the magiſtrates to enjoin the inhabitants upon pain of death, to confine themſelves to their own houſes, lock their doors, and even bar up their windows. Such was the melancholy fate of that emperor's repreſentative who had ſo lately diſplayed the ſupremacy of his folly there.

Hitherto the republicans won every ſtep by invincible perſeverance; and not a day paſſed without ſome ſevere conflict or ſome town ſurrendered; but actions which on other occaſions would be in themſelves deemed great, were here loſt in the magnitude of vaſt and numerous victories.

The two armies now approached. The army of the north under Pichegru marched from Ghent on the ninth, and encamped at Eroneghem behind Aloſt. On the tenth they encamped at Ache, and on the eleventh behind the canal of Vilvorde. On the ſame day Jourdan with a detachment of the army of the Sambre and Meuſe entered Bruſſels and ſtationed a garriſon there. The junction of the two armies, was a truly ſplendid ſcene, it repreſented rather the hilarity of a civic feſtival than the parade of conquering legions. The people of Bruſſels mixed with the republicans, and a ſcene of tranquil confidence and pleaſure ſucceeded the gloomy horrors that prevailed during the preſence of the allied armies. The magazines and ſtores which fell into the hands of the French in the courſe of their progreſs is beyond calculation; the rich harveſt of the Netherlands was then ripening on the ground; and contributions of corn and money, were levied on the corporations and the monks.

It was not till the nineteenth that Nieuport ſurrendered, and a number of emigrants there and at Mons were executed as traitors.

During this progreſs of the republicans, the army under the duke of York, no longer able to retain its poſition at Gramont, after the fall of Ghent and Oudenard, had on the fourth of July began a retreat from that poſition, and about four o'clock in the afternoon arrived at the heights of Lombecke St. Catharine. The marquis Cornwallis, who had

been ſent by the Engliſh miniſtry with a view to perſuade the king of Pruſſia to entruſt the command of his army to the marquis, had now returned without ſucceſs to join the duke of York, and accompanied the army on their retreat from Gramont to Antwerp, where he left them on the tenth of July, thinking his preſence and advice no longer capable of advancing the ſervice. At this time lord Moira who was at Aloſt, had his out-poſts attacked on the ſixth by the republicans, and the pickets being driven in, the French penetrated to the town, they were afterwards repulſed; but Moira was obliged to retreat and joined the duke of York on the eighth, who had left Lombecke on the fifth and marched to Mechlin. On the twelfth the out-poſts occupied by the Engliſh in front of the canal of Louvain leading from Bruſſels to Antwerp, were attacked and driven into Mechlin, which the French attacked but were repulſed. On the fifteenth Pichegru renewed the attack; the allies were ſtrongly entrenched behind the canal, between it and Malines, which the Engliſh troops alſo occupied with all the ground between the canal and the river Dyle; they were forced in all points, and the French were ſo eager to come into action, that finding the delay in paſſing by the ordinary ways too great, threw themſelves into the water and ſwam acroſs, attacking the enemy with the bayonet as they landed. They purſued them into Malines, and the allies fled from Mechlin; at the former place the gate of Louvain was blocked up by great piles of fire-wood to cover their retreat, but the French ſcaled the walls and purſued the fugitives along the cauſeway towards Antwerp, which was now alſo deemed a dangerous poſition. In this action the French took a conſiderable number of cannon and ſmall arms, and ſeveral priſoners; they however loſt an able officer, general Proteau. Their advance guard purſued the enemy to Neethe, and drove the allies behind that river. Lord Moira left the army for England on the twentieth and took his leave of the troops in public orders—The duke of York continuing in the neighbourhood of Antwerp only to keep the republicans in check, while the Dutch repaired their fortifications.

The prince of Cobourg at this time informed the duke of York by letter, that he meant to have given battle to the French, had not the Dutch fallen back, and left the army too weak to attempt it. In this letter he ſays, ſpeaking of the allies—"We ſeem to be bewitched"; an expreſſion that marks the confuſion and diſorder that prevailed.

The prince of Orange had in the beginning of the month taken poſt at Waterloo, and was at firſt ſucceſsful in repelling the French. But he was ſoon after compelled to abandon his poſt, and attempted to make a ſtand at the canal of Louvain, but on the ſixteenth he was driven acroſs the Dyle, and took poſt for ſome time at Nyle, while the ſtadtholder alarmed for his ſafety ſolicited the Dutch by inceſſant proclamations to make a levy of every tenth man in the United Provinces; but without the leaſt effect, the majority of the people were attached to the French, and the reſt were either plunged in deſpair or indifference.

The left wing of Jourdan's army, under Kleber, having proceeded without delay to Louvain and Judoigne, thoſe places ſubmitted on the fifteenth, while the right conſiſting of the diviſions of Lefebre, Dubois, Championnet, and Morlet, to favour the movement, advanced in front of the Dyle. At the iron mountain the unfortunate Clairfait attempted to make a ſtand againſt Kleber, but was completely defeated with the loſs in killed, wounded, and priſoners, of ſix thouſand men; Lefebre and Dubois meanwhile

had ſeized the important poſition of the abbey of Florival. Lefebre while Louvain was inveſted drove the Auſtrians from Tirlemont.

It was the intention of the allies at firſt to defend Namur, and to form a line of defence from thence to Antwerp; but the republicans had anticipated the deſign, and by inceſſant attacks totally diſconcerted the plan. And Namur was abandoned by general Beaulieu on the ſixteenth of July, leaving behind two hundred men who ſurrendered the citadel and garriſon on the firſt ſummons. Jourdan diſpatched the keys of this fortreſs to the convention on the twentieth.

The important paſſage of Lier, where general Walmoden was poſted, was forced nearly about the ſame time; and on the twenty-third the army of the north proceeded towards Antwerp, and ſent a trumpeter to inform the inhabitants of their intention to viſit them the ſucceeding morning—The Engliſh did not wait for the republicans, who entered the place at eleven o'clock the next day, and took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel without oppoſition. The Engliſh previous to their departure ſet fire to their magazines of forage, and deſtroyed in different kinds of ſtores, according to their own account, to the amount of *half a million ſterling!* The French account ſtates that they took immenſe magazines, eſpecially of hay undeſtroyed, beſide thirty pieces of braſs artillery.

The retreat of the Auſtrians from Louvain left open the territory of Liege, to Jourdan, who loſt no time in their purſuit, and preſſed the enemy cloſely towards Maeſtricht. His advance guard proceeded towards the Jaar, and on the twenty-ſeventh of July (the memorable ninth of Thermidor) entered Tongres and Liege. The allies reſiſted for ſome time before the latter place and kept up a heavy cannonade, but the republican charge, ſays general Ernouf, put them to flight; and the French were received with the greateſt rejoicing in the town, the inhabitants having taken arms and attacked the Auſtrians at the ſame time. The allies in their retreat obſtinately defended the bridge acroſs the Meuſe while the main body retreated to the heights of Chartreux, where they had formed an entrenched camp; this poſition alſo commanded the bridge, and they opened ſeveral batteries upon it and bombarded the town at the ſame time, and with a petty ſpirit of revenge deſtroyed both their friends and the peaceable neutral citizens. It was now neceſſary that the armies of the republic ſhould turn their attention to the fortreſſes in the rear, before they proceeded farther beyond the frontier. They therefore halted, and the Auſtrians took poſſeſſion of the oppoſite banks of the Meuſe from Ruremond to Maeſtricht, the latter place being protected by a covering army. The Engliſh and Dutch, having retired beyond Breda, were encamped at Oſterwiſt, and its environs, a corps poſted at Ludhoven keeping open their communication.

About this period Lillo was evacuated, and general Moreau who had taken Nieuport on the eighteenth, executed one of the boldeſt enterpriſes of the campaign. It being reſolved to lay ſiege to Sluys, it was neceſſary to the complete inveſtment of that place that the republicans ſhould make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Cadſand. This part of the enterpriſe preſented the moſt diſcouraging obſtacles. The only apparent means by which it could be approached was a very narrow cauſeway, inundated on both ſides, and commanded by fourteen pieces of cannon. With ſuitable materials a bridge might be thrown acroſs the ſtrait of Coſchiſche, but Moreau had no pontoons; all his reſources were a few boats, of which it was impoſſible to form a bridge. The valor of

the troops ſtood in the place of other means; the arms and ammunition were put into the few boats, numbers of the ſoldiers were towed acroſs, and others ſwam; they made good their landing in the face of numerous and formidable batteries, and took the place, with ninety pieces of cannon, one third of them braſs, a great quantity of ammunition, and two hundred priſoners. The garriſon of Sluys had been ſummoned in July, by general Almain, but the commander Vander Dugn returned an anſwer remarkable for its brevity and ſpirit—"The honour of defending Sluys, that of commanding a brave garriſon, and "the confidence they repoſe in me, are my anſwer."—This gallant officer reſiſted till the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, when honourable terms were granted; the garriſon were made priſoners of war, but marched out with the honors of war, "In the teſtimony (ſays Moreau) of the fine defence they made."

The efforts of the ſtadtholder to raiſe the Hollanders, had been copied by the prince of Cobourg; who iſſued to the Germans the following exhortation, which exhibits at once their nopeleſsneſs, and the deſparate reſolution which had been taken to deſtroy all the country rather than ſuffer it to be conquered.

"German Brothers and Friends,—Our valorous armies have juſt quitted the fertile plains, in which they have ſuſtained the moſt ſevere combats during three bloody campaigns, for the preſervation of your property, the repoſe of your lives, the ſecurity of your fields, the maintenance of your religion, the happineſs of your children, the riches of your flouriſhing provinces, and to ſave thoſe provinces from ruin and complete annihilation.—Plains in which they maintained, at the expence of their blood which has flowed for three ſucceſſive years, the glory of their arms, by the ſacrifice of their lives and of their means; while they ſacrificed thoſe deareſt ties which attach men of diſtant nations, not leſs than yourſelves, to their homes and their country; and while they voluntarily renounced all the domeſtic happineſs they had a right to expect.

"The inexhauſtible reſources of a nation in a ſtate of furor, which ſports with the life and happineſs of man, with religion, with the duties, and the bands of civil ſociety; its innumerable cohorts which are led to ſlaughter by their tyrants, and who, by laviſhing their blood, purchaſe the fleeting ſhadow of an imaginary liberty; the activity of a blinded people, who would not liſten to the approach of danger any more than to the paternal voice of their good prince; the ſecret practices, which we hardly know by what name to call, of ſeveral of their ambitious repreſentatives, men of whom this very people ſee, now too late, and abhor, the authors of their unbounded and unceaſing miſery.—All theſe cauſes have forced our armies to retreat to your frontiers.

"It is there that they are now poſted,—weakened, but not vanquiſhed; fatigued by an unequal conteſt,—but not humbled by diſcouragement, nor ſubdued by deſpair. It is there that they form, as it were, an advanced wall of defence for the Germanic liberty; to act as a rampart for your religion, your laws, and your families. The Meuſe is a line of ſeparation between the total loſs and the preſervation, between the overthrow and the maintenance of all theſe; between miſery and happineſs. Riſe then, German brothers and friends! On you will depend the making it poſſible for your deliverers to live or die for your defence. I, myſelf a German prince, full of ſolicitude, not leſs for the ſafety of my country, than the preſervation of my warriors—I call upon you. Procure us ſubſiſtence, bring us proviſions from our magazines. Think that in forwarding to us theſe painful ſuccours you ſecure at the ſame time your approaching harveſt.—

Share with us your ſavings.—To obtain what we want, employ the treaſures of your churches. Give your utenſils and vaſes of ſilver to the emperor, for the pay of your defenders. You will receive receipts for the payment in due form, and you will be paid intereſt for the pecuniary aids you have thus procured. Replace the reſources of Belgium, which have been cut off from us, and now flow for our enemies. Nurſe and relieve with a ſolicitude full of charity our ſick and wounded.

"Riſe courageous people of the fair countries of the Rhine and Moſelle! Arm yourſelves, ye valorous men! Line your rivers and your defiles! Accompany our convoys! Watch over our magazines! Riſe by thouſands, and fight with us for your altars, for your habitations, for your emperor, for your liberty! We will not lead you beyond the rivers of your country! We will not depopulate your provinces; but you will ſecure the poſitions at our backs, you will guard your own confines. Aſſuredly, German citizens, we are not deceived with reſpect to you; we have repoſed our confidence in the good ſenſe of Germans; we truſt to the hearts and the blood of the German nation. For three years your emperor has borne the heavy burden, and diſtant nations have fought for your defence. You yourſelves muſt ſee that your turn to take arms is now come. Then I, as commander in chief of a faithful, approved, and courageous army, promiſe in the name of my troops—To ſpare you we will obſerve a rigorous diſcipline; for your happineſs we will ſhed the laſt drop of our blood; as we have fought for you, we will die for you; and never ſhall the free, the happy Germany, bow down the head beneath the ſteel of the Guillotine—Never ſhall her peaceful inhabitants exchange their generous morals, their tranquil ſimplicity, their guardian laws of property, their conſoling religion, for the licentiouſneſs, the calumniating ſpirit, the legalized ſyſtem of ſpoil, the incredulity, impoſed by force, of the French.

"But if, on the other hand, you ſhould be ſo unfortunate, like thoſe inhabitants of the Belgic provinces, who now groan in the boſom of calamity, deprived of their property, their liberty, their altars, as to ſuffer yourſelves to be miſled by ſecret ſeducers, we ſhall find ourſelves obliged to repaſs the Rhine, to leave you a prey to your enemies, and to withdraw from you, without ceremony, whatever the enemy might find among you for their ſubſiſtence. (Signed) The prince of Cobourg, Field-marſhal.

"Done at our head-quarters, at Foron-le-Compte, July 30, 1794."

The armies of the Rhine and Moſelle, were not inactive during the ſucceſſes of their brethren. On the 12th of July, general Michaud attacked the Pruſſians near Edickhofen; and to favour the operations in that quarter, advanced a corps at the ſame time upon the Auſtrians before Spires, the conteſt was long and bloody, and both parties claimed the victory. The French general of diviſion Laboiſſiere, by venturing too far, was taken priſoner. On the following day the French under general Deſaix made a falſe attack with the right wing of the ſame army, while the main body of the Pruſſians was attacked with renewed vigor; the battle laſted from early in the morning till nine at night; and Deſaix meanwhile had taken poſſeſſion of Freſchbach and Freimerſheim. At the ſame time the other diviſion combined its movements to the left of the mountain under the general of diviſion Meignier, with generals Siſca and Deſgranges under him, attacked and carried by aſſault, amidſt a terrible fire, the important poſts fortified and occupied by the Pruſſians on Platoberg, the higheſt mountain in the territory of Deux Ponts. The attack on this place was ſeven times renewed before it was carried; nine guns, beſides ammunition,

waggons, horſes, and a number of priſoners, was taken by the republicans. The Pruſſian general Pfau was killed in the action, and two others wounded. The remainder of the corps under Hohenloe retired at midnight to Edickhoffen.

On the fourteenth the French attacked the outpoſts at Tripſtadt and drove them in; the allies were intrenched on ſhelving declivities, and the conteſt became ſharp and bloody, but by their uſual preſeverance they took from the allies ſix field-pieces and two howitzers; their loſs was three hundred men; but that of the allies was more conſiderable, as Moreau ſays—"many of the enemy were cut to pieces in their flight, and the number very great indeed."

On the afternoon of the fifteenth the French repeated their attack on the whole chain of poſts from Neuſtadt to the Rhine, along the Rhebach, From two o'clock till eight the cannonade continued without intermiſſion, and the republicans were at length victorious; in the night the Auſtrians retreated with great precipitation. The imperialiſts paſſed the Rhine, and the Pruſſians under Hohenloe retreated to Gunterſblum by way of Dorcheim. Another corps of Pruſſians took the road of Winweiller towards Mentz. The French were computed to have loſt four hundred men in theſe actions; but Keiſerſlautern was abandoned to the republicans.

The army of the Moſelle proceeded on the fifth of Auguſt in three columns with a promiſe to meet at the ſame hour of a given day at Treves. The column under general Ambert took the route along the right bank of the Moſelle between that river and Luxembourg; general Renaud to the right of the Saar; and the third column advanced in the centre between the Saar and Moſelle. The columns encountered and defeated ſeveral ſmall parties in their route, always charging with the bayonet; the Auſtrians driven from Renich, took refuge in Luxembourg, from whence they were alſo driven. The column of the left obtained a very important victory, The mountain Verte ſo famous in hiſtory, at the foot of which the tyrant Louis XIV. loſt fifteen thouſand men in one day; at the foot of which the French had been defeated by treachery in the laſt campaign, was now occupied by the Auſtrians; ſtrong by nature, by art, palliſadoed with cannon, and the principal defence of Treves; the word was given the *Auſtrians occupy the mountain*!—The charge was made and bayonets alone were oppoſed to ſhowers of balls and bombs.—It was taken. The three columns united on the eighth on an immenſe plain, and immediately by an inſtantaneous evolution ſurrounded Treves on every ſide. One of the columns entered the city in the evening, the enemy having haſtily evacuated it upon the intimation of their approach, and fled to Coblentz. The magiſtrates met the French in their robes at the gates, and preſented them the keys, congratulated them on their ſucceſs, and declared that they were glad to receive them. An Engliſh writer ſpeaking of this army ſays—"They had no ſooner entered Treves, than as uſual they eſtabliſhed a municipality; they broke in upon no property whatever, and left the different corporations, and all civil and religious inſtitutions as they found them." The city provided an hundred thouſand rations of bread for the army the next day; and the republicans poſted troops on the heights, ſo that they now commanded beſide Treves, the rivers Saar and Moſelle and a great part of the electorate.

The good effects of the ſyſtem which ſucceeded the ſanguinary tyranny of Robeſpierre was ſoon viſible in France, nor was it confined to the republic but extended to all the conquered countries. Invincible in the field, and generous to thoſe whom they conquer-

ed, the towns of the German and Flemiſh provinces ſpontaneouſly opened their gates, and received the French as friends and brothers. Such generoſity in war independent of the high character which it confers on the victors, is always the wiſeſt and moſt politic. The Auſtrians treated their unhappy ſubjects of the ancient provinces with a ferocity and barbariſm that was at the ſame time fatal to their cauſe, and rendered their defeats the themes of triumph and rejoicing, where even their own language only was ſpoken.

After theſe ſucceſſes it was not reaſonable to expect that the fortreſſes which had been conquered from the French, inſulated as they now were, and cut off from all ſuccours and ſupplies, ſhould long reſiſt. Landrecy was inveſted by Scherer, with a body compoſed of the national-guards and volunteers of the communes of Aveſnes and Maubege, incorporated with a diviſion of the army. As if to ſhew his inflexible determination to carry the place without loſs of time, the general opened his firſt parallel at only one hundred and thirty toiſes from the works; and this bold meaſure eventually ſpared the effuſion of blood; for the garriſon not apprehending the beſiegers to be ſo near, directed their fire in ſuch a manner that the ſhot went one hundred toiſes over the ground on which the workmen were employed, Without firing a gun the general ſummoned the town, and the garriſon being adviſed that no capitulation would be admitted, they ſurrendered at diſcretion the fifteenth of July. Two thouſand men compoſed the garriſon, and beſides ninety pieces of cannon which were originally mounted on the fortifications, the French found twenty-ſix others.

Queſnoy followed the fate of Landrecy; the garriſon conſiſting of three thouſand men ſurrendered at diſcretion; there were found therein one hundred and nineteen pieces of Auſtrian and Dutch cannon, a conſiderable quantity of ammunition, arms, and proviſions. A number of emigrants were alſo taken there. During this ſiege the rains were inceſſant and heavy, and filled the trenches with water, but the works never abated. The telegraph was uſed firſt to communicate the intelligence of the fall of this place, and Barrere reported its ſurrender to the convention in an hour after it had taken place.

Valenciennes capitulated on the 26th of Auguſt; the garriſon were made priſoners of war, but conducted to the firſt Imperial or Dutch poſts, and not to ſerve againſt the republic until regularly exchanged. Eleven hundred emigrants were delivered up to the victors. Two hundred and twenty-ſeven pieces of cannon, eight hundred thouſand pounds of powder, an immenſe quantity of caſt iron, full magazines, one thouſand head of horned cattle, ſome horſes, great quantities of oats, and other corn, ſilver, papers, memoirs, plans, three millions of florins, and ſix millions and a half of livres, were found in the fortreſs. So earneſt had the Emperor been in repairing and improving the fortifications, that three millions of florins were expended on that work alone.

The laſt of theſe four fortreſſes which was reſtored to the republic was Conde. Here the allies had formed their grand depot, and the magazines and ſtores which fell into the poſſeſſion of the beſiegers were immenſe; this intelligence was communicated by Carnot to the convention in the midſt of a tumultuous debate on the accuſations againſt Billaud and others; the intelligence was received by the telegraph, and it was immediately decreed, that the army had deſerved well of their country, and that this decree ſhould be communicated by the telegraph to general Scherer.

A corps of ſixteen hundred and ſix men formed the garriſon of Conde, and ſurrendered priſoners of war. Beſides proviſions, there were found in the fortreſs a hundred and

ſixty-one pieces of cannon, ſix thouſand muſquets, beſides thoſe of the garriſon, three hundred thouſand pounds of powder, one hundred thouſand bombs, balls, and ſhells; one million five hundred thouſand cartridges, ſix hundred thouſand pounds of lead, one hundred and ninety one waggons laden with ſtores, and proviſions, with their horſes and furniture. The fortifications were in the moſt complete repair, and there were caſemates for a more numerous garriſon.

The Engliſh army after their retreat from the vicinity of Antwerp proceeded to Breda, which it was determined to defend, and a Dutch garriſon was ſtationed there for that purpoſe. The right column of the Engliſh marched through Breda on the 4th of Auguſt, while the left took a circuitous route. They then took a poſition which had been previouſly marked for them about four miles diſtant from Breda. In this ſtation they continued ſome days at the requeſt of the Prince of Orange while he was occupied in fortifying Breda. The Engliſh at this time amounted to twenty-five thouſand men.

From Breda the Engliſh retreated about the latter end of Auguſt towards Bois-le-duc, with little moleſtation, excepting a ſlight ſkirmiſh with an advanced party of French. A Dutch garriſon of ſeven thouſand men was alſo left in this fortreſs. In the beginning of September the Engliſh troops were alarmed by the approach of a body of troops under Pichegru, who had moved on the 24th of Auguſt from Tournhout, and on the 28th took another poſition at Hoogſtraten behind the Merk. The retreat of the duke of York to Bois-le-duc was occaſioned by this movement. The Engliſh having then encamped at Heeſwick, whereby Breda was abandoned to the efforts of its garriſon. The Dutch army remained at Ramdauk.

The troops under Scherer, now joined Jourdan, having performed the brilliant ſervice of reducing four celebrated fortreſſes, with forty thouſand men, which would have required two hundred thouſand men in the commencement of the campaign. An evident proof that fortreſſes can only hold out ſo long as there are covering armies. The armies of the republic were at this period in the beſt ſtate of health and ſpirits. Though the ſeaſon was already advanced, they took little repoſe. The moſt piercing cold, and deep ſnows already prevailed, but this early ſeverity of the ſeaſon only ſerved to harden the troops, nor did it prevent them from ſwimming all the arms of the Rhine and conquering Holland.

The advance guard of the republicans attacked and forced the Engliſh poſts on the Dommel and the village of Boxtel; this poſt was fortified naturally by the river and a rapid ſtream, which it was firſt neceſſary to croſs, and afterwards the river, to make an attack on the main body. The bridges had been all broken down by the Engliſh. This ſomewhat retarded the action, but the republicans ſwam the river, and were in ſufficient force to commence the attack at three o'clock in the afternoon, which continued till ſix. The intrepidity diſplayed by the republicans in croſſing the river had a great influence on the fate of the action. Two Engliſh battalions laid down their arms to thirty huſſars. The victory was complete; twelve hundred priſoners, ſeven pieces of cannon, and a number of artillery equipage were taken. But a ſtill more important advantage reſulted from theſe ſucceſſes. The Engliſh found it impoſſible to remain any longer on the left bank of the Meuſe, and were obliged to retreat acroſs that river on the ſixteenth, abandoning the fortreſſes of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Bois-le-duc, to the defence of their own garriſons, and the entrance to Holland left open. General Souham and adjutant-general Reunier narrowly eſcaped being taken near Boxtel, by venturing too far in reconnoitring,

The Dutch accounts say the allies loſt two thouſand killed in this action beſide the priſoners.

The emperor whoſe complaints and exhortations had been attended with ſo little ſucceſs, on the ſevententh of Auguſt preſented a memorial to the circle of the Upper Rhine, preſaging the moſt dreadful conſequences unleſs vigorous and efficacious meaſures ſhould be taken to create reſources. He ſpoke with much feeling on the large ſubſidy received by Pruſſia from England, and yet that the Pruſſian troops had not been brought into action. He threatened to withdraw his troops unleſs the empire ſtept forward to oppoſe the irruption; and he reminded the ſpiritual and temporal communities that they were poſſeſſed of *treaſures ſtill untouched*, which might be beneficially employed.

The Germanic circles, however, did not feel ſo forcibly for their own ſecurity as their more benevolent ally of England, who diſpatched earl Spencer and Mr. Thomas Grenville to Vienna with proffers of money; but they found the emperor not ſatisfied with the ſcanty ſupply which they were authoriſed to give; however, the generoſity of the Engliſh court was not to be reſtricted by trifling conſiderations, and they conſented to grant all the emperor's wiſhes, which extended only to ſix millions ſterling. But the emperor was to bring into the field 200,000 men, and Cobourg, who had differed on ſo many points in military affairs from the royal hope of the majeſty of England, was to be diſmiſſed from his command; and he accordingly took leave of the army by an addreſs affectionate and pathetic on the thirtieth of Auguſt. Engliſh politicians have aſſerted that Cobourg was accuſed of a correſpondence with the French, but thoſe who have ſtudied the tranſactions of the war, will pay little regard to ſuch ſpeculations. That there may have been intrigues is poſſible, and the circumſtances of M. Bellin, who had been the private ſecretary of Mirabeau to the day of his death, having been at this period the actual ſecrerary of the Imperial miniſter at London, and continued to be employed at Vienna favours ſuch a conjecture.

After the defeat at Treves, a part of the imperial army under the duke of Saxe-Teſchen retreated up the Rhine to cover Mentz and Coblentz. This body of troops amounted to 95,535 men, of whom 65,000 were troops of the empire. The Pruſſians added to theſe made the whole allied force on the Rhine on the firſt of September not leſs than 150,000 men.

The army of the Sambre and Meuſe, had from the latter end of July to the beginning of September, confined its operations to ſlight enterpriſes, and movements calculated to promote diſcipline. The Auſtrians during this time remained ſtrongly entrenched not far from Liege. On the right ſide of the Aywaille, the banks of which were defended by remarkable ſteep works, the Auſtrian general Latour occupied two ſtrongly fortified camps. On the eighteenth of September Jourdan with four columns attacked the whole of this line from Aywaille to Emeux. All the paſſages were forced with the bayonet, and the camps were taken at full charge. The enemy left 2,000 dead on the field of battle, and ſeveral of their battallions were reduced to one hundred and fifty men. Seven hundred priſoners, twenty-ſix pieces of large cannon, three ſtandards, an hundred horſes and forty ammunition waggons were taken, as well as the general's carriage, ſecretary, and all his private papers. The remainder of the Auſtrians were routed or diſperſed, and in the night the camp of the Chartreux was completely abandoned. The Auſtrian accounts of this action add, that the whole of their left wing was deſtroyed on this oc-

caſion; three new raiſed companies of the legion of the archduke Charles were cut to pieces, and the regiment of Beaulieu, loſt all of its officers and moſt of its men. The emperor's own regiment of horſe was cut to pieces, and Murray's regiment of infantry loſt nine hundred men. Jourdan had launched his two balloons prior to the commencement of this action, with two ſkilful engineers, who paſſed down ſucceſſive notes deſcribing the ſituation and every movement of the enemy, and by this means diſconcerted all their operations, and enabled the republicans to form attacks where there was an appearance of advantage.

Clairfait who was poſted between Liege and Maeſtricht, was no ſooner informed of the defeat of Latour, then he diſpatched eight battalions to his ſupport; by this aid Latour was enabled to collect his diſperſed troops on the night of the 18th; Jourdan, however, attacked him again on the 19th with his uſual impetuoſity, and drove the enemy to Hervé, taking all the Auſtrian artillery. The corps de reſerve of Latour, was under general Dalton, nephew of that general who was killed at Dunkirk, this body was alſo attacked by the French and driven into Aix-la-chapelle in ſuch confuſion that the roads from thence to Cologn were covered with the fugitives, and it was three days before they could be rallied. Clairfait was in conſequence obliged to retreat as far as Juliers, and on the 21ſt the republicans took poſſeſſion of Aix-la-chapelle.

An action took place on the twentieth near Clermont between the republicans and the Auſtrian rear guard. The diſcrepancy of offical accounts was very remarkable on this occaſion. Clairfait ſtated the loſs of the French at two thouſand men. Gillet the French commiſſioner ſtated it to be only nine killed and twelve wounded. The French appear to have been repulſed according to the Auſtrian account.

Clairfait was not ſuffered to repoſe at Juliers, where he had taken a poſition with great military addreſs behind the Roer; on the twenty-ninth Jourdan croſſed that river from Aix-la-chapelle, and attacked the extenſive Auſtrian poſts at once from Ruremonde to Juliers and Duren. The action laſted during the whole of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of September, and was renewed on the firſt and ſecond of October. The obſtinacy of the action is indicated by its duration, but on the third of October Clairfait no longer able to reſiſt, and having loſt at leaſt 10,000 men, took advantage of a fog early on that morning to make a precipitate retreat. In the courſe of this action the republicans attacked the uncommonly ſtrong works on the mountain of Merznich, defended by twenty-four pounders. Repulſed in each aſſault, they returned to the charge with renewed vigor, and at length carried the fortifications. Seven regiments of Auſtrians ſuffered ſeverely, and three battallions of Hulans were annihilated. Juliers immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion. The arſenal was well provided, ſixty pieces of cannon and fifty thouſand pounds of gun-powder were found there.

The retreat of the Auſtrians was nearly as diſaſtrous as the defeat. They were purſued cloſely, and the French accounts ſtate, that from four to five thouſand were ſlain, and ſeven hundred taken priſoners. The Dutch accounts ſtate the whole loſs of the allies in the battle and the flight at 13,000, a ſtatement probably more exact. Clairfait did not halt long at Cologn, but ſoon after croſſed the Rhine, to the banks of which he was purſued by the republicans, who, as the rear of the Auſtrians were paſſing the river derided them by aſking if *that was the road to Paris*? In alluſion to the gaſconade of the allies at the commencement of the war.

The French entered Cologn on the ſixth of October, the people preſſing to ſee them with congratulations and embraces, and expreſſing themſelves in the moſt unequivocal tokens of admiration of their valour and joy at their arrival. The magiſtrates had previouſly ſent a deputation to the French general, requeſting that no light troops might be admitted within the walls, which was granted, and the general entered at the head of only four thouſand men. Their conduct was ſuitable to their character and the generous joy expreſſed at their arrival. None of the inhabitants left the city, and perſons and property were as much reſpected as in the moſt profound peace; and the magiſtrates and the clergy were left in the indiſturbed exerciſe of their functions.

Venloo and Nuys ſubmitted in conſequence of theſe victories, and many loaded veſſels on the rivers fell into the poſſeſſion of the conquerors. On the morning of the ſeventh of October fifty French chaſſeurs entered Bonn, and were followed in the evening by three thouſand more. The committee of public ſafety had ſignified a wiſh to Jourdan that he ſhould ſend ſome troops againſt Coblentz, a place peculiarly obnoxious to the French from having been the focus of the emigrant conſpiracies at no remote period. About the middle of the month general Moreau with his diviſion was detached thither; and on the twenty-ſecond he arrived at Andernach, where he met ſome of the enemy's huſſars, charged them, killed ſeveral and took fifty priſoners, with the loſs only of three men. On the following day he appeared before Coblentz. The redoubts were carried by the infantry by direct aſſault, while the cavalry turned the enemy's flanks, and the Auſtrians retreated precipitately acroſs the Rhine. This important place did not coſt the republic a drop of blood.

While the armies of the Sambre and Meuſe were thus approaching the important fortreſs of Mentz, the army of the Rhine were victorioufly advancing to the ſame point from the oppoſite ſide. On the ſeventeenth of October Frankendal ſubmitted to the republicans, and on the following day they entered in triumph the epiſcopal city of Worms. The army of the Moſelle about the ſame time took Bingen, and from this time Mentz may be conſidered as in a ſtate of ſiege.

After the retreat of the Engliſh from Boxtel, they took a poſition at Grave; the duke of York was again compelled to change his poſition by the defeat of the Auſtrians on the Roer, and throwing a regiment into Grave, retreated and encamped under the walls of Nimeguen.

The army under Pichegru was at this period in much need of proviſions; even bread was brought from Antwerp acroſs the heaths of Brabant. It was alſo neceſſary, before they ſhould croſs the Meuſe, that ſome place of ſtrength on the oppoſite ſide of the river ſhould be obtained to ſerve as a point of ſupport; for there were few horſes and no carriages and the roads were bad.

Bois-le-duc was the place moſt ſuitable, but it was peculiarly difficult of acceſs; it was ſurrounded by a number of ſmall forts, in excellent condition, well garriſoned; and the country was inundated to the extent of three hundred toiſes from the ramparts, ſo that the place ſeemed to be a ſtupenduous fortreſs in the midſt of a great lake. Though the walls might be breached, all the faſcines in the world would not have been ſufficient to reach it. In addition to this and the badneſs of the roads, the battering train was at a conſiderable diſtance Notwithſtanding all theſe obſtacles it was determined to commence the ſiege, and the place was inveſted on the 23d of September by the republican cavalry, and the next day by the infantry.

But previous to commencing the ſiege, it was expedient to reduce Crevecœur on the Meuſe, as it defended Sluys on that river, and was of great importance. Some batteries were erected, and it ſurrendered to general Delmas on the 29th of September; it mounted thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and there were found in it one thouſand muſquets and thirty thouſand pounds of powder. This place rendered the French maſters of the inundation.

The rains had now commenced, and adding to the inundation, the ſiege appeared more difficult. The trenches were at a great diſtance. The place was commanded by a prince of Heſſe, who it appears had fortified his houſe and covered it over with turf to avoid the dangers attending the bombardment; but after a few ſhot were fired, he capitulated on the 10th of October; the garriſon conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred men were allowed the honors of war, but were bound not to ſerve until individually exchanged. The republicans took a hundred and forty-ſix pieces of cannon, a hundred and ſeven of which were braſs, a hundred and thirty thouſand pounds of powder, an immenſe quantity of iron ſhot, and nine thouſand fuſees. Four hundred and eight emigrants were alſo taken here. Thus two places before which Louis the XIV. loſt ſixteeen thouſand men without taking them, were taken in fifteen days by the republicans, and with field pieces only, for the battering artillery did not arrive until after the capitulation. After the capture of this place Pichegru demanded leave to retire from the command for a ſhort time, in conſequence as he alledged of a cutaneous diſeaſe, the effect of fatigue. Other cauſes were, however, aſſigned, but his popularity ſtifled them. Moreau was appointed his ſucceſſor, he who conquered Ypres, Nieuport, Sluys, and Cadſand.

Pichegru appears however, not to have quitted the neighbourhood of the army immediately, as in a diſpatch dated at Poſthick, October 20th, he mentions the action of the 19th between the Meuſe and the Waal at Puffleck only as a ſkirmiſh. The duke of York has given an account of this affair in another view, conſiderably in detail, and it appears to have been an action of much importance. He ſays that on the morning of the 19th the French attacked the whole of the advanced poſts on his right wing in great force; and that the poſt on the left of the Engliſh 37th regiment, occupied by a detachment of Rohan huſſars being forced, the Engliſh regiment was compelled to retreat upon the dyke along the Waal, where being attacked by a body of French huſſars, the whole of the regiment excepting the major and 50 men, was cut to pieces. General Fox in attempting to rally the 37th regiment was taken priſoner by a French huſſar, but his horſe being in better condition than the Frenchman's he took an opportunity to make uſe of his fleetneſs, and eſcaped. The military character of the French was highly conſpicuous at this period; the roads through which they had to paſs were compoſed of a ſtiff clay, the rains were thick and conſtant, and heavy fogs conſtantly prevailed. Prior to this action at Puffleck they had been four days without bread, and had not even been able to dreſs their ordinary repaſt of ſoup for forty-eight hours. In theſe circumſtances murmurs might have been expected, but on the contrary their only anxiety was to meet the enemy.

The French officers have conferred great praiſe on the Engliſh military diſpoſitions at this place. But notwithſtanding that the ground was interſected by dykes, over which the Engliſh had laid bridges to ſecure their retreat, and which they broke down as they paſſed, their efforts were unavailing This engagement had a great influence on the affairs of the campaign; Pichegru in his accounts of the actions of this period gives only the reſult;

this has been urged by an apologiſt of his as a matter of prudence from his diſlike of the committee of public ſafety. A leſs honorable motive has been aſſigned; he continued during this period at Bruſſels, but correſponded with Jourdan and Moreau. In the action of Puffleck the republicans were commanded by Souham and Bonneau. The chief of brigade Bonhomme it was that with the ninth regiment of huſſars, the thirtieh diviſion of gendarmerie, and the firſt battalion of light infantry, performed the ſignal action wherein the thirty-ſeventh Engliſh regiment were cut to pieces. The general of brigade Jardon it was that attacked the Rohan emigrants and cut them to pieces, to the amount of three hundred, and took ſixty-nine of them priſoners. The French took in this affair ſix hundred other priſoners and four pieces of cannon. This action and the movements on the Meuſe between Ruremond and Venloo obliged the duke of York to paſs the Waal, leaving behind general Walmoden to cover Nimeguen. This was now the only poſt from which the allies could advance upon the republicans, and it was therefore reſolved to take it, in order to ſecure the poſitions of the two armies on the Rhine and Waal, of covering the ſiege of Grave, and placing the troops in ſafe and commodious cantonments.

On the twenty-eighth of October that place was partially inveſted and detachments poſted at Wickham and Boningen completed the inveſtment of Grave. Meanwhile general Laurent with only four thouſand laid ſiege to Venloo. He commenced by opening his trenches at one hundred toiſes from the covered way; diſconcerted by this boldneſs and by a ſevere repulſe in a ſortie, the garriſon ſurrendered on the twenty-ſeventh of October. Generals Mareſcot and Dijean of the engineers, and Heblé of the artillery, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe ſieges.

In order to complete the inveſtment of Nimeguen, it was neceſſary to poſſeſs the left bank of the Waal, the Engliſh army had poſſeſſed themſelves of it to the amount of 38,000 men, and the communication with Nimeguen was open to them by a bridge of boats, as well as a flying bridge, with which they could throw ſuccours into the place at pleaſure. The fortifications were in the beſt condition, and the advanced works were furniſhed with heavy cannon and mortars. Theſe works or lines covered the ramparts, and were in fact an entrenched camp. Beſides which, the place was induſtriouſly ſurrounded with a circular line of *trous de loup*, or ditches very wide and deep with ſharp ſtakes planted at the bottom, and filled with branches of trees, covered with looſe earth on the ſurface, by which cavalry were wholly prevented from acting.

To drive the Engliſh from their poſition it was neceſſary to paſs the Waal with 30,000 men, and the difficulties in the attempt were great, as the inundation might cut off ſuch a corps from the main body. On the twenty-ſeventh of October the French made a ſlight attack without ſucceſs on the Engliſh out-poſts. On the night of the fourth of November a ſortie was made by the garriſon; the party was conſiderable, conſiſting of Dutch, Hanoverians, and Engliſh, led by major general De Burgh. The French either penetrated or had intelligence of their deſign, for they received the allies ſo warmly, that they drove them in with terrible ſlaughter, and the commandant of the party was wounded.

On the morning of the ſixth, the French opened a very heavy battery on each extremity of the half moon in which the troops were formed, and both of theſe fired upon the bridge of boats and flying bridge. Several of the boats were accordingly ſunk. This

ſucceſs of the artillery alarmed the Engliſh for their ſafety; however, in the night of the eighth the bridge being repaired the duke of York withdrew from the town, and drawing the bridge after him to the right ſide of the river burnt it, and left the Dutch to defend themſelves, amounting to two thouſand five hundred men under general De Burgh.

The confuſion and diſtreſs of the Dutch troops is not to be deſcribed. Too weak of themſelves, even to man the poſts, they fell into diſorder; part of them ſeized the flying bridge and embarked on it, but the cable by which it was worked was cut by the French ſhot, the bridge ſwung round again to the city. At this moment the French had entered the city, and they proceeded to ſeize the bridge and make the Dutch priſoners. Theſe unfortunate people always the dupes and the objects of hatred of the Engliſh, already perfidiouſly deſerted, and the bridge withdrawn from them and burnt by their good and princely ally were ſtill further cruelly fired upon by the Engliſh ſoldiers! The French general Souham, with a generoſity which forms a remarkable contraſt with this conduct of the Engliſh, on entering the place felt only anxious for the ſafety of the priſoners, taken as it was by aſſault, the town might have been, according to the uſages of war, delivered up to pillage; he therefore aſſembled the abandoned Dutch, and made a form of capitulation conſiſting of one article, which declared the garriſon ſhould lay down their arms on the glacis, and be made priſoners of war; but what renders this conduct yet more magnanimous was the condition of the French troops, an uninterrupted ſervice of ſeven months had reduced their clothing to a miſerable ſtate, they were literally covered with rags; their ſhoes, and ſtockings were generally worn out, and the cold already ſevere, and the weather conſtantly wet or miſty; it was not uncommon to ſee the French ſentinels with the ſleeves of their coats hanging in ſhreds, without hats or caps, and their heads covered with their haverſacks, or the little bags in which they uſually carried their neceſſaries. This deſcription extended to all the armies.

Philipine on the Scheldt and Sas-de-gand, both ſurrendered to the diviſions under the command of Michaud on the 23d of October.

The ſiege of Maeſtricht, which had been formed ſoon after the defeat of the Auſtrian general Latour, was carried on ſlowly at firſt; on the 22d of September they croſſed the Meuſe near the town, and blockaded it on the ſide of Wyk. On the 26th Kleber formally ſummoned the town; on the 28th a body of Auſtrian cavalry made a ſortie, and took a piece of cannon; on the 2d of October they made a ſecond attempt of a ſimilar kind, but were ſeverely repulſed. The republicans then began to break ground, and conſtructed batteries on the heights of St. Peter, a third ſortie was attempted on the 9th, which partly ſucceeded; but by the 11th the batteries were eſtabliſhed, as well as ſome formidable works on the Limberg over againſt the mountain. On the 20th the French park was encreaſed by thirty pieces of battering cannon. On the 23d they completed their firſt parallel, and commenced the ſecond. The town was again ſummoned on the 30th; and the trumpeter had hardly departed from the gate on his return, when the beſiegers opened all their batteries and poured a tremendous ſhower of ſhot and ſhells on the town. This continued without intermiſſion all the night. The atmoſphere was filled with balls, bombs, and howitzer ſhells; ſcarcely a place of ſafety was left in the whole circuit of the city; a number of private and public buildings were demoliſhed. Three days were paſſed in this diſtreſſing ſituation amidſt the groans of the wounded and dying, when the governor moved by the entreaties of the magiſtrates entered into a negociation,

and the place capitulated on the 4th of November, eleven days after the trenches had been opened. It is one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Europe; it coſt Louis XIV. thirteen days to take this place, and Louis XV. three weeks to take it. On thoſe occaſions the greateſt poets and painters of France celebrated the glory of the capture; but Kleber is a republican general, and the actions of the armies and the generals have been ſo many and extraordinary, that the ordinary means of celebrating them are found inadequate to the end, and the world is left to wonder without being able to deſcribe the objects of their admiration in adequate terms. Mareſco was the beſieging engineer, Bellemont commanded the artillery. It was the intention of Kleber to have ſtormed the place on the 4th. The garriſon conſiſted of five thouſand ſix hundred Auſtrians, two hundred huſſars, and one thouſand five hundred Dutch troops. More than two thouſand buildings were damaged or deſtroyed by the bombardment, twelve thouſand bombs, balls, and ſhells had been thrown into the town, ſome of the bombs weighing two hundred weight. It was about this period that Coblentz and Rhienfeld were taken by the right wing of the army of Jourdan; that the army of the Rhine entered the Palitinate; and Mentz alone remained in poſſeſſion of the allies along the whole courſe of the Rhine!

The ſtate of the republican ſoldiers in point of equipments and comfort at this time has been noticed; and it became neceſſary that they ſhould at leaſt enjoy ſome repoſe having ſecured a ſtrong line from which no force of the enemy could diſlodge them. With ſome difficulty a ſhort reſpite from their toils were agreed upon, while plans of a more daring and ſplendid kind were on the eve of being developed and executed by thoſe youthful veterans.

At this interval it will be opportune to take up briefly the progreſs of the republican arms in Spain and Italy; and to advert to the circumſtances of the French affairs in the Weſt-Indies.

The army of the Eaſtern Pyrenees, under Doppeto marched from Puycerda for Campredon on the fourteenth of June, where, after carrying Tonges and Ribes, he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters on the ſeventeenth. On the twenty-firſt he advanced to Riſpell, where the Spaniards had a manufactory of arms, a large quantity of which the French general added to his ſtores. During which time the ſiege of Belegarde continued to be cloſely preſſed. A bold attempt was made on the thirteenth of Auguſt by the Count de l'Union for the relief of that place. The republicans were at firſt forced, but rallying they regained the heights from which they had been diſlodged, and the Spaniards ſuffered a total defeat, leaving two thouſand five hundred dead on the field. The French loſt one hundred and eighty ſeven killed and ſix hundred wounded, among the former was a brave and active officer general Mirabel.

Bellegarde being thus deprived of relief, ſubmitted to general Dugommier on the twentieth of the following month. The garriſon conſiſted of ſix thouſand men. On the next day the Count de l'Union made another attack on the French hoping to diſlodge them, not knowing that they were poſſeſſed of the place; but he was ſeverely repulſed, having loſt ſix hundred men and four pieces of cannon.

General Dugommier concluded his carreer in this quarter by a ſignal victory over the Spaniards and emigrants at Spouilles. The ſlaughter of the latter was terrible, but one thouſand Spaniards and Portugueſe obtained quarter by ſurrendering priſoners of war. The republicans took a large quantity of cannon, and tents and camp equipage for twelve

thouſand men. The brave general Dugommier was killed by a ſhell upon the black mountain which he had aſcended the better to direct the military operations. His death was ſeverely avenged on the twentieth, when his valiant opponent the count de l'Union with three other Spaniſh generals were killed in an action near St. Fernando de Figueres. For the defence of this poſt the Spaniards had ſpent ſix months in erecting from eighty to one hundred batteries mounted with heavy cannon. The force in them amounted to 40,000 men ſtrongly entrenched; yet they were attacked by the republicans, and after two hours completely carried. The fort of St. Fernando was then attacked and ſurrendered on the third day, and the garriſon of nine thouſand men were made priſoners of war. The French found in the fort one hundred and ſeventy pieces of cannon, five thouſand ſtand of arms, twelve founderies for cannon, and an immenſe quantity of ammunition. The towns Aſcoita and Aſpatea ſoon after ſubmitted; and in the courſe of a few days another victory was announced to the convention, in which five hundred priſoners, one braſs cannon (the only one which the Spaniards had not loſt before), were captured.

The army of the Weſtern Pyrenees was not leſs ſucceſsful. In the latter end of July the redoubt of Maria Louiſa, the camp of St. Jean de Luz, and the fort of St. Barbe were ſtormed and carried in one day, by the republican general of diviſion Delaforde. The villages of Bera and Leſſaca were alſo taken at the ſame time with abundant granaries. Theſe however formed but a prelude to a ſtill greater victory; for on the firſt of Auguſt 15,000 Spaniards poſted near the village of Haya fled before a body of 6,000 French. By this retreat immenſe magazines, 2,000 muſkets, ſix ſtand of colours, 200 cannon and howitzers, tents for 25,000 men, and 2,000 priſoners, among whom were two entire regiments who grounded their arms, fell into the hands of the republicans. On the evening of the ſame day Fontarabia which guards the entrance of Spain, and which coſt the duke of Berwick 8,000 men, was taken after a very ſhort conflict by a detachment of the republicans. The following day a ſingle diviſion commanded by general Moncey, ſeized the port of the Paſſage. On the third of Auguſt St. Sebaſtian was inveſted, and capitulated on the ſucceeding morning. The garriſon conſiſting of two thouſand men, and more than one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon were taken, with a conſiderable quantity of proviſions and ſtores, and after the ſurrender of the place two Spaniſh ſhips laden with powder and ball, wine and codfiſh entered the port, and became an uſeful addition to the captures. The ſame good conduct which characteriſed the French armies in other places was viſible here. The commiſſioner iſſued a proclamation declaring that no act of plunder by any perſon whatever would be permitted to go unpuniſhed, and that religious worſhip ſhould be guaranteed to all perſons.

While Moncey advanced againſt St. Sebaſtian, another diviſion under generals Fregeville and Laborde proceeded againſt the Spaniſh poſts at Ernain; but the Spaniards, diſheartened by defeats ſo inceſſant, fled without making reſiſtance. The French after theſe victories extended their advanced poſts as far as Toloſa. In the beginning of September the Spaniards again began to rally, but on the firſt attack ſix thouſand of them were repulſed by a picquet of only ſix hundred. At the ſame period 150 of the Walloon guards deſerted to the French.

In the beginning of October the Spaniards were again ſignally defeated. A line of poſts had been eſtabliſhed upwards of forty leagues in extent; the French did not wait

to be attacked, but aſſailed theſe poſts in twelve different points at the ſame time. The Spaniards were entrenched on elevated ground and ſtrongly fortified, but all their defences near Beddaditz, Cubeg, and Villeneuva, were carried by the bayonet, and the works which they had laboured for twelve months in conſtructing were utterly deſtroyed. It was the French general's deſign to have ſurrounded the whole Spaniſh army, but one of the columns arrived too late, and the Spaniards favoured by a thick fog were enabled to make good their retreat to Sangonella, with the loſs of 2500 killed and an equal number taken priſoners.

Amidſt theſe accumulated diſtreſſes, the cabinet of Spain muſt have been ſenſibly alarmed. The expectation of the French marching to Madrid was ſtrongly entertained, and the court had made diſpoſitions for a removal. Efforts were however made and with the ſame ſucceſs that had been experienced in Germany and Holland to raiſe the people in a maſs. The loſſes of proviſions and warlike ſtores ſtruck deeply into the Spaniſh reſources, and extraordinary means were neceſſarily reſorted to, to ſupply them. The cabinet exhibited the rare example of diſintereſted ſtateſmen actually relinquiſhing in the month of September twenty-five per cent. of their official income, comprehending placemen and penſioners of every deſcription. A large ſum was alſo levied on the opulent clergy, and it was determined— "That no miniſter or other perſon ſhould enjoy more than *one ſalary*, though he might hold various offices". Such inſtances are rare under corrupt governments. Early in this month, however, the Spaniſh cabinet ſaw the neceſſity of ſeeking a peace with the republic, the method taken was by the tranſmiſſion of a private letter from Gardoqui the Spaniſh miniſter of the finnces, by a flag of truce through the two armies, to James Monroe the American miniſter at Paris. This overture was an indirect one, but was followed by others more open and nnequivocal, which ſubſeqnently terminated in a negociation.

The king of Sardinia had alſo adopted the project of raiſing the people in a maſs, but with a degree of ſucceſs that fully juſtified the ſagacity of the king of Pruſſia on that ſubject; in the month of July ten thouſand Piedmonteſe of this deſcription were diſperſed by a few battalions of French; and on the 14th of September the Piedmonteſe were again defeated with terrible ſlaughter by the army of the Alps.

The allies, however, expected by a plan they had formed to annihilate the French in that quarter. A conſiderable force was collected, and it was intended to attack at once all the French poſts in the vicinity of Genoa, and afterwards Genoa itſelf: The French anticipated this plan, carried the Auſtrian and Sardinian poſts with the bayonet, purſued them to Alexandria, and forced them to evacuate Le Caize with conſiderable loſs. The war on the part of the Auſtrians and Sardinians was defenſive during the following month.

The importance of the European hiſtory civil and military was ſo ſupereminent, that in tracing all its various and complex parts, it was neceſſary in order to avoid confuſion to defer the tranſactions in the Weſt-Indies to a period leſs embarraſſed. Early in February the Britiſh fleet and army under admiral Jervis and general Grey ſailed from Carliſle-bay, Barbadoes, to attack Martinico. Before the ſixteenth of March the whole iſland was in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, excepting the forts of Bourbon and Royal, which ſurrendered on the twenty-third. At the former of theſe general Rochambeau commanded, (the ſon of the veteran, who in conjunction with general Waſhington took Cornwallis at Yorktown). The Engliſh commander in his diſpatch ſays, that ſo gallant was the defence of

this officer at fort Bourbon that ' ſcarcely an inch of ground was untouched by the ſhot and ſhells of the beſiegers.'

The French troops engaged not to ſerve againſt the allies during the war, and veſſels were to be provided for the general and his ſuite to return to France; general Rochambeau wiſhed to ſecure their freedom to the ſlaves that had been liberated, but the Engliſh general would not admit of it, and had them returned to their former ſtate of ſervitude. The profligacy of this meaſure as well as its repugnance to all religious and civil obligations, was ſuitably repaid by the juſt hatred which it inſpired in the hearts of the unfortunate blacks. About the ſame time Cape Tiburon in St. Domingo was reduced by colonel Whitlock, and a conſiderble quantity of ſtores and ordnance was taken; the pariſhes of Jean Rabel, St. Marc, Archaye, Roncaſin, and Leogane in the ſame iſland ſubmitted to commodore Ford. Shortly afterwards the poſt of L'Acul ſix miles from Leogane, which was garriſoned with about ſix hundred men, was taken by ſtorm by colonel Whitlock. A tranſaction took place between this officer and the French general Lavaux, which exhibits the character of the two nations, in a very conſpicuous point of view. Lavaux commanded at Port au Paix, and in a letter of date the ninth of February Whitlock addreſſes him in the following terms;—"I now therefore in the name of his Britannic majeſty, do hereby offer you the ſame protection, on condition that the fort of Port au Paix and its dependencies are put into the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh government, which being complied with, the officers and ſoldiers ſerving under your command ſhall enjoy the ſame favours as have been granted to thoſe of the Mole, leaving it to the bounty of his majeſty to grant to yourſelf the rank he ſhall judge proper: I further add, that *as a reward* for the *confidence* which I demand of you *in the name of the government which I ſerve*, the ſum of five thouſand crowns (ecus) Tournois ſhall be paid to you in perſon or *depoſited in the bank of England* payable to your order, on delivering the town of Port au Paix, with the forts, artillery, ammunition, proviſions, &c. as alſo the ſhips of war which may be in the port. I ſhall be at Leogane next Wedneſday, where any flag of truce you ſhall pleaſe to ſend me ſhall be received and reſpected." ſuch was the propoſition of his Britannic majeſty's commander. The following is ſo much as relates to this ſubject on the part of the republican.

After ſtating his purpoſe to maintain his duty to his country, he ſays—" Permit me now to complain to yourſelf of the indignity you have offered me in thinking me ſo vile, ſo flagitious, ſo baſe, as not to reſent an offer of five thouſand crowns. In this you have wronged yourſelf. I am a general; hitherto I have been worthy to command the army. You have endeavoured to diſhonor me in the eyes of my comrades; this is an offence between you and me, for which you owe me ſatisfaction; I demand it in the name of honor, which muſt exiſt among all nations. Therefore previous to any general action I offer you ſingle combat till either of us falls, leaving to you the choice of arms, either on foot or on horſeback; then, if victorious, I ſhall have proved myſelf worthy to command republicans; if I fall glorioufly, the republican army will have another leader ſtill more formidable, and every individual in the army will imitate my example. Your quality of enemy in the name of your nation, did not give you a right to offer me a perſonal inſult; as a private perſon I aſk ſatisfaction for an injury done by an individual.

" Our nations have often made war, but always with equl weapons; ceaſe then to attack us by bribery. Let us be equally generous, and let us contend in honourable

hoſtility; we ſcorn the mean arts of ſeduction. The enemy made priſoner of war with arms in his hands, commands reſpect, as he merits eſteem. The univerſe has its eyes upon us; the univerſe will ſay,—there ſtill exiſt men who preferred death to diſhonour; we ſhall ſerve as examples to all military men, and your country itſelf will teſtify its approbation. We have always before our eyes the proverb which ſays—'The treaſon pleaſes us well, but we deteſt the traitor."

This anſwer is in itſelf a ſufficient commentary on the diſgraceful conduct of the Engliſh commander; it appears however, that the ſhame does not reſt wholly with him, but with his government, by whom he was authoriſed to do ſo. Indeed the mode of warfare was not confined to that iſland or that occaſion, but was extended to ſeveral other iſlands with more ſucceſs; as ſeveral places were betrayed into the hands of the Engliſh. Indeed if the manner of conducting the Engliſh government for a century paſt is conſidered, it will ceaſe to be wondered at that corruption which is the vital principle of its exiſtence ſhould pervade and inflict all its remoteſt members. The nation has been frequently held up as an aſſemblage of uſurers and ſharpers, and it cannot be diſputed that however reſpectable the few exceptions may be, that exiſt in oppoſition to that character, that too many facts have ariſen not only in the preſent war but in that of America. An Engliſh writer has very judiciouſly obſerved, that an attempt to bribe a member of congreſs did more miſchief to the Engliſh cauſe in America than the worſt military conduct could have affected. The ſelf-reſpect of a nation or a government muſt be deplorably low indeed that deſcends to ſuch abject means of warfare, as that of bribing a public officer. But England has found her Arnolds, though ſhe failed of a Levaux.

The reduction of Martinico was no ſooner effected than the troops were ſent againſt St. Lucia, which ſurrendered on the 4th of April, and the troops were re-embarked the next day for Martinico; here they were put on board tranſports from the ſhips of war, and on the 8th were detached againſt the iſlands of the Saints, which they took. On the 10th they appeared off Point-a-Petre, Guadaloupe, and on the 11th landed in Goſier-bay, and on the 12th the ſtrong poſt Fleur d'Epee was taken by ſtorm. This ſucceſs put the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of Grand Terre, which was followed on the 20th by the ſurrender of Baſſeterre by a capitulation which included Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Deſirada, and all the dependencies. The terms the ſame as thoſe at Martinico.

From a return found among the papers of the French general Collot, it appears that the number of perſons able to bear arms in Guadaloupe, was five thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, and that the number of arms delivered out to them was four thouſand and forty-four. The Engliſh general having garriſoned theſe places returned to Martinico. Theſe rapid ſucceſſes, however, were ſoon, and ſeverely checked; the force originally ſent out was not ſufficient to afford full garriſons and make due allowances for the loſs by the habitual intemperance and debauchery of the Engliſh ſoldiery, and the diſeaſes of the climate. On the 3d of June a French fifty gun ſhip, a forty gun ſhip armed *en flute*, a frigate, and three tranſports appeared off Guadaloupe, and manifeſted an intention to attack Fleur l'Epee. On the 5th they landed thirteen boats crowded with troops, and carried the fort by ſtorm, the Engliſh garriſon retreating with loſs to Fort Louis, which was ſoon evacuated alſo, and the Engliſh garriſon retired to Baſſeterre. The French were commanded by Victor Hugues, a commiſſioner from the convention, who ſeems to have been a man of uncommon enterprize and courage, and of a capacity that embraced with

addreſs and facility all the details of civil and military affairs; he made the beſt arrangements for maintaining his ſucceſs and driving the enemy out of the iſland. Conformably to the celebrated decree. he proclaimed freedom to all the negroes, equipped and clothed a large body of them, and with as many of the mulattoes as he found attached to the French cauſe, well armed, practiſed them daily in diſcipline. The Engliſh general Grey was not inattentive to the enterprizing republican, and collecting a force rapidly embarked at St. Kitts and landed on the 19th of June at Guadaloupe, under cover of an Engliſh fleet. Hugues met him in ſeveral rencontres with his new raiſed corps; the Engliſh gained ſome ſlight victories, but the others gained diſcipline; the Engliſh troops were ſinking under the heat of the climate, and the rainy ſeaſon was now coming in; the Engliſh general therefore determined on a deſparate attempt to cloſe the campaign. On the 2d of July he detached a body of grenadiers, light infantry, and ſeamen, to take Point-a-Petre by ſurprize, they entered the town and ſuddenly a number of guns were opened on them with grape ſhot which cut them down in all directions; they were aſſailed at the ſame time by vollies from the houſes, a retreat became indiſpenſable, and it was affected with the loſs of eight hundred and ſixty men, their commanding officer colonel Symes wounded; colonel Gomm, and captain Robertſon of the navy killed. Grey having thus been fruſtrated, took meaſures for the defence of Baſſeterre and embarked the remainder of his troops in the night, leaving the French in poſſeſſion of the iſland, except Baſſeterre, which made a long reſiſtance, that will be noticed in the tranſactions of the next year.

The conduct of the Engliſh commanders in their magiſterial capacity, exhibits traits of diſgraceful perfidy that is but too conſiſtent with the whole conduct of their government, and on this occaſion deſerves to be particularly expoſed for the execration of all poſterity. General Grey is the ſame perſon who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the American revolution for his nightly cold-blooded maſſacres of the young and old and innocent and unoffending, in common with the hoſtile armed American. Soon after the arrival of general Grey and admiral Jervis in the Weſt-Indies, they iſſued a proclamation dated the 1ſt of January 1794, on board the Boyne, addreſſed to the inhabitants of Martinico, wherein they "invite all the friends of peace, government, religion, and order in the iſland of Martinico, to ſhake off the yoke of a tyrannical oppreſſion, and to ſhelter themſelves from the terrors of anarchy under the protection and government of a juſt and benevolent ſovereign!—And by theſe preſents *ſolemnly promiſe, grant, and inſure* all thoſe, who availing themſelves of this invitation in a quiet and peaceable manner, ſhall ſubmit to the authority of the king, and put themſelves under his protection, *perſonal ſafety*, as well as the full and immediate enjoyment of *all their lawful property, according to their ancient laws and cuſtoms.*" Language could not form a guarantee more explicit, ſolemn, and liberal, nor a temptation more ſtrong and ſeductive, where the prepoſſeſſions of the perſons addreſſed were already violently excited againſt the French revolution. It has been already ſeen with what eaſe and facility thoſe officers obtained the poſſeſſion of the iſland of Martinico and others. The oppoſition even on the part of the few republicans at that iſland laſted only twenty-three days, and their ſubjection coſt the Engliſh only thirty-four men. Guadaloupe held out only eight days and St. Lucia but three.

On the 10th of February an official order was iſſued from St. Pierre's, directing all merchants, factors, &c. &c. to deliver in, the *next day*, a full, exact, and true verified ſpecification of all the colonial property in their poſſeſſion, under pain of impriſonment and confiſcation of the goods.

On the tenth of May general Prefcot, then governor of Martinico, iſſued a proclamation in the name and under the authority of the Engliſh commanders, in which the inhabitants were required to " Chooſe repreſentatives, who were afterwards to meet on " Sunday the eigthteenth, and *fix in an equitable manner a general contribution*, (the amount " of which ſhall be made known to them) *to be paid by all who poſſeſs* property in the " colony, the commander in chief having *decided* that ſuch an arrangement would *be more* " *convenient* than a *general confiſcation*!"

On the twentieth of May another proclamation was iſſued under the ſame authority, in which it was ſaid that, no attention having been paid to that of the tenth, requiring repreſentatives to raiſe a ſum " *adequate to the value of the conqueſt*, deſtined to reward the " valour, to compenſate the exceſſive fatigue, and its conſequences ſickneſs and mortality, " and to make good the heavy expences incurred by the Britiſh officers, &c. who, " with *matchleſs perſeverance*, &c. atchieved the conqueſt of the iſland." A new arrangement was ordered, by which civil commiſſioners were to be appointed in the pariſhes, towns, and boroughs, to deliver exact liſts of the inhabitants, houſes, number of ſlaves, cattle, acres of land, and every other article of property; to demand all books of account belonging to French agents, and of all property of vacant ſucceſſion, and of all goods of perſons captured, killed, or baniſhed, and of all perſons reſident in France; the names of all perſons not diſpoſed to fulfil theſe purpoſes; and they conclude that it is their " firm reſolution to have this preſent meaſure fully executed; or in failure of it, " to avail themſelves of the power with which they are inveſted, to order and enforce a " *general confiſcation*." This proclamation was iſſued from on board the Boyne, and was dated in this remarkable ſtyle—" On board the Boyne in the year of our ſaviour, 1794!"

Such meaſures contraſted with the proclamation of the firſt of January, ſupercede every ſpecies of comment; they ſpeak for themſelves a leſſon of ſhame at which honor and juſtice recoil, and which muſt ſtigmatize the authors of it in the rolls of infamy for ever. The people thus treated, it is true, were traitors to their own country, and we learn from the evidence of general Bruce, an Engliſh officer on the ſpot, that ſuch was the diſpoſition of the people to the Engliſh government, that on their firſt appearance *eight hundred* of the planters took up arms and declared for them, and that on the inhabitants being called to take the oath of allegiance to the Engliſh government the concourſe was ſo great that numbers could not obtain admiſſion, and were obliged to go away without the opportunity to take it.

Upon theſe people, however, a ſum of 700,000 pounds ſterling was levied, and a ſum of 300,000 on their friends at St. Lucia. After ſuch conduct it can appear no longer wonderful that all confidence in England was loſt in the Weſt-Indies, and that the iſlands ſhould become as inimical to her government as the conduct of her officers was repugnant to all eſtabliſhed principles of juſtice or even of war. The wars of ſavage nations are images of thoſe paſſions by which the individuals are actuated, they are the ſudden ebullitions of rage and fury, of a ſullen revenge or a momentary ferocity; they have ſome motive of neceſſity or paſſion, and gratified, they as ſuddenly ſubſide; but to ſee civilized man, in the name of the author of his religion, entering upon the cool and phlegmatic deliberations of avarice, calculating upon the meaſure of injuſtice, and claiming praiſe for not paſſing to the extremes of atrocity, betraying all national faith, all obligations of confidence, the moſt ſolemn engagements and the moſt explicit guarantee, in the name

too of the author of his religion, is ſuch a prodigy of turpitude as afflicts the heart, and ſuch as the cold-blooded malevolence and effrontery of modern ſtateſmen alone could perpetrate or ſanction.

From the ſcenes of ſuch villainy, the mind turns with ſome relief to the conſideration of that valorous heroiſm which nobly avenges on the tyranny of Europe, the wrongs with which it afflicts thoſe parts of the earth, that are unfortunately placed under its rule, or the ſcope of its influence.

In ſuſpending the relation of the military tranſactions of the French armies on the Rhine, the Meuſe, and the Waal, we left off at the fall of Maeſtricht and Nimeguen, the armies having then entered on a neceſſary but brief repoſe.

The poſition of the army on the frontier left the Dutch no hope of being able to prevent the conqueſt of the United Provinces, but in a reſource always fatal in its conſequences and which had not been reſorted to but in the greateſt extremity, an inundation. The gulph was open before them, but oppreſſion had become ſo exceſſive that a change of maſters could not be for the worſe. The power of the ſtadtholder and his adherents had the force of the law to ſupport it, and thoſe who ardently wiſhed for his overthrow, ſubmitted to an impoſing ſilence rather than encourage a civil war that might deprive them of the hopes which they now ſaw ſo near realization. The ſtadtholderian party, however, ſaw their danger, and when it was too late lamented the temerity of their chief by whoſe unhappy influence all their afflictions were created. A negociation which at an earlier period would have prevented all their ſorrows, and greater calamities which now impended, was in this moment as eagerly caught at as it had been formerly contemned.

Miſerable is that nation, where the individuals are indifferent to the conduct of their government, or adverſe to thought or reflection; where a blind confidence is repoſed in the perſons entruſted with the ſeducing and treacherous charms of power; where the meaſures of ſtateſmen are not watched with jealouſy and caution; where office and truſt are ſuppoſed to confer talents; where ſpecious pretences are held out to an indolent public, who ſuffer themſelves to be tamely deluded and cajoled by the moſt palpable ſophiſtry; and who only awake from their lethargy when they are on the verge of ruin. Such was the ſtate of the infatuated adherents of the ſtadtholder. The people of Frieſland were the firſt to feel their danger, and to ſee what they ought to have ſeen long before—the neceſſity of peace. In October, the ſtates of that province determined to acknowledge the French republic, to break their alliance with England, and to enter into a treaty of peace and alliance with France. In ſome other provinces the republican party were arouſed, and thought it time to act; ſeveral reſolutions hoſtile to the ſtadtholder and his government were paſſed. Even at Amſterdam ſo great was the popular ferment, that on the 17th of October, the ſtates of Holland publiſhed a proclamation prohibiting the preſenting of any petition upon public and political ſubjects, and popular meetings of the people upon any occaſion. No ſymptom can ſo ſtrongly mark the tyranny of a government as that which goes to deprive the people for whom government is ordained, from whom it ſprings, and to whom it belongs, from diſcuſſing and ſeeking redreſs of wrongs. It is always an indication of error and frequently of vice, when the people are precluded from a knowledge of their own affairs, and a ſtrong preſumptive evidence that the conduct of adminiſtration will not bear ſcrutiny. The ſtadtholder came to Amſter-

dam the latter end of October, privately; it was ſuppoſed to influence the deliberations of the ſtates, which he ſuppoſed were too much diſpoſed to peace. But theſe efforts proved in vain, the people awakened by danger, reflected, and inveſtigation is always fatal to corruption. In the beginning of November a bold and energetic petition was preſented to the magiſtrates by ſome inhabitants of Amſterdam, wherein it was urged that the ſudden and unexpected appearance of the hereditary prince of Orange (the ſtadtholder's eldeſt ſon) and the duke of York in that city, could have no other object than to influence the legiſlative deliberations, to induce them to conſent to admit Engliſh troops, and to open the ſluices in order to inundate the country; it concluded by deprecating theſe pernicious meaſures, and demanding a categorical anſwer concerning the object of thoſe viſitors, and the admiſſion of foreign troops. The perſons who preſented the petition were put under arreſt, and to add to the infatuation, it was acknowleged to be done at the requeſt of the Engliſh miniſter lord Malmſbury. The effect of this tyranny and the interference of the Engliſh, produced an univerſal diſquietude, and the patriots were of neceſſity ſoon releaſed.

The republicans were now at repoſe, and the allies without poſſeſſing their ſpirit were annoyed by ſimilar wants and the aggravating miſeries of a putrid diſeaſe; added to which their hoſpitals were ſo barbarouſly neglected that thouſands periſhed through the want of medicines, wine, clothing, and even of attendants. The debauched habits which are inſeparable from the conſtitution of the mercenary military eſtabliſhments of Europe, but particularly thoſe of England, expoſed them to all the inroads of diſeaſe; while they were ſtationed at Arnheim it was common to bury from thirty to forty a day, and few of thoſe who entered the hoſpitals ever returned thence.

The plan of invading Holland had been oppoſed with all the influence and induſtry of Pichegru; and he expected that the cutaneous diſorder which called him to Bruſſels for cure, would operate powerfully in ſupport of his reaſonings. The military committee were partial to a project ſuggeſted by general Daendals, a Dutch patriot who had been a lawyer and aſſumed the ſword. He was a man of vehemence and ardor, animated to enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of civil liberty. He ſuggeſted the paſſage of the Waal, and pledged himſelf for the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe. During the period of repoſe Daendels had orders to prepare for it, and he carried on his meaſures in ſilence. He had gradually collected a number of boats and rafts at Crevecœur and on the left ſide of the Meuſe, to tranſport troops to the iſland of Bommel; at Bois-le-duc were provided materials for a bridge; and not far from Kokerdum, a little above Nimeguen, were boats ſufficient for 300 infantry. On the ſeventh of December an attempt was made to croſs from Nimeguen, in order to divert the attention of the Engliſh. Another feint was made on the fort of St. André, while the main attack was directed againſt Bommel. At this point Daendals was employed, and it could not be in better hands ſince he was perfectly acquainted with the poſition. But he ſoon diſcovered that he could not then ſucceed, and the expedition was for the time delayed. The Engliſh ſtationed at the village of Lant fired at thoſe who croſſed at Nimeguen, and the feint intended from Kokerdum failed. On the night of the eleventh, the attempt was renewed with rather better, though not full ſucceſs. They croſſed the river above Nimeguen, and near the canal, to the number of about 5,000. A detachment of 200 at day-break of the twelfth, favoured by a thick fog ſurpriſed an Hanoverian piquet at Pannern, made a major priſoner, poſſeſſed

themſelves of a battery, ſpiked three guns, threw a fourth into the river, and retired without the loſs of a man. A detachment that attempted to paſs at Emerick was leſs fortunate, the Auſtrians who occupied it, ſuffered them to reach the middle of the river, when ſuddenly opening their batteries they ſunk ſeveral boats, the remainder regained the ſhore with loſs. The party that paſſed to attack fort St. André were equally unfortunate; that poſt was occupied by emigrants, and their fire was ſo ſevere and well directed that the republicans were obliged to retire. The main attack was alſo abandoned upon a repreſentation of Daendels to Moreau, who ordered the troops to return. The winter had now become ſevere, but the French troops were kept conſtantly in exerciſe, and theſe petty enterpriſes were calculated to prepare them for the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. The committee of public ſafety had iſſued orders for the maintenance of the military operations during the winter, and the capture of Holland was declared to be indiſpenſibly neceſſary. On the fifteenth of December the froſt ſet in with unuſual rigor, and in the courſe of the week both the Meuſe and the Waal were frozen over. The thermometer was ſeventeen degrees below the freezing point.

Pichegru whoſe plan it had been to winter the troops on the ſide of the Waal, where they then lay, now thought expedient to join the army. And on the eighteenth ordered the diviſion under general Bonneau to form the blockade of Breda in conjunction with the diviſion of Lemaire; the inveſtment was completed on the twenty-eighth. Grave was likewiſe blockaded and afterwards ſurrendered. On the twenty-ſeventh and twenty-eighth of December, a ſtrong column of republicans compoſing part of the right wing croſſed the Meuſe on the ice, near the village of Driel, under Daendels and Oſten, and attacked the poſt and iſland of Bommel; ſtruck with terror at the appearance of the French in ſo ſevere a ſeaſon, the garriſon ſurrendered; and the garriſon of fort St. André followed its example. In a few days after the cold encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that the Waal above Nimeguen was ſo ſeverely frozen as to admit of any weight; and it was indeed a grand ſpectacle to ſee the republican army, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, manœuvring on the ice with the ſame facility as on the ſolid ground.

Poſterity will perhaps rank this among the many prodigies of this extraordinary war, that are ſo uncommon as to appear doubtful, and which almoſt reconcile the ages of fable. The fact however is notorious that the French army with all its equipages paſſed this great arm of the Rhine without either bridges or boats. They attacked the allies for an extent of above twelve leagues, from Nimeguen to beyond the Necker. The right wing, as before obſerved, were extended from Nimeguen to fort St. André, where they watched the motions of the allies, while the centre took Bommel-Waert and Langſtraal, and the left forced the lines of Breda; a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, ſixteen hundred priſoners, two pair of colours and three hundred horſes were taken in one day. The iſland of Bommel is about five leagues in length and two in breadth, formed by the waters of the Meuſe and Waal; the Dutch garriſon endeavoured to eſcape acroſs the Waal, but were overtaken, and part of the regiments of Orange, Hohenloe, Frieſland, and a Swiſs corps were forced to ſurrender, and with ſix gun boats laden with baggage were taken.

The French without loſs of time proceeded to eſtabliſh themſelves between the Waal and the Leck, in the Tieler-Waert, and the allies were under the greateſt apprehenſions for Gorcum and Cullemberg.

The army of the allies were behind the Linge. The prince of Orange had his head quarters at Gorcum, and his army near the town. The Engliſh extended from Cullem-

berg, where the right wing was poſted, to Panerden which ſupported the left. Alvinzy with twenty-five thouſand Auſtrians in Engliſh pay, formed a line from Arnheim to Weſel.

It was determined by the allies in this poſition to attack the French; for this purpoſe a force amounting to ſix thouſand five hundred infantry and one thouſand cavalry under general David Dundas advanced in three columns; the right was ordered to keep its left wing to the river Vliet to turn Thuyl, and attacking the rear of that village cut off the retreat of the republicans, while the left and centre were to attack them by the dyke.

At Geldermalſen the right column under lord Cathcart ſtruck off from the reſt of the Engliſh troops, and general Dundas fell in at break of day on the thirtieth of December with the Heſſians near Wardenberg, and finding the French had precipitately abandoned that place during the night, immediately puſhed on to Thuyl, attacking that poſt with great impetuoſity, ſo that nothwithſtanding its natural ſtrength, the abbatis by which it was protected, the batteries of the town of Bommel which flanked the approach, and the conſiderable number of men that defended it, it was carried at the point of the bayonet, and the republicans were driven acroſs the river, with the loſs of four pieces of artillery and a number of men.

It is to be obſerved that the duke of York, whoſe ignorance and arrogance were of ſo much advantage to the French during his whole career, left the army before this affair, having embarked for England on the ſixth of December.

It was on the day that the above affair took place at Thuyl that Grave ſurrendered to the republicans. It was defended by general Bons, with great valour and perſeverance; he had declared in reply to a ſummons that he never would ſurrender while he had a ſhot, and he kept his word. It was computed that three thouſand and ſeventy ſhells had been thrown into the place by the beſiegers, and the whole town was reduced to a heap of aſhes. The capitulation was highly honorable to the beſieged and the beſiegers, particularly a ſtipulation in favour of the ſick and wounded; and in anſwer to a demand of the citizens to retain their property unmoleſted and without regard to political opinions the French general Salm replied—" the French make a duty of reſpecting property and opinions."

On the fourth of January the French again croſſed the Waal, with a very ſmall force; and the allies were unable to diſlodge them from their poſition, The allies held a counſel in which it was determined to retreat from all the poſitions on that river, the cannon were ſpiked, large quantities of ammunition deſtroyed, and on the fifth they fell back upon the Leck. Another ſmall action took place at Gildermanſen on the eighth, between eight hundred French and a body of Engliſh under general Dundas; the Engliſh claimed a victory, though they were compelled to retreat with the loſs of one hundred and fifty men. The two bodies repulſed each the other four ſeveral times in this action.

On the 9th the French brigade of general De Winter, another of the Dutch patriots, who in the year 1797, commanded as admiral the Dutch fleet; and the diviſion under the command of general M'Donald, a Scotch officer, took poſſeſſion of Thuyl, and puſhed their reconnoitring parties as far as Linge. General Salm poſted ſome troops at Geldermanden and Mattera. On the 10th, the brigades of generals Vandamme and Compere

with the diviſion under Moreau, paſſed at Millenguen, and took a poſition at Pannerdin to cover the right of the army; Jourdan paſſed at Kokerdum-ſur-Gente and Reunier at Oie-ſur-Bommel. The ſucceſs of theſe corps facilitated the paſſage of M'Donald's brigade at Nimeguen, where the river having thawed he was obliged to employ boats, he entered the fort of Knoſſembourg, where he took a temporary poſition. The thaw continued during the 12th and 13th, and interrupted the communication with the troops that had not yet paſſed; but it recommenced on the 14th, and the troops generally croſſed the ice, amounting in all it was ſaid by the Engliſh accounts, to ſeventy thouſand men, and took a poſition on the Leck and Rhine.

Gorcum, that celebrated fortreſs which has been called the key of Holland, from the ſtrength of its works and the facility with which it can be inundated, ſtill remained in the hands of the allies. On the 14th the French made a general attack upon all the poſts of the allies between the Waal and the Rhine; the London-gazette on this occaſion ſtates that the French were repulſed, but the allies actually retreated under cover of the night with the utmoſt precipitation from the heights of Rhenen. At the ſame time general Walmoden's poſition was attacked near Arnheim, and the allies defeated in every quarter. And the whole retreated towards Devinther. Heuſden immediately ſurrendered to the French, and a negociation was propoſed for the ſurrender of the whole country. On the 15th the allies paſſed the celebrated lines of Greb, conſtructed in 1743-6, for the protection of Holland and Utrecht. On the 16th they marched towards Loonen, and on that day the celebrated city of Utrecht ſurrendered to the French; Arnheim was taken on the 18th by general Vandamme. The Britiſh troops had taken their departure by way of Amersfort towards Zutphen, on the evening of the 16th, and Rotterdam fell without reſiſtance on the 18th.

In the meantime the hereditary prince of Orange had abandoned Gorcum; the partizans of the Stadtholder were ſtruck with conſternation; the princeſs of Orange with the younger part of her family, plate, jewels, and moveables packed up, had eſcaped for England on the 15th. The Stadtholder and his eldeſt ſon did not leave Holland till the 19th, the former embarked with precipitation in a ſmall open boat with only three men, in which he effected a paſſage to Harwich in England; it was under the moſt imminent peril he eſcaped from the Hague, the populace having collected and determined to ſacrifice him as the author of their misfortunes, by involving them in Engliſh politics. The fidelity of a ſmall party of his body guard alone ſaved him, and they conducted him to Scheveling, only in time to procure the boat. The populace there alſo collected to oppoſe his flight, the guards fired upon them, ſeveral lives were loſt in the tumult that enſued, but the Stadtholder eſcaped.

On the ſeventeenth Dr. Kraayenhoff, one of the baniſhed patriots, arrived at Amſterdam with a letter from the French general to prepare the government for the reception of the French army. And on the nineteenth that important city was literally taken poſſeſſion of by thirty French huſſars. The tree of liberty was immediately planted in all the ſquares, the inhabitants unanimouſly mounted the national cockade, choſe a revolutionary committee principally compoſed of patriots perſecuted by the ſtadtholder. On the twentieth general Pichegru entered the metropolis at the head of five thouſand men, and was received by the inhabitants with great tokens of joy. To the immortal honor of the conquerors, great as their diſtreſs was, their whole deportment was ſuch as to produce the

moſt cordial eſteem for them; not a drop of blood was ſhed nor any thing like perſecution for political opinion. The liberty and independence of the United Provinces was not left to be ſolicited, nor to be the effect of a treaty with the conquerors, their liberty was ſpontaneouſly and publicly proclaimed, and the citizens were called upon by a free and general election to appoint their own magiſtrates. A patriot was choſen mayor and twenty-one others elected repreſentatives in the ſtates.

General De Winter took poſſeſſion of Amersfort on the nineteenth. On the ſame day M'Donald took a poſition behind the lines of Greb. On the thirtieth Gertruidenberg capitulated to general Bonneau, who alſo took Dordrecht, paſſing over the famous lake of Brieſboch, on the ice. Naerden was taken on the twenty-ſecond, and on the twenty-third the Hague. On the ſame day Helvoetſluys; the allies left behind them ſix hundred French priſoners, who roſe upon and took eight hundred Engliſh, who were directly ſent into France.

Leyden and Haerlem followed the example of Amſterdam, and on the eighteenth the burghers of Leyden demanded the re-eſtabliſhment of the city guards which had been diſbanded on the Pruſſian uſurpation in 1789, which was granted. Fluſhing, Middleburg, and the whole iſland of Walchern ſurrendered on the thirtieth,

The left of the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, which had quitted Pruſſian Guelders and entered Arnheim, formed a line from Amersfort to Naarden, on the Zuyder-Zee. Here the cavalry and light artillery marched over the ice and actually captured ſeveral Dutch ſhips of war. The Dutch admiral Storey appears to have acted in concert with the French at Middlebourg, two French commiſſioners were diſpatched from Cadſand, and went on board the Dutch admiral's ſhip, and the tri-color flag was immediately hoiſted with the loudeſt acclamations; the admiral then proceeded with the commiſſioners to take poſſeſſion of Middlebourg. Breda and Williamſtadt had opened their gates to the beſiegers. Bergen-op-Zoom with a garriſon of four thouſand men, including the eighty-ſeventh Engliſh regiment, was ſummoned on the firſt of February, and general Lemaire ſent with the ſummons a copy of the proclamation iſſued by the ſtates-general of Holland, requiring all garriſon towns, in conſequence of the ſtadtholder's abdication, to open their gates to the French. The governor immediately capitulated. He wiſhed to inſert an article for permitting the Engliſh regiment to paſs to England, but this was poſitively refuſed.

The whole province of Zealand capitulated to general Michaud on the fourth of February. Perfect religious liberty was guaranteed, property ſecured; French troops were not to be put into the garriſons, nor were aſſignats to be forcibly circulated. Overyſſel, Groningen, were in ſome meaſure occupied ſtill by the Engliſh, being on the right ſide of Yſſel, where they had formed a line from Doesburg to Campen. This poſition was allowedly ſtrong and tenable, but to a beaten army no defences are ſecure. Thoſe who had not heſitated to croſs the Lys, Scheldt, Meuſe, Waal, and Leck, and defeated the enemy under all theſe obſtacles, would not be intimidated by the Yſſel. The Engliſh appear to be aware of this fact, and as ſoon as the French advanced guard appeared at Herdenwich, they were ſtruck with ſuch a panic that they abandoned Campen and Zwol. This puſilanimity encouraged the victors to purſue their ſucceſs and to complete the entire conqueſt of Holland before they ſhould repoſe. M'Donald took a poſition between Campen, Zwol, and Deventher. After the French had thus croſſed the Yſſel, the Eng-

liſh totally abandoned the Dutch territory and retired into Weſtphalia, and the king of Pruſſia having formed a line of troops from Embden to Weſel, the Engliſh took a poſition which placed the Pruſſians between them and the republicans!

While theſe events were progreſſing, the commiſſioners of the convention were providing means of comfort and repoſe for their toil-worn victors. A requiſition was made for a ſupply of clothing and proviſions for the republican citizens in arms. The French republic was pledged for the payment of the amount, and a proclamation iſſued by the ſtates general on the twenty-ſeventh of January ſtates, that the demand was made not as a conqueror but as an ally, in ſupport of the common cauſe.

The peace and unanimity with which the revolution of Holland was effected reflects high credit on the French armies, and exhibits an important leſſon to corrupt governors, of the little dependence which they can place on a people whoſe rights they deſtroy and whoſe happineſs they ſacrifice to foreign influence or perſonal ambition. The French entered one of the firſt capital cities of Europe, and one of the richeſt, without parade, pomp or diſorder; not in large bodies but in ſmall diviſions. It was three days before they aſſembled in a body, and the whole road from the Waal to Amſterdam was covered with officers and privates, without diſcrimination, travelling along with ſongs and feſtivity that reſembled rather the proceſſion of peace to a rural fair, than the march of warriors in a conquered country. As the French approached the towns in all their marches, the magiſtrates deputed perſons to wait on them; the municipalities were reorganized, the the opulent in common with the poor, now entered the ranks as guards of police, order was every where preſerved, and the extraordinary ſight was beheld of a people who had been dull, ſullen, and patient under a government, hailing the approach of their conquerors and rejoicing in the conqueſt. This ſpectacle was a remarkable contraſt to that which had preceded it. The diſorder and rapine of the Engliſh ſoldiery was ſuch while in Holland, that the duke of York not only hanged ſeveral of his unfortunate ſoldiers, but was induced from the frequency of their diſorderly behaviour, to delegate an authority to his provoſt-marſhal to diſpenſe with every form of trial, and an the detection of any diſorder or robbery, to hang the perſons up. Such was the difference between the conduct of the enemies and the *friends* of the Dutch.

On the twenty-ſeventh of January the proviſional repreſentatives of the people of the ſtate of Holland aſſembled, and unanimouſly elected citizen Pierre Paulus their preſident; and in a ſpeech adapted with great addreſs to the character of the people and the occaſion; he dilated on the happy releaſe which they obtained from the corrupt tyranny of the ſtadtholder, and the glorious proſpect they now had of re-eſtabliſhing that freedom, for which their anceſtors ſuffered ſo much— he conſidered the extraordinary froſt of the ſeaſon, by which their delivery had been facilitated as an interference of providence in their behalf— and recommended a ſuitable ſpirit of juſtice, equity, and humanity in all their proceedings— that all hatreds ſhould be laid aſide, and even former wrongs forgotten.—

Several decrees were paſſed for the future regulation of the government, and the depoſition of the ſtadtholder from all his offices. Among theſe were, a declaration of the ſovereignty of the Dutch people, and of the rights of man— the abolition of the offices of ſtadtholder, admiral and captain general of the United Provinces, and all their appendages— the college of the deputy council and chamber of accounts were ſup-

preſſed, and a committee of public ſafety, of military affairs, and of finance eſtabliſhed in their room— the commiſſion of deputies to the aſſembly, calling itſelf the ſtates general, was recalled— the right of ſhooting, hunting, and fiſhing on a man's own ground was reſtored— taxes proviſionally continued, but to be ſpeedily equalized— inundations to be repaired— the ſuſpenſion of the powers of the agents of the ſtates general at Paris— the commiſſion of the new repreſentatives to take place of the ſtates general now aboliſhed.

The aſſembly next directed its attention to the ſtate of the bank of Amſterdam; nothing ſo much proves the moderation of the French, and the diſpoſition of the Dutch to the overthrow of their former government, as the ſtate of this inſtitution. It appeared that no deficiency whatever exiſted in the affairs of the bank; but that the debts balanced the credits, with an exception of ſecurities which had been from time to time received in lieu of money, during the laſt fifty years; ſuch as bonds of the the India company of Amſterdam, guaranteed by different ſtates; of bonds of the ſtates and the city of Amſterdam; and of loans iſſued on ſuch ſecurities; but that the intereſt on all demands againſt the bank, continued to be fully and punctually paid.

The retreat of the Britiſh army by the route of Deventher has been noticed. They reached that place on the twenty-ſixth and twenty-ſeventh of January, but were not long able to maintain themſelves in that poſition, as they were cloſely purſued by about forty thouſand of the French. At Deventher, Zwol, Zutphen, they left great numbers of ſick behind. Of the loſs in this march no return has been ever given, but it has been computed that the Engliſh could not have loſt leſs than ſix thouſand men out of thirteen thouſand that remained alive on the firſt of February. On the march from Amersfort alone, three hundred ſoldiers were frozen to death, beſide women and children, the number of waggons employed for the removal of the ſick was one hundred and ſixty, which at the rate of ten only to a waggon made ſixteen hundred, independent of the wounded and deſparate caſes left behind. A greater ſcene of human miſery perhaps never was exhibited than in the marches of the Engliſh in this winter campaign. And the general corruption of the government pevaded even the departments of miſery. The wine provided for the ſick was waſted in debauchery by the commiſſaries, or ſold to provide for their extravagance, while the hoſpitals were left in want; and even the perſons ſent as ſurgeons to the armies were ſo totally ignorant of their profeſſion, that hundreds fell victims to this branch of patronage. In the two days that the Engliſh remained at Zutphen they deſtroyed 12,000 ſtand of arms, 50,000 pounds of powder, ſome millions of muſquet ammunition, one hundred gun carriages, ſpiked all their artillery, and deſtroyed all their working implements and ſtores to an incredible amount. This was the people deſtined to conquer France! O miſerable and horrible blindneſs and depravity! O ſad and lamentable evidence of national blindneſs and ambitious imbecility!

On the tenth of February the republican flying army was obliged to abate their progreſs at Scuttorp, from a prodigious flood of the river Vecht, which was occaſioned by a ſudden thaw; and the ſoldiers were employed in breaking the maſſes of ice which clogged the arches of the bridge in order to clear a paſſage for the waters. On the twelfth they croſſed the Ems at Rheine, and proceeded on their march without interruption till the twenty-fourth, when the poſts of Nieuhaus and Velthuys, chiefly occupied by the emigrant corps, were attacked by an advanced guard of the republicans, and driven before them with one hundred killed and wounded.

The Engliſh diviſion under lord Cathcart encountered ſtill greater difficulties, as his rear was continually harraſſed by the French advanced parties. At Gomingen the Engliſh were refuſed admittance into the city, and every where they were treated with diſreſpect and diſlike. On the twenty-ſeventh and twenty-eighth of March the main body of the Engliſh reached Bremen, where they remained until the tenth of April, when they cloſed their career of madneſs, and miſery by embarking for England.

Here ended the victories of the French in the nothern countries: and having nothing on that ſide but the ſea and the ſtates of the king of Pruſſia, with whoſe troops they received orders to forbear from all hoſtilities on the firſt of March; they were of neceſſity forced to terminate their conqueſts, not for want of warriors but of countries to conquer.

The two diviſions of the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, being no longer neceſſary here, they repaſſed the Rhine and again joined Jourdan, following his movements up that river, where he took poſt near Coblentz, relieving the army of the Moſelle that was near Luxembourg; this latter joined the army of the Rhine before Mentz. After the conqueſt of Holland was thus completed all the armies were ready to act with thoſe in other quarters, excepting twenty-five thouſand men, which the Batavian republic obtained from the French government.

Several changes now took place in the armies. Pichegru, whoſe command of the armies in Holland amounted to little more than an agency, for tranſmitting the orders of the military committee and for making returns of the operations of the ſeveral diviſions; was now removed to the command of the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, he retained the nominal command of the Sambre and Meuſe army led by Jourdan; Moreau was appointed to the command of the army of the north.

Poſterity will with difficulty credit the aſtoniſhing exploits of the French during this winter campaign; and hiſtory, though it ſhall confine itſelf to the bounds of the moſt ſcrupulous fidelity, finding nothing in the lapſe of ages to compare with the French victories, they will appear doubtful. They will behold formidable enemies ſurrounding France in every point—the two Sicilies, Tuſcany, Portugal, Spain, Sardinia, on the ſouth; Auſtria and the vaſt horde of feudal powers on the eaſt; England, Holland, Pruſſia, Ruſſia, on the north, pouring force and corruption on the French territory, and even blocking up the univerſal high-road of the ocean; while a horrible ſcene of carnage is fomented in la Vendee on the weſt. The whole force of Europe concentrated againſt one people, againſt a people deemed frivolous, effeminate, and inconſtant; deprived by fear or treachery of external ſuccour, torn to pieces by internal faction and civil war; againſt a ſtate whoſe bands of ſociety were torn aſunder; without fixed leaders, without money, without bread; abandoned to anarchy, a prey to the moſt fatal conſpiracies, and the moſt virtuous and zealous ſupporters of her glory, her freedom, and her ſafety aſſaſſinated on the pretence of promoting her ſecurity. Who will believe that a ſtate thus aſſailed, apparently tottering on the verge of ruin, could abide ſuch terrible ſhocks, could ſupport ſuch an immenſe burthen, and parry blows multiplied, ſudden, and dextrous? Who could believe that France thus aſſailed ſhould ſtill maintain her territories untouched? Yet all this ſhe has done, and actions more prodigious. Not contented with defending her ancient boundaries, ſhe has enlarged them, and diſmembered thoſe powers who had contracted to diſmember and parcel her out; and at the moment when all Europe believed that her ſub-

jugation was on the verge of being accompliſhed and her conſequence as a nation annihilated for ever.

In the days of Scipio, the exploits of Hannibal brought Rome to the verge of deſtruction. The dangers that threatened the city rouſed the dormant courage of the Romans. They conquered Hannibal; and not contented with eſcaping the greateſt of dangers, they carried war, ravage, and deſtruction into the boſom of Carthage. This is the only hiſtorical fact which bears any reſemblance to the matchleſs events of the campaign. But what a diſparity! The Romans had but one power to combat; the French had at leaſt thirty. The former needed only to direct their ſtrength to one point; the latter had to reſiſt on every point of a vaſt circumference. The Romans were united at home, the French were torn by diſcord. The former had a wiſe and well organized government, the latter were without one, and preyed upon by an unexampled tyranny, ſupported on the credulity of the people and the ſucceſſes of the armies. The Romans terminated their triumph by the deſtruction of their rival, the French conquered Holland and gave it freedom; they conquered Belgium and gave her the privileges of her own vaſt fortunes and name in place of ſubjection and ſlavery.

Could it be ſuppoſed that a people, ſurrounded by hoſts of diſciplined men and led by generals bred up to tactics, and inured to all the arts of war; ſhould with armies of youths taken from the plough be able to drive them from their territories, conquer empires, paſs the Alps and Pyrenees, traverſe the moraſſes of Batavia, and extend their conqueſts beyond all former martial power, and under circumſtances of difficulty equally unexampled? Yet all this was done, and ſucceeding years were even to elevate the heroic character of theſe republicans ſtill higher on the liſts of glory and ſpread wider her conqueſts and freedom.

While theſe unparalleled events were taking place in the Low Countries, the military operations on the Rhine, and in other parts appeared to languiſh, and few movements of much importance were attempted by the French. But they were not wholly inactive, for in the month of December they appear to have entertained hopes of the ſpeedy reduction of Mentz, and began to tranſport towards its vicinity, a quantity of heavy artillery from Landau and other parts. On the twenty-fourth of that month the fort Du Rhine which covered Manheim, ſurrendered to the arms of the republic by capitulation, without a gun being fired; thus this beautiful town was ſaved from the calamities of a bombardment. On the twenty-ninth, the fort of Zulback near Mentz ſuſtained three attacks from the French; but they were repulſed with the loſs of four hundred men. The balls reached Mentz and killed a young woman ſtanding in the market place. After the reduction of Manheim, the troops which had been employed againſt the fort of the Rhine were ſent to reinforce the army before Mentz. The operations of the ſiege, however, were ſuſpended and converted into a blockade until the ſummer.

A. D. 1795.] In March the republicans were enabled to make ſome advances into the biſhopric of Munſter. Bentheim was taken early in that month, after an obſtinate engagement, and on the thirty-firſt they advanced to Bienen, a league diſtant from Rees, and an engagement commenced at an early hour. The French were at firſt repulſed, but having brought according to their new tactics, freſh bodies of troops into action, the battle terminated in the total defeat of the Auſtrians, and a great ſlaughter of their

troops. Bienen was immediately taken. After this the Auſtrians appear to have loſt all energy and activity in the north of Germany, and the conqueſts of the French were only bounded by natural obſtacles or neutral territory.

On the ſide of Spain victory ſeemed equally to precede the armies of the republic; and the only reſiſtance which they experienced was from bad roads and the natural ramparts of the country, its mountains, through which the French generals with the ardor and perſeverance of Hannibal, were forced to cut their way. The port of Roſes, eight leagues to the north-eaſt of Gironne, in the province of Catalonia, and on the borders of the Mediterranean ſea, was conſidered as an object of great importance, the whole force of the army of the Eaſtern Pyrenees was directed towards its reduction at the cloſe of the year 1794. The poſſeſſion of the fort of Bouten, which commanded the bay of Roſes, and kept the naval forces in check, was firſt neceſſary to be taken, and it was carried with the accuſtomed intripidity and gallantry of the republicans; after which, the ſiege of Roſes commenced in form, and the firſt parallel was opened before its gates; but the operations were interrupted by an unuſual flood from the fall of a heavy rain and melting of ſnow, and twenty-three days elapſed before the beſiegers could employ their works; and a new mode of attack was determined upon. A ſmall hill which overhung the city, was occupied by the French engineers, and on the night of the thirtieth of December a battery of eighteen 24-pounders was began and completed. On the morning of the third of January, they began to batter in breach, but the firſt ſhot was ſcarcely fired when the French volunteers ſolicited permiſſion to mount to the aſſault. The wall was already damaged, but the garriſon embraced the darkneſs of the night to embark on board the ſhips anchored in the bay; leaving five hundred and forty men who ſurrendered at diſcretion. The inhabitants were under extreme apprehenſions, but they were ſoon relieved by the good order and liberality of the generals and the republican ſoldiery. On the fifteenth of May another ſignal victory was obtained over the Spaniards; about 3000 men appeared on the ſide of Siſtellia, and endeavoured to ſurround the French. They were attacked and put to flight with great loſs. Shortly after the negociations, for which the firſt overtures came from Spain through the American miniſter, terminated in a treaty, which delivered the Spaniards from an abſurd, a prodigal, and a diſgraceful war. The particulars ſhall be noticed in another place.

In addition to the obſervations above offered on the unrivalled ſucceſſes of the republican armies, it may be intereſting to give a liſt of the acquiſitions made by the republic from the commencement of the war, to this period, as it was preſented to the convention in a report, and the facts are all particularly and ſpecially corroborated by the exiſting ſtate of things at the time:—

The nine United Provinces of Brabant, Antwerp, Mechlin, Limburg, Luxemburg, Namur, Hainault, Artois, Cambreſis, and Flanders; forming the Auſtrian Netherlands, before ſubject to the emperor of Germany.

The Seven United Provinces of Holland, Zealand, Frieſland, Groningen, Overyſſel, Guelderland, and Utrecht, forming the Dutch nation, ſubject formerly to the ſtadtholder.

The principality of Liege, with the cities of Liege and Spa, formerly ſubject to the prince biſhop of Liege.

The biſhopric of Spires with its chief city, formerly ſubject to its ſovereign biſhop.
The biſhopric of Worms, ſubject to its biſhop.
The duchy of Deux Ponts, formerly ſubject to the elector palatine.
All the electorate of Treves on the ſouth ſide of the Rhine, with the chief city of the electorate, and the city of Coblentz.
All the electorate of Cologne on the ſouth ſide of the Rhine with its chief city.
All the electorate of Mentz, its chief city only excepted, on the ſouth ſide of the Rhine.
All the dominions of the elector Palatine, on the ſouth ſide of the Rhine, with Manheim the chief city.
The duchy of Juliers, with its chief city, Aix la Chapelle, formerly ſubject to the elector Palatine.
The duchy of Cleves, with the cities of Cleves and Weſel, formerly ſubject to the king of Pruſſia.
In the ſouth the duchy of Savoy, with its chief city Chamberry, formerly ſubject to the king of Sardinia.
The city and county of Nice, with its capital port, formerly ſubject to Sardinia.
The principality of Monaco formerly ſubject to its peculiar prince.
From Spain the greateſt part of their richeſt provinces of Biſcay and Catalonia, with their important cities, garriſons, forts, and founderies.
To all which was to be added the Dutch naval force, and all the immenſe reſources and ſtores of that general depot of Europe.
The whole of theſe countries are calculated to contain a population of thirteen milions!
With this account a table of military events was preſented to the convention by Carnot; it commences with the battle of Hondſchoote, and ends with the capture of Roſes, embracing a period of only *ſeventeen months*—

Victories including eight pitched battles,	27	Forts and redoubts,	230
Actions of leſs note,	120	Cannon taken,	3,800
Killed of the enemy,	84,000	Muſkets,	70,000
Priſoners,	91,000	Powder, pounds,	1,900,000
Strong places and cities taken,	116	Pair of colours,	60
By ſiege or blockade,	36		

This table was ordered to be hung up in the hall of the convention, and ſent to the armies.
It is almoſt impoſſible to form an eſtimate of the immenſe advantages which the French derived from theſe conqueſts. The ſtores and granaries of Oſtend alone afforded a ſupply to the republic equal to ten millions; and Belgium afforded a contribution of twenty-five millions in ſpecie. For eight months the armies of the republic ſubſiſted wholly on the produce of the captured countries. The domains liable to be taken into the hands of the republic were eſtimated at *three thouſand millions of livres*; and this only was more than ſufficient to ſecure the principal of all the aſſignats in circulation.
The commiſſioners ſent into the conquered countries conducted themſelves in a manner that attached the conquered to the republic; their meaſures were regulated by the moſt moderate principles; and not content with ſecuring the people in quiet poſſeſſion of their

property, they undertook to provide for the ſupport of the poor at the national expence; induſtry was encouraged, and every incitement held out to promote confidence and attachment. Even the contributions were levied in ſuch a manner as to relieve the collection from the uſual antipathy excited by taxation; the proportions were regulated by property.

While France triumphed againſt her external enemies and the tyranny that had ſo long diſtracted the boſom of her government; civil war was once more rekindled in the infatuated country of La Vendée. This tract of territory has been before deſcribed; its inhabitants ſimple, ignorant, and eaſily deluded by their clergy, were at once the ſport of bigotry and foreign corruption. The emiſſaries of treachery from England, and of ſuperſtition from Rome, acted in a common concert with the adherents of royalty. The efforts of theſe apoſtles of deſolation were not ſo ſucceſsful where there was a free circulation of the popular Journals, or where the national-guards were regularly organiſed. It has been alſo aſſerted with much appearance of probability that Robeſpierre by his meaſures and emiſſaries rather cheriſhed and encouraged this civil war than otherwiſe. According to a report delivered by Carnot to the convention, the moſt treacherous artifices had been employed by the uſurper to delude the inſurgents into confidence, to flatter their hopes at one time and drive them to deſpair at another; to afford them hopes of aid, and then to betray them; ſo that they paid no regard to the declarations or promiſes made in the name of the government; and at length they broke out into a revolt cauſed at once by foreign corruption and local deſpair.

In treating of the events in this quarter in the preceding part of this volume, it was noticed, that although driven acroſs the Loire after they had been defeated at Martagne and Cholle, the natural receſſes of that romantic country ſtill afforded ſhelter to thouſands, and if they were no longer able to make a deciſive ſtand in the face of day, ſtill their nocturnal devaſtations harraſſed the peaceable citizens, and almoſt rendered the country a deſart. Among a people ſo much attached to royalty and ariſtocracy, and inured to the feudal ſyſtem, it might have been expected that their leaders would have been perſons ſelected for their long uncontaminated courſe of noble anceſtry, carrying the miſty dignity of titular rank, or at leaſt diſtinguiſhable by talents or education. But the moſt conſpicuous chieftains of the apoſtolic and royal army were Charette, who had been a lieutenant of marines, and Stofflet, who had been a game-keeper. The latter plebeian leader, however appears to have poſſeſſed talents, that could not be expected from a perſon whoſe education was defective, and was much ſuperior to his companion in command. Charette ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhable only for invincible courage and great ferocity. Stofflet even in regular warfare would have been deemed a good partiſan by ſuch heroes as Frederic the great man-killer of Pruſſia. Both poſſeſſed a complete knowledge of the country.

The downfall of Robeſpierre was followed by this ſingular effect; the ſuppreſſion of the Vendéan inſurgents. An amneſty was publiſhed upon the propoſition of Carnot to the convention, and proclaimed throughout Vendée, offering, inſtead of fire, ſword, and proſcription, which had deſolated their country, pardon, amity, and protection; this with the puniſhment of Carrier appear to have had the happieſt effect. The chiefs were deſerted by their followers, and the commiſſioners received the penitents who flocked into them with cordiality and generoſity.

After ſome preliminary negociations in the beginning of February, Charette and the principal chiefs of his army, in the name of the Vendéans, and another chief of the name of Cormartin, repreſenting thoſe inſurgents known by the name of Chouans, or night-owls, ſignified their intention to live in future ſubject to the laws of the republic, and to deliver up all their arms and magazines. Stofflet alone at the head of a few hundreds, reſiſted for ſome time the offers of amneſty, either through jealouſy of the other chiefs who ſubmitted, or in the expectation of obtaining better terms. In the mean time conferences were opened in February at Laple, about three leagues from Nantz, between all the chiefs of the Chouans and Vandeans, with the repreſentatives of the people on miſſion in that department; and on the third of March the treaty was ſolemnly concluded, ſigned, and ratified at Nantz.

The entry of Charette and his companions into that city was announced by a diſcharge of artillery; Charette who rode a beautiful charger, was dreſſed in blue, and had a tri-color ribbon thrown round him as a ſaſh, his hat decorated with a long feather; he was followed at the head of the proceſſion by four of his lieutenants; then followed a groupe of repreſentatives; then another groupe formed of the ſtaff of Charette; another of repreſentatives; then Canclaux general of the army of the Weſt with his ſtaff and the Vendean officers; a company of infantry, a ſquadron of dragoons, one of gendarmes, and a detachment of the grenadiers of the national-guard, preceded by a numerous band of muſicians, and followed by the remnant of the Nantes cavalry; and laſtly two coaches decorated with the cap of liberty, and filled with the pacificatory commiſſaries. The repreſentatives ſeemed to be animated with joy, and frequently exclaimed *vive la paix*, which was repeated by the people. Charette did not appear cheerful.

The proceſſion marched into the town very ſlowly; thence they repaired to the quarters of the repreſentatives, where the chiefs partook of ſome refreſhments. Many of them went to the play-houſe. At their appearance the orcheſtra played the favourite tune, *Où peut-en être mieux qu'an ſein de ſa famille?* The ſpectators accompanied with enthuſiaſm. The municipal officers cauſed the air to be repeated ſeveral times. The acclamations, the bravos, the clappings of hands, rendered that ſcene truly affecting. Thoſe, however, who were the objects of it, appeared but little to participate in the rejoicing.

The declaration ſigned by Charette, Cormartin, Sapineau, and the other chiefs, was expreſſed in very ſtrong terms; ſuch as were calculated entirely to perſuade the country of their ſincerity, and ſuch as left no room for evaſion, with reſpect to the nature and objects of the treaty.

"Whilſt an oppreſſive government (ſay they) deprived our fellow-citizens of their moſt precious rights, we have defended ours with firmneſs and perſeverance. We exhauſted in our misfortunes every ſucceſſive aid. Deſpair at length lent us its frightful ſuccour, and rendering us inſenſible to thoſe conſiderations which ſoften the moſt ferocious hearts, had engraved on ours rather the reſolution to die, than to live under ſuch a tyranny.

"But now the government of blood has diſappeared. The leaders of that impious faction which covered France with cypreſs and mourning, have paid, with their heads, the forfeit of their criminal deſigns. The repreſentative Ruelle, the friend of the laws and of humanity, is come to bear amongſt us the words of peace. That confidence

which had been weakened by the acts of barbarity which had preceded his miſſion, begins now to revive. On his appearance, we feel no diſinclination to ſuch approaches as may tend to remove the calamitous effects of our diviſions. New repreſentatives worthy of our eſteem and our praiſe, have been joined to the firſt; we have informed them of our intentions, and our deſire of a ſincere pacification, guaranteed by honour. In our conferences we have made them underſtand what intereſted the happineſs of our country, and what it belonged to their prudence and wiſdom to grant, for the purpoſe of obtaining the deſireable end of peace. United in the ſame tent with the repreſentatives of the people, we felt more ſtrongly, if poſſible, that we were ſtill Frenchmen, and ſhould be animated only by the general good of the country.

"It is with theſe ſentiments that we declare to the national convention, and to France, our ſubmiſſion to the French republic, one and indiviſible, and our acknowlegement of its laws; and that we enter into a formal engagement not to make any attempt againſt them. We promiſe to ſurrender, as ſoon as poſſible, all the artillery and horſes in our poſſeſſion; and we make a ſolemn promiſe never to bear arms againſt the republic."

At the ſame time an addreſs was publiſhed by Charette, and four others of the principal revolters, to the inhabitants of La Vendee, exhorting them to ſubmit to the laws, —extolling the juſtice and liberality of the convention,—and ſetting before them, in a ſtrong point of view, the folly and miſchief of perſeverance in a bad cauſe.

The reſiſtance of Stofflet was protracted, as has already been intimated, for a few weeks; but the deſertion of all the other royaliſts, and even their determination to take an active part, and to aſſiſt the republicans in reducing to ſubmiſſion this refractory general, appears to have had a ſenſible effect upon his army, which was conſiderably weakened by gradual deſertions. On the twentieth of April, Stofflet, and the remainder of the Chouan generals, ſigned a public declaration of their ſubmiſſion to the laws of the republic. It was in the following terms:

"We, the underſigned commander in chief and officers of the catholic and royal army of Anjou and Upper Poitou, do hereby declare, that, animated by a deſire of peace, we have delayed its concluſion to this day, for no other reaſon, than that we might previouſly take the ſenſe of the people, with whoſe intereſts we are entruſted, and of the chiefs of the catholic and royal army of Brittany. Now, that their ſentiments have been proclaimed, not only by a publication of the twelfth of February 1795, entitled Words of Peace, but alſo by the declaration of the firſt of Floreal (April 19,) we accede to the meaſures taken by the repreſentatives of the people, to pacify the departments hitherto in a ſtate of inſurrection, by ſubmitting to the laws of the republic, one and indiviſible, and promiſing never to carry arms againſt her, and to deliver up our artillery as ſoon as poſſible.

"May this declaration on our part contribute entirely to extinguiſh the flames of civil diſcord, and convince foreign nations, that France no longer contains but one family; and that we earneſtly wiſh that they may ſoon form one ſociety of friends.

"We alſo requeſt the repreſentatives of the people, who have concluded this pacification, to repair to the national convention, there to atteſt the ſincerity of our ſentiments, and to deſtroy the ſuſpicions which diſaffected perſons may excite againſt the loyalty of our intention."

The ſingular circumſtances of the caſe render it neceſſary to inſert theſe authorities at full length, as they form the only proper criterion for determining concerning the guilt or innocence, the integrity or falſehood, of the individuals who afterwards acted in direct violation of them,— and as they may poſſibly aſſiſt us in accounting for the ſubſequent conduct of the parties concerned.

Early in March a naval action took place between the French and the Engliſh ſquadrons in the Mediterranean. The Engliſh fleet had ſo much retarded the tranſport of grain to France that the committee of public ſafety directed the ſquadron at Toulon to put to ſea and fight the enemy wherever found. Rear admiral Martin in the Sans-culotte of 120 guns, having the national commiſſioner Letourneur (afterwards a member of the directory) on board, ſailed from Toulon, with fourteen other ſhips of the line, three frigates and three ſmaller veſſels, the latter end of February. On the 6th of March off cape Corſe they deſcried a ſhip of war coming out of the gulph of St. Fiorenzo, which proved to be the Berwick of ſeventy-four guns on her way to join the Engliſh fleet then at anchor in the bay of Leghorn. Three frigates were ſent to attack this ſhip to whom ſhe ſtruck after a ſhort action. On the 11th of March, the Mercure of ſeventy-four guns ſeparated from the French fleet in a gale, together with the Berwick. The French admiral ſhifted his flag on board the frigate la Friponne, and with him went the commiſſioner, in order to direct the movements of the fleet with more alacrity. On the 12th the Sans-culotte parted company, and on the ſame day the Engliſh fleet appeared in ſight, having ſailed from Leghorn on the 8th, upon hearing that the French fleet was at ſea. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of fourteen ſail of the line and three frigates. Both fleets were on the ſame tack, ſtanding towards cape Noli; on the morning of the 13th the Engliſh admiral threw out a ſignal for the line of battle, which was alſo done by the French admiral on board his frigate; the Ca-ira of 80 guns, an unwildly ſhip, in tacking fell on board the Victorie, carried away her two top-maſts, and threw the rear of the French into diſorder, which the Engliſh admiral improved, and ordered a frigate to rake her fore and aft, which ſhe did ſeverely till the Agamemnon Engliſh ſhip came up and poured in ſeveral broadſides, which totally diſabled the Victoire.

Meanwhile the Ca-ira was expoſed to the fire of the whole Engliſh van for two hours, by which ſhe was ſo much diſabled as to render it neceſſary for a frigate to tow her off, which was done by La Veſtal with great ſkill. The Cenſeur which was at the head of the line received orders to cover the Veſtal, but inſtead thereof the Cenſeur took her in tow, notwithſtanding repeated orders, which however appear to have been the effect of miſtake.

On the morning of the fourteenth the two diſabled ſhips of the French fleet were conſiderably diſtant, and cloſe to the Engliſh van, and the latter appeared working up to cut them off. The French fleet was under the land and becalmed, the Engliſh farther out had a light land breeze; and in this ſituation the two diſabled ſhips were attacked again; while the fleet made every effort to come down to their aſſiſtance, but got very ſlowly into action. The Courageax and Illuſtrious Engliſh ſhips were ſeverely received by the Caira and Cenſeur; but an Engliſh three-decker raked them ſo ſeverely that they could no longer move. Three others of the French fleet only got into action, but the conflict was ſevere and laſted till two o'clock in the afternoon. Two of the Engliſh ſhips were diſmaſted. The conflict ended in the retreat of the French ſhips that had been in action,

leaving the Ca-ira and Cenſeur in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. The loſs of men in the Engliſh fleet was ſeventy-five killed and two hundred and eighty wounded. The Engliſh ſhip Illuſtrious was afterwards caſt away near Avenza, having been rendered wholly unmanageable. This action was a very ſtriking proof of the want of diſcipline in the naval operations of the French, and ſhewed alſo what they were capable of executing with that acquiſition. It is remarkable that among the fifteen ſhips of this French fleet, ſix were ſhips which admiral Hood had reported burnt by him on his flight from Toulon in 1793, viz. Le Tonnant, Le Conquerant, Le Mercure, Le Heureux, Le Timoleon (then called La Commerce de Bourdeaux) and La Ca-ira (then called La Couronne) and a ſeventh, the Alcide, reported by admiral Hood to be unfit for ſervice, was one of the ſame fleet.

In the beginning of June another naval affair occurred, in which the ſkill of the Engliſh navy was very conſpicuouſly diſplayed in a retreat, Admiral Cornwallis with five ſhips of the line and two frigates was cruiſing off Belleiſle on the 16th of June, fell in with a French fleet of thirteen ſail of the line and ſome frigates; a calm coming on nothing occurred, but in the morning the French fleet was ſeen bearing upon both quarters of the Engliſh to windward. About nine o'clock, the leading ſhips of the French line began to fire upupon the Engliſh ſhip Mars, which as well as the reſt of the Engliſh fleet kept up a running fire during the whole day; the Engliſh admiral is ſaid to have eſcaped by throwing out a ſignal for a large fleet being in ſight, which induced the French fleet to ſlacken ſail in order to form a compact line, by which means the Engliſh admiral had an opportunity to eſcape.

On the 23d of the ſame month a naval victory of ſome importance was achieved by admiral Bridport, over the French fleet that had chaſed Cornwallis, off L'Orient. The Engliſh force conſiſted of fourteen ſhips of the line and eight frigates; the French of twelve ſhips of the line and nine frigates. At dawn of day on the twenty-ſecond the fleets came in ſight. The French appeared to bear up in line of battle, they continued to manoeuvre, there being little wind all the night; on the morning the action commenced about ſix o'clock and continued until three o'clock in the afternoon. It terminated in the capture of the Formidable, the Tigre, and the Alexander, the latter an Engliſh ſhip that been captured in the laſt year. In the courſe of the winter of 1794, a French ſquadron of one ſhip of the line, two frigates, and two ſloops deſtroyed all the Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, took a number of merchant ſhips and an immenſe quantity of plunder.

The difficulty of proceeding in the narration of the winter campaign, and paying at the ſame time a regard to the annual courſe of the political tranſactions of France, has rendered it neceſſary, in order to connect the meaſures which had a relation to each other, to blend them with the tranſactions of this year.

The convention which had been ſo much diſtinguiſhed in the extraordinary events of the revolution, which from 1792 to 1795 had, exhibited ſo much ſplendor and littleneſs, ſo much of glory and crimes, ſo much of the dignity of liberty and the degradation of faction and tyranny, was to cloſe its labours in this year; and by its concluding acts removed the odium which it had ſuffered to be inflicted on France, and in ſome degree compenſated for the injuries which it had endured in the ſacrifice of the virtuous and the abuſe of the cauſe of liberty.

The puniſhment of Carriere, was a ſtrong evidence of the return of pure and humane principles; and it was eaſy to ſee that it was only a prelude to bolder meaſures and the reſtoration of the laws of equity and juſtice. Le Bon the inſtrument of Robeſpierre, had been put under arreſt on the ninth of Thermidor, but his trial had from various cauſes been delayed; Fouquier Tainville the ſanguinary public accuſer had alſo been placed in arreſt. The preſidents of the revolutionary-tribunal had been puniſhed, but Tainville was not tried until December 1794, a decree was paſſed againſt both of theſe, and a report ordered to be made by the committees on their crimes. On the ſame day Tallien moved that a report ſhould be made concerning all thoſe perſons impriſoned on the ninth and tenth of Thermidor, in order that thoſe who were innocent or miſled ſhould be releaſed, and the ſeverity of juſtice exerciſed on the principals only. A decree was alſo paſſed charging the committees to reviſe the whole code of laws, and to propoſe the repeal of ſuch as ſhould be found contrary to juſtice and liberality. On the ſeventeenth of December it was decreed that both the judges and jury of the revolutionary-tribunal ſhould be replaced.

The decree of the *maximum*, or higheſt fixed price of the neceſſaries of life, had now been found to contribute to rather than diminiſh the diſtreſſes which it was meant to prevent, and it was repealed on the twenty-third of December. About the ſame time a moſt elaborate report from the united committees of commerce and finances was preſented by Johannot, from which it appeared that the national domains which remained unſold in 1794 were on a moderate calculation worth upwards of 600,000,000 pounds ſterling! and the paper money which had been iſſued on their ſecurity amounted to little more than *one third* of that value. It alſo appeared that the eſtates which had been confiſcated, of nobles and others, and valued by public appraiſers, had, on an average of the whole of thoſe that had been ſold, produced *two-fifths* more than the ſums at which they had been valued!

About the cloſe of the ſame month the debates in the convention became ſo diſorderly, that it was neceſſary to paſs a decree, ordering that if any member ſhould inſult his colleague, he ſhould be committed to the Abbey priſon. Some other meaſures of internal police were adopted in the beginning of the year; and, on the twenty-firſt of February, a decree highly honourable to the convention was paſſed, for ſecuring the freedom of religious worſhip and opinions.

The firſt diplomatic tranſaction of the year 1795, preſented to the cognizance of the convention was fatally omenous to the combined powers, and auſpicious to the republic. On the tenth of February Richard announced to the repreſentatives of the French people, that a treaty of peace and amity had been concluded by the committee of public ſafety, with the grand duke of Tuſcany, who had formally detached himſelf from the grand alliance. The treaty was taken into conſideration on the thirteenth, when ſome doubts were entertained of the power of the committee to conclude a treaty; but the period of factious diſtraction was paſſed, and it was wiſely determined that whatever tended to place an impediment in the way of peace, was contrary to good policy and the public proſperity; and the right and power of the committee to conclude treaties was ſupported by an almoſt unanimous vote. The treaty was in ſubſtance as follows:—

Article 1. The grand duke of Tuſcany having revoked all acts of adheſion, conſent and acceſſion to the armed coalition againſt the French republic. There will in conſe-

quence enſue peace, frendſhip, and good underſtanding between the two powers. 2. The neutrality of Tuſcany is re-eſtabliſhed, on the footing on which it ſtood before the eighth of October 1793. 3. The preſent treaty cannot take effect till it is ratified by the national convention.

In tracing the events that led to the fall of Robeſpierre, the exiſtence of two parties conſpiring to promote his overthrow without any confidential concert was noticed. The one conſiſting of the members of the committee, and the other of members of the convention; the former compoſed of Barrere, Billaud, Carnot, and others; the latter of Tallien, Legendre, Bourdon, and others. Theſe two parties, now began to teſtify a recibrocal jealouſy. The diſpoſitions of both parties evidently went to promote the proſperity and glory of the republic; they differed about the means; Barrere and his colleagues wiſhed to preſerve the revolutionary government in ſo much energy as would enſure the perpetuation of that vigor which had given glory to the republican arms; they wiſhed to deſtroy the internal terror and all faction, to bury paſt afflictions under an amneſty, and a general releaſe of all perſons not actually criminal, and to preſerve liberty and ſecurity to all friends of the republic. The other party were jealous of the revolutionary government; they did not indeed form a party in reality, ſince there was no one among them whoſe ſuperiority of credit or talents could attract them round him; among them were the enemies of Robeſpierre as well as the friends of Danton and of the Gironde party, they carried into their union againſt Robeſpierre all their generous partialities and all their fears; and many of them could not diveſt themſelves of that hatred which they had fixed upon the colleagues of Robeſpierre in common with himſelf. They wiſhed to do away the revolutionary government entirely, and conceived that the energy of the revolution might be preſerved under a regular and ſecure republican ſyſtem. The other party appeared to doubt the poſſibility of this; indeed it was the maxim of ages; but experience has proved their error, though their error was not a crime. This party alſo had perſonal conſiderations to influence them, they were conſcious of the odium which they ſhared with Robeſpierre by being joined with him in the committee; and however excuſable they may be in common with the convention at large in being the paſſive inſtruments or quieſcent ſpectators of his tyranny, they felt that their final co-operation in his overthrow would not exonerate them from the blame of his odious meaſures, nay, it appears ſtill clear that whether through motives of ſelf-ſecurity or fear, that ſome of the members were too conſpicuouſly active in the horrid proceedings of the tyrant, particularly in the ſacrifice of the Girondiſts, Danton, Camille, Madame Roland, and the Cuſtines; as well as in the horrid tranſactions at Lyons. Barrere, Billaud, and Collot were peculiarly liable to theſe imputations.

Under ſuch circumſtances the members of the old committee were not likely to ſtem the returning impulſe of offended liberality, notwithſtanding the acknowledged magnitude of their ſervices and indefatigability in the progreſs of the critical events of the revolution.

The reſtoration of the ſeventy-one members ejected for proteſting againſt the proſcription of the 31ſt of May; of Paine, of Lareveilliere Lepaux, of Lanjuinais, and ſome other remnants of the unfortunate Gironde party, was a ſevere blow to the members of the old committee, who had all participated in one or other ſhape in their misfortunes.

Yet that uſeful leſſon to all free people, and which ſhould never be forgotten *that authority once eſtabliſhed may commit great crimes before it is ſubverted, and ſentiments however erroneous once imbibed are not eaſily eradicated*, was very ſtrongly exemplified in this caſe. Though every voice joined in applauding the overthrow of Robeſpierre, yet ſeveral months after the death of the latter, the remains of the aſſaſſin Marat were transferred to the Pantheon. But public indignation was gradually awakened to this profanation by the popular journal of Freron and a popular air called "Le Revĕil du Peuple"; they were forcibly removed, and even the buſts and other monuments of Marat and his compeers were deſtroyed. In the courſe of the year a decree was paſſed that no perſon ſhould be honored with a place in the Pantheon until ten years after his death.

In Auguſt 1794 it has been noticed, that Lecointre of Verſailles had the courage to impugn the conduct of the members of the old committee, and to bring a detail of charges againſt ſome of them. That accuſation was treated rather with indifference, and determined to be groundleſs. In December the ſtate of things had given the accuſation a more ſerious aſpect, and Barrere, whoſe foreſight has been ſo remarkably conſpicuous, on this occaſion preſerved a cautious ſilence. The more irritable temper of Ballaud induced him to placard the walls of Paris with complaints of the villification of his character. On the 26th of December a motion was made, that the committees ſhould make a report the next day on the repreſentatives denounced by Lecointre; and a report was accordingly made "that there was no cauſe of enquiry into the conduct of Vouland, Amar, and David; but that there was room for enquiring into the conduct of Barrere, Billaud, Collot, and Vadier."

The public merits of ſome of the members had ſtill made a deep impreſſion on the public mind. The powerful activity and enthuſiaſm of Barrere could not be forgotten, and his ſpeech calling upon the people of France to riſe as one man, ſtill reſounded in the ears of Frenchmen, and had carried terror into the ſouls of their enemies. An attempt had been made to include the Lindets and Carnot in the accuſations, the former were exonerated by general aſſent; and in the inſtance of Carnot, a member roſe and exclaimed "What, accuſe him who organized our victories?"—The ſentiment caught the whole aſſembly, and they roſe ſpontaneouſly and declared Carnot inculpable. It was obſerved that for fifteen months Carnot ſpent eighteen hours every day in the duties of the military department, of which he had the direction!—That there were cruelties committed under the direction of the committee the members acknowleged, but the philoſopher ſtrongly contended for their exculpation by the frailties of human nature, and the perilous circumſtances in which they were placed; and the patriot painted in glowing colours the alarming ſituation of France, when the powers of Europe aſſembled their utmoſt force againſt them, to partition, to divide, to deſtroy, and to exterminate.

On the ſecond of March Saladin reported from the commiſſion of twenty-one, on the conduct of the accuſed deputies, in which they were ſaid to have exerciſed tyranny on the people and on the convention; that they had placed the nation in a ſtate of terror and conſtraint; had eſtabliſhed popular commiſſions on their private authority, and ſuffered the moſt atrocious mandates to be iſſued from the bureau of police by the direction of Robeſpierre or in his abſence by St. Juſt.

The accuſed deputies in their defence, particularly Barrere, contended that the operations of Robeſpierre extended to the Jacobins, the municipality, and the revolutionary

tribunal, where he exercised an unlimited power; that it was notorious that Dumas, the president of that tribunal, Fouquier and Coffinthal went every morning to Robespierre's house, where they concerted their proscriptions and made out their lists of death and imprisonment. That the committee could not prevent this, since the convention itself, which had the power, was as well acquainted with these facts, and had not interfered at the period alluded to; that the six popular commissions for which a decree had been obtained by Robespierre, were delayed as much as possible by the other members of the committee, particularly by the accused, who at length had been threatened by Robespierre for the delay; that even then they contrived to complete only two of them, and in such a manner as fell short of the tyrant's wishes, since they had not an opportunity to do mischief. That with respect to the proscriptions being doubled during Robespierre's absence, it was the effect not of the committee's conduct or participation, but of the law which the convention had been seduced to pass on the twenty-second Prairial, a decree that was carried in the moment that it was drawn up by Couthon, who moved it before he had yet read it, and while the ink was yet wet as it came from the hand of Robespierre; that of this law the committee had neither a participation in the formation or the execution; and that Robespierre by absenting himself from the committee and having the full control of the police, directed the whole of his attention undivided to multiply the executions.

The trial of the deputies formally commenced before the convention on the twenty-second of March, but in the meantime Vadier escaped in the disguise of a public messenger, the deputies being placed in confinement in their own houses under charge of a gendarm only. They were ably defended by Lindet and Carnot, who insisted, that during the tyranny of Robespierre, the committee acted altogether under compulsion, and that the individual who should have dared to oppose him, must have been inevitably sacrificed. About this period Cambon was removed from the superintendance of the finances, but in a manner highly honorable to his probity.

A number of members in the convention, and of persons out of doors who still retained the hot passions of faction, took a deep interest in the accusation of the deputies. The Jacobin club had been re-opened by Billaud, and the debates there became as inflammatory as ever; there was also noticed at this period an uncommon influx of strangers, in the metropolis, and seditious speeches and exclamations became very frequent and alarming; foreign powers had again detached numerous emissaries into France, and an artificial scarcity indicated the success of their machinations and the adroitness with which they seized on the new state of party in the convention.

On the first of April the storm, that had been some time gathering, burst. An immense multitude from the suburbs proceeded to the hall of the convention, upon the pretence of petitioning for bread. At that moment Boissy d'Anglas was making a report on the means to provide a supply. He was interrupted by a tumult at the door, the insurgents forced the centinels, and the hall was filled with a concourse, exclaiming "bread and the constitution of 1793." The mountain or violent party seized the occasion to rouse the passions, Ruamps, Duhem, Chasles and others addressed them severally—the populace then spoke more explicitly, they exclaimed "we are the men of the fourteenth of July, the tenth of August, and the thirty-first of May"—and they added that they were determined to be free and no longer the victims of mercantile rapacity; "that the accused patriots should not be sacrificed to the passions of party." From ten o'clock till

ſix in the evening this ſcene of riot prevailed, and conſternation marked every countenance; by that time the citizens had been rouſed to arms. Pichegru who was at Paris took the command of the public force amounting to 20,000, on the motion of Barras; peace was ſoon reſtored, and a number of thoſe who had inſpired the ſedition were ſeized and decreed to be ſent into confinement to the caſtle of Ham in Picardy, among theſe were Choudieu, Chaſles, Fauſſidore, Leonard Bourdon, Huguet, Ruamps, and Duhem; the liſt was afterwards augmented with the names of Thuriot, Bayle, Heutz, Maignet, Levaſſeur, Craſſoux, Cambon and Lecointre; the latter the accuſer of the three deputies, who alſo on the motion of Dumont were diſpoſed of. "Let us," ſaid Dumont, "aboliſh the puniſhment of death, but caſt out theſe monſters from ſociety." It was decreed that Barrere, Collot, and Billaud, ſhould be ſent to Guianna in South America, and that they ſhould be ſent off immediately.

On the next day after the ſuppreſſion of this tumult a committee was appointed to prepare the mode of organization of the laws of the republican conſtitution; conſiſting of Cambaceres, Merlin of Douay, Thibaudeau, Sieyes, Mathieu, Leſage, and Creuze-Latouche; and on the nineteenth Cambaceres produced the following decree on the ſubject, which was unanimouſly paſſed.

I. A commiſſion of eleven members ſhall be formed to prepare the organic laws. This commiſſion ſhall be appointed by nominal appeal on the twenty-firſt of April. It ſhall diſcuſs the means of action, with reſpect to the ſovereignty of the people, connexions with foreign powers, the finances, the public force, the legiſlative body, &c.

II. The plans on theſe different ſubjects ſhall be printed one decade after their being preſented. All citizens are invited to communicate their ideas with reſpect to the beſt organization of the conſtitutional code; and the commiſſion ſhall order the beſt conceived of theſe to be printed.

III. No limit is aſſigned to the labours of this commiſſion; but it is recommended to them to employ the greateſt celerity.

The committee appointed to this important function were Baudin, Durand, Maillane, Lanjuinais, Thibaudeau, La Reveilliere Lepaux, Leſage, Boiſſy D'Anglas, Creuze Latouche, Louvet, Bertier, and Daunou. In the meantime, after conſiderable diſcuſſion, a plan of proviſional government, till the conſtitutional act ſhould be completed, was adopted by the convention, and it was as follows:

I. The functions veſted in the different committees by the law of the ſeventh of Fructidor, are to remain in full force in every part that does not militate againſt the preſent decree.

II. The committee of public welfare is alone empowered to paſs arrets relating to the means of executing all matters that reſpect their actual functions and powers.

III. The expenditure ſhall be directed by the committees of public welfare and finance united into one ſection, compoſed of three members from each of the two committees.

IV. The union of the committees ſhall be by four commiſſioners ſent to the committee of public welfare by each of the committees, wiſhing to deliberate with that committee.

V. The committee of public welfare ſhall be divided into ſections, which ſhall all, in their reſpective departments, be charged with the correſpondence with, and with the ſuperintendence of, the executive commiſſions.

On the ſixth of May, Johannot preſented an important report to the convention, on the ſituation of the finances. He propoſed that the intereſt of the national debt and the annuities ſhould be paid in future with the utmoſt regularity, and that a ſinking fund ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the payment of the principal. "If the war ſhould laſt two years longer," ſaid he, "the republic will ſtill have ſeveral thouſand millions of livres applicable to the purpoſes of a ſinking fund"

	livres.
He ſtated the national property at - - - - -	2,276,430,410
The national foreſts, occupying five millions of acres, he valued at	2,000,000,000
The lands of the emigrants, and ſome royal palaces, he valued at	15,226,280,220
The national domains in Belgium. - - - - -	3,000,000,000
The whole amounting to - - - - - -	22,502,710,630

making above eleven hundred millions pounds ſterling. The reporter aſſerted with the greateſt confidence, that this property was ſufficient to pay off the national debt, and all the expences of the war, even though its continuance ſhould be greatly protracted. Having enumerated the particulars of the reſources, he ſtated that theſe reſources would increaſe by the adoption of a good ſyſtem of mortgage. The committee propoſed that bills ſhould be iſſued on the ſecurity of the national property remaining unſold. It was alſo propoſed that the following funds ſhould be aſſigned for the payment of aſſignats :—the money due on the firſt Ventoſe, for the national property ſold, amounting to the ſum of 2,091,002,714 livres,—the produce of the houſes and buildings ordered to be ſold by lottery, valued at one thouſand millions. Deducting from the national property unſold, amounting to fifteen thouſand millions, the ſeven thouſand millions in bills of mortage, and one thouſand millions for rewarding the defenders of the country, there would ſtill be (the report ſtated) ſeven thouſand millions of livres entirely free and unappropriated.

On the 8th of May Fouquier Tainville, and fifteen others, were brought to trial for their crimes in the revolutionary tribunal; they were accuſed—1ſt, of having proſtituted the adminiſtration of juſtice. 2d. Of drawing out liſts of proſcription before trial for the gratification of private malevolence. 3d. Of ordering for execution pregnant women. 4th. Of trying to the number of ſixty perſons at one time and within the ſpace of three hours. 5th. Of having paid ſo little regard to juſtice that the father had been executed for the ſon and the ſon for the father-in-law. 6th. Of having refuſed priſoners a copy of their indictment. 7th. Of packing juries. All theſe charges were made good by ſubſtantial evidence; and the criminals were executed on the 9th, amidſt the execrations of thouſands.

The fate of theſe perſons ſhould act as a powerful warning to men entruſted with power or the adminiſtration of the laws; indignation never dies when it is created by ſuch atrocities, and the force of morals is ſo great on the human heart, that crimes are never forgotten and even the wicked are as ready to concur in puniſhing the mal-adminiſtrators of the laws and the violators of freedom, as the virtuous.

In the courſe of the month of April the Swediſh government deputed the Baron Stael to Paris, and acknowledged the republic in a manner peculiarly frank and affectionate, the addreſs of the Swediſh king concluded thus—"We are making vows for the continual "increaſe of your proſperity, and we recommend you with all our heart to the divine "protection."

The moderation of the French in their conqueſt of the Dutch provinces has been already noticed, they terminated it by a compact no leſs glorious for themſelves than fortunate for the people of the ancient Batavia, which was the name they now reaſſumed. It was a ſtrange contraſt to conſider the Engliſh in Batavia as allies and friends, and their ſoldiers plundering and guilty of every ſort of violence; nay their officers, according to an account of one of themſelves, were accuſtomed to introduce their "horſes into the "Saloon and tye them up to the looking-glaſs:" While the French having conquered the whole nation, entered the provinces like brethren, and preſerved as much decorum as among their own homes; this moderation was the baſis of a treaty greatly advantageous to both parties; to the Batavians it was an act of re-creation and ſalvation; and in the courſe of the negociations of the ſubſequent years it became ſignally conſpicuous, by the glorious adherence of France to the proſperity of her allies, and by objecting to a peace which ſhould not be grounded on the reſtoration of thoſe territories belonging to the Batavian republic which had been betrayed into the hands of England by the perfidy of the Stadtholder, and the punic faith of that nation. The following are the leading features of the treaty.

I. The French republic reſtores from this moment all the conquered places and countries which have belonged to the ſeven United Provinces, from which, however, the frontier towns of the generality, ſuch as Maeſtricht, Venloo, Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, with their reſpective territories, are excepted. The countries, of which both ſhores of the river Hond conſiſt, namely, on its right ſide, the iſlands South Beverland and Walcheren, and on its left, the ſtates of Flanders, muſt remain in the poſſeſſion of the French until their fate is decided; and this will wholly depend on the fate of Auſtrian Flanders. All the countries on this ſide of the Rhine and the Waal ſhall likewiſe be reſtored; but thoſe on the other ſide ſhall, until further orders, be occupied by the French military.

II. The French as well as the Batavians, ſhall enjoy without paying any tolls, the free navigation of the river Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Meuſe, and all their branches as far as the ſea.

III. The Batavians ſhall, for their part, pay to the French republic, the expences of the war which the latter has been compelled to make againſt the former. This payment, however, can be made good by amicable diſpoſitions; ſtill the Batavians are to make, without loſs of time, a proviſional payment, either in hard caſh or in good bills upon France or neutral countries, of twenty millions.

IV. The French republic acknowledges the independence and ſovereignty of the Batavian people.

V. The French republic to conclude an alliance, both offenſive and defenſive, with the Batavian republic.

VI. Neither the French nor the Batavians ſhall conclude peace, or make any other treaty, unleſs both parties participate therein.

The ſpirit that excited the late tumult at Paris had not yet been ſo effectually extinguiſhed as to prevent another on the ſame pretences; the baniſhment of the members to Havre, and their removal to the ſea-ports for tranſportation only, encreaſed the deſparation of thoſe who remained, and of the foreign emiſſaries who were deſirous of improving upon commotion. The ſcarcity of bread had been encreaſed notwithſtanding it

was well known that the ſtock of corn was conſiderably more than ſufficient, and that the armies were now entirely ſupported by the countries conquered. Efforts were made to perſuade the people that the error lay with the legiſlature, nay ſeveral journals publiſhed the aſſertion. During the early part and middle of May placards were ſtuck up in great numbers in all the public places of the city, laying theſe charges to the convention. The deputies were ſtudiouſly inſulted in the ſtreets, and the troops were excited to riſe againſt the legiſlature. On the evening of the 19th a plan of inſurrection was openly diſtributed in the different ſections of Paris, prefaced with the motto—"Inſurrection is the moſt ſacred of duties." It concluded with a reſolution, that the citizens of Paris of both ſexes and of all ages ſhould without delay proceed in a maſs to the convention and demand bread—the abolition of the revolutionary government—the conſtitution of 1793—the diſſolution of the preſent convention, and the eſtabliſhment of another—the arreſt of each of the preſent members—the convocation of the primary aſſemblies on the 25th of Prairial, in order to renew the conſtituted authorities, and to replace the convention on the 25th of the enſuing Meſſidor."—The ralling exclamation was to be—"Bread and the conſtitution of 1793."

Early on the morning of the 20th of May the tocſin was rung in the ſuburb of St. Antoine and the generale beaten. Immediately on this alarm the convention aſſembled. The committee of public ſafety were informed on the preceeding night of the menaced commotion, and had taken precautions; as ſoon as the convention met, they preſented a report on the ſubject. A decree was immediately paſſed ordering all citizens to their reſpective ſections, out-lawing every perſon who ſhould head any commotion; and declaring their ſitting permanent. A proclamation was iſſued to the people and deputies appointed to reſtore order. The inſurgents in the meantime had crowded into the tribunes and inſulted the deputies; the gendarmes were ordered to clear them, and defend the convention. Several conflicts took place. Loud cries were heard in the environs of the Hall. A croud of women burſt into the galleries, exclaiming "bread and the conſtitution of 1793." Theſe cries were accompanied by menaces, and the deliberations of the convention were ſuſpended a while by the clamour. The venerable Vernier was preſident; with calm energy he commanded ſilence, and it was obeyed;—"We have ſeen," ſaid he, "women ſent as it were by deſign into the tribunes, and occaſionally go out to receive orders from the promoters of this diſorder. Let them know, that though theſe murmurs may produce a tempeſt, yet nothing can induce us to depart from our duty. They demand bread—and to provide bread is the conſtant object of our care.—Let the people know that diſorder will only ſtop the ſupplies of proviſions." The preſident then ordered the left galleries of the hall to be cleared, but without effect. General Hoche was appointed commandant of the armed force; he took an oath to the convention that he would enforce the reſpect due to it. The inſurgents at length obtained poſſeſſion of the hall, but ſome veteran ſoldiers repelled them, and for an hour and a half tranquillity prevailed. Suddenly a claſhing of ſwords and bayonets was heard, and a cry "to arms!" on all ſides; the noiſe approached the doors, detachments of the armed force traverſed the hall,—three guns were heard to fire, and a great crowd preſſed into the hall. A citizen ſnatched off the hat of one of the inſurgents which had written on it "bread and the conſtitution of 1793," the citizen was inſtantly aſſailed with ſabres. He flew to the tribune near the preſident, he was fired at and fell at the preſident's ſide—the repreſentative Ferraud ran to his aid, but

he was felled to the ground with ſabres; he was killed in one of the corridores, and his head inſtantly put on a pike. Boiſſy d'Anglas, who in the courſe of this tumult took the preſident's chair, remained firm and immovable amidſt the violence, which continued to encreaſe. A drum was heard, and immediately there entered a number of armed men marching in regular order, and filling the whole hall, one of their leaders in the dreſs of a cannoneer read a paper in their name; he was repeatedly interrupted by acclamations; it was in ſubſtance the ſame as the placards of the preceding evening. This was about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the convention reſembled more a camp of armed men than a legiſlature. The greater part of the deputies had departed; thoſe who remained were principally favorites of the inſurgents. Duroi demanded the repeal of the law of the 5th Ventoſe which ſtruck the patriots confined at Ham; and the others ordered to be tranſported; theſe propoſitions were applauded by the inſurgents and decreed. But this was only a temporary triumph, Hoche had collected bodies of the national-guard and volunteer citizens which he poſted at all the leading avenues, ordering all to be permitted to paſs from, but none to approach the convention; while with a choſen body of citizens he entered the hall with the acclamations of "long live the convention!"—"Down with the factious!" The inſurgents were uſed with more lenity than they merited. Proclamation was made that all perſons who did not immediately retire would be liable to force. The multitude made their eſcape through the windows and by every means they could. When ſilence was reſtored, the pretended decrees paſſed in the tumult were repealed, and Duroi, Duqueſnai, and Bourbotte, who had been moſt active in countenancing the riot were put in arreſt.

The mountaineers and their adherents were not appaled by this diſcomfiture, they renewed the aſſault on the next day; and throwing aſide the diſguiſe of petitioners, took poſſeſſion of the place of the Carouſel and planted cannon againſt the hall of the convention; the convention was induced to ſend a deputation and to receive one from the inſurgents and to make promiſes. Theſe meaſures quieted them for that day, but on the 21ſt while the convention was purſuing its deliberations, the inſurgents were alſo deliberating on freſh means of attack. The convention had on the preceding evening declared the deliberative body of the inſurgents in a ſtate of out-lawry, and the tribunal had condemned to death the aſſaſſin of the deputy Ferraud; neither of theſe ſentences had effect, ſince the deliberations were continued, and the murderer was reſcued on the way to execution.

The illtimed lenity of the convention in ſending deputies, had enboldened the conſpirators. They were preparing to march again, when the Pariſians perceiving the danger, aſſembled in their ſections, and all the avenues of the Thuilleries were occupied by them. The convention now ſtrongly ſupported, decreed the ſuburb of St. Antoine, if it did not deliver up its arms, and the aſſaſſin of Ferraud, to be in a ſtate of rebellion; and the ſections were ordered to march againſt them. The inſurgents had meanwhile thrown up ſome works to defend the acceſſes to the ſuburb with a view to reſiſt, but the arrival of ſeveral regiments of the national-guard along with the ſections, and the ſuburb being ſuddenly ſurrounded on every ſide, they were alarmed; they were informed that no proviſions would be permitted to paſs in to them, and that if they did not ſurrender, their houſes would be laid in aſhes by a general bombardment. They offered ſubmiſſion upon capitulation, but the convention ordered Hoche to inſiſt on unconditional obedience,

which was effected the ſame day. Among the priſoners taken were ſeveral of the gendarmes, who were led in triumph along with the cannon to the convention, the ſuburbs were all diſarmed, and the uſe of pikes forbid but againſt the enemy. The gendarmes were tried and executed; ſix of the deputies alſo were tried and condemned, three of them anticipated the executioner, the others ſuffered on the ſcaffold. The faction thus overthrown, the three members ordered to be tranſported were directed to be remanded for trial by the ſame tribunal, but before the courier had arrived the veſſel with Collot and Billaud had ſailed, Barrere being left behind at Oleron was brought back and committed to priſon. This inſurrection was accompanied by one that broke out at the ſame time in the departments; at Lyons the chief agents and coadjutors of Collot were put in priſon and maſſacred; nor was the ſpirit of vengeance confined to ſimple retaliation, the fanatical ſpirit of ſuperſtition was again rouſed, and under the pretence of cruſhing terroriſm and reſtoring religion the moſt terrible crimes were committed; under theſe colours the pious prieſt indulged his abhorrence of toleration, and the royaliſts of republicaniſm; ſocieties were formed under the title of companies of *Jeſus* and *The Sun*, which rivalled Robeſpierre in ;heir barbarities and exceeded him in the aggravation of their tortures.

On the ſame day, the twentieth of May, an inſurrection took place at Toulon alſo, in which Brunel, a repreſentative of the people, was killed. Niou another deputy then on board of the fleet haſtened to oppoſe the deſigns of the inſurgents, but in vain they inſiſted on the liberation of the terroriſts. The fleet was on the point of ſailing, but they were prevented, and the inſurgents took poſſeſſion of the gates of the town and mounted cannon on them. Shortly after they marched from Toulon on the way to Marſeilles, to the number of three thouſand with twelve pieces of cannon; but they were ſtopped by a force under generals Pactod and Charton, who defeated and carried three hundred of them priſoners to Marſailles. By this means Toulon was tranquillized.

The underſtanding that had taken place between the republic and the king of Pruſſia, upon the conferences at Frankfort hath been before furniſed; in Auguſt 1794, an agent of that monarch arrived at Baſle, named Smarz, a merchant of the Palatinate. The bad terms upon which the commanders of the allied armies ſtood, was notorious, but a total defection was not ſo much as ſuſpected, until the Pruſſians began to retreat towards and paſſed the Rhine. This ſtep was taken in order to ſound the diſpoſitions of the European powers, and to mark the degree of fermentation which his defection would excite. After ſome delay, on the firſt of October, 1794, the Pruſſian agent ſpread a report through Switzerland that a peace was concluded between the two powers, and this report was either ſo much approved or little blamed throughout Europe, that an actual negociation was opened, firſt by three Pruſſian agents officially diſpatched from the Pruſſian court, and afterwards by the baron Goltz avowed as an ambaſſador, who met Barthelemy on the part of France at Baſle. Goltz had formerly been ambaſſador at Paris, and his principles were known to be favourable to liberty. This negociation was in a ſtate of forwardneſs and nearly concluded, when the Pruſſian ambaſſador was taken off by poiſon. The body of the baron was opened and the fact was proved by the examination. This treachery of the combined powers anſwered the end for a time, as it afforded an opportunity to renew negociations with Pruſſia for a further continuance of the alliance; but after ſome time another perſon, Baron Hardenberg, was ſent to Baſle; he did not ſtop long, though the negociations were carried on by the ſecretary of legation, who aft-

ſtopping at Paris and conferring with the committee of public ſafety returned to Berlin, and the treaty was ſoon after ſigned. Heſſe Caſſel alſo concluded a treaty with the republic, and Saxony and other powers withdrew their contingents from the allied armies. The duke of Wirtemberg began a negociation, but it was broken off by a temporary reverſe, which the French met with on the eaſtern ſide of the Rhine. The elector of Hanover, however, found it prudent to conclude a peace for his ſubjects, wherein he acknowleged the French republic! while as king of England he refuſed to acknowledge it or make peace!

The treaty with Pruſſia contained ſeveral ſecret articles, which occaſioned a diſcuſſion in the convention, when it was decided that ſecret articles might be entered into provided they did not militate againſt any of the public articles. A decree was paſſed on the ſubject which was afterwards incorporated with, and forms part of the conſtitution of the republic under the head of treaties.

The Pruſſian treaty was preſented to the convention by Reubel on the tenth of April, prefaced by a ſpeech, wherein he obſerved, that they were then reaping the firſt fruits of their principles. The coaleſced powers, who had ſworn the ruin of the republic were compelled to ſeek peace. The open treaty is to the following effect.

I. That there ſhall be peace, amity, and good underſtanding between the French republic and the king of Pruſſia, conſidered as ſuch, and as elector of Brandenburg, and as a co-eſtate of the Germanic empire. Every hoſtility between the contracting powers ſhall ceaſe from the ratification of the preſent treaty. Neither of them ſhall furniſh in conſequence any contingent, under any pretext, of men, money, horſes, proviſions, or ammunition to the enemies of the contracting parties, nor ſhall the one of the parties grant a paſſage through its territory to the troops hoſtile to the other.

II. The republican troops ſhall evacuate, within fifteen days after the ratification, that part of the Pruſſian territory which they occupy on the right bank of the Rhine. They ſhall continue to hold that part of the territory which they occupy on the left.

III. The arrangements with reſpect to the territory on the left bank of the Rhine are poſtponed until a general pacification ſhall take place between the republic and the Germanic empire.

IV. The commercial intercourſe between France and Pruſſia is eſtabliſhed on the ſame footing as it was before the commencement of the preſent war. Meaſures ſhall be taken to remove the ſcene of hoſtilities from the north of Germany.

V. All the priſoners, made on either ſide, ſhall be reſtored without any difference with reſpect to number or to rank, within three months at the lateſt.

VI. The republic will receive the propoſitions which ſhall be made by thoſe of the princes having poſſeſſions on the right ſide of the Rhine, in favour of whom the king of Pruſſia ſhall interpoſe.

VII. This treaty ſhall not have its full effect until it ſhall have been ratified by the contracting powers, at the lateſt within one month.

The negociation that had been opened by Spain was carried on but tardily, until the French troops were in full march for Madrid, when orders were diſpatched to D'Yrarte, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Baſle to come to an immmediate concluſion. So great was the alarm and the diſpatch of the Spaniſh court on this occaſion, that two ſeparate negociations were going on at the ſame time; D'Iranda the Spaniſh miniſter had been ſent

to Bayonne where general Servan was ſent to meet him, by the committee of public ſafety, but before they had an interview, peace was concluded at Baſle by D'Yrarte and Barthelemy.

This treaty conſiſted of twelve articles, and was ſigned on the twenty-ſecond of July, by it France relinquiſhed all her conqueſts on the Spaniſh territory and reſtored all the cannon and ammunition taken in the ſeveral towns. In conſideration of which Spain ceded to the republic all the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo with all the cannon and ammunition there. The republic agreed to accept the mediation of Spain in favour of Portugal, Sardinia, Naples, the duke of Parma, and all the other Italian princes. In all theſe treaties the Batavian republic was uniformly and ſpecially included.

Switzerland had during the progreſs of the revolution remained apparently neuter; but the ſpirit teſtified by ſeveral of the ariſtocratical cantons was extremely hoſtile to France. It was not till the Pruſſian treaty had been concluded, that Baſle recognized the republic; before that period Barthelemy was not acknowledged in his official character. Among the magiſtracy of Baſle who ſtood forward in promoting the Pruſſian treaty, and afterwards the recognization of the French republic, was the citizen Ochs, chancellor of Baſle, in whoſe houſe the Pruſſian ambaſſador reſided and who became himſelf the mediator between the two powers. In his houſe alſo was ſigned the Spaniſh treaty. In ſigning the Pruſſian treaty the uſual etiquette was altered in affixing the ſignatures; the Pruſſian miniſter ſigning firſt in the copy which he was to keep, and the French miniſter in that which was to be retained by the republic. In the courſe of May, a treaty, regarding the line of neutrality between France and Pruſſia, was ſigned.

The ſplendid ſucceſs of the French arms operated ſtrongly on the Swiſs Cantons, ſome of which, Soleure and Fribourg, had treated Berthelemy with great indignity, and had been excited by the numerous emigrants then in thoſe cantons to ſuch violent animoſity, that they were prevented from joining in hoſtility only by the moderate counſels of the democratic cantons of Zurich, Baſle and ſome others. The other cantons ſoon followed the example of Baſle in the recognization.

On the ninth of June the infant ſon of the late king expired in the Temple. The enemies of the revolution were active in aſcribing his death to poiſon. The charge was conſiſtent enough from thoſe who cauſed the baron Goltz to be poiſoned; but for ſuch a purpoſe there could not be an adequate motive; his conſtitution was always unhealthy, and the examination of able ſurgeons and phyſicians ſoon diſſipated the calumny. Penetrated with this event, or perhaps influenced by the general ſympathy, in the beginning of July, the committee of public ſafety propoſed the exchange of the daughter of the late king, for the deputies betrayed into the hands of the enemy by the traitor Dumourier, and the two ambaſſadors Semonville and Maret, who had been ſeized contrary to the law of nations upon neutral territories, by a body of Auſtrians, and ſince detained priſoners. After ſome heſitation the emperor acceded to this propoſal, and before the end of the year the exchange took place at Baſle.

The only one of the agents of Robeſpierre who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by cruelties, that now remained, was Joſeph Lebon. In the begining of July he was allowed to defend himſelf before the convention, which he did with great ingenuity. But it was decreed that there were grounds for trial, and he was ſent to Amiens, the ſcene of his cruelties, where he was tried and ſuffered death.

The commotions that had taken place in April and May, were found upon ſcrutiny to have been greatly fomented by ſtrangers then recently arrived in Paris. On the the thirteenth of July, a decree was paſſed concerning foreigners, which was as follows:—

I. All foreigners born in the territories with which the French republic is at war, and who have entered France ſince the firſt of January, 1792, are enjoined to depart from thence.

II. They ſhall quit the communes in which they reſide within the ſpace of three days, reckoning from the publication of the preſent law. They ſhall, beſides, be allowed one day for every ſeven leagues, between the place they are to quit, and the frontier.

III. They ſhall declare before the municipalities, and at Paris, before the civil committees of the ſection, what route they intend to take:—This route ſhall be deſcribed on the paſſports to be delivered to them.

IV. Every foreigner comprehended in the preſent law, who after the delay pointed out by the ſecond and third articles, ſhall be found on the territory of the republic, or who ſhall ſtray from the road traced out for him, ſhall be put under arreſt.

V. The diſpoſitions of the preceding articles ſhall apply to foreigners who, pretending to have been born in countries either allied or neuter, ſhall not be recogniſed and acknowledged by their reſpective ambaſſadors and agents.

VI. The following may continue in France: 1. foreigners born in the countries with which the republic is at war who came into France ſince the firſt of January, 1792, provided they have a known dwelling, or are vouched for by four citizens, houſekeepers, and diſtinguiſhed by their patriotiſm and their probity. 2. Foreigners born in the countries in friendſhip and alliance with France, who ſhall be acknowledged by the ambaſſador or agents of the powers with which the republic is at peace.

VII. To each foreigner there ſhall be delivered a paper containing his diſcription, with theſe words on the top—"Hoſpitality! Security!" The word "Fraternity" ſhall be added for foreigners born in the countries with which the republic is at peace.

VIII. Every foreigner found in a ſeditious aſſemblage ſhall be conſidered as a ſpy, and puniſhed as ſuch.

IX. Every foreigner, on his arrival at a ſea-port, or in a frontier commune of the republic, ſhall appear before the municipality. He ſhall there preſent his paſſport, which is to be immediately tranſmitted to the committee of general ſafety for examination. He ſhall, in the mean time, be under the charge of the municipal officers, who ſhall give him a proviſional card of ſecurity, pointing out that he is in their keeping.

X. The councils general of commune may nevertheleſs give authorizations to the merchants of allied or neutral countries who ſhall enter France. They ſhall communicate this to the committee of general ſafety, to which they ſhall ſend a collated copy of the paſſport, and an indication of the route the foreigner purpoſes to take.

XI. In the meaſures preſcribed by article IX. extraordinary couriers, as well as thoſe charged with miſſions to the convention, or the government committees, are not comprehended.

XII. The committee of general ſafety is charged to adopt every neceſſary meaſure for the execution of the preſent law.

While the events which we have juſt related were in agitation, the convention was ſedulouſly employed in digeſting the plan of the new conſtitution. It was preſented by a committee of eleven on the twenty-third of June, and introduced to the aſſembly by an excellent ſpeech of Boiſſy D'Anglas. Long and intereſting debates ſucceeded. The different articles were ſeparately diſcuſſed, and many referred back for reviſion. On the twenty-third of Auguſt the conſtitution was declared complete, and referred to the primary aſſemblies for their confirmation and acceptance.*

This conſtitution is not free from exceptions, produced in moments when diſtraction had not yet ceaſed, when war prevailed, and when factions were ſpirited up by foreign intrigues. There are parts, which though eſſential to the ſecurity of the republic, in the ſtage of war, appear calculated to reſtrain the public mind in the happier moments of peace. This conſtitution bears in many parts a reſemblance of the Athenian government in its happieſt periods; the council of ancients was common to both, and the directory reſemble the archons; but the French conſtitution poſſeſſes that ſuperiority which might have been expected to reſult from ſo many ages of experience. There is a cloſer reſemblance between other modern governments, and that of France in their operation, than at firſt appears from the external conſtruction; and it happily adopts the practically uſeful while it rejects the pernicious reſemblance. Thus the Engliſh monarchy and the American repreſentative government, leave the nominal execution of their laws and diplomatic proceedings to an executive, which is centred in an individual, under different circumſtances of perſonal and miniſterial reſponſibility. Theſe governments appears to be utterly unlike, and in truth in their forms and effects they are: but in their operation the different value and the likeneſs conſiſt. The Engliſh monarch though he has a direct negative on all laws, though he has the abſolute power of declaring war and making peace, without the conſent or participation of the legiſlature, is himſelf utterly exempt from reſponſibility, even if he were to accept a bribe, (and both Charles II. and William III. accepted bribes,) if he were to make war or to conclude peace under circumſtances the moſt fatal, he would be exempted from puniſhment of every kind, for it is an Engliſh maxim that the king of England is, like the pope, infallible, that *he can do no wrong*; but he poſſeſſes a privy-council, who are ſuppoſed to adviſe all his meaſures, and they may be puniſhed for their advice; thus this prepoſterous dilemma ariſes, that if the king himſelf authoriſes the moſt odious meaſures, the privy-council muſt either lay the blame on the king who is not reſponſible, or be puniſhed themſelves for guilt they have not committed; and advice, which may be the reſult of pure *opinion* is puniſhable.

The American executive cannot declare war nor make treaties without the conſent of a part of the legiſlature; neither can he put an *abſolute* veto upon laws. Yet there are circumſtances under which he may involve his country in the moſt fatal meaſures; but he is reſponſible; he is not authoriſed to have a privy council, but the Senate and vice-preſident are ſuppoſed to be his adviſers, and they participate in certain executive meaſures. He, however, has a kind of privy council conſiſting of the ſecretaries of ſtate, of the treaſury, of war, and a law officer; theſe are not appointed by the conſtitution, but like the Engliſh privy-council are the creatures of the executive officer's choice.

Thus in both governments are ſeen officers not appointed by the people directing the moſt delicate meaſures of government; in one the executive is not reſponſible, and in the other the

* See the Conſtitution Appendix, No. III.

ſenate, which participates in the executive duties, is the court before which the executive would be tried, if impeached for meaſures in which they participated; while another adviſing body exiſts who are not reſponſible for their counſels given in a character the functions of which the conſtitution does not deſignate, and which no law it is ſuppoſed could coerce merely for an opinion or advice, unleſs in common with any other individual of the community, they went to an open violation of the conſtitution.

The French executive is not hereditary like the Engliſh, but it is elective like the American. It is free from the dangerous bias of a weak and wicked individual, becauſe the truſt and reſponſibility is divided among five members, who in their perſons are the actual deliberative council; in the two governments of England and America the deliberative executive powers are actually exerciſed by perſons unknown to the law. The French executive has miniſters, whoſe duties are deſignated by the conſtitution; they are alſo appointed by the executive, who are reſponſible for the acts of the miniſters, becauſe they are not allowed to do any act not ſpecially authoriſed. There are other circumſtances which give the French conſtitution a diſtinguiſhed pre-eminence over all others; particularly the attention that has been paid to the age of thoſe elected to the directory, and the council of the ancients; but above all the inability of the executive to conclude a treaty without the explicit ratification of the legiſlative bodies; the power of declaring war being placed in the legiſlature; the legiſlature only can propoſe and enact laws, and without any interference whatever from the executive. The reſemblance of perſons but not of powers then is ſimilar in the three governments, a plurality of perſons execute in fact; the French conſtitution alone appoints the executors. They have each two legiſlative chambers, but in England one is the creature of the executive by titular privileges, by creation, and by the influence of patronage; the other deſerves not the name of a repreſentative houſe. In America the ſenate is choſen in a manner which renders them totally independent of the people, which in fact creates a kind of intereſt to make the legiſlative and adminiſtrative function a diſtinct and ſuperior order to the people; and the length of ſervice eſpecially places it in the power of men, who might by vicious means arrive at ſuch ſtations to perpetrate the greateſt miſchief, before they could fear the ſalutary control of an election. The period of the French legiſlative duties is ſhort, and the opportunity of control in the people frequent. Upon the whole, though not free from imperfections, it is the moſt perfect form of republican government yet inſtituted.

On the 5th Fructidor (Auguſt 22d) previous to the tranſmiſſion of the conſtitutional act to the primary aſſemblies, the convention decreed that "the electoral bodies ſhould appoint the deputies to the legiſlative body, and that they ſhould chuſe two thirds from among the members of the convention;" and on the 13th they decreed "that in default of the election of two-thirds of the convention in the manner preſcribed, the convention ſhould fill up the vacancies."

Theſe latter decrees met with conſiderable oppoſition in Paris; in the departments they did not meet ſo much; as it was acknowledged that the neceſſity of preſerving an uniformity of vigor in the preſent circumſtances of the revolution, pointed out the neceſſity of keeping the ſame perſons in the exerciſe of the public functions; the danger of factious influence was alſo acknowledged. Few only of the ſections of Paris accepted theſe laws, which were called of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor. The fears of faction that had been anticipated were realized to more alarming extent than had been preſuppoſed. The

emigrants and foreign powers had taken early measures to obtain an influence in the primary assemblies; two species of societies were organised throughout all France, one of these consisted wholly of decided royalists, who corresponded with each other and prepared measures to operate upon the other societies, which consisted of men who were avowed philanthropists, men who were not adverse to liberty, but, either from habit or terror, wished for any change that could produce peace and repose; this class of persons was publicly announced under the name of philanthropists, adverse to war from principle, but not attached to monarchy; great care was necessary on the part of the royalists to manage them; this however they did by means of the royalist clubs, whose meetings being private enabled them to blend themselves with and assume the language and wishes of the philanthropists; by this means they had constant opportunities of exciting hatred of the leading parties in the convention, and promoting any object that appeared likely to remove them from power and put persons apparently more agreeable to their pacific and humane views into the legislature. In many of the departments the royalists were successful to the full extent of their hopes; but in others they were disappointed; and the audacity of the known royalists, who notwithstanding repeated decrees, had been yet suffered to rest undisturbed in France, now became such as to render the whole energy of the republican party necessary to prevent the total overthrow of all that had been done to establish the republic.

The scene which Paris exhibited at this epocha was solemn and interesting. It was the assembly of a considerable portion of a great nation called together for the most important duty of civilized society. The meetings of the primary assemblies were conducted with the utmost decorum and dignity. Next to the chairs and desks of the president and secretaries, the old men of the section were seated, and around and behind them were ranged the younger citizens. Every person was allowed to deliver his sentiments and was heard with candour and indulgence. In some of the sections, however, the conspiracy was too violent and visible to be mistaken. It was maintained in some of them, that when the people were convocated all laws of regulation belonged to themselves, and having named electors these became the immediate representatives, and had a right to assemble when they thought expedient. This assumption was calculated to anticipate the proceedings which might take place on the day appointed by the convention for the meeting of the electors. Accordingly in the suburb of St. Germaine, a body of electors to the amount of one hundred assembled in the hall of the French theatre, before the appointed day, and having chosen De Nivernois (formerly the duke) chairman, proceeded to debate upon political subjects then before the convention. This body alarmed at such proceedings, and not ignorant of the machinations which were then carrying on, ordered a corps of military to disperse them as an illegal meeting, which they effected without violence or tumult. In the meantime the acceptance of the constitution and the two decrees was perfected by a vast majority of the primary assemblies. Cavils were set up against the votes of the assemblies, upon the pretext that they did not understand the decrees!— These factious proceedings were carried to such a height by nocturnal assemblies, and a number of journals recently established fraught with anti-republican doctrines and declamations, and the number of strangers daily augmenting and appearing in Paris; that the committees of government were obliged to call a considerable armed force to the neighbourhood of the capital, and to defend the convention. The factious and the deluded populace were buoyed up with the persuasion, that the military would not draw

their ſwords againſt the private citizens, and in this they were ſtrongly confirmed by the good underſtanding that then ſubſiſted between them and thoſe in the camp, which, ſince the inſurection of Prairial, (the preceding May,) had been pitched ſometimes at Marly and Sablons.

It was now publicly aſſerted in the turbulent gazettes, that means much more forcible than remonſtrances were neceſſary to bring the convention to reaſon. That aſſembly was repreſented as a body of aſſaſſins and tyrants, that they ought to be driven from their ſeats with ignominy, and that if they were ſuffered even to exiſt as private citizens it muſt be from the ſpecial indulgence and lenity of their country.

Others were not even ſo moderate. Retaliation was inſiſted on; and there were thoſe who wiſhed to puniſh not only the authors of the death of the Gironde and Danton, but of Robeſpierre, and of Hebert! Priſons were even named for the deputies, and meaſures declared to be taken to carry this immenſe plan into execution. Along with theſe denunciations the publiſhers conſtantly and with great vehemence inſiſted on their being pure republicans!

For ſome days alarm was very viſible in the capital: every day the menaces became ſtronger and more violent. Freſh troops were meanwhile pouring into the capital and its neighbourhood; but the factions confidently expected that when ordered to fire, the military would ground their arms. Whether the convention entertained the ſame apprehenſions, or whether it was from an impreſſion that many of thoſe who had been confined as terroriſts, were only miſtaken in their attachments, and capable by their energy of ſerving their country in the hour of danger, they were privately releaſed, and appointed to ſtations ſuited to their capacities and influence. This meaſure was however diſcovered, and the antipathies of the royaliſts and counter-revolutioniſts, were now converted into rage and deſparation. It was to them the ſignal of danger and the invocation to battle.

On the twelfth of Vendemiare (October the fourth) general Menou, commander of the military force, was ordered to proceed with an armed corps to the ſection of Lepelletier to diſperſe the inſurgents and ſeize their arms. The general inſtead of executing the meaſures as directed, entered into conferences with the inſurgents, and conſented to withdraw his force. The convention reprehended him, and he was broke by the committees. At midnight the drums were beat, and at the doors of ever houſe were heard the cries—"To arms."—"Every citizen to his ſection."—"Liberty or death." Yet this alarm did not produce the purpoſed effect, the morning of the fifth of October preſented no indication of hoſtile movements; but at noon the inſurgents were in motion; a body was directing its march towards the Thuilleries; another had taken poſſeſſion of the church of St. Roche, and lined the ſtreet of St. Honoré, while on the ſouthern ſide of the river the quays were lined, by corps advancing in the ſame direction towards the convention. On the north ſide an action commenced, both parties accuſed each other of firing firſt; but while the conflict was carrying on, the ſouthern inſurgents had reached as far as the quay of Voltaire, to join their aſſociates; the cannon of the conventional force were placed ſo as to rake their whole column from the elevation of the bridge. At this ſide the inſurgents had no artillery, and the troops of the convention acted with great lenity; they did not fire until the inſurgents were about to force the paſſage acroſs the bridge, when a volley was ordered to be fired in ſuch a manner as that the ſhot ſhould

paſs above their heads. A few nevertheleſs were killed, who were on a riſing ground, upon which the whole diviſion diſperſed. The battle on the north ſide, near the convention, was a ſerious one, and more obſtinate. The inſurgents ſeveral times acted ſo vigorouſly that they took pieces of cannon from the patriotic force, which were as conſtantly retaken. After four hours conteſt the inſurgents were compelled to retreat; the church of St. Roche was taken with great ſlaughter; and the inſurgents fled to their general rendezvous in the ſection of Lepelletier. After an interruption of two hours the cannon were heard once more, and ceaſed firing only with midnight, when the conventional force had overcome all oppoſition. The number killed in this inſurrection has been variouſly eſtimated, but it is generally allowed to have amounted to 800. Soon after this diſagreeable affair, ſeveral of the inſurgents were ſeized, and among the papers of one of them named Le Maitre, were found complete proofs of a criminal correſpondence with what was called the committee of Baſle, compoſed wholly of emigrants, of whom he was the agent. He was executed and his correſpondence publiſhed.

In this action the celebrated Barras, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſame ſituation on the fall of Robeſpierre, commanded the armed force. He it was who announced to the convention at midnight the triumph over the inſurgents. The convention had ſuſpended its deliberations and waited with anxiety the reſult of the conflict; they immediately formed a houſe, and Barras ſtated to them that the inſurgents were largely compoſed of emigrants, ex nobles, and chouans from the departments. In conſequence of this inſurrection the citizens were called upon to deliver up all arms for the public ſervice. Thus ended this diſaſtrous day and its conſequences. No further oppoſition was made. A commiſſion of five members was propoſed to be appointed to conſult upon proper meaſures of public ſecurity; this was oppoſed in the convention by Thibaudeau and Lariveilliere Lepaux, and the energy of theſe two members rouſed the convention to a ſenſe of danger that might reſult from adopting ſuch a meaſure, and it was rejected; from thence to the termination of its labours the convention continued tranquil.

On the twenty-ſeventh of October the convention ſat for the laſt time. Its laſt meaſures were honorable to its wiſdom and liberality; two decrees were paſſed for the abolition of the puniſhment of death on the concluſion of peace, and for an amneſty. From the amneſty were excepted perſons concerned in the laſt inſurrection—perſons oppoſing the new conſtitution—forgers of aſſignats—tranſported prieſts—and the emigrants.

Thus terminated the proceedings of an aſſembly whoſe hiſtory is in all reſpects more extraordinary than that of any other body of men upon record. Theſe times will require an hiſtorian uniting the comprehenſion of Tacitus, the dignity of Thucydides, and the impartiality of Gibbon, to illuſtrate their glorious actions and culpable exceſſes. Compoſed of philoſophers, men of letters, poets, painters, actors, phyſicians, and a multitude of lawyers, they with a bold and nobly daring hand ſigned the death-warrant of the ſucceſſor of an hundred kings, and in one day broke the ſceptre over which fourteen centuries of exiſtence had thrown the hoary veil of ſuperſtitous ſanctity; this extraordinary aſſembly whoſe ſagacity penetrated every arcanum of civil, religious and political inſtitution; who drew from the ſtores of hiſtory thoſe immenſe deſigns which enabled them to outſtretch modern civilization, and progreſs in leſs than three ſhort years over the paths of policy and knowledge with a celerity and effect that would ſeem to require an age to realize it; who ſaw in the trivial deſignations of titular diſtinctions the greateſt ſource of ſocial evil;

and unanimouſly aboliſhed them:—who diſcerned in the petty jealouſies of locality, the rivalſhip of diſtricts, and the invidious aſperities caſt on countries and names, a ſpecies of chains by which the human character was tied down to an unjuſt odium, and to a conſequent reſentment, and boldly diſſolved them;—who blending the vaſt elements of philoſophy with civil policy, aboliſhed even the names of countries and made them to live in new characters coeval with and eternal as the glory that produced them;—who ſeeing and feeling the heavy and inſupportable weight of a bigotted cankerous hierarchy, an uſeleſs or a profligate and burdenſome prieſthood, relieved thirty-ſix millions of people from their oppreſſions, by an unequalled and wonderful reformation: who harmonized the calendar with the order of the ſeaſons, and with the ſimplicity of nature and reaſon. It was this body of men who, when their country was betrayed by Dumourier; Valenciennes ſurrendered, and Toulon betrayed for Engliſh gold; the king of Pruſſia under the walls of Landau; and ninety leagues extent in the weſt devoured by an hundred and fifty thouſand Vendeans; publiſhed a decree which converted France into an army of heroes—which produced fourteen hundred thouſand men, capariſoned to repel invaſion, and generals from obſcurity who were to ſurpaſs the greateſt heroes of claſſi c valor; they who repulſed the king of Pruſſia, defeated the Auſtrians, and drove the boaſted legions of England before them like whelps before the lion, with woeful and agonizing ſteps; ſoldiers whom neither death, wounds, peril, nor the wan t of food, clothing, and every human comfort could appal; whom neither danger nor want—the tornado nor the moſt unexampled froſt, could reſtrain from the purſuit of conqueſt, when the ſafety and juſtice of their country called for their ſervices, and thoſe unexampled ſacrifices, were neceſſary to ſecure them.

THE REPUBLIC.

THE members elected to the new legiſlature immediately proceeded to the verification of their powers agreeably to the conſtitution; which being completed, their firſt taſk was the election of the new executive power, compoſed of five directors. This election gave riſe to ſome intrigues. No ſooner had liberty aſſumed the aſpect of mildneſs and benignity and endeavoured to heal the wounds of the revolution, than the royaliſt party, whoſe deſparate hopes graſped at the moſt unſubſtantial illuſions, endeavoured to convert every movement of the government to its diſadvantage or its overthrow. In conjunction with the unfortunate prieſts they ſtimulated the paſſions of the ignorant or the well-mean-

ing religious; and ſheltering their purpoſes beneath the marks of benevolence, of humanity, of tenderneſs, of charity, and of indignation, never ceaſed to load with opprobrium the ſurvivors even after the authors of the revolutionary crimes had been ſacrificed to juſtice; by this means, and various machinations, thouſands of virtuous and well diſpoſed men were led aſtray, and diſaffection to the government promoted. Even many of the ſincereſt republicans were by the induſtrious wickedneſs of their enemies thus deceived, and jealouſies between them continually kept alive.

Theſe ſecret meaſures were moſt aſſiduouſly employed to influence the election of the directory; and the ſucceſs which they had met in returning ſeveral members to the legiſlature by their activity in the primary aſſemblies, they hoped to produce an election, ſuitable as circumſtances could admit, to their wiſhes. It had been the policy of the royaliſts, as ſoon as they found the charm of royalty no longer work upon the nation, to co-operate with that party which was either moderate in its plans, or oppoſed to thoſe in the adminiſtration of the government. It was by this policy, that they always preſerved a few members devoted to them in the convention; and it was thus they largely contributed to influence the public opinion againſt the Girondiſts and to produce their fall by ſupporting the violence of Robeſpierre. The republicans were not inſenſible of the efforts of the royaliſts, and though there ſtill ſubſiſted a degree of irreconcilement between the reſtored deputies of the Gironde and thoſe that remained of the mountain; they ſacrificed their reſentments to the ſafety of their country and agreed to elect members to the directory from both parties. The firſt of theſe was Reveilliere-Lepaux, formerly a lawyer, and of the Gironde party, who had the honor of ſharing in the proſcriptions of Robeſpierre, and had been obliged to conceal himſelf to preſerve his life. His integrity and devotion to the cauſe of civil liberty had procured him the general confidence of the convention. His devotion to letters was well known, and he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly by his botanical reſearches: he wiſhed to decline the appointment, but the ſolicitations of thoſe who knew the value of his integrity in ſuch a ſtation in ſuch times prevailed upon him. Reubel a native of ancient Alſace, alſo a lawyer, diſtinguiſhed in the conſtituent aſſembly, for the energy, the frankneſs, and activity of his character. He it was with Sieyes that formed a treaty with the Batavian republic. He had been one of the earlieſt Jacobins, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed advocates of the republican inſtitution; he was alſo one of the moſt zealous in overthrowing the Jacobins when the club became the rendezvous of royaliſts and other aſſaſſins. Great penetration, an enlarged knowledge of mankind, and the moſt ſtubborn inflexibility in right, are ſaid to be his characteriſtics. Letourneur of Manche, the third perſon ſelected, was an officer of engineers before the revolution; he ſpent ſome years in America, under Bellecombe, and was always conſidered as one of the moſt ſincere though never a clamorous republican. He adhered rather to the energetic party of the Jacobins and the mountain in the convention, but his enemies have not charged him with any of their vices. Sieyes, a man of letters, a philoſopher, a conſpicious leader in the revolution; a royaliſt writer of high reputation,* has alledged that three men only produced the republic, Sieyes, is one of them Briſſot and Condorcet are the others. No doubt Sieyes had a ſhare in it

* Malet du Pan.

but the royaliſts' declaration appears rather hyperbolical. He was the author of the table of the rights of man drawn up in the conſtituent aſſembly. This man's talents require no better illuſtration than that he has been conſpiciouſly abuſed. His work entitled "what is the third eſtate?" has been noticed in the early part of this hiſtory, and that work certainly had a great ſhare in opening the public mind to the diſcuſſion of a topic which had not been before that period very generally inveſtigated. He declined accepting the office of a director. Barras was the fifth perſon choſen. He had been a viſcount, but had from the firſt dawn of the revolution diſplayed his attachment to the republican ſyſtem, and his contempt for the privileges to which the accident of birth had entitled him. He was a military man, and an early member of the Jacobins. His intrepidity was ſignalized on three important occaſions of inſurrection, on the overthrow of Robelpierre, the inſurrection of the ſuburb of St. Antoine on the twentieth of May, and the laſt inſurrection which attacked the convention called the inſurrection of Vendemiare, when he ſubdued the ſections. According to the conſtitution the council of five hundred gave in a liſt to the council of ancients from which theſe names were ſelected. As Sieyes declined, another election took place, and Carnot was choſen; Cambaceres having a few votes leſs than Carnot.

Carnot was bred in the engineers corps, and was alſo diſtinguiſhed by literary acquiſitions. But his moſt diſtinguiſhed qualifications were military; he it was who during the moſt critical ſtage of military conteſt and factious convulſion, ſuperintended and combined thoſe vaſt projects in the military department, which according to the emphatical language of Barrere *organiſed victory*.

The palace of the Luxembourg was appointed for the reſidence of theſe executive officers, which now aſſumed the name of the directorial palace. A ſplendid coſtume was allotted to the members of the directory, in which ſoon after their inſtalment they gave audience, and in which by the conſtitution they were obliged to appear; and a ſuitable guard was attached to them.

The benevolent amneſty which had been one of the laſt acts of the convention had now nearly proved the ruin of the conſtitution, of which that meaſure was intended to be the happy and conciliating harbinger. The priſons had been thrown open, and the conduct of thoſe that were releaſed only diſplayed the juſtice of their confinement and the miſtaken lenity of exonerating them from a formal trial for their crimes. The members who had been confined at Ham, had been liberated among the reſt. Theſe factious men now thronged the public places, and the royaliſts had taken advantage of the amneſty to croud to the metropolis. Signs of diſtinction were aſſumed by which they were known to each other, and it was ſoon generally underſtood that this particular mark was a green cravat. The theatres became the rendezvous of the ſeditious, and the powers of poetry and muſic were called forth to ſpirit up inſurrection. The "Reveil du Peuple" was the favourite of the factious, the favourite of the republicans was the Marſeillois Hymn. The directory was at length obliged to interfere, and ſhut up ſeveral of theſe theatres of ſedition.

Some troubles were created in the ſouthern departments about the ſame time; Freron was detached thither and made many changes at Marſeilles, Toulon, Aix, and other places; complaints were ſent from the aggrieved places to the directory, who removed Freron, and reprimanded him, but ſupported the changes which he had made; they

ſent a conciliatory addreſs to the ſouth, and the diſquietude was ſucceeded by more orderly proceedings.

It was ſoon evident, however, that a faction was ariſing in the body of the new government. The republicans had been reconciled with few exceptions to each other; and thoſe ſincere republicans who were any wiſe adverſe to the meaſures produced under the new conſtitution, were rather actuated by pure motives or deceived by artful men, than by any ſiniſter or unworthy deſigns. But there were men with motives leſs pure, and covered only by forms, ardently ſought to overturn the conſtitution. There is always attached to thoſe who oppoſe the meaſures of government a ſpecies of neceſſary reſpect, which ariſes from the known univerſal proneneſs of men in power to abuſe it, and which of neceſſity juſtifies a vigilant and energetic ſcrutiny of all their meaſures and actions. But it cannot be denied that men in purſuit of power may be as much addicted to injuſtice and vicious views as thoſe who poſſeſs it. The royaliſt members, and in the convention there were ſome who were and had always been avowedly ſuch, and who had only eſcaped the rigor of the conventional decrees, by their adroitneſs on evading arreſt, or under the late amneſty. Theſe now profeſſed a perfect reſignation to the conſtitution, they affected to be ſatisfied that the nation wiſhed for the republican conſtitution, and that they were therefore bound to abide by the deciſion of the majority; but they never failed to add, that the conſtitution was not entirely perfect, and that great care was neceſſary to preſerve the public happineſs and liberty by watching over its execution with vigilance. Such arguments were in themſelves not only plauſible, but carried all the appearance of earneſtneſs, candor, and conviction; and it was not ſurpriſing that upon a ſubject which was ſuſceptible of a great variety of opinions, that honeſt men might really entertain a ſpecies of reaſoning, which others affected, as moſt conducive to promote their views. The two councils ſoon diſplayed theſe characters, but particularly the council of five hundred; and the ſtrange ſpectacle was exhibited of thoſe who had been mountaineers, jacobins, and cordeliers, ranked on the ſide of moderation and the conſtitution; and Feuillans, conſtitutionaliſts, and monarchiſts, declaiming for the republic, for energy, and the liberty of the preſs. This ſtrange reverſion of things was not unnoticed by the principal leaders in the revolution, who ſaw with ſorrow many honeſt men deceived by the affected candor of their known enemies. The royaliſts had already formed clubs, and the republicans were compelled to reſort to a ſimilar meaſure, which had always been an important auxiliary to the counteraction of conſpiracy. Among the new third were ſeveral men of talents known royaliſts, particularly Portalis, Lemerer, Coudrai, Jourdain, and Dumolard, theſe were the leading characters of the royaliſt club, and they had attached to their views others of the new third as Dupont of Nemours, and ſome of the moſt reſpectable of the old convention as Lanjuinais, and Boiſſy d'Anglas.

The republican club was compoſed of Legendre, Louvet, Tallien, Chenier, and Sieyes, and generally of all the moſt moderate of the earlier Jacobins, and of the ſurvivors of the Girondiſts; and theſe cordially co-operated with the government, the other formed the oppoſition party.

In the progreſs of the two following years, the effect of theſe new combinations became every day more and more viſible, and the directory were not long inſenſible that meaſures were in operation between the agents of foreign powers and members of the legiſ-

lative bodies. Their prudence, however, was equal to their vigor, and while they adopted the moſt vigilant meaſures to detect and fruſtrate conſpiracy, the conſtitution diſplayed all the energy that was viſible under the committees, and the moſt orderly police; the nation was ſeen returning to its natural regularity, and trade and commerce once more aſſumed the chearful aſpect of confidence and activity; the public credit, ſo much depreciated by ſtock jobbing and foreign forgery, acquired freſh ſtrength; in the public ſervice every ſpecies of fraudulent conduct was chaſtiſed; the carreer of juſtice was moderate, firm, and uniform, and the people beheld in the midſt of war a degree of ſecurity and equitable adminiſtration which realized the bleſſings of freedom, and taught them how great and happy their country muſt be upon the reſtoration of peace. They ſaw at the ſame time the armies purſuing their triumphs with their accuſtomed ſucceſs, and the coalition, which had threatened to overwhelm the liberties of Europe, already rent aſunder.

Soon after the inſtalment of the directory, its wiſdom was diſplayed in an eſtabliſhment the moſt ſplendid and important that has ever appeared in civilized ſociety. They publiſhed a proclamation addreſſed to the nation, declaring their conviction that the happineſs of the French people was inſeparable from the perfection of the arts and ſciences, and the encreaſe of human knowlege—and deſiring to manifeſt in a ſolemn manner to France and to all civilized nations, its firm reſolution to concur as far as its power extended to the progreſs and encouragement of ſcience; it founded a national inſtitution compoſed of one hundred and forty-four members, whom it had appointed, and ordered their inſtalation to take place in the hall of the former academy of ſciences in the palace of the national muſeum, formerly the royal palace of the Louvre. Among the members were found the names of Le Lande, Fourcroy, Volney, Raynal, La Place, Bertholet, Marmontel, Bitauby, Garat, Francois of Neufchateau, the celebrated abbé de St. Pierre, Paſtoret, &c. This proclamation was ſanctioned by the legiſlative body; the meetings were to be held four times every year, and the various departments of ſcience were occupied by the ableſt profeſſors of France.

A plan of inſtruction conformable to the conſtitution was alſo eſtabliſhed. It conſiſts of what are called primary ſchools, erected in each canton, where a maſter is appointed for the boys, and a miſtreſs for the girls, where they are to remain until their twelfth year; at theſe ſchools are taught the elementary branches of reading, writing, and the firſt elements of arithmetic: a central ſchool is eſtabliſhed in each department, with nine profeſſors, to teach ancient languages, natural hiſtory, belles lettres, mathematics, drawing, experimental philoſophy, grammar, and legiſlation; the profeſſors are not choſen by patronage but by a departmental jury; they have a ſtipend equal to that of the adminiſtrators of departments, and may retire upon the ſtipends after twenty-five years ſervice. Each central ſchool has a library and librarian, a cabinet of natural hiſtory, an apparatus of experimental philoſophy and a botanical garden. There are beſide ſpecial ſchools for particular profeſſions as the military and mechanical. Five ſpecial ſchools for the higher ſciences as aſtronomy, medicine, and ſurgery; theſe ſchools to be augmented to ten. There will alſo be a ſpecial ſchool for the oriental languages: education in all theſe ſeminaries to be at the public expence, and every individual has a right to ſend his child, but the parents if able muſt ſupport the child. The national inſtitute has no authority over the ſchools.

During the progreſs of theſe important tranſactions in the capital, the affairs in the departments were undermined by conſpiracy, and at length revolt was once more kindled on the ruins of Vendee. The conduct of the leaders of the inſurgents even in their ſurrender was gloomy, ſullen, and ſuſpicious; it was the ſubmiſſion of a broken hope, that truſted to fortune for a future reparation; it was not the return of virtue to the ſober path of peace from the conviction of a tempory deluſion, but the accommodation of diſappointed fanaticiſm to a pauſe which promiſed more ſucceſs by hypocriſy than open conflict. The truce was a perfidious one, and accepted only to retrieve the waſted ſtrength and reſources of the rebels. The republican generals never failed to declare theſe ſentiments, and to caution the government againſt an implicit confidence in the attachment of the revolters. The ſubmiſſion of the Chouans was not completed at the latter end of March, when a ſtrong body of royaliſts took poſſeſſion of Fremont, notwithſtanding the inhabitants of that town reſiſted them. General Beauregard, however expelled them thence, without more than eight lives loſt. It was aſſerted that theſe men did not belong to the leaders who ſubmitted; the truth was, that as they eſcaped into the woods of Jumaux it could not be determined to whom they belonged, or wherein their views agreed with, or differed from the others. Little trouble however occured from thence to the middle of May; on the thirteenth of that month, Ruelle who had been the moſt ſucceſsful deputy in producing the ſubmiſſion of the inſurgents, reported to the convention that the Chouans had delivered up a million of *forged aſſignats* that had been recently landed from an Engliſh ſquadron, which hovered on the coaſt of ancient Brittany. This circumſtance teſtified at leaſt the ſincerity of ſome of the reconciled people. But it ſoon appeared that this fleet was engaged in a ſecret and cloſe correſpondence with the royaliſts in Vendee, that a plan which was ſometime forming in England, was now about to be unfolded, and that numbers of emigrants had already been landed on various parts of the French coaſt. The government had early intelligence of the ſcheme carrying forward in England, and the commiſſioners in the departments, were enabled in May not only to detect the correſpondence, but to ſeize upon Cormartin and ſix others of the Chouan chiefs concerned. The correſpondence ſhewed that the conſpiracy was of unuſal extent, that immenſe preparations were making of arms, ammunition, ſtores, and clothing, which with all the emigrants in England, and a vaſt ſum of money were to be ſpeedily brought in a powerful Engliſh fleet. About the latter end of May the Chouans began to embody in conſiderable force, and they blockaded Grand Champ on the twenty-ſeventh, with a body of 1200 men. The deputy Bue, however, attacked them impetuouſly the next day with a body of republicans, and coming up with the army of the Chouans, amounting to 6,000 men, encamped at the old caſtle of Reſte, ſurpriſed the chiefs of the Chouans in their beds, defeated the whole body and diſperſed them.

In England the preparations for this grand expedition were carried on at an expence and with a ſyſtematic order, that appeared to promiſe ſome ſtroke that would change the fate of the war. The emigrants were embodied into regiments, called of D'Autichamp, De Viomeſnil, De Bethiſy, De Montemarte, De Caſtries, De Dreſnay, and De Hervilly, theſe corps were in Engliſh pay; and their eſtabliſhment was guaranteed in a formal compact executed by the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate, Grenville, the Engliſh ſecretary at war, Windham, and the emigrant French duke De Harcourt. The principal projector of this new inſurrection according to an intelligent royaliſt writer,* was a Monſieur

* Malet Du Pan.

Rouer, and the deſign he conſiders as meriting the greateſt admiration for its extent and object. The Engliſh miniſter of war Windham had entered into the deſign with all his ſoul, and a Monſieur Puiſſaye, who had before been conſpicuous for his utter incapacity, was the perſon choſen to conduct it. With this man was united the count D'Hervilly a man of military reputation. By a ſtrange combination of contradictions, Puiſſaye was not to command until he reached the French coaſt, meanwhile the embarkation and conduct of the expedition was entruſted to D'Hervilly, who on landing was to become quarter-maſter general to Puiſſaye. D'Hervilly did not it appears ſolicit to be employed in this ſervice, but had been ſent for to the Rhine, as well as the count de Sombreuil, by the Engliſh miniſters. Theſe two officers were young and much diſtinguiſhed in their profeſſion, and went on this ſervice not ſo much from a confidence in its utility, as from a ſenſe of honor which would not permit them to recede from danger.

It was determined that 4,000 of the troops ſhould be embarked on board a ſmall ſquadron under the command of commodore Warren, as the advanced guard of this expedition. This was effected in the beginning of June, and the ſquadron conſiſting of two ſhips of 74 guns, ſix frigates, with a number of tranſports having the troops on board, arrived on the coaſt of France on the ſixteenth of that month, and anchored between the iſland of Dieu and Normoutier. D'Hervilly, who had little previous knowledge of Puiſſaye, during the voyage endeavoured to acquaint himſelf with his ſentiments and projects; but was aſtoniſhed to find that this choſen and confidential commander had no certain information of the diſpoſition of the people in Brittany, nor any determinate idea of the place in which an impreſſion was to be made. He therefore determined in his own mind upon two points in the bay of Quiberon, thoſe of Crac and Carnac. On the twenty-fifth of June the fleet conducted by a pilot-boat which carried a white flag entered the bay of Quiberon, and anchored there. D'Hervilly landed here to obtain information in his department, and ſeveral ſpies were ſent abroad. D'Hervilly held ſeveral conferences with the inhabitants in the village of Carnac, but from what he learned, nothing flattering to the project was apparent, and he ſignified as much to the Engliſh commodore and Puiſſaye; but they were of a contrary opinion, and on the evening of the twenty-ſixth the boats of the fleet were manned, and the ſoldiers to the amount of 2500 were embarked on them, and continued ſo all night ready for action. At break of day they made good their landing near the village of Carnac. Two hundred republicans made a feint ſhew of reſiſtance, and it was juſtly ſuppoſed that this muſt have been only an advanced guard of a larger body, or elſe the country muſt not be in that ſtate of readineſs to aſſiſt the landing which was alleged. The troops were put into cantonments in the villages. Puiſſaye fixed his head quarters at Geneſe, a very good poſition, the loyal emigrants occupying the front, other corps on his right and left, and both flanked by the bay, the artillery being in the rear of the half circle. D'Hervilly with a few horſe reconnoitred the neighbourhood, and at a ſmall but important poſt of mount St. Michel, found the white flag flying as well as at Carnac; he continued his circuit as far as Plouarnal, which the republicans had abandoned the ſame morning; here he was informed that the blues, (the republicans) had retired to Aurai and Landevan, two leagues diſtant. The troops continued in this ſituation to the ſecond of July. Bodies of men dreſſed as peaſants daily came in to ſee the army, and profeſſing to partake of their triumphal landing; to theſe arms were diſtributed, and other neceſſaries, without diſcrimination of age

or ſex, even the women were furniſhed. In this way more than 28,000 muſkets were diſpoſed of. Some detachments of grenadiers and Chouans had been detached to Landevan and Mindon to cut off the communication with L'Orient and Vannes. Here it was that the Chouans began to ſhew how little dependance there could be placed on them; for a corps of between two and three thouſand no ſooner ſaw a body of three hundred republicans than they threw down their arms and fled. Another body of theſe royaliſts took poſſeſſion of Aurai, but upon ſight of a few of the blue uniforms with two pieces of cannon, fled without firing a ſingle ſhot.

Puiſſaye all this time talked of reſources and ſuccour on the ſide of Rennes, and of throwing himſelf into that town. At any event it was of the firſt importance to poſſeſs a poſt which would enable the Engliſh to land all their future ſuccours and reinforcements promiſed by the Engliſh miniſtry. The peninſula of Quiberon, which forms the bay and which was itſelf defended by a formidable fortreſs, offered theſe advantages. It was protected at Saint Barbe, at fort Penthievre, by a tongue of land three leagues in length, half a mile in breadth at the wideſt part, and terminated under the cannon of the fort by a ſpace of about half a mile, which afforded no ſhelter whatever, and rendered its approach very difficult. This fort called by the republicans Sansculotte, Puſſaye determined to attack on the evening of the 2d of July. Puſſaye was to lead a corps of emigrants, Chouans, and Engliſh, from the ſhips on the point of the peninſula, while the ſhips of war ſhould cannonade the fort, at the ſame time d'Hervilly was to ſcale St. Barbe. The troops had commenced their march at duſk of the evening, but at day-break Puiſſaye ordered them to return, as the ſhips were not able to co-operate owing to a change of the wind. D'Hervilly however, was not unſucceſsful, for the fort of St. Barbe was ſurrendered to him without a ſhot being fired. It appeared however, that there was neither proviſion nor ammunition in the place, and for ſeveral days the garriſon of ſix hundred men had been reduced to a biſcuit per day. This ſucceſs was ſomewhat alleviating of the failure of the main attack. On the 3d and 4th the Chouans in the villages of Landevan, Mindon, and Aurai, and ſeveral of the emigrant poſts, were attacked by the republicans, who were obliged to abandon their poſition. The republicans appear to have had the moſt perfect intelligence of the emigrants diſpoſitions and movements.

The whole of the period from the firſt landing had been occupied by the ſhips of war and tranſports in removing the immenſe ſtores and proviſions from the ſhips; great diſorder took place among the Engliſh ſailors, and the Engliſh commiſſaries acted with a degree of inſolence and folly that cauſed general but ineffectual complaints. It was however determined that the whole of the troops hitherto cantoned, ſhould now remove within the peninſula and fort of Quiberon; but here a new blunder was diſcovered, no camp-equipage had been provided amidſt the vaſt abundance of preparation and expenditure. However in a council on the 5th it was reſolved to remove thither and make uſe of the beſt means that the exigency could provide; it was neceſſary to prevent diſorder, and to promote diſcipline. Monſieur Vauban with a few emigrants and Chouans were left in Carnac and other villages. As ſoon as the emigrants were quietly poſted within the peninſula, the republicans attacked Carnac and all the other out-poſts. A part of the emigrants ſaved themſelves on board the Engliſh boats, the reſt were purſued under the cannon of the fort. To repair this diſaſter a ſally was concerted from the fort and executed on the morning of the 7th; but the emigrants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. From thence to the 15th

the republicans were indefatigably employed in conſtructing works on the heights of St. Barbe. The moſt ſkilful of the emigrants were ſatisfied that a retreat was now expedient. But the moſt fatal blindneſs governed their leaders. Diſorder had increaſed inſtead of being cured by the removal of the troops within the peninſula. In theſe circumſtances another ſortie was determined upon.

The emigrants, Chouans, and Engliſh now within the peninſula amounted to upwards of 12,000, of theſe 5000 were ſelected for this ſervice. On the night of the fifteenth this detachment marched to attack the republican entrenchments on the heights of St. Barbe. Preparations were not wanting for their reception. They had apparently entrenched themſelves in three diſtinct camps. Their force amounting to ſix thouſand men; Vauban with a body of Engliſh and two thouſand Chouans was to make a diverſion at the point where they landed on the twenty-ſeventh of June, and to march directly and poſſeſs fort St. Michel, thence to continue his route ſo that he ſhould take the batteries of St. Barbe in the rear; the main body was at the ſame time to attack the republicans by Falaiſe. Vauban was to make ſignals by firing one rocket when he diſembarked, two on marching forward, and if obliged to re-embark to fire three rockets. The two firſt ſignals were regularly made, but upon the firſt ſhot being fired the Chouans ran to diſembark, ſwearing they could go no further and according made their way to Quiberon. The main body was of neceſſity ignorant of this circumſtance, as the three rockets were not fired.

A little before day-break the advanced guard of the royaliſts attacked the out-poſts of the republicans. They ſtormed their firſt camp; and the republicans retreated in their cuſtomary way, ſharp ſhooting; the ſecond camp was likewiſe attacked and carried in the ſame manner. No noiſe being heard in the rear it was evident that Vauban's enterpriſe did not ſucceed, and it was propoſed to ſack the two camps and retire. This advice was given by Rotalier commandant of the artillery and Langlet an experienced officer; Sombreuil alſo who had arrived only two days before with reinforcements, gave the ſame advice, and d'Hervilly who commanded, appeared diſpoſed to follow the advice, when an appearance of diſorder in the republican ranks induced him to take advantage of it, and inſtantly to order the charge. The diſorder was only a ſtratagem. But fluſhed with their firſt ſucceſs the emigrants ruſhed on to the attack of the third camp, when an immenſe maſked battery was opened in front and poured out vollies of grape ſhot upon them. The carnage was dreadful. The courage of the officers was inſufficient to keep the men in their ranks, half of which were already proſtrate on the earth, and continued to be mowed down; they diſperſed, threw down their arms, and even threw off their clothes and ſhoes to fly more ſpeedily. D'Hervilly ſeeing the diſorder of the columns on the right, had ſcarcely given the word of command of "half round to the right," when he received a ſhot which paſſed through his body, and put him out of action, he was carried on board a frigate. No ſecond had been provided. Diſorder become general, the republican cavalry charged; five pieces of the royaliſt cannon were turned upon them in their flight. To add to the ſad condition of the fugitives, the Engliſh ſhips fired broadſides on them and the republicans who purſued them. The deluded emigrants harraſſed and diſmayed, reduced to half their number entered the peninſula complaining that they had been led to butchery.

Among the circumſtances which contributed to the failure of this diſaſtrous expedition, may be reckoned the baſe intrigues of the Engliſh miniſters. Habituated to general cor-

ruption, and as it is the vital principle of the government, it ſuperinduces an extenſion of the practice to every object. In recruiting for the emigrant corps they had employed agents to viſit the priſons in which the French priſoners were confined, and by proffers of money, promiſes of promotion, and even threats of cloſer confinement, induced many hundreds to accept their offers; for it was not unſeen by the republican priſoner, that the means of treachery employed againſt his country might be made uſe of to regain his liberty, and accordingly the ſentiment ſoon became very general, and the republican priſoners who had accepted the proffered bounty returned to adviſe their countrymen in priſon of the means that offered to return to their country, but were generally treated by the generous but miſtaken republicans as traitors for even taking advantage of ſuch proffers. Theſe men however on their arrival at Quiberon ſerved the republic, more effectually than they could in priſon. They obtained information of every particular of the expedition, and by gradual deſertion communicated to the republicans the moſt minute details of the emigrant operations. Between the 16th and 20th near a hundred and fifty men had deſerted from a ſingle regiment. Hoche who commanded the republicans loſt no opportunity of improving upon their information, and the diſaſter that took place in the action was the moſt effectual. Puiſſaye during all this time lived in a ſtate of Aſiatic luxury, ſuch as he had witneſſed in his communications with his Engliſh employers; he had carried his effeminacy to ſuch extravagance and blind exceſs, that while the moſt vigilant meaſures were going on in camp to defend themſelves againſt the republicans, he had employed a great number of men in deranging a whole magazine to find under the packages a net to catch fiſh for his table; relying upon what he called his *fortunate ſtar*, he did not give himſelf the fatigue of even viſiting the poſts; but diſtributed croſſes of St. Louis, honorary medals, brevets, to officers and ſoldiers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on the 16th. He cauſed to be given out in general orders the news of ſix advantages obtained over the republicans by the Chouans under M. de Tintiniac, and became the jeſt of even his own ſoldiers for his rhodomantades.

The troops compoſing Sombreuil's diviſion lately arrived, was not diſembarked until the ſeventeenth of July. It conſiſted of the regiments of Rohan, Salm, Dumas, Behon, aud Perigord. On the evening of the eighteenth Puiſſaye ſurrounded by a number of his officers on horſeback, was approached by a number of republican officers alſo on horſeback. Both parties were deſirous of a parley, though the republicans at firſt pretended to avoid it:—However they approached—the republicans began the converſation by compaſſionating the fate of the emigrant priſoners they had taken, "all we deſire," ſaid they, "is, that you treat our wounded as well as we do yours; we have torn our ſhirts to "dreſs them.—You have loſt a worthy officer in M. Telonet, we regret him as a brave "man." At length by various obſervations that neceſſarily called forth replies, the republicans diſcovered that the information obtained from deſerters exactly correſponded with what they now learned. "Do you really believe" ſaid a republican officer to the marquis de Contades, "that with the few troops you have you can conquer us, when "200,000 bayonets could not ſucceed in the attempt."—"It is not with bayonets," replied he, "we hope to ſucceed, but by the force of opinion whoſe power you know "ſo well. We have with us millions of *money*, and proviſions to maintain an army of "20,000 men for ſix months. Very well, we will ſay even to yourſelves, come and "ſhare with us, like brothers. It is thus we will combat you, and we doubt not, but

" the good Frenchmen, who are rather miſled than criminal. will ſoon unite with us." It was propoſed to ſhake hands; the republican officer refuſed— "Not to-day," ſaid he, " we ſhall meet again;— but you ſhould write to Tallien, he is at L'Orient; you " ſhould come to an underſtanding." They parted; the emigrants were delighted with their republican opponents; who were no leſs pleaſed at the information which they had obtained.

The night of the twentieth was calculated for deeds of horror; a moſt violent weſt wind, a pelting rain prevailed; it was one of thoſe ſeaſons which favours ſurpriſes, and demands from the warrior double vigilance againſt attack; far from taking ſuch meaſures the ordinary precautions ſeem to have been neglected. M. de Falmont of the engineers, with two of the newly arrived regiments and another half battallion were on duty: but the troops were more occupied in ſeeking ſhelter from the pitileſs ſtorm, than guarding againſt an aſſault. Patroles had been obſerved by ſome officers of the guard, and in great numbers; but they were clothed in red, and had given the watch-word of the night correctly. Theſe patroles were the republicans dreſſed in the Engliſh uniform, and conducted by deſerters, perfectly acquainted with the ſtate of the fort, and of all the poſts; they had paſſed along in ſingle file, on the low level ſhore at low water, and climbing up the rocks had already reached the platform, which, a thing unheard of in military affairs, had not one centinel on duty there. Some artillery men without fire were aſleep in the guard-houſe; one of the officers hearing the footſteps ſtarted up, and ran to fire the alarm, which was to be three guns, he fired only two, when his matches were extinguiſhed, and the lanthorn which was to be hoiſted as another ſignal to the ſhips, was put out, ſo that ignorant of what was paſſing on ſhore, no movement was made by the fleet.

The ſame uncertainty prevailed in the camp, but the *generale* was inſtantly beat in the cantonments. Meanwhile confuſion prevailed in the poſt of the platform; moved partly by promiſes, partly by threats, but more eſpecially by rebukes for attacks upon their country at the inſtigation of her bittereſt enemy, conſiderable numbers of the emigrants grounded their arms and joined in the cry of *vive la republique!* Meantime the ſecond battalion of Royal-Louis, which was the neareſt in the village, under its colonel D'Atilly arrived. The commandant of the main fort aſtoniſhed at the balls from the platform falling into the entrenchment, thought it owing to ſome miſtake, and went on the glacis of the platform, cried out to the troops *vive la roi!*— and received three balls in his body.

The republican columns meanwhile were advancing along the beach, or rather in the ſea. Their left column waded up to their necks in the water, moving in that direction with a view to turn the fort entirely on the right, when a battery of three guns well ſerved threw this column into diſorder, and forced it to abandon its object, to croſs the beach and join the right column. They continued to advance, and made themſelves maſters of the entrenchments, chaſing the troops before them as they came up; one party capitulated, and laid down their arms; another covered their retreat by a conſtant fire; while the Chouans ſome wounded, and the officers whoſe ſoldiers had ſubmitmitted, embarked in the boats found near the ſhore, and with much difficulty gained the Engliſh ſhips.

The column on the right and the column in front meanwhile advanced with coolneſs and celerity, and having been joined by the left column that had been thrown into diſor-

der, the emigrants were attacked in their centre by a fire from right and left. The corps under Soubreuil was attacked by a felect corps of feven hundred grenadiers under Hoche in perfon, and they laid down their arms. It was afferted that the emigrants had no ammunition; in one of thefe conflicts however, Hoche in a public letter fays, "doubtlefs the republicans were ferved with cartridges; but it is alfo true that not one of them was fired; for our grenadiers cartridges were fo much damaged by the rain that they were obliged to throw them away, and make ufe of thofe of the emigrants which were left in their cartridge boxes flung away on the rock of Portflingen, at the foot of which feven hundred of them were drowned"

De Retalier, Contades, and Dumas endeavoured to ftop the flight and rally the fugitives, but they were driven into the fea; the two former efcaped by fwimming their horfes to the boats; Dumas and the adjutant-general Langlet periflied in the attempt. Sombreuil, whofe divifion was cantoned at the greateft diftance could take no pofition but that of a mill before St. Julian at the bottom of the peninfula. He made a ftand there for a few moments, and then retired into the fort, where he was compelled to furrender on the verge of the rock. The Engliflh fhips firing on them all the while. He advanced to the republican commander (Hoche) faying—"I afk nothing for myfelf; I furrender; "do with me as you pleafe; I only afk their lives for the brave men I command, who as "well as myfelf are the victims of perfidy and cowardice." This brave young gentleman in a letter to the Engliflh admiral fays—"M. Puiffaye having ordered me to take a pofition in which I was to wait his orders, took the fingular precaution of haftening on board a boat which he fecured for his retreat!" This bafe and contemptible man entrufted with the command of above ten thoufand men, had actually embarked at four o'clock in the morning, and employed himfelf in difcovering the number who had efcaped. Of 5000 troops of the line, only about five hundred were fo fortunate as to efcape capture or flaughter. The Chouans exceeding twice that number, including women and children, efcaped in about the fame proportion.

An Engliflh officer who was prefent writes concerning the action—"Though I have feen much active fervice, yet I never beheld fuch a fcene as the field of battle during the conteft, which lafted upwards of fixteen hours; what with the groans of the dying, the cries of the wounded, the fhouts of the republicans during the whole time, together with their revolutionary tunes, performed by extenfive bands of mufic, which refounded through the air, and in a manner ftunned our very ears!—I even now fhudder at the idea of the picture they prefented when their line was firft broken, which was quickly after the firft attack. The regiment of d'Hervilly, raifed wholly from among the prifoners of war, inftantly joined the republicans in a body, after putting their officers to death; no ftand was then made, and the poor fellows were knocked on the head one after another, as the enemy would fhew no quarter. Thofe who efcaped from the bayonet were few indeed, and thofe who did were indebted only to their heels which enabled them to efcape to the water, and there, melancholy to fay, many of them found a grave; only one regiment acted with refolution after the line was broken, they endeavoured to cover the retreat, but their bravery coft them dear as they were nearly all cut off by the bayonet."

The whole of the republican force on this occafion is ftated at no more than three thoufand; when Sombreuil was taken prifoner and informed of this difparity of numbers, he clapped his hand to his forehead and exclaimed—"ah, I fufpected it!" The writer who

relates this fact says, the emigrants conscious of the fate that awaited them, poured forth bitter imprecations of indignation against those by whom they were sent thither, and appeared to repine in their last moments at becoming the blind instruments of a power which in its hatred of France, obtained a triumph, in the destruction of Frenchmen, whichever party was successful.

The unfortunate Sombreuil, the bishop of Dol, who had been sent from England to preach up bloodshed with his brother the grand vicar, Charles Broglio son of the general and several other leaders of the traitor hirelings, to the amount of a hundred and eighty-eight were put to an interrogatory, in which every latitude was allowed them for defence or concession; these were all shot in the course of four days; many of them died crying *vive le roi*; others of them shewed marks of great pusilanimity; and this is not to be wondered at, if it is considered that according to a report made to the convention on the 27th of July, by the deputy who had been on duty at Quiberon, that the emigrants were armed with poniards, the points of which were poisoned; the experiment was made on an animal, which died of convulsions from the wound!

The republican generals who aided the intrepid young general were, Humbert, Drui, Valeteau, Lemoine, Botta (whose left foot was shot off) and the adjutant general Menage. The effects of this victory were not confined to the destruction of the emigrants, and the fatal example it held forth to them. The blow was as fatal to England, if it is only considered, that at the period when this expedition was equipped a general scarcity of provisions prevailed in England, and that the money and stores, and grain landed in France, fell all into the hands of the republicans. The profusion of arms and ammunition distributed has been already noticed. The national commissioner in writing to the convention on the subject of the capture says—"I have spent this whole day in traversing the peninsula, which contains an enormous quantity of warlike stores of every description. The *provisions* that have been abandoned by the enemy will be sufficient for the supply of the captors for six months. Arms, clothes, accoutrements, harness, and camp-equipage, are too numerous to specify in an inventory. There appears to be enough of the above to equip an army of 40,000 men!—with a proportionate number for artillery and cavalry!—Wine, oil, rum, vinegar, brandy, rice, salted meat, dried fish, soap, tobacco, sugar, tea, coffee, and biscuit, are in such abundance, that unless they are removed to the interior, they will not only be injured but our soldiers are in danger of being enervated by luxury. We have got possession of *several vessels laden with corn and rice.*" Another officer writes "The commissioners of war, and all the agents of government on the spot, are busied in making inventories of the captured stores and provisions, which are so numerous and detached, that their task cannot be accomplished in less that a fortnight; indeed if they were collected in one magazine, I doubt exceedingly whether four thousand carriages would be sufficient to remove the provisions alone to a moderate distance in the course of a month! A rough estimate has been made of their value, which exceeds 800,000,000! We have among other things whole casks of forged assignats, fabricated with so much art that a common observer could not easily distinguish the false one. Our grenadiers amuse themselves with making bonfires of them." "Their amount in nominal value was *ten thousand millions*," says another account. "Quiberon peninsula resembles Amsterdam, for the eye is feasted with the sight of immense quantities of grain, sugar, coffee, soap, clothes, ammunition, stores, arms, wine, brandy,

rum, &c. in the midſt of this abundance the republicans have not committed one exceſs." —Hoche writes that there were 70,000 muſkets, 150,000 pair of ſhoes, 20,000 hogſheads of wine, rum, brandy, &c. The priſoners taken were ſtated at one hundred and ſeventy eight emigrant officers, privates two hundred and ſixty, inhabitants of Toulon four hundred and ninety two, Chouans three thouſand ſix hundred,—total 6262. The emigrant chiefs only were tried and executed as traitors, the arms ſcattered through the country were called in, and the unfortunate and deluded inhabitants were treated with the utmoſt lenity, and their wounded taken as much care of as the republicans.

This expedition it will be ſeen was connected with the interior inſurrection in the departments, and the conſpiracies at Paris, already noticed. The ſpecious ſuppreſſion of revolt in Vendée, was now once more raiſed into a flame. Charette about this time publiſhed a diſgraceful manifeſto, in which he attempted to apologiſe for his new perfidy, charging the breach of the treaty on the convention, who, he affirmed, had agreed by a ſecret article to reſtore the monarchy in Louis XVII. and accuſing them of having poiſoned that prince to evade the execution of the engagement. It will hardly be credited, after the miſerable cataſtrophe at Quiberon, that infanity or blind animoſity could be carried further by the Engliſh miniſter; but a deſcent was actually meditated on the coaſt of ancient Brittany, with a view of co-operating with the Chouans. The Engliſh fleet with the tranſports and troops on board was kept hovering off the coaſt. In Quiberon bay a council was held, upon the ſubject of an attack on Noirmoutier, which had been formerly in the poſſeſſion of the revolters. The Engliſh commander Warren was the only man in the council who thought the enterprize practicable. It was attacked, and after burning a windmill, the aſſailants were ſo warmly received by a force of 15,000 men and one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, that they fled with the utmoſt precipitation. The Engliſh then took poſſeſſion of the ſmall iſland of Dieu, where they hoped to eſtabliſh themſelves. It proved however of no uſe but to graze their horſes, and in the month of December they were obliged to evacuate this miſerable ſtation, and their more fatal than viſionary projects. They had ſummoned Belleiſle in the courſe of the expedition but were treated with the utmoſt contempt.

The armies of the republic on the Rhine were not inactive. The important fortreſs of Luxembourg, which had been in a ſtate of blockade, from the period in which the armies of France made themſelves maſters of the circumjacent country, ſurrendered on the ſeventh of June by capitulation. This fortreſs is one of the firſt in Europe, and juſtly eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt. The garriſon conſiſted of 10,000 men, commanded by the celebrated mareſchal Bender. The poſſeſſion of this place gave the French the command of the whole left of the Rhine excepting Mentz, which had been blockaded for ſome months, and was more eaſily maintained by the Auſtrians, as the communication with Caſſel on the oppoſite ſide of the Rhine was uninterrupted. The paſſage of the river therefore was neceſſary to put the fortreſs into their hands. This enterpriſe was not undertaken until Auguſt, when the veterans had repoſed, and new diviſions joined them to partake of the glory of the campaign. Jourdan commenced his operations with the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, by taking Duſſeldorf, which ſurrendered to him, and left the paſſage of the river wholly at his command. The Auſtrians retreated and joined another corps poſted on the Lhan, between Naſſau and Nieſburg —It was while the army of Jourdan was preſſing on the Auſtrian forces to the north of Mentz,

that the army of the Rhine and Moſelle effected the paſſage of the river oppoſite Manheim, of which they immediately took poſſeſſion, as was before noticed. The acquiſition of this place was of great importance to the French, as it cut off the communication between the right and left diviſions of the Auſtrian army. Jourdan purſued his ſucceſs and attacked the Auſtrians on the Lhan, croſſed the Mein, and completed the inveſtment of Mentz.

The Auſtrian army had ample time to retrieve its depreſſion, to recover the troops from their fatigues, and to obtain reinforcements; but ſuch was the terror of the French arms, that no obſtacles appeared likely to be inſurmountable to them. The Auſtrians were retiring ſpiritleſs and dejected, when a ſudden change was wrought in their favour, which totally altered the diſheartening aſpect of the campaign, and turned the fate of war on their ſide for a time.

Subſequent events have thrown light on the myſterious cauſes of this reverſe of fortune. The ſucceſſes of the winter campaign achieved in oppoſition to the opinion and advice of Pichegru; the glories acquired by Jourdan at Fleurus, and the ſeparation of the armies in ſuch a manner as to give Jourdan the poſt of honor and enterpriſe, were ſubjects of ſevere mortification to Pichegru. The beſt underſtanding did not ſubſiſt between theſe generals, and a cordial co-operation could not therefore be expected, where the love of country could not prevail over perſonal envy, and private vanity. There is ſome reaſon to believe, that a correſpondence which was diſcovered to be carried on, at a later period than the preſent, between Pichegru, the emigrants, and Wurmſer, had commenced before this time. There is no other way to account for the conduct of Pichegru on this occaſion, unleſs by ſuppoſing him ignorant of military affairs which has not been ſurmiſed. A diviſion of his army had orders to take poſſeſſion of a poſt in order to prevent the junction of Clairfait's army with Wurmſur's; the latter had ſucceeded Cobourg, and was marching to the relief of Manheim, ſuppoſing that he ſhould arrive in ſufficient time to prevent the ſurrender of that place. The poſt was taken without difficulty as the Auſtrians retreated upon the approach of the aſſailants; a part of the French cavalry, however, having proceeded to pillage, the Auſtrians ſuddenly returned and ſurpriſed them; the French infantry for ſome time ſtood the ſhock, but they were ordered to retreat, and returned to Manheim, rendering all the advantages of the expedition fruitleſs, and leaving the communication open between the two Auſtrian armies.

Previous to this affair, Jourdan had deſired reinforcements, and Pichegru inſtead of ſending them, applied to the government, repreſenting the armies as inſufficient to perform the ſervices for which they were deſtined. The objects of Jourdan's army were to carry the war into the German empire, and relieve the left bank of the Rhine from its preſſure; Pichegru's duty was to keep the Auſtrians in check, while the ſiege of Mentz was carried on by a diſtinct body. The forces under Pichegru were more than competent to theſe ends, but the retreat of his corps to Manheim, left Jourdan no alternative between being cut off from all communication with France or a retreat. He determined on the latter. In the mean time a diviſion of the Auſtrians ſuddenly violating the neutral territory between the Lhan and Mein, had fallen on his rear, and took a conſiderable part of his artillery by ſurprize. This violation of the neutral territory was made not only in contempt of treaties, but with the knowledge and conſent of Pruſſian officers. Prince Hohenloe had, at the commencement of the Pruſſian negociation with France,

concurred in ſentiments with the Auſtrian generals, and was equally anxious to break off the negociations; it was for this purpoſe that he attacked Kaiſerſlautern by ſurpriſe, where 2,000 of the French were killed and the place taken. The Pruſſian court, however, made immediate conceſſions for this breach of faith, and the negociation was ſoon after renewed. This prince was at Frankfort, when the French paſſed the Rhine; and he it was, who encouraged Clairfait to the violation of the neutral territory and attack on Jourdan, by repreſenting the ſtate of the French poſition, and that the French general placed every reliance on the ſecurity of the neutral territory in his rear. Jourdan therefore ordered the ſiege of Mentz to be raiſed, and began his retreat acroſs the Mein. Clairfait having aſſembled various detachments on the Necker, purſued Jourdan. Pichegru who had remained inactive for ſome time, now croſſed the Rhine at Manheim, with a view to ſend the reinforcement, which Jourdan had fought before he was obliged to retreat. A ſtrong garriſon was left in Manheim. After various ſkirmiſhes Jourdan effected a very able retreat to Duſſeldorf, where he had originally paſſed the Rhine; but the garriſon of Mentz having been ſtrongly reinforced, two Auſtrian diviſions croſſed the river at different points, and attacked the remainder of the French who had been intrenched before that place, and drove them after an obſtinate reſiſtance from all their poſts, deſtroyed their works, and took their artillery.

The Auſtrians having relinquiſhed the purſuit of Jourdan, leaving ſufficient forces on the Sieg, a river on the right ſide of the Rhine, which empties itſelf into that river oppoſite to Bonn, directed the greater part of their forces towards the palatinate. They had gained poſſeſſion of that country as far as from Landau to the banks of the Moſelle, when Jourdan, aſſembling all the troops along the left ſide of the Rhine, and leaving a conſiderable force in Duſſeldorf, advanced and prevented their further progreſs in that quarter.

Terror now ſpread as far as Luxembourg, the inhabitants of which were ordered as a meaſure of precaution to proviſion themſelves for twelve months. The movements of Jourdan diſpelled their apprehenſions and checked the Auſtrian incurſions. The town of Manheim had been well garriſoned, but was beſieged with great vigor. This beautiful city, which the French had ſpared, fell a prey to the flames, the Auſtrians bombarding it with violence in revenge for the quiet and amicable ſurrender of the place to the French. The garriſon cut off from ſupplies were compelled to capitulate to the amount of 8,000 men. The Palatinate now became the theatre of war. All that part of the country which lies within the lines drawn from the Rhine between Landau and Deux-ponts, and from thence to the country lying along the Moſelle as far as Treves, was occupied by the Auſtrians. The French attacked them with great impetuoſity in order to regain their honor and the ground they had loſt; but each ſtep was vigorouſly diſputed. They, however, ſucceeded ſo far as to reduce the boundary of the Auſtrian victories within narrower limits; and the campaign was concluded by common conſent of the hoſtile generals, who agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms for three months, which was ratified by the reſpective powers.

Thus finiſhed a campaign which in this quarter had been altogether unfortunate for the French: The army of Italy had continued for the moſt part on the defenſive, having to contend with ſuperior forces. That of the Pyrenees, after peace was concluded with Spain, had been too much harraſſed to be employed immediately on diſtant ſervice. The

reverſe on the Rhine have been attributed with great ingenuity to many cauſes, the ſtate of parties and the fluctuation of opinions in the executive committees muſt have contributed to render the jarring of the generals more fatal, ſince parties were ſo moderate and ſo exactly balanced as to power and meaſures, that while energy was loſt, the ſeveral generals were ſupported even in their errors. Had the French on the Lhan been ſupported duly, the terror that their arms had inſpired would have been a potent auxiliary, and the Auſtrians muſt have relinquiſhed the Rhine for the defence of the empire; ſucceſs would have crowned their efforts. Jourdan and Pichegru had been deſired by the committees to anſwer a ſeries of queſtions which were ſent them prior to the paſſage of the Rhine, in order to determine the government what meaſures it ought to purſue in an enterprize of ſuch importance; the anſwers of Jourdan were deemed moſt ſatisfactory and enterprizing, the calculations were more clear and bold and the reſults the moſt important. The great error of the committees lay in not entruſting him with ſuch general command as would enable him to combine and ſecure all his operations. A principal object was not executed, the whole plan which reſted upon that was neceſſarily deſtroyed.

The queſtion was alſo agitated whether the reſpectable ſituation of the republic with full poſſeſſion of all the left of the Rhine except Mentz, Holland detached from the enemy, and the Belgic provinces united with France, Pruſſia detached from the coalition and Spain begging for peace; the republican armies every where victorious and the conſtitution about to be eſtabliſhed; if this was not the favorable moment to open negociations for peace for Europe? The deſtruction of the emigrants at Quiberon decided the queſtion in the affirmative. The overture was made, but Auſtria would not negociate alone, and England would not accept any overtures in which the abandonment of Belgium was not a preliminary with other articles. The reverſes of the French on the Rhine ſerved to confirm the Engliſh principles, by buoying up the hopes of Auſtria, and the truce at the concluſion of the campaign, which was acceded to with a common hope of terminating the war by an intermediate negociation, was only employed by England to contract freſh alliances and procure freſh loans for the proſecution of hoſtilities.

An Engliſh writer obſerves, that it is juſtly a matter of ſurprize, conſidering the eminent advantages poſſeſſed by England, and conſidering the diſtreſſed and diſtracted ſtate of France, during the greater part of the war, the ſucceſſes of the former ſhould have been ſo ſmall in the Weſt-Indies. England engaged in the conteſt not ſingle handed with a rival nation, but with a nation divided within itſelf, and aſſailed by all the powers of Europe beſide, France had in combination againſt her five of the moſt powerful monarchies in the world—the whole empire of Germany—the ſtates of Italy—the Dutch ſtadtholderate—principalities and powers too numerous to detail, and the reputed force and reſources of which is almoſt beyond calculation. England poſſeſſed beſide at the commencement of the war an invincible navy, and poſſeſſed in one of her iſlands an almoſt inexhauſtible nurſery of hardy men capable of being converted at will into ſoldiers and ſailors. France, ſoon after the commencement of the war ſaw the remains of her navy deſerted by her principal officers, and delivered by treachery into the hands of her enemy, and partly burned, carried off, or deſtroyed. The finances of England according to the declarations of her own miniſters "uniformly in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate; while thoſe "of France were not on the verge but in the very gulph of ruin." The foreign poſſeſſions of England alſo have been in a ſtate of quiet and proſperity; the colonies of

France distracted by dissension, and wasted by the horrors of civil war. Much therefore might have been expected, yet what has been done; a few islands purchased by the meanest artifices of seduction, and rewarded by a perfidious breach of the conditions on which they were surrendered.

On the other hand, the decree for the emancipation of the blacks, could not be expected to produce a sudden effect; that was to be operation of a wide, sensible, and effectual diffusion; the senses of the slave from infancy, can be operated upon only by the release from his pains, and the severities of a state which loses half its horrors by a total inexperience of a more happy condition; his ideas rarely extend to independence and those charms which liberty possesses to the mind habituated to freedom and its blessings. Domestic slavery carries with it something revolting to the least enlightened mind, so as to be capable of exciting the most tumultuous emotions; but it is not the idea but the actual possession for a time which actually conveys a just impression of its value. The wretches who languish under the lash, and dwindle out a miserable existence under every form of oppression—who labour that others may rest, and sow only that others may reap—these, at least could not but be expected to join without hesitation the standard which proclaims their personal independence and a release from their miseries. It was no wonder that at Guadaloupe the infamous Grey should be more rapidly expelled by the energy of those liberated unfortunates, than he acquired possession by slaves of a fairer colour. In concluding the transactions of the West-Indies for the last year, the conquest of Guadaloupe by Victor Hugues was noticed, and the resistance made at fort Matilda; this place stood out still the tenth of December 1794; when the republicans being reinforced by three thousand men, the English were compelled to evacuate the fort and island. The English in their flight however lost only sixteen killed and seventy-five wounded. On the twenty-fifth of the same month the fort of Tiburon in St. Domingo was attacked by three armed vessels from Aux Cayes. Having landed their artillery, they mounted one eighteen pounder, one of nine, two pieces of four, and one of two pounds, and commenced a brisk attack with the usual skill and dexterity of French engineers. They blew up an armed ship by their fire, dismounted and silenced the guns on the lower battery of the fort; and then assaulted the main fort itself, from whence they drove the English on the twenty-ninth with great loss.

The situation of the Dutch island St. Eustatius, as well as the quantity of naval stores which was known to be deposited there; rendered it an object of considerable moment to each of the principal parties in the war. As England had the dominion of the sea, it might have been expected that she would have made early efforts to secure the possession of it. But so much was the English ministry enveloped in the fascinating dream of the conquest of France, at Quiberon, that this important place was left wholly unprotected. In the beginning of April 1795, it was summoned by a single schooner only, with French and Batavian commissioners on board; but the governor refusing to deliver it up, they departed and shortly after returned with a force sufficient for its reduction, and it became a prize to the French republic.

The successes of the English in the outset of their enterprises, and their base conduct to those whom they had seduced to treason against their country, had by two opposite means promoted one end, a general hatred of the English. Their success irritated the republicans, and their breach of faith the royalists; and the blacks were alike enraged,

by the cruel ſale of them, after they had been freed under the French decree. Such a combination of cauſes was calculated to produce extraordinary effects. Their European force was very ſmall, but they relied on the ſpirit which the violence of the Engliſh had raiſed, to produce a very general revolt in their favor; therefore inſtead of contending for the recovery of their own loſſes, they meditated no leſs than the entire ſubjection of the betrayed and formerly ceded iſlands. In the beginning of the year perſons well acquainted with the internal ſtate of the ſeveral iſlands, were landed at St. Lucia, St. Vincent's, Grenada and Dominica, as well as at other places where the Engliſh had rule. The French planters and free people of colour in theſe iſlands were already fully informed of the ſtate of political affairs in Europe; they were informed of a general diſpoſition to free the whole Weſt-Indies from the Engliſh yoke, and ſolicited to take up arms in the general cauſe. The negroes were carefully appriſed of the decree for their liberation, and that their fellow-blacks were already free, and enjoyed the ſame rights and privileges as the whites in the French colonies; that thouſands of them were armed, and many of them in command ready to come to the ſuccour of thoſe in bondage, and they were recommended to conſider of the opportunity of ridding themſelves from their cruel taſk-maſters. The blacks were already very generally informed of what had taken place, but could ſcarcely give credit to a change ſo extraordinary and exceeding all their former hopes; theſe aſſurances and incitements were followed by a ſupply of arms, and ſeveral of the moſt intelligent of the ſlaves who were carried to the French colonies, to be free witneſſes of the ſtate of things, returned with a full and ſatisfactory confirmation of the intelligence, and animated by the ſame enthuſiaſm that pervaded the French iſlands. So active and vigilant were they, that in the beginning of March, a general inſurrection of the blacks took place in all thoſe colonies.

In St. Lucia the inſurrection was not from the firſt confined to the blacks. The white inhabitants generally had been all along, impreſſed with a ſympathy in the ſucceſſes of the revolution. The people of colour alſo generally roſe in arms, and the whole iſland except Morne Fortune, and the Carenage, was in a few days in the power of the inſurgents. On the twentieth of April the Engliſh general Stuart, who commanded at St. Lucia, proceeded to attack the principal poſt of the French at Souffriere; but in the courſe of his march he fell into an ambuſcade, wherein after ſuffering immenſely, he was fortunate enough to diſperſe the aſſailants; and purſued his march. On the twenty-ſecond he attacked them at Souffriere, but after a deſparate conflict, he was repulſed with the loſs of 200 men, beſide ſeveral officers. He was compelled to retreat, and to confine himſelf to the fort, until the beginning of July, when the iſland was totally evacuated by the Engliſh.

In Grenada the inſurrection was ſeconded by a ſmall detachment of French troops, diſpatched thither by Victor Hugues from Guadaloupe. The conflicts were frequent and the Engliſh conſtantly repulſed. The iſland, meanwhile, ſuffered all the devaſtation of war and inſurrection: but reinforcements arriving to the Engliſh, the revolters were obliged to take refuge in the heights and faſtneſſes, and a temporaneous tranquillity was reſtored, though the iſland could not be ſaid to be in poſſeſſion of England at the cloſe of this year. To complete the misfortunes of war, the iſland was viſited by that terrible epidemic, the yellow fever, always ſo fatal to the European conſtitution, and immenſe numbers fell victims to its ravages.

At Dominica Victor Hugues was alleged to have concerted the plan of its reduction with the French inhabitants; and a ſmall detachment of troops was alſo ſent thither from Guadaloupe. The Engliſh inhabitants however were numerous, and they embodied with great ſpirit; the inſurrection was in a ſhort time quelled. The ſanguinary proceedings of the Engliſh, however, was a ſad contraſt to their bravery in repelling the inſurrection. Upon the unproved allegation of the French inhabitants having concerted the revolt, numbers of them were put to death in cold blood, ſix hundred and upwards of them were baniſhed and tranſported to England, and their property confiſcated, by the mere act of the governor on *ſuſpicion* of diſaffection.

In St. Vincent's, the Charibbs, who inhabited the interior hilly parts of the iſland, and who had formerly experienced the moſt barbarous injuſtice and cruelty from the Engliſh, were the principal inſurgents. They reſiſted for a conſiderable time with great bravery and repulſed the Engliſh troops in two ſevere conflicts. As the fate of St. Vincent's appeared to depend principally on that of St. Lucia, the inſurrection could not be ſaid to be completely ſuppreſſed at the concluſion of the year.

In this period of general revolt Jamaica was not exempted from its ſhare of diſaſter. On the fourteenth of June, a dreadful fire broke out at Montego-bay, and conſumed an immenſe quantity of ſtores, and reduced the greater part of the town to aſhes. This was attributed to the diſcontented blacks. But a calamity of a ſtill more ſerious aſpect followed; a war with the Maroons, who inhabit the mountainous diſtricts of the iſland. This ſubject was no where ſo clearly developed as in a debate in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, by which it appears that the cruelty of the government excited it, and that the barbarity with which it was conducted, can be equalled only by the conduct of the Engliſh in Bengal, and in Ireland, or by the Spaniards in South America. The Maroons were a free people, who, on the ceſſion of the Iſland by the Spaniards refuſed to ſubmit to the Engliſh dominion, and their territory and privileges were both ſecured to them by a moſt ſolemn treaty. The war was ſaid in debate to originate in the following manner, and as there were the whole of the members returned by the Weſt-India intereſt, and the miniſters preſent, and neither of them attempted to contradict the facts, there can be no diſpute upon its accuracy and authenticity. By the treaty between the Engliſh and the Maroons, it was ſtipulated that none of the latter ſhould be puniſhed by the government or inhabitants of Jamaica, for any offence; but if any of them committed a crime or offence, he ſhould be given up to his own nation for trial and puniſhment. One of the Maroons had committed a petty theft; and in direct violation of the treaty, inſtead of being ſent back to his own nation to be tried, he was condemned by the governor of Jamaica to be whipped; a puniſhment conſidered by thoſe children of nature with abhorrence and peculiarly ignominious. The man returned to his nation with the odious marks of the laſh on his back. Redreſs was demanded under the obligations of the treaty, the application was received with that inſolent contempt with which weakneſs has always been treated by the Engliſh. The Maroons were only the more indignant, and regardleſs of the ſtrength of their oppreſſors, conſidered only their injuſtice and the flagrant violation of public faith—they flew to arms, inſtead of conciliatory meaſures, the ſuperior dignity of the Engliſhman over the ſavage made him conſider the very ſhew of reſentment as the laſt of crimes, and a *war of extermination* was ſolemnly proclaimed againſt them! It was not to be expected that a rude and ſimple, though a hardy and brave people,

amounting only to a few hundreds, ſhould be able to maintain their ground againſt the Engliſh force, aided by all the means of art, which give ſo much additional force to the military bodies of civilized nations; they were ſeveral times defeated, but neither vanquiſhed nor diſmayed; their hardihood was inconquerable, and their intrepidity fatal to the Engliſh troops, who could not appear before them but in numerous and compact bodies. An Engliſh officer who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſanguinary ſchool of the Engliſh army during the American revolution, lord Balcarras, was the commander of the armed force, he applied for and procured a number of *blood-hounds* from Cuba, to hunt down theſe wretched Indians. Thus the Engliſh revived in the Weſt-Indians the ſyſtem and means of barbarity which they had purſued in Ireland two centuries before, againſt the wild Iriſh, the Maroons of that day; and in the cloſe of the eighteenth eclipſed that conduct of the Spaniards in the ſixteenth, which "damned them to everlaſting fame." —To a nation ſo bereaved of all moral principle, ſo deſtitute of every regard to local obligation, ſo flagrantly indifferent to reputation, to honor, and the received laws of ſociety, exhibited ſo uniformly through the whole progreſs of this unparalleled war, the loſs of colonies and the jealouſy and final execration of mankind are but neceſſary conſequences.

Her diſaſters in the Weſt-Indies, however, were in ſome degree allayed by the ſucceſs of an expedition againſt the ſouthern ſettlements of Africa,—the Dutch colonies at the Cape of Good Hope. This rich promontory ſurpaſſing in healthineſs and temperature of climate, and productiveneſs of ſoil, has for half a century been an object of anxious ſolicitude to the commercial ambition of England: forming as it were the key of the Oriental navigation, and the *entrepot* of Aſia and Europe. The iſſue of affairs in the winter campaign of 1794 left her at liberty to purſue an object which ſhe had ſo long coveted, and accordingly a ſquadron under admiral Elphinſtone arrived there on the ſixteenth of September. The place fell an eaſy conqueſt.

The early naval operations of this year it has been ſeen, were not ſo advantageous to the Engliſh as might have been expected from the excellency of their ſhips and the exactneſs of their diſcipline. At the cloſe of the year the ſucceſs of the French was conſiderable whether conſidered in a naval or a pecuniary view. On the ſeventh of October the Engliſh Mediterranean fleet of merchantmen, conſiſting of upwards of ſixty ſail, richly laden, homeward bound, and convoyed by three ſhips of the line and four frigates, were overtaken off Cape St. Vincent by the French ſquadron under Richery, which had ſailed from Toulon for the purpoſe. On deſcrying the French fleet the Engliſh commodore made the ſignal to wear and ſtand from them. The French frigates, however, were diſpatched to intercept the merchantmen; the Engliſh ſhips of war preſſed all their ſail and the whole fleet took various directions. The Engliſh ſhips of war were the Formidable, Bedford, and Cenſeur; the latter was cut off by the French and captured; the other two eſcaped; but thirty-three of the merchantmen were inſtantly captured, and about twenty more in the chace. Richery's fleet conſiſting of nine ſhips of the line beſide his frigates. He carried his prizes including the Cenſeur into Cadiz.

About the ſame period eighteen ſail of homeward bound Jamaica ſhips were taken by the French ſquadron from Rochefort. The whole loſs of the Engliſh in veſſels captured down to the cloſe of this year amounted to upward of 3000, thoſe captured from the French did not exceed 800!

Such was the close of the transactions of this momentous year. To look back only to that period, when in the blindness of arrogance the English ministers compelled the French minister Chauvelin to leave England; to consider the moderation, the almost unexampled humility of France, in sending Talleyrand with Chauvelin, and with a letter in the hand-writing of the unfortunate Louis the XVI. addressed to the English king, beseeching him to act the part of umpire and mediator, not to interfere hostilely, but to compose by his influence the differences between France and the empire; to consider France even after these fruitless efforts authorising Chauvelin, and dispatching Maret expressly for the purpose of offering to England her choice of the French colonies in the East or West-Indies as the price of peace—Maret, who was to be subsequently the minister appointed to receive the humble supplications of England for peace, ordered contemptuously to depart and told that England had already colonies enough and wished not to be burdened with more!—And who will not deplore the blindness of ambition.

The suspension of arms was not productive of the peace that had been expected, the treasures of England were not yet exhausted, and the reverses of the last campaign, with the secret schemes of corruption which were during the armistice carried on with double diligence by the allies, promised them in the approaching campaign a prospect which could not be in their minds realized by any treaty with the rulers of France. Meanwhile the French directory having consolidated the powers of their government, and set it in motion; their first plans for the approaching campaign were laid with an address and design that rivalled or surpassed the great combinations formed by the committees of the convention.

A. D. 1796.] The preparations of both parties were stupendous; each had collected vast magazines, and augmented their forces; and notwithstanding France had still to contend with the insurrection in Vendée and the Western departments, her measures for extending the operations of war across the Alps were neither abated nor impeded; the republican army of Italy which possessed only a few posts on the shores of the Mediterranean, between Nice and Genoa, had been considerably recruited, and bent its attention to the complete conquest of Piedmont, so soon as the armistice should be concluded.

The civil war which had proved more injurious to the republic, than even the efforts of all Europe, was now drawing to a close. The vigor and decision displayed in annihilating the invaders at Quiberon, was calculated to produce a powerful impression on Charette, Stofflet, and those other chiefs, who, after being admitted to treat with the government as with a foreign power, had again seduced the inhabitants from peace and allegiance. It was necessary to quell this insurrection before the campaign opened, at once to quiet the nation and to leave its forces at liberty to act against the external enemy. The directory with great propriety selected the conqueror of Quiberon for this service; and Hoche proved himself here as well as on the former occasion possessed of the courage and talents necessary to accomplish an enterprize so critical.

Stofflet, had issued proclamations wherein he signified to the insurgents, that the pacification which had been entered into was only to procure means to carry on the revolt with more effect, and asserting that the republic was actuated only by a desire to quiet them, and to cut them off individually in the moments of peace. The revolt, however, was not so general, though it was more ferocious and destructive than before; indis-

criminate pluuder and maſſacre marked their ſteps, and to excite their vengeance it was crime enough to covet peace.

The conflict however was of ſhorter duration, after ſeveral defeats of the various rebel armies, the faithleſs leaders Charette and Stofflet were taken on the twenty-ninth of March, and put to death; ſoon after the remainder of the inſurgents comprehended under the names of the armies of the Sun and of Jeſus, Chouans, and Vendeans, harraſſed on every ſide, ſubmitted to the forces of the republic, and peace was finally reſtored to thoſe beautiful but deſolated departments.

In the ſouth the campaign opened on the ninth of April. During the former campaigns the mountains of Piedmont ſeemed to oppoſe an inſurmountable barrier to their progreſs. The van-guard of the Alps only had been ſcaled, and the proſpect before them with the prejudices of ages preſented a perſpective of difficulties which ſeemed inſurmountable to men not actuated by the genius that now animated France. The coaſt from Nice to Genoa had preſented few military obſtacles, but the grand deſigns of France extended to the conqueſt and regeneration of Italy. The poſſeſſions of the emperor in that enſlaved region preſented an object upon which the arms of France could at once ſtrike a deciſive blow on their immediate enemy, and extend her own ſtrength and glory by reviving in the minds of the Italians the remembrance and reſtoring to them the poſſeſſion of liberty. But the paſſage was blockaded by the Auſtrian and Sardinian armies, who had apparently taken the moſt effectual meaſures to prevent the further progreſs of the republican legions.

But the army of Italy was entruſted to a youthful officer, who had not yet led an army, but who had given ſuch indications of genuis and heroiſm at Toulon and elſewhere, as to promiſe from him the moſt glorious ſucceſſes. The firſt action of the preſent campaign took place near Savona, on the ſhores of the Mediterranean. The French occupied a poſt near Voltri, ſix leagues from Genoa. Beaulieu attacked a diviſion of the French and drove them back to their lines near Savona, where preſuming on his firſt ſucceſs he hoped to cut off that diviſion. Buonaparte who had foreſeen this retreat, had ſtrengthened his poſts on the flanks of the Auſtrians. The poſt of Monte-Notte, lying between Voltri and Savona, had kept the Auſtrians in check, and it was neceſſary to the deſign of Beaulieu that he ſhould take this poſt before he could cut off the retreating diviſion; this he loſt no time in executing. Buonaparte ſeeing that it would be a part of the Auſtrian general's project to attack him with his whole force, detached general Maſſena with his diviſion in the night, to gain the Auſtrian rear. Beaulieu as had been foreſeen, having reinforced his army, began the attack at break of day. The action became general and ſevere, and the ſucceſs was uncertain for ſome hours, when the diviſion of Maſſena appeared on the left and rear of the Auſtrians. Unable to withſtand the ſhock, the enemy was thrown into confuſion, completely routed, and purſued by the republicans to Cairo. The enemy loſt 3,000 men killed and 2,000 taken priſoners.

Buonaparte improving upon his victory puſhed forward and took poſſeſſion of Cairo. This poſt is on the river Bormida, and commands the roads leading into Turin and Lombardy. The Auſtrians retreating along the mountains to the left of this river, halted at Milleſſimo, the defiles leading to which were immediately forced by general Angereau on the eleventh of April, who ſurrounded a diviſion of 1500 grenadiers, commanded

by the Auſtrian general Provera; but this officer threw himſelf into the ruins of an old caſtle on the ſummit of Mount Caſſaria, where he formed entrenchments. After a ſevere cannonade a general attack was made in four columns on this poſt, in which the French were repulſed with the loſs of two generals who commanded in the aſſault. Provera keeping firm in his poſition, ſtopped the progreſs of the republicans for five days, and gave time to the Auſtrians to recover from their panic and recruit their force. On the fifth day the two armies prepared for a general action. Angereau, who commanded the left wing of the French army, ſtill held Provera blockaded. The Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe attempting to force the centre were repulſed with great loſs; and their left wing which was flanked by the village of Dego, where they were entrenched, was turned by general Meſſena. General Laharpe, in the meantime, paſſing the Bormida with his diviſion in cloſe columns, ſucceeded in turning the right flank of the left wing of the Auſtrian army; and while the diviſion under general Cervoni marched directly towards the centre, general Boyer, with a third diviſion, threw himſelf into their rear, with a view to cut off their retreat. The Auſtrians loſt upward of 10,000 men in this action, of whom 8000 were priſoners, with thirty-two pieces of cannon and fifteen pair of colours; and general Provera, with his garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war.

On the following day, while the French were indulging themſelves after the fatigues of the battle, they were ſurpriſed at Dego, by general Beaulieu, at the head of ſeven thouſand men. The French were diſlodged, and were repulſed by the enemy three ſeveral times, with general Maſſena at their head, in their attempt to retake it. General Cauſſe, whilſt rallying his diviſion in this affair, was mortally wounded. The day had far advanced before the action was decided. The enemy behaved with an uncommon valor and conſtancy, but the general in chief Buonaparte placed himſelf at the head of the troops, harangued them, and then led them on; the Auſtrians were forced at all points, with the loſs of two thouſand men. After this victory, the Piedmonteſe precipitately withdrew from Monteſimo, in conſequence of which Angereau was enabled to effect a junction with the diviſion that had penetrated acroſs the mountains from Oneglia, and afterwards marched on to attack the enemy's intrenched camp at Ceva, of which after a ſlight reſiſtance he took poſſeſſion as well as of the town. The Piedmonteſe in retreating towards Turin had taken an advantageous ſituation at the confluence of the rivers Cunaglia and Tanaro, on the banks of which they had placed batteries to render their flanks unaſſailable; by this means they were enabled to concentre all their force in the night, and forced the French left wing to retreat; when Maſſena croſſing the Tanaro near Ceva in the night of the twentieth of April, marched along its banks to the village of Lozengo, Buonaparte having made diſpoſitions to reach Mondovi; the Piedmonteſe general Colli apprehenſive of the iſſue of an action where he might be ſurrounded, took advantage of the night to decamp; but at break of day he was intercepted at the entrance of the village of Vies; the centre redoubt which covered the Piedmonteſe retreat was taken, and Mondovi the ſame day. The Sardinian troops paſſed the Stura, between Coni and Cheraſco, extending their line to each of theſe towns, while the Piedmonteſe general eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Foſſano, a ſmall town lying between both. The attack was general along the river. Cheraſco ſtrong by nature and more ſo by works was evacuated. Foſſano ſurrendered, and Angereau took the town of Alba.

The Piedmonteſe finding it now impoſſible to withſtand the force of the republicans, retreated farther towards Turin, from whence the French were now diſtant but twenty-four miles; general Angereau was alſo about to paſs the Tanaro, on the right flank of the retreating army. Thus ſituated, with no proſpect of effective defence for the capital, general Colli, on the twenty-third of April, propoſed a ſuſpenſion of arms, while his Sardinian majeſty ſhould ſend his miniſter to Genoa to treat for a peace with the ambaſſador of the republic. Buonaparte dictated the conditions, and the ſuſpenſion of arms took place, Turin being ſaved by this timely ſubmiſſion. Having put the French in poſſeſſion of the fortreſſes of Coni, Aleſſandria, and Tortona, conformable to the ſtipulations of the armiſtice, the Sardinian king ſent his miniſters to Paris, who concluded a treaty of peace on the ſeventeenth of May. As Piedmont lay altogether at the mercy of the conquerors, they had it in their power to dictate the conditions. He agreed to relinquiſh in the moſt unequivocal manner the combination againſt France; to renounce for ever all claim to Savoy, Nice, and the country now forming the department of the maritime Alps; to form new lines of boundary, and grant an entire and general amneſty to all his ſubjects who were under coercion for political opinions. In addition to the places ſtipulated in the armiſtice, which were to be put into the poſſeſſion of the French, other fortreſſes on the frontiers of France and of Lombardy were put into their hands, and thoſe of Suſa and Brunetta were to be demoliſhed at his own expence, under commiſſioners appointed by the directory. By this means they enſured what they claimed by another article of the treaty, a free paſſage for their troops into Italy. To fill up the meaſure of his juſt humiliation, he engaged to apologiſe by his miniſter, for the conduct obſerved towards the late ambaſſador of France, and to diſavow the inſult thus offered the republic. This example of humiliation was never more deſervedly inflicted; his weakneſs which ſhould have been a leſſon of prudence, was only equalled by his arrogance; he had been the moſt inveterate and deadly enemy of the revolution; the moſt obſtinate in refuſing terms of accomodation; and during three campaigns had oppoſed the ſtrongeſt barriers to the entrance into Italy. His humiliation and ſeparation from the confederacy was another omenous warning to the allied powers.

The paſſage of the Alps by ſuch apparently inadequate means, in the face of ſo formidable an enemy, has been juſtly conſidered with aſtoniſhment and admiration. The plan which Buonaparte had conceived, with all the temerity of genius and with all the foreſight which belongs to the new tactics of the republic, of dividing the Auſtrian and Piedmonteſe armies in the very centre of the enemies country, and in poſitions which were judged impregnable, were executed with equal intelligence and intrepidity. In this arduous enterprize, Buonaparte was ably ſeconded by the zeal of his generals, each of whom led on his reſpective diviſion with that addreſs and preciſion which could alone have inſured ſucceſs in a war carried on among ſo many natural impediments as the Alps preſent. The battles of Monte Notte and Milleſimo, the movements and ſkirmiſhes, the detail of the various manœuvres, the juctions of diſtant columns, and the good poſitions choſen in this chaos of mountains, by young and comparatively inexperienced commanders, are worthy of fixing the attention of the beſt inſtructed military men. But what will not fail to excite the admiration of poſterity, as it has already forced from their enemies the moſt general applauſe, and from their fellow-citizens the livelieſt affection, was the valorous and generous intrepidity with which their truly republican generals

encountered dangers and difficulties in common with their fellow-ſoldiers, by marching at the head of their columns, devoting their lives and ruſhing into the front of danger, thus inſpiring their fellow-citizens under their command with that contempt of death which has raiſed them into heroes, and carried them beyond the bounds even marked for their courage to ſurmount.

After the defeat of Dego, Beaulieu had retreated to the cities of Coni, Aleſſandria, and Tortona, now ceded to the French; upon his ſeparation from the Piedmonteſe, he occupied that poſition to cover the Milaneſe. Conſtrained to evacuate theſe fortreſſes he paſſed the Po at Valenza, and laboured with great diligence to defend the paſſages of that river, as well as of the Gogna and Teſſino; judging by the convention of the French general with the Sardinian king, and the delivery of Valenza, that he meant to effect his paſſage at that place. Buonaparte favoured this miſtake by making a variety of feigned preparations and evolutions on that ſide; the Auſtrian general accordingly waited the attack on the left ſide of the Po, while Buonaparte had puſhed on to Caſtel St. Gioamei, on the right ſide of the river, with a detachment, and had advanced twenty leagues into Lombardy before his march was diſcovered. Mareſchal Beaulieu on diſcovering his error advanced with rapid marches along the Po, in the hope of arriving in ſufficient time to prevent the paſſage, whenever Buonaparte ſhould attempt to effect it. But the French general had reached Placentia early in the morning of the ſeventh of May, the day after his departure from before Valenza, and having ſeized on the boats, barges, and rafts at that place, the whole of the army effected the paſſage in the courſe of the day. Buonaparte having detached parties along the river to guard againſt any movement of the enemy, learned that a conſiderable diviſion of the Auſtrians were approaching to oppoſe the paſſage; he accordingly marched with the forces that had already paſſed, and met them at Fombio, where they had entrenched themſelves with twenty pieces of cannon. After a vigorous reſiſtance, the Auſtrians were compelled to retreat with conſiderable loſs. In the mean while another body of Auſtrians were advancing to ſupport the beaten diviſion, and had reached the head-quarters of general Laharpe, at Codogno. An action took place in which the Auſtrians were repulſed, but the French loſt in general Laharpe a brave intrepid officer and a true republican, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at Monte-Notte and Milleſimo with peculiar valour. In 1791, he had been condemned to death by the magiſtracy of Berne for his attachment to the French revolution, he being then an inhabitant of the country of Vaud. General Berthier arrived in the courſe of the action, he took the command and purſued the enemy to Caſſel, of which he took poſſeſſion.

The dukes of Parma and Modena on whoſe territory the French had entered, and who did not expect ſo ſudden an attack, were compelled to demand a ſuſpenſion of arms, which was granted on condition of paying 10,000,000 of livres to repleniſh the exhauſted magazines of the army, and of contributing to the national muſeum of Paris a certain number of the moſt celebrated paintings, at the choice of the general or commiſſioners named for the purpoſe, and finally ſending ambaſſadors to Paris to ſue for peace.

The Auſtrians defeated at Fombio, had made good their retreat to Lodi, on the river Addi, where Beaulieu had concentred his forces. On the approach of the French, they had abandoned the town with ſo much precipitation that they had not time to deſtroy the bridge, which was, however, defended by a conſiderable artillery; and the imperial

troops were drawn up in line of battle to prevent the paſſage. On the tenth of May, a ſevere cannonade took place for ſome hours; but the ſhew of reſiſtance appeared ſo formidable on the part of the Auſtrians, that the French generals were for ſome time undecided with reſpect to the manner of the attack. To paſs the bridge in the face of day and the Auſtrian army poſted ſo advantageouſly, was incurring certain deſtruction to numbers; and therefore in the deliberation which took place between the French generals, the majority were of opinion that the paſſage ſhould be attempted at places at ſome diſtance both above and below the town, where the reſiſtance would be conſiderably weakened, if not rendered ineffective. Buonaparte, however, full of confidence in his army, and feeling that delay was more injurious to his plan of operations, than the loſs to be incurred by marching up to the batteries of the Auſtrians, gave peremptory orders that the attack ſhould be made by the bridge. Accordingly before day break, the army prepared for the enterprize, and a column of carabineers, followed by a battalion of grenadiers, paſſed the bridge half way before they were perceived by the enemy. A general diſcharge from the Auſtrians deſtroyed about 700 men; the advanced body of the column was ſtruck with a ſudden terror, and ſtopped ſhort; but animated by the cries of *vive la republique* from their generals who ſaw their danger, and who advanced at their head, they ſoon rallied; the reſiſtance was ſtill terrible, and the republicans were in ſeveral inſtances ſhaken, notwithſtanding their generals carried the tricolor flag in front and called upon them to follow; it was in a critical moment when all theſe incentives had not produced the deſired effect, that Buonaparte, ſeized a ſtandard and ruſhing to the head of the column, by his voice, geſture, and example animated the republicans to the higheſt enthuſiaſm; they ruſhed forward with impetuoſity, ſeized the Auſtrian artillery, broke through the lines, and threw the Auſtrians into ſuch conſternation that they fled in the utmoſt diſorder. The victory was at once ſplendid and deciſive. The loſs on both ſides was conſiderable, that of the French was the moſt numerous, but the effect of this victory had a ſignal influence on the whole courſe of the Italian war; the valor of the French at Fleurus, at Gemappe, and at Maubege, was rivalled here, and the battle of Lodi became in ſubſequent periods the rallying word of honor, of victory, and glory. Buonaparte loſt no time in purſuing the fugitives, with one diviſion, while with another he entered Milan, which ſurrendered without reſiſtance on the eighteenth of May, and all Lombardy became ſubject to the victors by this ſignal battle.

On the ſide of the Rhine the Auſtrian commander announced to the French general, the termination of the armiſtice on the thirty-firſt of May. The imperial troops were in poſſeſſion of the larger portion of the palatinate from Landau to Bingen. The army of the Rhine and Moſelle, and the right wing of the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, prevented them from penetrating from the banks of the Moſelle to Luxembourg, while the left wing of the latter was intrenched at Duſſeldorf, on the right or German ſide of the Rhine. Mentz alone was neceſſary to the French poſſeſſion of the whole of their ſide of the Rhine, and it appears to have been conſidered as one of the greateſt objects of the campaign. Their firſt operations were ſucceſsful. While the Auſtrians were attacked in the Palatinate, the army before Duſſeldorf aſcended the banks of the Rhine on the German ſide, and on the firſt of June, attacked the Auſtrians in their trenches on the Seig, a river which empties itſelf into the Rhine nearly oppoſite Cologn;



GENERAL BUONAPARTE.

From a Print in the Possession of Mons. Chaboz.

the Auſtriaus were driven from their poſition with loſs, and the French croſſed the Seig. This victory was followed by another ſtill more deciſive at Altenkirchen, on the fourth of June, a village a few miles from the Seig on the road to Mentz; where the imperial troops, under the prince of Wirtemberg, were ſtrongly poſted, to prevent the dangerous progreſs of the republicans in that direction. The Auſtrians after conſiderable loſs were compelled to croſs the Lahn, a river emptying itſelf into the Rhine, above the fortreſs of Ehrenbreitſtein; and ſtill farther on the road to Mentz. The French croſſed this river alſo in purſuit of the enemy, and inveſted Ehrenbreitſtein, a place of uncommon ſtrength, when the archduke who now commanded the imperial armies perceiving the danger of ſuffering the republicans to advance farther in the rear of the army, found it neceſſary to change his mode of defence, and concert another plan of operations. About the eihgth of June he withdrew the greater part of the imperial troops from the Hundſruck, where he had held in check the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, under Moreau; and leaving Mentz and Manheim, which he had hitherto covered with the moſt conſiderable part of his forces, with a ſufficient number to repel any ſudden attacks, marched acroſs the Rhine, with ſuch reinforcements as now rendered the Auſtrian army on the right ſide, which had hitherto been retreating, greatly ſuperior to the aſſailants. This well concerted ſcheme was ſuppoſed to be a flight by the French in the Palatinate. But Jourdan, who had hitherto been purſuing the Auſtrians was ſuddenly attacked by this combined force, and compelled to retreat to his former poſition near Duſſeldorf, having through the badneſs of the roads and the ſuperiority of the force againſt him ſuffered ſeverely.

Jourdan retired within the lines of Duſſeldorf, and Moreau recroſſed the Rhine at Nieuwied. The evacuation of the Palatinate by the Auſtrians, left the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, which took poſſeſſion of the evacuated territory, once more in the preſence of Mentz and Manheim, without any poſſibility of gaining any advantage by its poſition.

Theſe changes of circumſtances rendered a new plan of operations neceſſary on the part of the republicans. While the imperialiſts which had been left to cover the Rhine, and the garriſons of Mentz and Manheim ſuppoſed themſelves to be holding the army under Moreau in check, he kept up a ſemblance of hoſtilities, and feigned preparations for a ſerious attack in that quarter, while he was really drawing off his troops in ſmall bodies by ſecret and forced marches, and had actually arrived at Straſbourg before the enemy knew that he had changed his poſition, on the twenty-fourth of June. The object of this expedition was to effect the paſſage of the Rhine at that city, and to gain the ſtrong fort of Khel on the German ſide of that river.

Moreau had propoſed to make his attack in different places; but a ſudden encreaſe of the river prevented the execution of this plan; the river abounds with ſmall iſlands at this place, ſeveral of theſe neceſſary to his project were covered with water, and the reſt occupied and defended by the Auſtrians, which rendered the acceſs ſtill more difficult. He had taken precautions to conceal his deſign from the enemy, as the leaſt ſuſpicion would have fruſtrated it; but the unexpected obſtacles that now preſented themſelves only induced him to ſupply by courage and enterpriſe what he expected to effect by addreſs. Having made preparations for the paſſage during the night, and finding it impoſſible to effect a landing immediately on the oppoſite ſhores from the rapidity of the current,

he began his attack on the iſlands in the middle of the river; of which he gained poſſeſſion after a ſhort ſtruggle, and ſeized on the bridges communicating with the main land, which the Auſtrians had not in the precipitation of their flight time to deſtroy. The French made good their landing, but they were deſtitute of cavalry or artillery, ſince it was impoſſible to tranſport either from the oppoſite ſide. The rapidity of the current prevented the eſtabliſhment of any bridge, and the only reſource that appeared was that of ſending back the boats for the reſt of the army.

This was effected under all the circumſtances of peril and difficulty. A few pieces of ſmall cannon were removed from the Auſtrian batteries on the iſlands, more for ſhew than for actual ſervice. The firſt redoubts were attacked by the republicans in a novel manner, they literally buried the Auſtrians under the heaps of ſtones with which they aſſailed them. The artillery taken on the firſt redoubts were turned on the ſucceſſive ones, and the Auſtrians finding themſelves overwhelmed by the impetuoſity and inceſſancy of the ſtorm, ſaved the remainder of their troops by abandoning the fortreſs to the victors. This brilliant and hazardous enterpriſe not only opened the paſſage into the Briſgau to the French, but as the Auſtrian diviſion under Wurmſer had been greatly weakened by detaching a conſiderable force to the aſſiſtance of the army in Italy, this gallant ſtroke, independent of other collateral advantages, made a powerful diverſion in favour of Jourdan, and enabled him to re-commence offenſive operations, as the archduke was obliged to make a movement to reinforce Wurmſer. Moreau immediately tranſported his artillery and cavalry acroſs the Rhine, by means of a bridge which he conſtructed, and detached parties to forage and ſcour the Briſgau. They drove the Auſtrians from ſeveral poſts and camps in the ſurrounding country, and likewiſe prevented the junction of the detachments ſent by general Wurmſer from Manheim with the army of emigrants under Condé, who were ſtationed along the Upper Rhine.

The archduke leaving behind him general Wartenſleben with ſuch a force as he deemed ſufficient to check Jourdan's progreſs, marched with a conſiderable body to join Wurmſer, and check Moreau's operations in the Briſgau. Moreau, appriſed of this march, determined to attack Wurmſer before he was reinforced; which he did accordingly on the twenty-eighth of June at Rinchen, a village near Philipſburg, on the road to Manheim, and gained in a general action a complete victory. A diviſion of the army under general Laroche, at the ſame time, attacked the prince of Wirtemberg at Mount Knibis, ſucceeded in diſlodging him from thence, and the various fortreſſes on the lofty and immenſe ridge of mountains which divides the circle of Suabia, under the name of the Swartzen Wald, or black-foreſt.

The battle of Rinchen was followed on the ſixth of July by that of Raſtadt, a town ſtill further on the road to Manheim. The archduke had joined with conſiderable reinforcements; the reſiſtance might therefore be expected to be obſtinate. The action commenced ſoon after day-break, and was diſputed with great reſolution and loſs on both ſides. The Auſtrians were defeated, and the French encamped on the field of battle. Driven from Raſtadt, the imperialiſts took a very advantageous poſition near the village of Ettingen; where being ſtill further reinforced they again waited for the republicans. Moreau, apprized that he had now to contend with the whole imperial force, excepting thoſe left on the Lower Rhine, to check Jourdan, called in all his diviſions from the countries they had taken, determined to attack them in their entrenchments.

It appeared from the diſpoſitions made by the Auſtrians, that this battle was deſtined to decide the ſuperiority of either party on the Rhine. Jourdan had already repaſſed the Lhan, after defeating Warterſleben, and appeared before Frankfort. The Auſtrian garriſons at Mentz and Ehrenbreitſtein and others on the Rhine, were now diſregarded by the French, who were about to paſs the Mein alſo; and the Auſtrians were every day more circumſcribed by the approximation of the republican armies on the north and ſouthern ſides.

Moreau having repoſed his troops in the neighbourhood of Ettingen, determined to attack the enemy on the ninth of July. The Auſtrian general urged by the conſciouſneſs that upon this action depended the fate of the war on the Rhine, encouraged his troops by every motive of patriotiſm, honor, and fear of ſhame, to repel the French. The Auſtrians ſtrongeſt poſition was on the heights of Rolenfolhe, and againſt this Moreau directed his principal attack, they were attacked at the ſame time at other points; the Auſtrians were animated to the utmoſt fury, and repelled the aſſailants four ſeveral times. The French were again rallied and reminded of the numbers of their fellow citizens that ſtrewed the ground before them, the paſſage of the Waal, and the glorious victory of their brethren at Lodi, were called up before them, and they were told to emulate the valor of the army of Italy, and revenge the Frenchmen that had fallen. They were ordered to employ the bayonet alone—and the effect was as terrible as deciſive; the Auſtrians were forced along their whole line; their artillery-men bayoneted at the muzzle of their cannon and they fled at all ſides.

The loſs of this battle obliged the imperialiſts to retreat into Germany, and to abandon, Mentz, Ehrenbreitſtein, Manheim, and Philipſbourg to their natural defence. A third body of French were paſſed acroſs the Rhine at Huninguen, and the French completely poſſeſſed the whole extent of country on both ſides of the Rhine excepting thoſe fortreſſes from the borders of Holland to the confines of Swiſſerland.

The laſt actions of Italy had been tantamount to the deſtruction of the Auſtrian army. Part of the diſperſed corps took refuge in Mantua, and the reſt, purſued by the victors, had taken refuge in the barren defiles of the Tyroleſe. This chain of Alps which ſeparates Italy from Germany, gave the French general leiſure to carry on his various enterprizes againſt the reſpective ſtates of Italy. The garriſon of the fortreſs of Milan ſurrendered priſoners of war. A French detachment took poſſeſſion of Leghorn on the twenty-eighth of June, where conformable to the precedent eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh government, in dictating the expulſion of the French and the ſeizure of their property there, all the Engliſh property to an immenſe amount was ſeized, and confiſcated to the uſe of the republic. Meanwhile the main army entered the territory of the Pope, and took Bologna, Ferrara, and Urbino. This expedition gave the French complete command of the poſſeſſions of the Holy Father, and ſo much alarmed the king of the Two Sicilies, that he requeſted an armiſtice, which was granted to him and the Pope under particular ſtipulations.

The conditions impoſed on the Neapolitans were chiefly thoſe of withdrawing their troops from the coalition, and their ſhips from the Engliſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean. Thoſe on the Pope were more circumſtantial and rigorous. He was compelled to ſet at liberty all perſons confined for their political opinions, to renounce the allied powers and ſhut his ports againſt them, to ſurrender to the French the cities they had

already taken as well as Ancona, the citadel of which gave them the command of the Adriatic; to pay 21,000,000, of livres, independent of the contributions to be levied on the cities, and to deliver one hundred pictures, busts, vases, or statues, at the option of commissioners to be sent to Rome for the purpose; among the statues were expresly named those of Junius and Marcus Brutus, both of which were in the capitol, and five hundred manuscripts from the Vatican library, to be selected also by the commissioners. The states of Parma and Modena had been already taxed in these articles of taste and science, and it was not to be expected that the capital of the arts, that great repository of what is most curious in the labours of the chissel and pencil should escape the industry of these victorious *dilletanti*.

The destruction of the army under Beaulieu, which had given Bounaparte the conquest of the whole nothern part of Italy, had excited the utmost consternation at Vienna, and contributed to dispirit the troops under the archduke. It was determined therefore to risk the fate of the imperial arms in Germany by a reliance on new levies, while the flower of the army of the Rhine was detached to Italy under Wurmser. On his approach the Italian powers, disconsolate under their subjection, but without having taken any effectual or sincere steps to ameliorate their fate, were once more enlivened by this new ray of hope, and fondly anticipated their delivery from the imperious sway of the republic by this hoary veteran and a new army. They were fortified in this illusion by the first operations of Wurmser. Having collected the scattered remains of Beaulieu's army in the neighbourhood of Trent and Roveredo, while he threatened an attack on the whole French line, he marched along the Adige, and on the twenty-ninth of July, fell suddenly upon the post of Salo, on the lake of Garda, and the post of Corona, between that lake and the river, which posts covered the city of Mantua. This city had been invested by the French, and the capture of these posts obliged the siege to be raised; the French lost in their retreat a great quantity of artillery and stores. After the taking of Salo, the French division having retired to Peschiera, instead of Brescia as they had been ordered; the Austrians taking advantage of this error took possession of the latter place, together with most of their magazines and hospitals, and thereby cut off their communication with Milan.

The pope on the news of this reverse of the French fortunes, sent his vice-legate to repossess Ferrara, the French having evacuated that place in order to join the army. The Spanish minister Azzara remonstrated on this breach of the armistice with the republic in vain, the vice-legate made his public entry unopposed, but when he set up the pope's arms and took down those of France, the citizens of Ferrara assembled and by force replaced those of the republic.

The position of the French was extremely critical. The garrison of Mantua was now at liberty to act on one side, while Wurmsur was marching in pursuit of Buonaparte on the other. The French general here displayed the capacity of his mind for resources in exigency. The enemy had assured themselves of surrounding him. Suddenly he withdrew his forces from Verona and all along the Adige, by a forced march threw himself with his whole army on the opposite side of Mantua, and retook Brescia with all his magizines. He then concentered his force between the lake of Garda and Mantua, at Castiglione, behind which village Wurmser had drawn up his forces on passing the Mincio. The French had thus retaken all their posts, and an action was determined upon to decide the ascendancy.

On the fifteenth of Auguſt the battle was fought with great obſtinacy and courage, and ended in the total defeat of the Auſtrians, who were compelled to repaſs the Adige, leaving the French once more in poſſeſſion of the country round Mantua. The French from want of heavy artillery could not commence a ſiege, and were therefore compelled to blockade the place. This victory is ſaid to have coſt the Auſtrians 20,000 men; the number of priſoners was very great. A large number of the unfortunate Poles, after the partition of their country had been incorporated in the Auſtrian armies, and ſent to deſtroy the libertics of France, a body of them who had been ſent under Wurmſer quitted the Auſtrian ranks in this action, with their officers and accoutrements, and were incorporated under the ſtandard of liberty, and afterwards formed into a legion. During this engagement which laſted ſeveral days, the inhabitants in Milan, by offering, in the moment when victory was yet doubtful, to organize battalions and march to the common defence, gave very ſtriking evidence of the earneſtneſs with which the Italians embraced the French cauſe; which was ſo much the more unequivocal as the defeat of the French would have rendered the Auſtrians complete maſter of Lombardy.

Though Wurmſer's army was conſiderably weakened by his defeat, he received reinforcements by way of Tyrol, which enabled him to make a reſpectable reſiſtance againſt the republicans, whoſe plan appears to have been to leave a force in the Italian conqueſts, and penetrate through Italy into Carinthia or Styria and to unite with the armies under Jourdan and Moreau on the Danube, or in the centre of Auſtria. Buonaparte having formed the blockade of Mantua with an adequate force, marched along the Adige to attack the Auſtrians entrenched at Mori, and occupying the paſſes of St. Marco. On the fourth of September after a ſevere conteſt, theſe paſſes were taken, the Auſtrians driven from Roveredo, which had long been their chief depot, and compelled to take refuge in Trent. In order to cover this city, the Auſtrian general rallied his troops at the paſs of Calliano, and had taken other poſitions which he deemed impregnable. The intrepidity and valour of Maſſena and his gallant diviſion ſurmounted theſe obſtacles, and after a long and obſtinate conflict, in which the French made ſix thouſand priſoners and took twenty pieces of cannon. this general victoriouſly entered Trent: while Wurmſer drawing of the remainder of his forces to Baſſano, collected the greater part of them in the valley of Brenta. By this manœuvre the Auſtrian general expected that Buonaparte would be led to purſue his obvious deſign of marching through Tyrol, there being no oppoſition to his progreſs; while he ſhould by rapid marches from Baſſano, fall upon the rear of the French, and by cutting of the communication between it and the diviſion blockading Mantua, with the aid of the garriſon of that city, defeat that diviſion and prevent its retreat. Buonaparte inſtead of purſuing that route, took precautions to keep the communication free with all his diviſions, he took ſeveral poſitions on the defiles of the mountains, turned ſhort to his right into the valley along the river Brenta, in purſuit of Wurmſer, and on the eight of September defeated the Auſtrians at Primocalo, at Covolo, at Ciſmone, and laſtly at Baſſano, where Wurmſer had eſtabliſhed his head quarters. Perceiving himſelf thus vigorouſly purſued, Wurmſer had no alternative but to retreat towards Trieſt, by which he muſt abandon Mantua to its fate; or make good his march to that place and reinforce the garriſon with the wrecks of his army. This latter plan ſeemed to him the moſt practicable, he accordingly preſented himſelf before Verona, where he attempted to paſs the Adige, but general Kilmaine, an

Iriſh officer, whom Buonaparte had left in that city, fruſtrated his deſign by a ſkilful movement; he was therefore obliged to ſeek a paſſage at Porto Legnano, in which he ſucceeded.

It was Buonaparte's intention to have prevented him from penetrating to Mantua, and he had taken meaſures to ſurround him and compel him to ſurrender; but Wurmſer's marches were ſo rapid that this meaſure could not be accompliſhed. Wurmſer was reſiſted and harraſſed on his march by corps from Cerea, Caſtleano, and Due Caſtelli; but as he had to contend with inferior forces, he ſucceeded in making good his way to Mantua, into which he threw himſelf with all his force. The poſts of Favorito and St. Georgio in the ſuburbs of Mantua were attacked by the French, and taken after great ſlaughter. In this attack it is computed that the imperialiſts loſt 20,000 men. This was the third army which was deſtroyed in one campaign, in attempting to reduce Lombardy once more under the Auſtrian yoke. The French being ſtill deſtitute of a battering train, were compelled inſtead of beſieging to blockade the place.

The ſucceſſes of the armies of the republic on the Rhine correſponded with thoſe in Italy. After the battle of Ettingen, which drove the Auſtrians into the heart of the empire, Moreau took poſſeſſion of Fribourg in the Briſgau, and on the eighteenth of July Stutgard, the capital of the duchy of Wirtemberg. He then croſſed the Necker in purſuit of the archduke, and after various ſkirmiſhes obſtinately fought compelled him to retreat acroſs the Danube, making himſelf maſter of the whole circle of Suabia.

Jourdan, in the meantime, had marched along the Mein through Frankfort, Aſchaffenburg, Wurtzburg, and Schweinfurt, each of which places ſurrendered at his ſummons, and having purſued the Auſtrians under Wartenſleben acroſs the Rednitz, at Bamberg, on the firſt of Auguſt he became maſter of the whole circle of Franconia; threatening at the ſame time the territories of the German princes, and among others the elector of Saxony. A diviſión of the republicans under Ferino had taken poſſeſſion of Conſtance, and of the various fortreſſes on the lake; ſo that the armies now formed one immenſe chain acroſs the whole of Germany, of which the left extended almoſt to the frontiers of Bohemia, and the right to the Tyrolean mountains, ſeparating Bavaria from Italy.

The influence of the republic in the cabinets of Europe was now as predominant as her arms in the field. The duke of Wirtemberg and the prince of Baden, whoſe territories were in the poſſeſſion of the armies, ſent ambaſſadors to Paris to treat for peace. By theſe treaties the duke of Wirtemburg, on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, engaged to withdraw and always to withold from the enemies of France his forces and ſuccours of every kind; not to aſſiſt individually or as a member of the empire in any war againſt the republic; and to renounce all claims in favour of the republic to any poſſeſſions which he might have held on the left ſide of the Rhine, The treaty with Baden was concluded on the thirty-firſt of the ſame month, the conditions the ſame with an additional ſtipulation for the free navigation of the Rhine, which had hitherto been by various arbitrary regulations ſubjected to exorbitant exactions. Theſe were followed by diplomatic arrangements of greater importance; the treaty concluded with Spain on the twenty-ſecond of July in the preceding year, and the treaty with Pruſſia, were not deemed ſufficiently important to the republic, new treaties were therefore concluded with both theſe powers. The former on the nineteenth of Auguſt, at St. Ildefonſo, the negociators the duke de Alcuida and citizen Perignon; it was ratified by the French directory and the legiſlature

on the twelfth of September. The moſt remarkable articles of this treaty were, the mutual guarantee of their reſpective poſſeſſions. The eighteenth article ſtipulated that as England was the only power againſt which Spain had cauſe of complaint, the operation of the preſent alliance ſhould be confined ſolely to that power. Comprehending, however, the Batavian republic, in all the conditions equally and ſpecially. The Pruſſian treaty was not made public, as it appears that many of the conditions were contingents; it has been generally believed, that the Hanoverian electorate with Bremen and Verden were, if conquered, to be ceded to Pruſſia in lieu of the Pruſſian territory on the Rhine. One article, however, was ſoon known; that the Pruſſian monarch guaranteed the freedom and independence of the Batavian republic, and the excluſion of his brother-in-law, the ſtadtholder, an article which the Spaniſh cabinet took care to be aſſured of before the Batavian republic was made a party in the treaty with that power.

The army of Jourdan had poſſeſſed itſelf of the country on both ſides of the Mein, and were meaſuring their paces towards Ratiſbon, while Moreau, who had marched along the Danube, and taken ſucceſſively Ulm, Donawert, and other towns on its banks, paſſed the Lech on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, near Augſburg, where he was oppoſed with great vigor by the Auſtrians, whom he defeated, and triumphantly entered the circle of Bavaria. The Auſtrian armies, that had retreated with ſo much precipitation, were now daily encreaſing in numbers, by new levies and detachments from the principal cities; while the French were neceſſarily weakened by the fatigues of marches over ſuch an immenſe tract of conquered territory, and harraſſed by the neceſſity of conſtant duty in the enemy's country. The archduke, who had fled into Bavaria from Moreau, having placed his army in an advantageous poſition on the Danube, and on the right ſide of the river Ulm, which divides the dominions of the elector of Bavaria from Auſtria, ſent off in the meantime conſiderable reinforcements to the army under Wartenſleben, which was already equal in number to the army under Jourdan, who was then in purſuit of the Auſtrians, and had arrived within a day's march of Ratiſbon. The right wing of this army under Bernardotte was, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, attacked by forces ſo ſuperior, that he was compelled, in order to avoid being ſurrounded, to fall back on the main body; and Jourdan, finding himſelf in a country where he could expect no reſources, and expoſed to immenſe danger by having general Wartenſleben in front, and the archduke on his flank, determined on an immediate retreat, which he effected with ſome loſs; not ſo much owing to the bravery or good conduct of the Auſtrian generals, as the attacks of the peaſants on the ſtragglers, the diſabled, and the ſick, whom they never ſpared. The Auſtrians at the ſame time hung upon the rear and flanks ſo cloſely that no reſpite was allowed in the march. Jourdan never halted till he reached Bamberg and Wurtſburg; here he halted two days; then having by Wetzlar gained the lower Rhine, there he took a ſtrong poſition.

By this retreat the army of Moreau, was placed in critical circumſtances, as his left flank was uncovered, and the Auſtrians falling on his rear had the means of cutting off his communication with France. Beſide the Auſtrian garriſons of Mentz, Manheim, and Philipſburg lay between the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, which was now inſulated in the centre of Germany. While the Auſtrians were harraſing Jourdan, Moreau puſhed on his conqueſts to the banks of the Iſer without much reſiſtance. He took poſſeſſion of the capital of Bavaria on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, and made the uſual

requſitions of money and ſtores, includiug pictures, from the elector, and entered into a preliminary treaty with him for a ſuſpenſion of arms preparatory to a peace, the elector engaging to ſend an ambaſſador to Paris. Moreau hoped that the cloſer he approached to Vienna, the more the archduke would be induced to return, and that the army under Jourdan would be thereby releaſed from the heavy preſſure of the whole Auſtrian force; but the diſcomfiture of Jourdan was ſo complete, that Moreau found himſelf reduced to a ſituation upon which he had never calculated. He accordingly withdrew all his troops from the poſts occupied in Bavaria and concentred his force for a retreat; repaſſing the Leck which ſeparates Suabia from Bavaria, placed his army between the Danube at Ulm and the Lake of Conſtance. The archduke had ordered parties from Manheim and Philipſburg to proceed and co-operate with him in cutting off the retreat of the French. Moreau was alſo preſſed on his flank and rear by the Auſtrian general Latour, who marched ſo cloſe upon him that he found it neceſſary to give him battle, and gained a complete victory over him on the third of October, making 5,000 priſoners. This brilliant action, though it annihilated the army of Latour, did not yet extricate Moreau from all his difficulties. The Auſtrians had ſucceeded in cutting off the communication with the Rhine, by ſeizing all the paſſages of the Black Foreſt, through which Moreau had to retreat, and on all the frontier towns on the bounds of the Rhine and the boundaries of the Swiſs territory.

Twenty four thouſand Auſtrians under Nauendorf and Petraſch were now in Moreau's front; Latour who after his defeat had drawn forth new levies to the amount of 30,000 men again preſſed cloſely on his rear, and the archduke had detached a large body of cavalry to act upon his flank. As the ſteep paſſes of the Black Foreſt were guarded, Moreau ſent off his ſick and baggage under a ſtrong eſcort by that road while with the main body of his army he kept the enemy in check, by continual actions, and ſudden movements, until he reached the Black Foreſt. The part through which he determined to make good his paſſage, was called the Valley of Hell, where in many leagues the mountains riſe ſo boldly, that ſcarcely a ſpace is left between them for fifty men to march in front. This defile formidable by nature, was defended by what was deemed a ſufficient number of troops to cloſe it up; but Moreau's centre ruſhed forward with the moſt daring impetuoſity and overthrew all that oppoſed them, while his right and left, kept in check the Auſtrians on the flank and rear. By this deſparate meaſure Moreau completely extricated himſelf from the imminent danger that threatened him, and brought his army with comparatively little loſs to Fribourg; not only making good his retreat through a hoſtile country of 300 miles in extent, but giving daily battle to an enemy flushed with victory; making his aſſailants priſoners by thouſands, and taking from them both colours and cannon. Moreau ſoon after abandoned the Briſgau, ſending his troops acroſs the Rhine at Briſac and Huninguen, retaining poſſeſſion nevertheleſs of the batteries which had been conſtructed on the oppoſite bank to annoy the latter fortreſs; and alſo leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Khel.

Thus terminated an expedition which though its great object was in two reſpects fruſtrated, was yet productive of the moſt ſignal conſequences to France. The brilliant plans of Buonaparte were calculated to reduce the Auſtrian force in Italy, the movements of Wurmſer, and his laſt meaſure of throwing himſelf into Mantua, rendered it impoſſible for him, without relinquiſhing his conqueſts in Italy, to form the junction with

the right wing of Moreau's army; on the other hand Jourdan was obliged to purſue a a route into Germany peculiarly difficult, and too remote from the route of Moreau, to preſerve that neceſſary communication which could alone enſure concert and co-operation; Jourdan's army likewiſe, was too weak in numbers for ſo important a ſervice, in an enemy's country, and ſo remote from reſources; theſe united circumſtances caused the failure of the main deſign; but the progreſs of the French generals to the Danube, had ſhewn that by a more vigorous and combined effort, they were capable of reaching Vienna and dictating peace under its walls; but this was not the moſt important effect of the expedition; theretofore the war had been carried on in France, or ſo cloſe to it as neceſſarily to produce a conſiderable ſcarcity, from the conſtant drain of ſupplies for their great armies; by this plan France was not only relieved from that burthen, but it was laid on the enemy; the German countries were not only made to ſupport the French armies but contribute to the payment of the troops and the proviſion of their magazines. There was alſo this further important conſequence that the dangers which threatened Germany, operated as a diverſion in favour of Buonaparte. Upon the whole, the plans of the campaign though not entirely ſucceſsful, were productive of conſequences which accelerated the ſubſequent triumphs, and enſured the projected union of the French armies in the heart of Germany in the campaign of 1797; ultimately decided the peace of the empire, and an important treaty with the republic; which changed the political ſtate of Europe, and broke aſunder that chain of deluſion the balance of power, that for more than two centuries had been the pretext for ſo many cruel and deſolating wars.

Having traced the military operations of the campaign to the cloſe, the civil tranſactions of the republic may now be taken up without interruption. It will be apparent, that the eſtabliſhment of the new conſtitution produced the moſt auſpicious impreſſions for France in the nations of Europe, and the ſuppreſſion of inſurrection at home, and the eclat of three armies abroad, were calculated to give credit, dignity, and ſtability to her meaſures and alliances.

The hoſtile conduct of ſeveral of the Swiſs cantons, towards the republic in the early part of the war, had naturally excited an indignation, which could not be forgotten by France in the moment of her triumph over the force and the machinations of her enemies. The Engliſh cabinet, it was ſuſpected with great appearance of likelihood, had wrought upon ſeveral adminiſtrators in the Helvetic republic by means very uſual with that court and no wiſe honorable to the Swiſs character.* Wickham an Engliſh agent had ſucceeded Fitzgerald, and the efforts of his intrigues had been already manifeſted at Lyons, Marſeilles, and Toulon, as well in various parts of Swiſſerland; he had in the courſe of the previous year continued to open a communication with one of the moſt popular French generals, through the agency of a Swiſs book-ſeller, and to extend that correſpondence to a direct communication with the prince of Conde; a project for the ſacriſice of one of the French armies was laid, and fruſtrated only by the diſagreement of the emigrant leader on the meaſures propoſed, and the jealouſy of the Auſtrian general Wurmſer, who alſo took a ſhare in the treachery. The removal of the French general from the command of the army, upon grounds which have

* *Point de l'argent point de la Swiss.*

never been publicly declared, but which have been attributed to two cauſes, overthrew the hopes of the Engliſh miniſter in this new plot. Pichegru's conduct in the campaign of 1795, was ſuch as nothing but the moderation which had ſucceeded the reign of terror, could have ſanctioned or ſuffered, and it appears to have been the true cauſe of his removal; though, ſince the diſcovery of the correſpondence which was carried on in 1797, it has been alleged that the directory had already found cauſe to ſuſpect his fidelity to his country.

Wickham on the eighth of March 1796 communicated a written note to Barthelemy at Baſle, on the ſubject of a peace, which he ſaid he was authoriſed to convey through him, and to requeſt that (after making the neceſſary enquiries) he would give anſwers to three queſtions; which for the novelty of their form and their inſidiouſneſs, demand exact notice; they were as follows:—

"1. Is there the diſpoſition in France to open a negociation with his majeſty and his allies, for the eſtabliſhment of a general peace, upon juſt and ſuitable terms, by ſending for that purpoſe miniſters to a congreſs, at ſuch place as may hereafter be agreed upon?

"2. Would there be the diſpoſition to communicate to the underſigned the general grounds of a pacification, ſuch as France would be willing to propoſe; in order that his majeſty and his allies might thereupon examine in concert whether they are ſuch as might ſerve as the foundation of a negociation for peace?

"3. Or would there be a deſire to propoſe any other way whatever, for arriving at the ſame end, that of a general pacification?

This note concluded with declaring, that Wickham was not authoriſed to enter into any negociation, or deciſion upon the ſubject, but to tranſmit the anſwers to his court!

On the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month Barthelemy tranſmitted the anſwer authoriſed by the directory, and without noticing the equivocal but arrogant ſtyle of Wickham's note, anſwered that—"the directory of the French republic ardently deſired to procure a juſt honorable, and ſolid peace." That the declaration of Wickham's having no powers to treat appeared to carry an air of inſincerity in the deſires expreſſed by the Engliſh miniſter; that the propoſed meaſure of a congreſs, which would produce endleſs delays, was another indication of the ſame character; and that it appeared as if "this ſtep had no other object than to obtain for the Engliſh government that favourable impreſſion which always accompanies the firſt overtures for peace." The anſwer declared, nevertheleſs, to remove all imputations of a want of frankneſs, that "charged by the conſtitution to execute the laws, it cannot make, or liſten to any propoſal that ſhould be contrary to them;" and conſequently they could not conſent to the abandonment of any territory which according to exiſting laws conſtitute a part of the republic.

Theſe propoſitions, as had been foreſeen, were in a ſimilar ſtrain of arrogant confidence declared to be inadmiſſable, by a note in the London Gazette of the tenth of April; while the French government felt itſelf humbled in being made the momentary dupe of ſuch an application, and having paid a candid regard to a mode of communication at once inſidious and inſulting. The meaſure on the part of the Engliſh miniſter was only a financial manoeuvre, and a ſucceſsful one.

The directory turned its attention at this period to the aggreſſions on the part of ſeveral of the cantons, and on the twenty-ſixth of March demanded from the magiſtracy of Baſle, being the neareſt canton, and that which lay between the army of Auſtria and

that of the republic, an explanation concerning certain plans formed by the coalesced powers for violating its neutrality. It was alleged that the Austrians in concert with several citizens of various cantons, had projected the invasion of the departments forming the ancient Franche-compte, by passing over the territory of Basle from the imperial dominions of Frickthal, lying along the Rhine from Balle to Schaffhausen. The communication was made in a manner as contemptuous of the Swiss magistrates as the charge was humiliating, and they felt the resentment intended in sending them only an extract from the registers of the directory. They accordingly replied in a tone of indignation. They denied the charge, complained of the mode in which it was made, and observed "if they were not strong enough to defend their own country, the directory must take measures to insure the safety of the French republic," that they would accept the responsibility of their own conduct, and not only depended on the inhabitants of their own canton, but of the whole Helvetic confederation.

This explanation caused further umbrage, and produced another remonstrance from the directory, demanding decisively a formal exculpation from the charge. This second remonstrance shewed the magistrates at once their former imprudence, and the danger of further temerity. They determined to send an ambassador to Paris; and as their interest and their desires now seriously called for an amicable understanding, they chose citizen Ochs, whose attachment to the French revolution and the principles of civil liberty had been uniformly manifested, and as might have been expected from a disposition thus sincerely displayed, the former amity was restored between the two republics.

Although the public tranquillity had remained undisturbed at Paris, where the different factions were kept in check by government, who had created a seventh minister, called of police, disorders and secret plots had not entirely ceased. The south had been much disturbed by the agents of the allied powers, and France was already divided into districts by the English minister at Basle, who received regular reports from his agents, and dispersed money in every direction. The just resentment of those who had suffered under the proscriptions, and by the abuses of the pro-consular commissioners of the republic, were kept awake by those agents; and the royalists and the religious were encouraged to stifle their peculiar tenets on religion and politics, in order to combine their efforts for the overthrow of the common enemy, which was now represented to possess the government. A commission was appointed by the legislature to enquire into the origin of these troubles in the south, on the twenty-fourth of March. It appeared, however, very soon, that Camille-Jourdan and Isnard, who were the authors of this proposition, were guided by different views, and that it was calculated rather to promote factious purposes than any alleviation of the people's sufferings; the commission was consequently dissolved, and the restoration of tranquillity was left once more to the executive authority.

An insurrection had broken out in the department of Nivre, where the insurgents, under the title of the Company of the King and of Jesus, had taken the town of Sancerre. This was directly suppressed by the vigor of the directory. But faction was not yet appeased, and its effects were felt in the departments of administration, which occasioned a public resolve of the directory, that its confidence had sometimes been betrayed, and its views frustrated by the nomination of individuals to public trust, who proved themselves unworthy. The violence of the old Jacobin party, and those who were alike adverse to the government under any popular form, were now seen united in a common tone of re-

proach and invective, the former was violently incenſed, becauſe the directory was moderate, the latter becauſe moderation overthrew all hopes of change in the government. This diſaffection was as uſual ſpread among the Pariſians, and what was very unuſual among ſome of the military. The directory began with diſmiſſing all thoſe who ſupported or connived at theſe factious deſigns from public offices; they then ſeverely ſcrutinized the municipalities, and purified them; and commenced a reform in the legion of the police, part of which refuſed to obey orders and declared themſelves in a ſtate of revolt. The corps was entirely diſbanded. The diſſolution of this military body was a fatal blow to the conſpirators; but perceiving that partial movements were fatal to their hopes, and only ſtrengthened the hands of goverement, a plan was formed for the complete overthrow of it and the introduction of a new ſyſtem.

For the ſpace of ſix weeks confuſed murmurs were circulated of a projected inſurrection, but the Pariſians, familiariſed to that term, believed that a law ſome time in exiſtence, againſt large aſſemblies of men without a legal purpoſe, would preſerve the city againſt the efforts of the terroriſts, and paid no regard to the reports. The government, however, did not remain in the ſame incautious ſecurity; early appriſed of the plot, they watched its progreſs and employed themſelves indefatigably to counteract its deſigns by means the moſt effectual and moderate. The decree againſt factious groupes, was their firſt meaſure, the diſſolution of the legion of police the next; this corps conſiſted of 10,000 men horſe and foot, and was compoſed of men ſelected from various diviſions by Hoche, to ſuppreſs the laſt inſurrection againſt the convention; the legion was at firſt moved from Paris on a ſhort route, and thence by gradual and ſmall parties detached in various directions, it was by degrees incorporated with the armies.

This conſpiracy was as theretofore compoſed of moſt contradictory materials; it was from ſome unguarded expreſſions of Drouet, the celebrated poſt-maſter of Varennes, that the directory were firſt led to notice it. His ſtoppage of Louis on his flight, and his conſtancy under the cruel treatment which he had received in an Auſtrian priſon, after he had been taken on miſſion near Tournay, until he was exchanged along with the deputies for the daughter of Lewis, had ſufficiently teſtified his inflexible attachment to his country. The evil lay in the exceſs of his enthuſiaſm, which rendered him and many others at once the eaſieſt prey to artful and deſigning men, and tended to impreſs on the public a ſentiment favourable to any views in which they embarked, however erroneous or miſtaken. A paper publiſhed by Gracchus Babœuf, another enthuſiaſt, diſplayed likewiſe the profeſſed deſigns of the conſpiracy. By a knowledge of a few, the means of diſcovering the reſt were not long wanting; but experienced in the tranſactions of the revolution, they were ſo wary as to place obſtacles to their ſeizure conſtantly in the way. Their committees aſſembled every day, but in different habitations, and in different quarters of the town; Merlin of Douay was miniſter of police, but he was ſuppoſed not to be active in diſcovering the conſpiracy; Cochon was appointed in his room, and he having firſt diſmiſſed all Merlin's agents, choſe two brothers who had been twenty years employed by Sartine to trace the conſpiracy. On the morning of the ninth of May conſiderable bodies of cavalry were ſtationed in the neighbourhood of the palace of the directory, the palace of the legiſlative bodies, and the Pont-Neuf. On the morning of the tenth the guards of the directory and legiſlative bodies were tripled. A meſſage was ſent from the directory to the council of five hundred, intimating that a conſpiracy

was prepared to burſt forth the ſucceeding morning at break of day; that the deſign was to murder the members of the directory, the two councils, the field officers, the conſtituted authorities of Paris, and to deliver up the city to pillage and maſſacre; that the government having traced the plot to the moment it was about to burſt forth, they had ſeized on the conſpirators, and with regret they had to tell it, Drouet one of their colleagues was one of them. Along with him were arreſted Laignelot, Chalas, and Ricard formerly a deputy of the convention, Babœuf, the journaliſt, who called himſelf "the tribune of the people," Roſſignol a diſmiſſed general, one of the ſecretaries of Joſeph Lebon, Julien a young man a friend of Robeſpierre's, Amar the accuſer of Dinton, Camille, and the Gironde as the agent of Robeſpierre. It appeared that of all the various plans of conſpiracy none had been ſo completely organized as this, and none ſo daring; a directory, a municipality of Paris, revolutionary committees, a convention, committees of public ſafety and general ſecurity, were formed, and all the details of the revolutionary government of 1792, were ſelected, and to be eſtabliſhed until the conſtitution of 1793 ſhould undergo a reviſion and acceptation. Two proclamations were found ready printed in the apartment where the conſpirators were ſeized, one of which was to be circulated in Paris on the day of inſurrection, and the other ſent into the departments, both began with theſe words— "The tyrants are no more." Orders were alſo prepared to be iſſued for ſeizing the repoſitories of arms, the treaſury, telegraphs, and all the public eſtabliſhments in and near Paris. It appeared that theſe great outlines were known to all, but that there was another plan known only to a few of the leaders, and which went to ſacrifice a great number of thoſe who joined in the plot whoſe principles the ſuperiors did not approve. Babœuf acknowleged himſelf to have written ſeveral of the papers that were ſeized; and when examined replied with the moſt undaunted firmneſs; when aſked who were his accomplices, he anſwered, that they knew him but little, if they expected he was capable of denouncing his friends. He addreſſed the directory from his dungeon in a ſtyle reſembling a ſovereign power treating with another; and in one letter of four pages he tells them that the holy inſurrection muſt yet ſucceed, and he menaces them with death if they ſhould not retract all they had publiſhed concerning it; but promiſes, if they behave in a becoming manner, that they ſhall have five ſeats in the future executive council.

The trial of the conſpirators was delaved for a conſiderable time, partly through the ſlow and lenient forms which the conſtitution preſcribes and partly through policy. Drouet through the connivance of the executive power was ſuffered to eſcape, as a man more ſimple than wicked; hut Babœuf and Darthe, were tried before the high criminal tribunal at Vendome and condemned to death.

The diſcovery of this plot produced the greateſt ſatisfaction throughout France, except among the royaliſts and the diſcontented terroriſts. When the queſtion was the overthrow of the republican government, theſe two intereſts ſo oppoſite to each other in form, but ſo much alike in fact, united as one. It is a general and a juſt obſervation, that the failure of a plot adds weight to the eſtabliſhed power, this project of ruin therefore only ſtrengthened the government, and for a while deſtroyed the hopes even of the prieſts and royaliſts.

The government were not amidſt all theſe difficulties of internal trouble, and the vaſt plans of the three armies, in different to objects equally delicate and important. The

paper currency under the name of affignats, had declined through a variety of cauſes ſo much in credit, as to become in a degree uſeleſs; gold and ſilver came ſlowly into circulation, but not in quantities adequate to the wants of ſociety. A law was paſſed on the twenty-fifth of March to ſell the remainder of the national domains at the eſtimate made in 1790, which was at the rate of twenty-two years purchaſe, and for which the nation ſhould agree to receive in payment, a new paper fabrication called *mandats*, which were to be iſſued by government to the amount of two milliards and four hundred millions of livres; of this new creation part was deſtined to draw from circulation the *aſſignats*, in the proportion of *thirty* livres in *aſſignats* for one livre in *mandats*, and the public lands remaining unſold were to be mortgaged for the remainder. The payments were to be made by inſtalments, and it was hoped as the mortgage was to be foreclоſed at any period, that the value of the *mandat* would not depriciate. The directory in communicating a meſſage to the councils on this ſubject expreſſed themſelves in language ſo ſtrong on the dangers that would accrue from the failure of this plan, and that if it ſhould not be carried into effect, no reſources would be left to carry on the war even for the preſent campaign; that thoſe who were not converſant with the policy of the directory, and thoſe who wiſhed the ſtatement to be true, really believed that the republic was, as the directory expreſſed it, then on its "*laſt plank.*" The Engliſh miniſter among others, fell into the deception, which was only meant to quicken the legiſlature to a more prompt and liberal diſpoſal of the public money; and was ſo much caught by it, that in the Houſe of Commons he quoted the words of the directory as an argument for carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war with redoubled vigor.

The mandats, however, ſuffered a depreciation, the neceſſary effect of a ſuperabundant iſſue; money itſelf will depreciate in value when it becomes ſo plenteous as to render it very eaſily acquired or more than is neceſſary to facilitate an equable exchange of commodities; paper which is only the repreſentative of an intrinſic value, muſt loſe the value which it repreſents either in proportion to the depreciation of what it repreſents, or the difficulty of obtaining an immediate or an equal quantity in exchange, of the thing repreſented, for the ſign. The original value of the aſſignats had not ſuddenly ſunk, the decline was gradual, and their total failure was at once the effect of the return of ſpecie to the country, and of an injudicious revocation of the law which made aſſignats the only circulating medium; for the competition of a ſign with only an artificial value could not be expected to maintain an equal competition with an equal artificial value and the intrinſic value of the bullion ſuperadded to the ſign. The mandats loſt one-fourth at their introduction and they ſoon after became the object of ſpeculators, which deſtroyed them both; the nation however, was releaſed from a great weight of debt by this cupidity of adventurers. To ſupply the public exigencies, the directory had recourſe to a contribution from the property of men of opulence, under the name of a forced-loan; which was ordered to be paid in hard caſh, or in paper at the current courſe of exchange. This tax fell principally on perſons who had acquired their riches in the revolution; but it did not altogether produce the amount at which it had been calculated, as meaſures of ſeverity were not adopted to enforce it.

The committee of finance now preſented a general ſtatement of the public revenue, from which it appeared that the expences would exceed the revenue by 500,000,000,

the former one hundred millions. For the deficit various resources were pointed out, and among others the sale of the forfeited lands in the new departments of ancient Belgium, where religious houses of every kind were ordered to be suppressed. From this fund ample resources were provided; and a plan of severe economy was adopted, by all the members of government, and extended throughout the departments.

It has been before noticed, that on the momentary reverse which followed the taking of the French magazines in Italy, by Wurmser, that the pope had ordered his legate to seize upon Ferrara. Negociations had been for some time carrying on at Paris for a peace by the holy father, but they were suddenly interrupted by this precipitate conduct and the negociators were ordered by a mandate issued from the directory to the minister of police, to depart immediately from France. The Sardinian ambassador was at the same time ordered away, but not under circumstances of equal ignominy. The papal commissioners had procrastinated from day to day every definitive arrangement, in expectation of hearing from Italy, that the Austrian arms were successful; while Wurmser was marching from Germany they effected not to possess adequate powers, and when the above event had taken place they proposed terms which they were aware the directory would not listen to. The Sardinian minister had imprudently expressed his regret on the same occasion that his master had submitted to the treaty concluded with Buonaparte. The Tuscan minister Carletti, had made himself odious to the directory by abusing the confidence which had long been reposed in him as a friend of the revolution, by using particular activity to communicate every intelligence which his situation enabled him to obtain, to the combined powers, and he was ordered also to quit the territories of the republic. The resentment of the directory was not confined to the Italian states. The baron Stael was recalled, and Renhausen appointed ambassador from Sweden in his place; the latter was known to be a hireling to the court of Petersburg, and the directory did not consider it consistent with the dignity of the French nation to admit an agent of that kind. The French minister was in consequence ordered to leave Stockholm.

The attack on the government by the conspiracy called Babœuf's, on the twenty-second of Floreal, had strengthened the moderate party. And they generously proposed in order to conciliate all parties, and to promote union and peace, to pass an act of general amnesty for all acts committed between the tenth of July, 1789, and the fourth of Brumaire in the fourth year of the republic, except of those of emigrants and others comprehended in the law of the 3d of Brumaire (27th October) the day preceding the establishment of the constitution. A commission was appointed to prepare and report on this amnesty, and it became the subject of an animated and eloquent debate, and it ended in the exclusion from all public functions, until the peace, of the relations of emigrants and those who had signed papers tending to insurrection.

A petty insurrecton broke out about this time. On the plain of Grenelle, southward of the Seine, between Paris and the hills of Meudon, a camp was formed, which the restless and factious still considered as affording a resource for mischief. They had tampered with some of the soldiers, and were emboldened by their assurances, to form the desparate design of once more attacking the govern ent. The desparadoes accordingly assembled at a tavern, to the number of five hundred, at the village of Vaugirard, and though their intention of visiting the camp was discovered, and the necessary precautions taken by the minister of police and the general, they entered the camp at midnight, crying

"Long live the conſtitution of 1793,"—"Down with the councils,"—"Down with the five tyrants." Having entered the camp, they invited the ſoldiers to fraterniſe, to get rid of their chiefs, and to march under their banners to glory and empire. As the act of rebellion was now completed, the ſoldiers did not delay to execute the puniſhment. The moſt forward of the inſurgents were immediately put to the ſword or ſhot; and the remainder fled in confuſion in all directions. The greater part eſcaped, but one hundred and thirty were taken and afterwards tried by a military commiſſion. Of theſe the greater number were releaſed, the reſt condemned to death or baniſhment according to their former characters. This inſurrection differed from the others only in the inadequacy of the means. Three ex-repreſentatives and ſix ex-generals were concerned in it. The criminality of it was the greater ſince it commenced in the moment that the legiſlature was employed in forming a law for a general amneſty.

The ſecurity that had been uſed with the Swediſh, Sardinian, and Papal miniſters, in diſmiſſing them from Paris, was now extended to the Genevan ambaſſador, Reybaz. This little republic from the beginning of the revolution had been diſtracted by ſtruggles between the ariſtocracy that had grown up in it, and the eagerneſs of the people to reſtore the equality of which their neighbours had now given ſuch leſſons. In 1792, Monteſquiou, the French general, had gone thither, and had taken part with one of the parties. The fluctuation of counſels in France at that period had rendered his conduct obnoxious to thoſe who ſucceeded to power, and he had ſaved himſelf by flight to Swiſſerland. The fall of Robeſpierre produced a new change, and ſome regulations were introduced in Geneva, more favourable to its liberties, but not to the extent required by the generality of the citizens. An application was made ſoon after the eſtabliſhment of the French conſtitution by the Genevan miniſter, Reybaz, requeſting from the directory that the ſame protection which had been given to the Dutch republic in making the acknowlegement of its independence a part of the conditions with thoſe powers with whom it concluded treaties of peace, ſhould be extended to Geneva; that it was of great importance to them, eſpecially with regard to their neighbours the king of Sardinia and certain princes of the German empire. Reybaz had manifeſted a diſpoſition not at all conformable with ſuch a requeſt, and the perſons in power at Geneva were known to be thoſe who had conſtantly ſtigmatiſed the French revolution with the moſt virulent and unworthy aſperſions, and he was informed by the miniſter of foreign affairs, that ſuch a propoſition came with an ill grace from thoſe who had propoſed it; that the people of Geneva had more reaſon to complain of certain of their own citizens, and more to fear from their oppreſſion; but that if the republic ſhould be at any time endangered by the external enemies which were declared to be feared, or the internal enemies that ſecretly oppreſſed it, to inſure its future tranquillity and to control the authors of its afflictions, it ſhould be be incorporated with the French republic. The conduct of Reybaz on this occaſion gave umbrage to the directory, and an order was obtained for his recal. Another was ſent, but he alſo was of the ariſtocratical party, and the directory refuſed to receive him; a third and fourth were ſent, uniformly of the ſame party, and all of them were refuſed, and not even permitted to remain in Paris. Theſe meaſures on the part of France, cauſed ſome further changes in the ſtate and politics of Geneva, in favour of the popular party.

About this period the clergy, convoked aſſemblies, in order to re-eſtabliſh the ſhattered fabric of the Catholic church in France; notwithſtanding the leſſons they learned, howe-

ever, and abuſing the moderation and liberality which had been latterly adopted towards ſuch of them as would not attempt to oppoſe the peace of the country and the freedom of the republic, they entered into meaſures in open hoſtility with the eſtabliſhed law, and to the prejudice of the government which occaſioned their being diſſolved by a ſpecial order from the directory addreſſed to the aſſembly or ſynod at Verſailles.

At the ſame time the members of the national inſtitute, actively engaged in the promotion of its great purpoſes, prepared for their firſt public aſſembly, which was held on the fourth of April of this year. The members of the executive directory deſirous of giving ſplendor and importance to this literary ſolemnity, accompanied by the miniſters and all the civil officers of the adminiſtration, went to the hall of the inſtitution in proceſſion. The ambaſſadors of Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Pruſſia, the United States of America, Batavia, Tuſcany, Genoa, Geneva, and others were alſo preſent, and a place of honor was aſſigned them before the eſtrade of the directory. On this occaſion, which may be conſidered as the epocha of the revival of letters in France, all the men of literature, and artiſts, who had ſurvived the ſtorms of the revolution, were preſent. Fifteen hundred ſpectators, aſſembled in that beautiful hall of the former palace of the Louvre, now called the hall of the antiques, of which the architecture is not inferior to the temples of antiquity, and is decorated with the ſtatues of the illuſtrious men of France; the ſcene forming altogether a ſpectacle worthy of a great nation, riſing from amidſt its ruins, with as much grace and majeſty as if it had not paſſed through the ordeal of calamity.

The preſident of the directory made a ſpeech of inſtallation, in which he expreſſed the ſtedfaſt purpoſe of the government to revive the drooping arts, and to ſhield them and liberty from all the attacks of ferocious anarchy. This harangue was received with the loudeſt acclamations. Every heart ſwelled with emotion, every eye melted with tears, at the ſad recollection of the paſt, combined with the ſoothing hopes of the preſent. Duſſaulx, the preſident of the Inſtitute, replied, that every member of that ſociety felt the moſt ardent deſire, to concur towards the proſperity of the republican government, and would aim, in giving luſtre to their own names, to give luſtre to their country; that the republic of letters exiſted before the other—that its ſpirit would neither be enfeebled nor ſubdued—and that amidſt thoſe whom it animated, the love of glory would ever be the ſupport of liberty.

Every power in Europe had already felt the fatal effects of the attempt to enſlave France. Her efforts to repeal the inſidious meaſures of England, had been ſucceſsful only to the diſcomfiture of her aſſaſſinating projects, her ſchemes of forgery, and the defeat of her armies on the continent. The inſular ſituation and naval ſtrength of England placed her in a ſtate of ſecurity againſt direct military attacks, which in her preſent circumſtances France could not overcome. The reduced ſtate of trade and credit was, however, a blow as fatal to the people of England as a war could be, becauſe the affliction was more general and durable. The power of the government, nevertheleſs, ſtood firmly ſupported by the enormous fabric of its funding ſyſtem, the ſource of all the governmental oppreſſions. The Engliſh miniſtry had in the courſe of the year iſſued a proclamation permitting the exportation of Engliſh goods to the Batavian republic and the ancient Netherlands.

The Batavian convention, iſſued a counter-proclamation forbidding under ſevere penalties the entry of Engliſh goods, and calling upon their countrymen by every tie of honor

and ſecurity to abſtain from ſuch a commerce; obſerving that it was a project founded on the habitual perfidy and ſpirit of rapine that characteriſed the Engliſh government; that it was intended to exhauſt Bataiva of its money; that it was an inſult as well as an injury, and calculated not only to divide them but as they had conſtantly for two centuries labored to do, to deſtroy the remnant that was recovered from their fatal graſp of the national liberty and independence. The French directory adopted reſolutions of the ſame ſpirit which were ſubmitted to the councils, and on the 22d of October ſeveral meaſures were decreed, by a conſiderable majority to enforce the ſame ſyſtem throughout France; this new ſyſtem of hoſtilities was carried into execution throughout the greater part of Europe, and Engliſh manufactures were for a time excluded from every port between the Elbe and the Adriatic, excepting Portugal alone. Spain had by a new negociation entered into the plan. Genoa inſulted in her own ports by the Engliſh miniſter and ſhips of war, was conſtrained from neceſſity to throw off her neutrality and accept the powerful protection of her neighbour, agreed in a treaty ſigned on the 9th of October to exclude Engliſh ſhips from her ports. Leghorn inſulted ſo long by the Engliſh miniſter lord Harvey, and the violence done on French ſhips in that neutral port, was now in the hands of the republicans, and the Engliſh were of conſequence confined to the ſmall iſland of Elbe near that city to which they had fled. The Italian ſtates generally, and even Naples with whom a treaty was ſigned on the twenty-fifth of October, were circumſcribed in the ſame way. And Corſica which had coſt England ſo much and produced nothing, was entirely evacuated by the Engliſh forces on the fifth of October; the Corſicans having manifeſted ſuch a diſlike to the Engliſh government, as rendered it neceſſary to the ſafety of Elliot, the viceroy, to notify to them his intention to depart, in order to ſave him and his adherents from deſtruction. A treaty was ratified with the duke of Parma. But the negociation with the Pope was much procraſtinated, though committed to a congreſs held at Florence. The Pope was required to withdraw all countenance from the allied powers, to acknowledge that he had been abuſed by the enemies of the republic, and in addition to theſe retractions that he ſhould diſavow any concern in the murder of the French ambaſſador Baſſeville. That he ſhould ſet at liberty all perſons, of whatever country, confined on account of their opinions, and in future deprive no man of his liberty, nor perſecute him on account of his religious opinions; that he ſhould forbid the inhuman practice of the mutilation of children throughout his eſtates, and totally aboliſh the barbarous tribunal of the inquiſition. The Pope held a congregation of cardinals upon theſe propoſitions, who decreed that they could not be aſſented to. Meantime the armiſtice granted to the Pope expired, and the inhabitants of the countries ſouth of the Po had taken meaſures under the protection of the French general to lay the foundation of a new republic, by the congreſs of deputies from the cities of Bologna, Reggio, Modena, and Ferrara: which was alſo adopted by the people of Milan and the ſurrounding countries who alſo formed another republic taking their titles of tranſpadane and ciſpadane from their ſituation in relation to the river Po and Rome; Milan being the centre of the tranſpadane republic. Theſe two, however, by mutual conſent were ſubſequently formed into one republic under the name of the Ciſalpine, in relation to its ſituation in regard to the Alps and Rome. Theſe adopted the forms of the French republic, aboliſhed titles and heraldic diſtinctions, and proclaimed all men equal.

In this year the French detached a ſquadron of ſeven ſail of the line under Richery, who executed an expedition againſt the Engliſh ſettlements at Newfoundland, deſtroyed

the fiſhery, and after capturing ſeveral of the annual Quebec fleet, which he burnt at ſea for want of hands to man them, he returned and anchored in Rochelle. The Engliſh took a ſquadron belonging to the Batavian republic this year at the Cape of Good Hope. It was deſtined to co-operate with a French ſquadron in the recapture of the cape, but through ſome treachery in the naval adminiſtration and the corruption of the crews, who refuſed to defend the ſhips, the whole were rendered a bloodleſs capture to the Engliſh. Lucas, the Batavian admiral, was ſent priſoner to England, where he obtained permiſſion to return to his own country, and was tried and acquitted, but died of grief.

The papal court having rejected the terms propoſed by the French commiſſioners, reſolved now to try the force or fortune of arms. Although abandoned by Spain and the Italian powers, the pope flattered himſelf that the imperial armies reaſſembling to relieve Mantua, would ſave him from the humiliation of laying his religion and his ſovereignty at the feet of thoſe political Vandals; he therefore rejected propoſitions renewed to him by Buonaparte on the twenty-ſixth of October, addreſſed to the cardinal Mattei archbiſhop of Ferrara. In theſe the general reminded him of the danger which the holy father was about to involve himſelf, and entreating him to repair to Rome, and adviſe the pope of his true ſituation with regard to the force of the republic. But in vain, the reply of Mattei, after a ſilence of ſix weeks, was a fanatical declamation bloated with bigotry and rebuke. The pope meanwhile, through his nuncio at Vienna, was haſtening the march of the imperial troops, and had appointed general Colli to command his army reinforced by ſome German corps. But the warlike ardor of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter was not ſufficient to inſpire his flock with reſolution adequate to the end.

The fourth Auſtrian army had meanwhile purſued its route for Italy, in order to releaſe Wurmſer, now ſhut up with his troops in Mantua. General Alvinzy had encamped on the Piava, and was advancing towards Vicenza, while general Davidovitch with the diviſion under his command deſcended from the Tyroleſe along the Adige towards Verona. Alvinzy having paſſed the Piava was attacked by the French on the Brenta, and driven acroſs the Piava. The French general Vaubois who defended the paſſes of Tyrol was not ſo ſucceſsful, and Buonaparte was compelled, in order to relieve Vaubois to quit Verona and take upon himſelf to defend the paſſes of the Adige; the Auſtrians having poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country on the oppoſite ſide of that river, and were already preparing to attack the French, with a view to raiſe the blockade of Mantua, by forcing the poſts between the Adige and the lake of Garda. Buonaparte ſaw the judiciouſneſs of the Auſtrian general's plan, and determined to fruſtrate it by preventing a junction of the two diviſions of the enemy. For this purpoſe he led the diviſions under Angereau and Maſſena along the Adige, and on the night of the fourth of November paſſed it at the village of Ronco, by a bridge of boats, hoping to reach Villa Nuova in the morning, and attack the Auſtrians at Caldero, on their flanks and rear and ſeize their cannon and baggage. Alvinzy received information of this movement, and immediately ſtrengthened his poſition, by throwing Croatian and Hungarian regiments into the village of Arcole, through which the French muſt neceſſarily paſs. This village was ſtrongly ſituated for defence, between two moraſſes with canals in each, and kept the republicans in check during the whole day of the fifth. In vain were the French troops rallied by their commanders. Four generals, who ſucceſſively threw themſelves on the bridge leading into the village, were diſabled by wounds more or leſs dangerous. Angereau ſeizing a

ſtandard puſhed forward and planted it on the bridge; and Buonaparte, calling to the ſoldiers to remember the bridge of Lodi, inſpired them to another attempt, in which he loſt two more generals, and was himſelf in danger of periſhing. He had detached a diviſion early in the morning to take a larger circuit and enter the village in the rear, this was not accompliſhed till near night when the action became general, and the village with the troops in it were all taken. At day break of the ſixth the action was renewed by an attack upon the whole Auſtrian line. The French right wing, drove before them the Auſtrian left, and purſued it to the head-quarters of Caldero. The centre of the Auſtrians reſiſted longer, but they alſo were compelled to fly before the French centre. The attack of the French left wing, as had been foreſeen, was more difficult; as the Auſtrian right was flanked by a moraſs and numerous ditches. The enemy therefore maintained that poſition. On the morning of the ſeventh, Buonaparte was prepared, with a bridge, which he had thrown over the moraſs and canal in the night, to commence a freſh attack. The Auſtrian centre had now collected in great ſtrength, and while their right was engaged, aſſaulted the French centre with great intrepidity; the French centre gave way for a few moments, and the right was in danger of being turned, when Buonaparte who had ſeen where the brunt of the action now lay, having previouſly drawn off a freſh body of troops from his left and placed them in a poſition where they were totally unſeen by the enemy, ſuffered his centre to fall back, until the diviſion in ambuſcade was in ſuch a ſituation as to fall upon their flank and rear. The effect was anſwerable to the intention; the ſlaughter of the Auſtrians was dreadful; they fled, but rallied with the wings, and ſtill made a formidable ſtand; their numbers were equal to the French and their poſition was ſtrong. Buonaparte finding it impoſſible to diſlodge them by force had recourſe to a ſtratagem, which anſwered his expectations. A few troops of horſe with the greater part of the trumpeters of the army, were detached to make the circuit of the moraſs, keeping unſeen until they ſhould reach the enemy's rear, when having approached cloſe enough to make an impreſſion, the trumpets were to ſound in ſuch a manner as to deceive the enemy into the opinion that the body of cavalry was numerous. A diviſion of infantry greater in number took a circuit on the other flank, they arrived at the ſame moment, that a charge was made by the whole French line, and and the fate of the day was decided; the Auſtrians were purſued and cut down for ſeveral miles, and it was not until night that the purſuit ceaſed.

Vaubois had been again defeated by Davidovitch, and while the cavalry were now in purſuit of Alvinzy's army, Buonaparte filed off and by a rapid march reinforced Vaubois and checked Davidovitch, already conſiderably advanced towards Mantua; but he was forced by Buonaparte to an action in which he was defeated, and forced once more to take refuge in the defiles of Tyrol. The battle of Arcole was peculiarly fatal to the French generals, by whoſe diſtinguiſhed bravery victory was taken out of the hands of fortune. Buonaparte himſelf eſcaped by moſt ſingular good fortune, for his two aid-de-camps were killed by his ſide. The loſs of the Auſtrians in that action was ſo great, that Alvinzy was obliged to retire beyond the Brenta, to await the arrival of another army, and leave Mantua once more to its fate.

It was ſuppoſed that the fate of Mantua would be immediately determined by this action, but Wurmſer had taken advantage of the laſt relief he had experienced, to proviſion his garriſon, which enabled him to defend the town far beyond that calculation.

The return of the French armies to the Rhine was ſucceeded by the reſignation of Jourdan. Bournonville was appointed proviſionally to ſucceed him, and joined the army with a conſiderable reinforcement from Holland. The Auſtrians unable with a ſuperior force to prevent Moreau from croſſing the Rhine in their face, at Huninguen, endeavored without effect to diſlodge the troops from a poſt which had been haſtily thrown up by the French when they firſt croſſed the river. The republicans alſo retained Khel and Nieuwied on the ſame ſide of the river. The Auſtrians taking advantage of a riſe in the river, which broke down the bridge at Neuwied, with a view to cut off the communication between that place and Khel, croſſed the Rhine in ſeveral places to divert the attention of the French while they carried on the main deſign. So extenſive was the enemy's plan, and ſo many were the precautions taken to enſure its ſucceſs, that nothing leſs than the capture of the whole garriſon was contemplated. Moreau however penetrated the deſign, and had taken his diſpoſitions with ſo much intelligence, that he was prepared to receive them inſtantly on the point of attack; the repulſe was as effectual as the enemy's diſappointment was fatal. A few day's after the right wing of Moreau's army made a general movement, and after defeating various diviſions of the imperial army, gained poſſeſſion of ſeveral poſts in the palatinate, among which were thoſe of Bingen and Kaiſerſlautern, and thence completely eſtabliſhed his communication with the interior of France.

A ſuſpenſion of arms was ſoon after agreed upon between the two armies on the Lower Rhine; but contention ſtill ſubſiſted on the upper. The whole force of the imperial army was directed to the capture of the work thrown haſtily up by the French in croſſing oppoſite Huninguen, and Khel was alſo intended to be attacked. At length the Auſtrians ſucceeded in breaking a bridge of boats, ſo that the iſland of the Rhine where Vauban had formerly traced a battery, and which was recently completed, was the only point of communication. The defence of theſe works was entruſted to Abattucci, a Corſican, who rejected the repeated ſummonſes ſent him by the Auſtrian general Furſtenberg. On the night of the ſecond of December, the Auſtrian general with a ſelect body of eighteen hundred men, under favour of a thick fog, attempted to take the iſland by ſurpriſe; they at firſt were ſucceſsful, but the French ſoon rallied and drove them off the iſland with great loſs. The Auſtrian commander was killed on the ſpot, and the republican general died of his wounds the next day. The Auſtrians were ſaved from total deſtruction in their flight by the perfidy of certain Swiſs officers, who guided them over the neutral territory of Baſle; for which violation, on the requiſition of the French, they were ſent by the magiſtrates of Baſle to priſon. Meanwhile the archduke had aſſembled his force before Khel, and began to conſtruct batteries to bombard it. Finding the French determined to defend it, he reſolved to form lines of circumvallation, and opened his trenches on the twenty-fifth of November, commencing with a cannonade which laſted fifteen days without intermiſſion, during which time the Auſtrians were repulſed with great loſs in various attacks. The obſtinacy of the French and the ſeverity of the weather occaſioned the ſiege to be ſlackened; but on the twenty-fifth of December it was renewed. The communication with Straſburg was deſtroyed by the breaking of the bridge and the damage of the boats. The Auſtrians having completed their ſecond parallel, they attacked and carried the French camp and a battery called the Wolf-hole, which protected it. The French thus driven into the fortreſs were rallied by general Lacombe, who led them on to the attack, and having made the retreat of his troops impoſſible by deſtroying the bridges,

ruſhed on to the conflict with ſo much impetuoſity that the Auſtrians were completely broken, and obliged to fly with great loſs. The imperialiſts in a few days returned to the attack, and took the camp again, and a redoubt, but after a bloody conteſt both were again retaken, and the Auſtrians ſuffered a great ſlaughter. Khel was now reduced to a heap of ruins. The Auſtrians in a third attack retained poſſeſſion of the camp. The French were now overwhelmed by the enemy's artillery, who had planted cannon cloſe to the very batteries, the communication was cut off; a capitulation was propoſed by general Deſaix, who waited in perſon on the archduke Charles. The latter refuſed the conditions propoſed. Deſaix refuſed to make any alteration, and obſerved that he ſhould make uſe of his laſt reſource with reluctance—"What reſource have you left?" enquired the Auſtrian general; Deſaix replied that he retained only a certain number of determined men, and a ſufficient quantity of powder, and ſooner than ſubmit to a diſhonorable capitulation he would blow up the Auſtrian camp, and both the armies ſhould periſh together. The archduke immediately ſigned the capitulation, and the French had twenty-four hours to remove all their ſtores, and the artillery which they had employed in this glorious reſiſtance.

At firſt ſight this obſtinate defence of a barren fortreſs, may appear wanton and fruitleſs. But as the French could not advance into Germany from the circumſtances of the army and the ſeaſon; the reſiſtance at thoſe fortreſſes employed the whole of the Auſtrian force under the archduke, harraſſed them, leſſened their force, deſtroyed their proviſions, and by preventing them from puſhing their force to the left of the Rhine ſaved that country, and left ſo much of the ground freed from obſtruction againſt his ſecond glorious expedition into Germany: the archduke was likewiſe prevented from detaching part of his army to the aſſiſtance of Alvinzy.

The ſurrender of this fortreſs cloſed the campaign of 1796. A campaign which had effected in the ſpace of a few months more than had been ever before atchieved in the courſe of the longeſt war; which had ſhaken Europe to its foundations, and ſubjected the vaſt line from the frontiers of the northern ſea to the Adriatic-gulph to the ſway of the French republic. To the French it was in all points fortunate and glorious, for although their armies had been compelled to retreat from the Danube and re-croſs the Rhine; yet the invaſion of Germany paralyſed the hoſtile league againſt them; and beſides relieving France from the burthen of war and the maintenance of its own armies, it had exhauſted the enemy and detached ſeveral powers from the alliance.

Amidſt theſe triumphs the financial affairs of the republic continued to demand an active regard. The bankers and merchants of the republic had been called upon to ſuggeſt to the miniſter plans for the public ſervice, and even an aſſembly of them was called to deviſe and deliberate upon means to revive public credit. On the tenth of December the directory communicated to the councils a ſtate of the public wants in a very preſſing form, and urging, as on a former occaſion, the immediate neceſſity of relief, adding, that in all the different adminiſtrations, down to the offices of ſmalleſt diſburſement, the funds were in a ſtate of decay bordering on deſtruction. The remedy for theſe evils, the directory ſaid, was in the councils' giving their aſſent to the application of the laſt part of the payments for the national domains, which amounted-to eighty millions and was to be paid in money. Party had already become ſo formidable in the council of five hundred, that the meſſage of the directory was paſſed over unnoticed. It had been communicated with

ſecrecy, but the manner in which it had been treated induced the directory to give it the utmoſt publicity, in order to appeal to the patriotiſm of the people againſt the conduct of the council. Camus, preſident of the commiſſion appointed to enquire into the finances, found it neceſſary to defend the council, and drew ſuch a picture of the public reſources as was highly flattering to the country. The truth however lay on both ſides, the country poſſeſſed the reſources deſcribed, but the revenue was exactly as ſtated; the directory wiſhed them realiſed, and public opinion declared againſt the factious influence thas was manifeſted to oppoſe meaſures ſo eſſential to the national proſperity. Theſe circumſtances cauſed ſome differences among the members of government which were fomented by perſons inimical to both parties.

Amidſt the various negociations which in the courſe of the year occupied the French government, that which England profeſſed to open, engaged moſt deeply the public attention of the two nations. The defection of powers from the coalition was an alarming teſtimony of the French power. Although the Auſtrians and Pruſſians appeared firſt in the war, it was well known that the Engliſh court was from the beginning at the bottom of it, and was only reſtrained from an open declaration by the great weight of opinion among the Engliſh people. Regarding England therefore as a wanton and unprovoked aſſaſſin, the author of all the calamities which France had felt from war, ſhe could ſcarcely look on the deſolation that had taken place without abhorrence of the cauſe of it. An offer from ſo treacherous and faithleſs a power was naturally regarded with a jealous and ſuſpicious eye by the French government. There were beſide other circumſtances, which rendered the overture doubly ſuſpicious. The time at which it was made, on the eve of the opening of the Engliſh parliament, when it was neceſſary to the miniſter's financial negociations to make a favourable impreſſion on the monied intereſt of that country; and juſt on the eve of the Engliſh plenipotentiary Malmſbury, ſetting out for Paris, another agent (Hammond) had been diſpatched to Berlin to bribe the Pruſſian monarch into a reunion in the hoſtility againſt France. Theſe circumſtances were all perfectly underſtood by the French directory when the miniſter of foreign affairs, Charles Delacroix, received an official note demanding paſſports for an envoy to open a negociation at Paris. The Engliſh miniſter arrived, and on the twenty-fourth of October preſented a memorial, in which he propoſed the eſtabliſhment of ſome general principle on the opening of the negociation, which ſhould ſerve as a baſis for a definitive ſettlement; obſerving that the firſt object of a negociation for peace was generally that of reſtoring or giving up what had been taken from the reſpective parties during the war; that England had no reſtitution to demand, but by a ſeries of uninterrupted ſucceſſes acquired numerous colonies of ineſtimable value; and as on the other hand France had made conqueſts from the allies of England, it was propoſed to make proportional reſtitutions the baſis of the treaty.

Delacroix in reply urged, that as Malmeſbury ſpoke in the name of the allies of England, it was to be preſumed that he had powers to treat for them. To this reply was made that Malmeſbury *was not* thus commiſſioned; but that as ſoon as the directory ſhould agree to the principle, he would diſpatch couriers to the ſeveral courts to give an account of the ſtate of the negociation and to receive their inſtructions. He was then aſked if he would give any preciſe idea of the principle of reſtitution ſo far as concerned England and France. To this he replied, that as ſoon as the directory ſhould explain

themſelves he would ſend couriers for inſtructions. This mode of proceeding appeared in its true light to the directory, it looked ſo much unlike the conduct of ſincerity, and ſo truly reſembled purpoſed contempt, that neither the high ground upon which France ſtood, the credit of the government, nor the pride which the nation naturally felt at their triumphs over the aggreſſions of all Europe, would admit of receiving the diſingenuous proceeding but with diſtruſt and reſentment. The anſwer was therefore ſuitable to theſe impreſſions. It frankly declared that the mode adopted by the Engliſh cabinet left the hope of peace very diſtant; that if the miniſter had confined himſelf to his own court, upon which he profeſſed to be authoriſed, inſtead of ſetting up pretenſions for others, from whom he confeſſed he had no authority, the negociation might be ſhortened. It was added that as the declaration he had made was not ſupported by his credentials, ſo he might have received ſecret inſtructions contrary to thoſe he profeſſed; that the Engliſh cabinet did not appear ſincere, and had a double view in the preſent application, firſt of hindering other powers from treating ſeparately, and ſecond, of obtaining with greater facility the ſupplies from the Engliſh people for the continuance of the war. It was further urged that the propoſitions now made differed from thoſe made by Wickham ſome months preceding, only that the form was more polite. With regard to the principle of reſtitution, propoſed to be made the baſis of negociation, it was from the confeſſions of the envoy vague and indeterminate, and as ſoon as he ſhould obtain full powers to treat from the courts concerned, the directory would then be ready to treat with him.

Malmeſbury, who had continually diſpatched couriers to England from day to day, and received freſh inſtructions; replied to the note of the French miniſter, and complained of the harſh tone of this laſt note; he urged that the French government miſtook the powers with which he was entruſted, as he had no powers to treat ſeparately from the allies; and he inſiſted that his powers were adequate to the concluſion of a juſt peace. It was however evident that having no powers to treat for the allies, they could not be bound by his ſtipulations, nor could the directory have any ſecurity for the fulfilment of any articles concluded upon in their names.

Malmesbury again urged the meaſure of proportional reſtitutions. He was requeſted to point out the ſpecific objects propoſed; they expreſſed their ignorance of any pacific diſpoſitions on the part of the allies, which he had alledged, they obſerving on the contrary, that the emperor had been the firſt to break the armiſtice on the Rhine. To this he replied that he was not authoriſed to point out the ſpecific objects until the principle was agreed upon. The frequency of the couriers diſpatched to England upon the receipt of every note became truly ridiculous. The directory, however, to ſhorten the farce, obſerved that the adoption of the principle of reſtitution propoſed as a baſis of negociation could have been no real obſtacle, as it had been virtually adopted from the beginning on their part, the deficiency of powers being the only obſtacle in the way of it; that in order to remove all cavil, they now formally recogniſed it, and deſired that the objects of reciprocal compenſation ſhould be ſpeedily and categorically pointed out.

Malmeſbury therefore communicated two memorials, one of which was propoſed to be ſecret. The firſt propoſed that France ſhould cede Brabant and all the conquered country on the left of the Rhine to the emperor, together with all that had been taken in Italy and elſewhere; that the court of Peterſburg ſhould have full liberty to interpoſe in the negocia-

tion at any time, and that Portugal ſhould be comprehended in the treaty, and made free of all indemnification to France for the part ſhe had taken in the war. As a compenſation for theſe ceſſions, the French poſſeſſions in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies were to be reſtored, and certain eſtabliſhments on the river St. Laurence, North America; reſerving nevertheleſs to England the right of requiring a compenſation *for agreeing* to the ceſſion of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo to France.

The ſecond and ſecret memorial reſpected Spain and the Batavian republic; it was obſerved that as no conqueſts had then been made from the former, no reſtitution was to be made. The Batavian republic was otherwiſe ſituated; the re-eſtabliſhment of the ſtadtholderian governnment was urged as an indiſpenſable condition to induce the ceſſion of what had been taken from them in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies; and even in that caſe all was not to be reſtored. It urged additionally, that in the matter concerning the Batavian republic, the negociations ſhould not be conducted through the medium of France, but between the Engliſh and the Batavian governments directly; but it was to be underſtood, that as an indiſpenſable preliminary, the territory ceded by the Batavian republic to France ſhould be reſtored, as the ſafety of the Auſtrian Netherlands would be committed by the retention.

Theſe memorials having been preſented with a letter from Malmeſbury, urging his anxiety to enter into explanations and to receive any counter-project on their part; a meſſage was returned by the miniſter for foreign affairs, but inſtead of the uſual form of a note, it was a bare extract from the regiſter of their deliberations, and contained a requeſt that the memorials ſhould be ſigned by Malmesbury, and requiring alſo the ultimatum of his demands in twenty-four hours Malmesbury without noticing the form of the meſſage, complied with the requeſt for affixing his ſignature, but obſerved that the peremptory demand of the ultimatum ſhut the door on all negociation; and added, that if the propoſitions preſented by him were not ſatisfactory, he would lay any they might propoſe before his court. At this point the negociation terminated, for on the reading of the memorials on the eighteenth of December, which were received the preceding day, they ordered the miniſter Delacroix to write to Malmesbury, that they could not hear nor had they powers to treat upon any propoſition contrary to the conſtitution and the laws and treaties by which the republic was engaged; and they added, that as the envoy had found himſelf obliged on every minute occaſion to diſpatch couriers for advice to his court, the negociation in his hands was purely paſſive, and his reſidence in Paris was of conſequence ſuperfluous and inconvenient, ſince the negociation might as well be carried on by the couriers themſelves; they therefore enjoined him to leave Paris in forty-eight hours. Paſſports were demanded and granted, and he left Paris in the time preſcribed.

The French people were much diſſatisfied at the diſmiſſion of the Engliſh envoy, as in the firſt ſtages of the negociation the French government made it a point to give publicity to all the documents interchanged, in a Journal which was under their patronage. Malmſbury had, however, remonſtrated againſt this publicity at a particular ſtage, and the directory aſſented to proceed no further in the publication. The public were then in poſſeſſion of the overtures, which bore a favourable aſpect externally, but the main articles of the memorials were now undiſcloſed. They were however, no ſooner publiſhed, than divided as the people were on the ſubject of the negociation, and anxious as all claſſes were for the return of peace, than the utmoſt indignation ſucceedeed and

pervaded all deſcriptions of perſons. The extravagance and impudence of the propoſitions were univerſally acknowledged, and thoſe who had before inveighed againſt the directory for their ſuppoſed rigidity now applauded them for their firmneſs and regard for the honor of their country and fidelity to their alliances.

In thoſe propoſitions the domineering inſolence and boundleſs rapacity of the Engliſh government was ſtrikingly manifeſted. They propoſed to treat for Portugal and they wiſhed to prevent France from treating for the Batavian republic, and at the ſame time that they profeſſed ſo much earneſtneſs for the reſtoration of the ſtadtholder and his government, they alſo wiſhed France to reſtore the ceded territory, while they who had involved the Dutch in all their miſeries declared that they would not reſtore the territories of which they had plundered them! France that had conquered all Europe united, that had formed new and binding alliances with ſeveral of thoſe powers which ſhe had beaten out of the coalition, powers which ſhe had obliged likewiſe to guarantee the independence of the Batavian republic was called upon to break her treaties and guarantees, to relinquiſh her conqueſts, and to ſacrifice even the colonies of thoſe very people who had been involved in the war by England. The intereſts of the Batavian republic were indeed ſo interknitted with thoſe of France, that the Engliſh miniſtry muſt have been conſcious that the negociation could never ſucceed merely upon the prepoſterous nature of the points that concerned her.

The French government had in the courſe of the year, turned its attention to a project of hoſtility againſt the Engliſh government, which if ſucceſsful would have decided the fate of that nation as a great power. Preparations had been making during the ſummer, and information had been obtained by the directory, from perſons eſpecially ſent to Ireland concerning the diſpoſitions of the people of that country. It was found that the cruelty and oppreſſion of the Engliſh government was ſuch in that place, that of upwards of four millions and a half of people, thoſe affected to the government did not actually exceed above an eighth of the whole. That of the remaining ſeven eighths more than one half were warmly diſpoſed to riſk every thing to ſhake off the Engliſh yoke, and that the reſt were ſo much abſorbed in ignorance and miſery, that a powerful landing made, would effectually decide them againſt their oppreſſors under whom they groaned in ſullenneſs and deſpair. It was found that the uſual artifice of the Engliſh nation, and by which it had kept that country in chains for more than ſix hundred years, the excitement of religious hatred and jealouſy, had now failed of its uſual effects, and the ſects which had been yoked in the moſt conſtant and relentleſs hoſtility againſt each other, *by whoſe diviſion England conquered*, had from their common oppreſſion learned to conſider the unhappy deluſion in which they had been foſtered, and were ready to break their bonds on the heads of their tyrants. The French government very juſtly conſidered Ireland as the great depot from whence England drew immenſe bodies of men for her armies and navy, as a great magazine from whence ſhe drew a great abundance of the firſt neceſſaries of life, ſupplies for her navy and the baſis of her woollen manufacture, and as her firſt mart for the conſumption of the Engliſh fabrics and manufactures. To rend that arm from England was to reduce her to the rank of one of the third claſs of ſtates from that of the firſt. This ſtate of things in Ireland rendered it only neceſſary to ſend a moderate force with a large ſupply of ammunition and arms, under the protection of a ſmall fleet. The only difficulty lay in effecting the landing. The French

had during the laſt century ſeveral times thrown troops into Ireland, and with very conſiderable fleets had entered the Iriſh ports. In the ſpacious bay of Bantry on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of that iſland, the French fleet had defeated an Engliſh one ſuperior in numbers, and had at other times anchored there. The diſtance of that bay from the chief port of Ireland, the great ſtorehouſe for proviſions, was only two days march for an army from it, and the country was in that ſtate of diſcontent and ill defended that a landing muſt have the moſt aſſured ſucceſs. Theſe conſiderations encouraged the equipment, and it was about to ſail when the Engliſh miniſtry diſpatched the overtures for a peace, which occaſioned the ſuſpenſion of the expedition for a few days. The ſquadron intended to convoy the troops and ſtores conſiſted of eighteen ſhips of the line, thirteen frigates, twelve ſloops, with tranſports having on board 25,000 men, under the command of general Hoche. The fleet left the inner roads of Breſt on the tenth of December, and in going out of the paſſage of the Raz, one of the line of battle ſhips was loſt and another damaged and rendered unfit for ſea; it was ſome days before they had orders to put out, as the negociations pending rendered it neceſſary. The Engliſh miniſtry appear to have been deceived in the object of this expedition, for as the French publicly declared that its deſtination was Ireland, that was conſidered only as a report to delude attention from another object, ſuppoſed to be Jaimaca or the Portugueſe ſettlements.

The inclement ſeaſon in which the expedition was undertaken, appears by the event to have been badly choſen; the motives for the choice, however, were judicious as the fact proved, for notwithſtanding the boaſted power of the Engliſh navy, the French fleet and its convoy actually arrived off that coaſt in defiance to a ſevere ſtorm which ſeparated them, and which obliged ſeveral of the ſhips to return to port. The French diviſion under admiral Bouvette, conſiſting of eight ſhips and ſeveral frigates and tranſports actually anchored in Bantry-bay, where they remained four days, expecting the admiral and the commander in chief, who had both embarked in a large frigate which was ſeparated in the ſtorm and never joined them. As Hoche was the only perſon entruſted with the orders of the government, Bouvette judged it expedient not to purſue the expedition by a landing: a council of war was held in which the whole of the members were unanimous except the vice admiral for to land; and it was expected he would have given way to the general wiſh; the troops in the bay amounted to 15,000 men, and notwithſtanding their being viſible four days, no military force appeared, and the diſpoſition of the country-people was ſtrongly indicated by their driving flocks of ſheep and black cattle down to the ſhore; the pilots gave alſo ſuch information as encouraged a landing, and ſeveral Iriſh officers who were on board, well known in the country, and capable of forming the beſt judgment of the ſucceſs of ſuch an enterprize, were in common with the French commander of the military, eager to land the troops. The wind which had hitherto blown from the ſouth-weſt, and which was ſo favourable to a landing and unfavourable to their return, encouraged the hopes of the adventurers, but Bouvette had reſolved to return in ſpite of the remonſtrances of the military commander. A change of wind occurring, Bouvette hoiſted his ſignal for ſailing, and on the thirty-firſt of December the ſquadron returned to Breſt, where he arrived in ſafety, without having ſeen an Engliſh ſhip. One frigate was taken by the Engliſh; ſhe had been diſmaſted in the gale; another veſſel with warlike ſtores was alſo captured; and a ſhip of

the line that had been ſeparated from the fleet, after encountering two Engliſh ſhips of the line, was run on ſhore by the captain in order to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. Bouvette on his return to port was put under arreſt, on the accuſation of a military officer, and he certainly merited puniſhment, as the ſtate of the defence of Ireland at that time ſufficiently proved, and as there was concluſive evidence that had only a thouſand French marched to Cork, it would have been ſurrendered to them with proviſions deſtined for the Engliſh navy to the value of three millions ſterling, and that they would have had auxiliaries already practiſed in the uſe of arms to the number of 150,000 men and upwards. The Engliſh troops in the whole Iſland at that time, including the Scotch regiments, did not exceed 18,000, the remainder conſiſting of Iriſh regulars amount to about 24,000, beſide militia amounting to about 40,000, three fourths of which, with all the Iriſh artillery, as fine a corps as any in Europe, would have inſtantly declared for the country, and joined the republicans. The Engliſh government were not long ignorant of the good fortune which the winds and the miſconduct of the French vice-admiral favored them with; as they ſoon after augmented the Engliſh and Scotch troops in Ireland to the amount of 60,000 men, and removed not only the whole of the Iriſh artillery to the Weſt-Indies, but drafted the regular Iriſh regiments in ſmall numbers among the regiments in England and Scotland, and ſent ſeveral whole regiments abroad to the colonies. The French government, however, did not relinquiſh the project of invading Ireland, and freſh preparations were made in the next year, when the whole plan was fruſtrated by the communication of the deſign to the Engliſh miniſtry, from ſome perſons in the confidence of government. The plans and all that concerned it were under the care of the director Carnot, who was implicated in the vaſt conſpiracy in the next year to overthrow the government, which he had ſo large a ſhare in eſtabliſhing by his talents. It has never been ſaid that he communicated the deſign to the Engliſh miniſters, but it certainly was betrayed from his department, and at the preſent period he can neither be accuſed nor exempted from the criminality. In the year 1798, however, the plan ſeems to have been revived and blended with a more extenſive project of invaſion againſt England, concerning which the authentic evidence will become a part of future hiſtory.

Whoever attempts to lay open the tranſactions of nations and public men ſhould be above the reach of power, and indifferent alike to enmity or fear; intereſt of every kind ſhould be out of his contemplation, and devoted to truth alone he ſhould alike ſpurn the trammels of prejudice and the animoſity of corruption; of ambitious jealouſy, and of every ſpecies of faction. Neither ſhould he confine himſelf to a bare recital of the tranſaction that are produced for hiſtory, or of the actions alone of thoſe who are concerned in them, but he ſhould endeavour as much as in him lies to open the motives and principles from which they took their riſe, and upon which they proceeded to their iſſues. When in public tranſactions in which all parties are concerned, ſome perſons are of neceſſity and others from choice more than ordinarily conſpicuous, it is not barely ſufficient to mention their names. The hearts of the actors ſhould be opened if poſſible, and the reader let into his motives and deſigns, and favoured with a ſight of thoſe ſecret ſprings which moved them in their enterprizes. If ſuch narrations fluſh the faces of living characters. It will be with them to ſhew that the ſuſpenſion is not the effect of conſcious ſhame, but of offended innocence; but unleſs it is ſo ſhewn the hiſtorian muſt be juſtified, ſince open only to truth and conviction, the page muſt confer infamy

when it is dictated by any other motive than that which hiſtory demands—hiſtory is philoſophy teaching by example.

Among thoſe nations of Europe from which America receives the bulk of her literary productions, the freedom of the preſs is more or leſs reſtrained, and tranſactions in which thoſe nations are concerned are either from fear, apprehenſion or partiality very frequently repreſented without a ſtrict regard to fidelity. This diſadvantage unfortunately is not confined to the people among whom it originates, but extends its influence too often over the unſuſpecting minds of other nations. That while the productions of foreign preſſes are received as oracles and the perfect ſtandard of literary and political inveſtigation, the genius of America rarely ventures beyond the bounds of an aphemeral pamphlet, content to be tributary to other nations for ideas and opinions in common with their manufactures.

In treating of the French revolution their ſentiments may at firſt ſight appear irrevelant; but a cloſer conſideration will ſhew, that in touching upon that part of the French hiſtory which relates to the American republic, the ſubject which moſt concerns the people where this volume is rapidly ſtretched ſhould not be taken up with the lightneſs of a mere topic of amuſement, but examined in all its latitude. On this account then, it appears to be neceſſary in America to obviate the common diſregard in which Americans too generally hold the productions of their own country, and to claim for the view which is now to be taken of the tranſactions with France that diſpaſſionate conſideration to which the opinions of every man who expreſſes himſelf which decency is entitled to.

While this hiſtory is yet committing to the public eye, the differences that have ariſen between the French and American governments, are placed in a very delicate ſtate of ſuſpenſe. The ſentiments that may be delivered here will not, from their limited circulation, the obſcurity of the author, and much more from the unhappy ſtate of party, be likely to obtain any conſiderable ſhare of regard or notoriety; but they may ſerve to afford, what is the beſt uſe of all hiſtory, important objects of reflection to thoſe whoſe attention may be turned ſeriouſly to the ſubject.

The evil and the good fortune of nations is too often dependent on accidents, on trivial cauſes, on the violent paſſions or the weakneſſes of a few individuals. It is from this circumſtance that popular governments on the wideſt poſſible baſis are ſo much preferable to the extremes of an individual or partial authority. It is to guard againſt the frailties or the vices of individuals that free nations have taken from the magiſterial office the power of involving nations in war; and this improvement in government has not only been found ſalutary in the experiment, but ages have diſplayed how fatal the want of ſuch a principle has proved in the adminiſtration of various governments. All the wars of Europe have originated in the madneſs of a few individuals. There is no inſtance on record of a free people having embarked in a war of aggreſſion. There is ſome danger of America being involved in a war, and the hiſtory of the riſe of that danger is therefore a moſt intereſting topic. It has been already diſcuſſed in Europe, and it cannot be diſguiſed that in both the nations with whom America has been involved politically the reputation of the American people and government have been attacked, but without equal juſtice.

In order to a juſt comprehenſion of the ſubject, it will be neceſſary to go back to a period long anterior to the French revolution, in order to ſhew the grounds of ſubſiſting differences. Before the viſible dawn of American freedom, the colonies were known to

Europe but as the magazines from which England drew materials for her fabrics, her manufactures, and her commerce, or as a mart which England had inſured for the ſale of her manufactures to the excluſion of all the world. The war of 1755 and the peace of 1763, threw a momentary eclat over the American character, which would have ceaſed with the remembrance of the war, were there no new circumſtances to call forth attention. An obſcure man, a native of America, penetrating the gloom in which this vaſt continent was obſcured, by the force of natural genius and the ſtrength of his mind, placed himſelf without effort among the firſt philoſophers of the age. The noval but unaffected ſimplicity of his character and manners, and the novelty of America producing ſuch a man, at a critical period, threw a radiance round his country which while it centred in him extended the regard to all his countrymen. An aſſociation of ideas very natural to man, combined the American planter or farmer with the philoſopher; the charms of the climate and the independence of the cultivator, the joys of abundance and the happy ſtate of rural innocence, were all topics too faſcinating not to excite an affection or a reſpect for thoſe who poſſeſſed them; the moral apothegms of Franklin ſoon became as celebrated as his philoſophical experiments were new and ſucceſsful, and Europe learned to conſider the American people as a ſociety whoſe wiſdom and virtue rivalled if not ſurpaſſed the claſſical Arcadians.

The eſtabliſhment of the poſt-offices in America, and the proceedings at Albany in 1754 were ſoon found to have in them the hand of a maſter in politics, and the immortal examination before the Engliſh privy-council ſtamped the ſeal of greatneſs on the American name in the eyes of Europe. From thenceforward the world became intereſted in the American character, and admiration ſoon becnme love. It was under theſe impreſſions, which pervaded all Europe, but eſpecially the minds of the learned, that the American revolution commenced. The celebrated Farmers's Letters tended to increaſe the paſſions of Europe in behalf of America. Franklin, whoſe fame had already opened him a free correſpondence with the literati of the European continent, was, with perfect wiſdom diſpatched to France, where he found the public mind greatly influenced by men of letters, peculiarly prepared to give him the moſt flattering reception. The father of the American liberties became the object of general reſpect and love, and the opinions which had been before propogated concerning the character of the Americans were found realized in the chearful ſimplicity and the temperate equanimity of the philoſophic envoy.

Vergennes whoſe principles united the arbitrary policy of the Freneh court with the refined knowledge of a country peculiarly diſtinguiſhed by literature, became the ſocial friend of Franklin; his unaffected manners his ſenſible gracefulneſs, had obtained a ſort of influence over the French miniſter, that he acted as if he were aſhamed to purſue with the American the wily inſincerity practiſed with courtiers. The modern diplomatic character is the narroweſt ſphere of ſociety in which a man of principle can be placed; recognized only as a ſpy, and known to be generally ſelected from men deſtitute of moral integrity, their preſence forbids intercourſe by a reciprocity of ſuſpicion. But Franklin by plain manners and an utter contempt for affectation overturned all theſe obſtacles, and inſtead of being conſidered as ambaſſadors uſually deſerve to be, he was eſteemed as a new and different character, and his circle of ſociety became as extenſive as he could deſire, and circumſcribed only by his avocations and by want of adequate leiſure.—

Under ſuch fortunate auſpices, the principal difficulties to a negociation were eaſily removed, and after a ſhort reſidence, an alliance was formed, which was of more advantage to American independence than an army of 30,000 men at the ſame period. This negociation produced two treaties, one of which was wholly *amicable* and *commercial*, the other *eventual* and *defenſive*; both were executed with general ſatisfaction in Paris, on the ſixth day of February, 1778.

The examination of theſe treaties, and of all the other circumſtances under which they were formed, preſents an example of generoſity in political tranſactions that is at once as extraordinary as it is rare and honourable to the negociators and the nations concluded in it. They exhibit the firſt evidence of philoſophy in modern times, blending true liberality with diplomatic proceedings. The commercial treaty declared that the baſis of the agreement ſhould be "The moſt perfect equality and reciprocity, and by carefully "avoiding all thoſe burthenſome preferences which are uſually ſources of debate, em-"barraſſment and diſcontent; by leaving each party at liberty to make, reſpecting "navigation and commerce, ſuch interior regulations as ſhould be found moſt convenient "to itſelf, and by founding the advantage of commerce ſolely upon reciprocal utility, "and the ſtrict rules of free intercourſe; reſerving withal to each party the liberty of "admitting at its pleaſure other nations to a participation of the ſame advantages." By the ſecond article of the ſame treaty it was ſtipulated, that the parties "ſhould not "grant any particular favour to other nations, in reſpect to commerce and navigation, "which ſhall not immediately become common to the other party, who ſhall enjoy the "ſame favour freely, if the conceſſion was freely made, or on allowing the ſame com-"penſation if the conceſſion was conditional."

The ſame treaty provides by the ſucceeding articles for mutual immunities in their ports, and for reciprocal convoys of their ſhips at ſea; for the interpoſition of the French government with the powers of Barbary to protect American commerce; for the exemption of Americans from the *Droit d'Aubaine* in France; and concerning the mode of treatment on the ſtoppage of veſſels of either power, ſuſpected of carrying contraband goods. By the 17th article it is ſtipulated that "It ſhall be lawful for the ſhips of war "of either party, and privateers, freely to carry wherever they pleaſe the ſhips and goods "taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any duties to the officers of "the admiralty or any other judges; nor ſhall ſuch prizes be arreſted or ſeized when "they come to or enter the port of either party; nor ſhall the ſearchers or other "officers of thoſe places ſearch the ſame, or make examination concerning the lawful-"neſs of ſuch prizes; but they may hoiſt ſail at any time, and depart and carry their "prizes to the places expreſſed in their commiſſions, which the commanders of ſuch "ſhips of war ſhall be obliged to ſhew: On the contrary, no refuge or ſhelter ſhall be "given in their ports to ſuch as ſhall have made prizes of the ſubjects of either party; "but if ſuch ſhall come in, being forced by ſtreſs of weather, or the danger of the "ſea, all proper means ſhall be rigorouſly uſed that they go out and retire from thence "as ſoon as poſſible." The 21ſt article declares that perſons of either nation taking out commiſſions from any third power at war with either of them, to take a part in hoſtilities againſt either of the allied ſtates, in favour of ſuch third ſtate, ſhall be puniſhed as a pirate. The 23d article prohibits the ſale of any veſſel or goods taken from either of the parties being ſold or exchanged in the ports of one or the other. The 24th article

declares that the people of each nation may fail with full ſecurity, and carrying all manner of merchandize to any port or place, even belonging to a nation at enmity with the other, making in all caſes the goods free on board the neutral ſhips of the contracting parties, actual contraband only excepted; and the ſame freedom is extended to perſons on board the ſhip of either nation when neutral, notwithſtanding ſuch perſons may actually be the enemy of the other party, ſoldiers in actual ſervice only excepted. The 25th article deſcribes what ſhall and ſhall not be deemed contraband; among the former only are comprehended all actual warlike ſtores; and among the articles exempted are "all ſorts of clothes, and other manufactures of wool, flax, ſilk, "cotton, gold and ſilver coined and uncoined, tin, iron, latten, copper, braſs, coals; "as alſo wheat, barley, and other kinds of corn or pulſe; tobacco, and all manner of "ſpices, ſalted and ſmoked fiſh, cheeſe and butter, beer, wines, oils, ſugars, and all "ſorts of ſalts, and in general all proviſions which ſerve for the nouriſhment of life; "furthermore all kinds of cotton, hemp, flax, tar, pitch, ropes, cables, ſails, ſail-"cloth, anchors, and any part of anchors, alſo ſhips maſts, planks, boards, and "beams of what trees ſoever, and other materials proper for building or repairing "ſhips," and all other things not therein ſpecified, which have not been worked up into any inſtrument or weapon for war by ſea or land and reputed contraband; to be carried to all places at all times excepting only "places belonging to an enemy which are be-"ſieged, blockaded, or inveſted." The 25th article concerns ſea-letters, or the *role d'equipage*, which are ſtipulated to be recalled every year. The 29th article ſtipulates the "mutual liberty of having in the ports of each other conſuls, vice conſuls, "agents, and commiſſaries, whoſe functions ſhall be regulated by a particular agree-"ment."

The treaty of defenſive alliance, after the uſual preliminaries, in the ſecond article ſtates, "That the eſſential and direct end of the preſent defenſive alliance, is to main-"tain effectually the liberty, ſovereignty, and independency, abſolute and unlimited of "the ſaid United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce." The fifth provides "That in caſe the Bermudas ſhould be conquered, they ſhould become "incorporated with or dependent on the United States." By the ſixth the poſſeſſions to which France might have a preſumptive claim on account of poſſeſſion before the peace of 1763 in all parts of North America are renounced. By the eleventh the two parties "mutually guarantee from the preſent time and for ever, againſt all other powers, to "wit the United States, the preſent poſſeſſions of France in America, as well as thoſe "which may be acquired by a future treaty of peace," and on the part of France the "liberty, ſovereignty, and independence," in government and commerce and all additions or conqueſts made by the confederation during the war, "to be fixed and aſſured "to the ſaid ſtates at the moment of the ceſſation of the war with England." The twelfth article declares—"That in order to fix more preciſely the ſenſe and application of the "preceding article, the contracting parties declare, that in caſe of a rupture between "France and England, the reciprocal guarantee declared in the ſaid article ſhall have its "full force and effect, the moment ſuch war ſhall break out; and if ſuch war ſhall not "take place, the mutual obligations of the ſaid guarantee ſhall not commence until the "moment of the ceſſation of the preſent war between the United States and England, "ſhall have aſcertained their poſſeſſions."

Theſe are the leading and moſt eſſential features of the two treaties with France of 1778. It would be ſuperfluous to detail the particular length which France went to in ſupport of her engagements, or to eſtimate the momentum of her power in producing or accelerating that part of the guarantee which ſhe had bound herſelf to perform. Perhaps it is from the enemies of both countries the beſt evidence on this point is to be derived. It is, however, clear that France in forming theſe treaties had neither taken advantage of the circumſtances in which ſhe herſelf ſtood, of the exigency under which the ſoliciting party was placed, nor of any proviſion for a contingency either in point of expenditure or future remuneration of any kind.

The whole appears rather as the ſacrifices of an affectionate friendſhip than the cold ſtipulations of a ſelfiſh diplomacy; it was the emanation of the ſpirit of the characters and circumſtances that produced it. To America there was a direct, immediate, and ſtupendous good, in return for which France was to be entitled for a remote and circumſcribed advantage; a privilege which could not be conſidered as an equivalent excluſive of the remoteneſs. This privilege was ſuch as priority of engagements and benefits might have produced without regard to the magnitude of the favors; ſince the advantage was to be in fact mutual. This was in the privileges allowed by the ſeventeenth article above ſtated, of paſſing their ſhips of war and prizes into the ports of the United States during a future poſſible war, without the officers of the United States taking cognizance of the validity or invalidity of the capture, and without exacting any duty or making any ſearch; and at the ſame time excluding the enemies of France from a ſimilar privilege. At the period of the treaty this ſtipulation could be of no advantage to France, as the ſtrength of America was not ſuch as to make good the guarantee on her part in the firſt inſtance, and the prize privilege of neceſſity was for that war nugatory, both parties being ſoon after engaged in it.

A ſpirit of faction and intrigue had prevailed to an immenſe extent, during the revolution, but it had been concealed with laudable addreſs from public obſervation; men who had embar..ed from an inevitable neceſſity or from ambition in the general revolt, ſaw that America at worſt could only be reduced to her colonial condition by defeat, and that in the event of her triumph, they ſhould ſtand a fair chance for rank and conſequence in the American nation; encouraged by the ſucceſs of the public cauſe, they extended their views and cheriſhed hopes of ambition. As more recently in the French revolution all parties were united while there was danger to be apprehended from the predominant power of the king, ſo the moment that the danger was removed by his fall the ſpirit of faction was diſplayed, and a ſtruggle was exhibited wherein the only true queſtion was which party ſhould poſſeſs power. In America the paſſions of faction did not proceed to ſuch extremes, they were reſtrained by internal weakneſs, by the remoteneſs of the legiſlative members from each other, and by the well known fact that the number of royaliſts in the United States was conſiderable enough to be dangerous, ſhould congreſs be divided. The efforts of private ambition were thus confined to the creation of parties under one or another leader, or to the acquiſition of particular men to one or another ſide. It is well known, however, that during the revolution, men the moſt diſtinguiſhed have been retained in the firſt places of truſt only by the ſucceſs of one party, in a political intrigue. Such occurrences are perhaps inſeparable from the nature of man in ſociety, it is only their conſequences which ſhould be conſidered, in order that men by guarding againſt remote or apparently

trivial evils may prevent them from ſwelling into afflictions, fatal to a nation through all poſterity.

The negociations at Paris in 1783, like the fall of the monarch in ten years after, gave the ſignal for party conteſt, and the annals of America exhibit the phenomenon in politics of her miniſters at the cloſe of their country's triumph, engaged in a clandeſtine correſpondence and defaming their fellow miniſter, to ſecure to themſelves the reputation of having accompliſhed what the character of Franklin only could have ever obtained. Hiſtory, which diſclaims all bias and which owes every tribute to the memory of the glorious dead, will not ſtoop to name thoſe who were the defamers of Franklin, on that occaſion. But it is connected with the preſent ſtate of America to ſtate the facts, for at that period was laid the foundation of thoſe dangers which now threaten America, and which, if not averted by the public voice, will entail on poſterity all thoſe afflictions with which war, ambition, and national hatreds have curſed nations.

In the ſecret proceedings of party in America ſince the period of 1783, little has been publicly diſplayed; but in private and in the meaſures propoſed from time to time, in the convention of 1787, and from thence to this day, the ſame undeviating pertinacity, the ſame inflexible avidity, the ſame machiavelian ſyſtem of political duplicity, have been gradually ſapping the foundations of American liberty; under every acceſſible form has the republican government been aſſailed, and even in adminiſtering to her afflictions ſhe has been ſtabbed in the vitals by the very hands ſucceſſively appointed to heal her wounds.

The efforts that were made to reduce the United States to a monarchy, were barely unſucceſsful. It was to public opinion only that the failure can be with juſtice attributed; for it has been acknowledged on all hands, that thoſe who propoſed a monarchical form were much more alert than the friends of an equal repreſentative government.

The French revolution opened new objects of hope and of fear. Ambition alternately panted and trembled. The enormities fomented by the common enemy of France and America, the cruelties of a few monſters in France, that like Arnold or Kirke, would *deluge their country with their kindred blood*,* ſoon preſented occaſions to the enemies of freedom which their hopes had never anticipated to gratify ambition. Under the colour of the ruin that had deſolated France, freedom itſelf was diſparaged of its bleſſings, and republican government was traduced; becauſe a nation attacked by all Europe, diſtracted by faction, and expoſed to hired aſſaſſination, had been deluged with blood. But it was not theſe horrors that alarmed men adverſe to free government, it was the dangers to which ambition was expoſed by the prevalence of thoſe equal principles which France had borrowed from America and enlarged and promulged as the common right of mankind.

That ſuch diſpoſitions prevailed in America required the moſt ſullen incredulity to doubt. It has been manifeſted in a thouſand ſhapes, and every day's progreſſive acts diſplays it in tenfold deformity.

An Engliſh writer in diſcuſſing the current hiſtory of the year 1796, † ſays—"While France by the ſucceſs of her arms was leſſening the number of her enemies in Europe, ſhe found her influence decreaſing in the United States of America. Though little was to have been expected from national gratitude, it was ſuppoſed that national honor would

* See one Arnold's public addreſs after his treachery.
† New Annual Regiſter printed at London for 1796.

have prevented the American government from ſeizing the opportunity when the French republic was ſtruggling for her political exiſtence, to throw herſelf into the arms of her moſt potent enemy. It was therefore with equal ſurprize and indignation that the French government heard of the concluſion of the treaty formed by Mr. Jay between that country and England, the tenor of which was ſo evidently in oppoſition to treaties already exiſting between America and France, that it was concluded that an open breach between the two countries muſt have been the immediate conſequence."

When ſuch is the opinion entertained of the conduct of our government in the eyes of that nation favored by its partiality, what muſt be the reflections of the diſpaſſionate American? But we ſhall continue the hiſtory from this Engliſh authority and ſubjoin ſuch illuſtrations as have either paſſed over unnoticed, or were unknown to the writer.

"For ſome time paſt the conduct of the American adminiſtration had towards the (French) republic been diſtant and ceremonious; nor did the recal and diſgrace of Genet, the French ambaſſador, whoſe perſonal altercations with the preſident had led the French government to make this ſolemn act of reparation, effect any changes in its favor. There is no doubt but the conduct of Genet was contrary to that ſpirit of moderation which a perſon in his official ſtation ought to have obſerved; but the peculiar ſituation of the French republic ſhould have led the American government to have made great allowances, eſpecially when the ſyſtem of the *propagande* which it was ſaid to have been attempted to be introduced into America, by order of the committee of the revolutionary regime, had been formally diſclaimed by thoſe who afterwards held the reins of the French government.

"A momentary gleam of reconcilement had been thrown acroſs the ſhade of diſcontent, by the arrival of a new ambaſſador, Mr. Monroe, from America; whoſe political principles were known to be exactly oppoſite to thoſe of his predeceſſor Mr. Morris; and the language of fraternity and congratulation was once more heard at the bar of the national convention.

"The negociation for a treaty with England, taught the French what value they were to fix on theſe new profeſſions of national amity, and what confidence was to be repoſed in the benevolence of a government, the ſtandard of whoſe attachment, it was ſaid was to be known only by that of its avarice. *The treaty itſelf was leſs heeded in France than the diſpoſitions which led to its formation.* It was obſerved that certain articles in this treaty not only infringed on the one concluded between the United States and the French nation, in 1778, but were direct violations of it. In that treaty, for inſtance, the United States formally guaranteed to the French their colonies in the Weſt Indies in caſe of attack; in the preſent, even ſupplies ſent to theſe colonies are ſtated to be illegal commerce: It was expected that a treaty ſo hoſtile to the intereſt of France, and ſo contrary to that ſpirit of neutrality which was the obvious intereſt of the American government to obſerve, would not have been ſanctioned by the American legiſlature, Notwithſtanding the predominancy of the Engliſh influence in the (American) Senate, and the diſfavour of the preſident towards French principles, were well underſtood to exiſt, yet it was ſuppoſed that the change which had taken place in the ſituation of France, and that of Europe ſince the negociation had been opened, would have led the American legiſlature to refuſe its ratification. But although it was evident from the deciſion of Congreſs, what was the general ſentiment of the people in America reſpecting this

treaty, the French government heard with indignation of this legalized preference shewn to the Engliſh intereſt.

" An intercepted letter from the préſident of the United States, addreſſed to Mr. (Governeur) Morris, who had been lately the American ambaſſador in France, and who then officiated as the ſecret agent of the American government of the United States in London, had already diſcovered to the directory the hoſtile views of the government of the United States. This letter dated from Philadelphia, the 21ſt of December, 1795, was a detailed anſwer to various letters of Mr. Morris reſpecting the pending negociation. The preſident complained highly of the haughty conduct of the Engliſh adminiſtration, and of the arbitrary meaſures which they had purſued, and which they were continuing to purſue, with reſpect to the American navigation. He requeſted Mr. Morris to repreſent to the miniſter not only the injuſtice, but the impolicy of this conduct, particularly at a time when it was ſo much the intereſt of England to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants of the United States to the acceptance of the treaty. He detailed the efforts he had made, and the difficulties he had undergone, to overcome the wayward diſpoſition of his countrymen towards French politics, the abettors of which were the chief opponents of the treaty in queſtion; which, however, he ſaid, had the approbation and ſanction of the greater and more reſpectable part of the community. His main object, preſident Waſhington obſerved,—the only object which ought to be kept in view, was peace, which he was moſt anxious to preſerve, and if America was happy enough to keep herſelf out of European quarrels, ſhe might from the increaſe of her trade, from ſecuring the monopoly of being the carrier of the world, vie in twenty years with the moſt formidable powers of the earth.

" This letter ſaved from the wreck of the Boſton packet, which foundered on the coaſt of France, was conſidered as deciſive evidence of the diſpoſitions of the American government towards the French republic; of the intrigues carried on with the Engliſh; and naturally awakened thoſe feelings of reſentment which naturally ariſe from a ſenſe of injury heightened by ingratitude; and excited alſo a deſire of diſplaying that reſentment. Various were the repreſentations made to the executive power of France to calm the indignation which theſe provocations had raiſed. It was alleged on the one hand, that the attempts made by the late committees of government to revolutionize America, had not been forgotten; that the Engliſh party taking advantage of the imprudence of the agents of the French republic, had acquired an undue preponderance in the counſels of the executive power of the United States; that this alienation was only temporary, ariſing on the one hand from the dread of the Engliſh, and on the other, from the powerleſs ſtate of the French republic at that period; from whom they could in caſe of need hope for no aſſiſtance; that it would be very probable the ratification of the treaty would be refuſed by the congreſs; and that the general diſlike of the inhabitants of the United States to any ſerious connection with the Engliſh government, was a decided fact, whatever might be the diſpoſition of the executive power; that a declaration of hoſtilities againſt the United States would be detrimental to the cauſe of the republic, by leſſening the number of its friends; and that it was probable the enſuing election for the preſidentſhip would produce ſuch changes in American politics as might prove more beneficial to the intereſts of France than the moſt brilliant and decided ſucceſs of her armies. Theſe and other repreſentations counteracted the

effects of the diſcovery made by the preſident's letter. The directory determined on continuing the ſemblance of friendſhip with the United States, and contented itſelf with following the ſame conduct with reſpect to their veſſels as England had obſerved throughout the war."

It is not in all caſes that Engliſh authority can be ſafely relied upon, and eſpecially in ſuch as particularly concern the intereſts or the power of that country. But when in matters where that intereſt is involved, and the liberality of the writer is ſuch as to produce circumſtances which appear to militate with the national prejudices, the authority may be at leaſt received with as much credit as is due to regular hiſtory. According to this Engliſh writer, then the American character merits the ſtigma of a breach of national faith, and by the manner in which it is publiſhed the imputation is not confined to a few individuals, to a branch of the government, but to all the nation.

This ſtatement is evidently deficient of thoſe minuter facts which local circumſtances alone could furniſh. It is proper then, after giving the ſentiments which are now become hiſtory in a great part of Europe, from the popularity of the medium through which they are publiſhed, to advert to ſuch facts as are neceſſary to illucidate the events which have led to the preſent national dilemma.

By what has been before obſerved, it was our apparent opinion that the prevalence of a party in the United States; a party formed in the moment that independence was eſtabliſhed, had contributed to produce the unfortunate circumſtances in which the United States have been placed. An examination of early events will further illuſtrate this opinion.

The French nation had not yet conſtituted its frame of government, after having decided upon the formation of a republic, when the miniſter Ternaut, then at Philadelphia, was directed to communicate the event to the American government, which was done by a letter of date the ſixth of February, 1793, delivered on the thirteenth of that month. The American ſecretary of ſtate replied on the twenty-third, by a cordial letter, reciprocatingaſſurances of good will in the name of the executive.

On the eighth of April following, a new miniſter, Genet, arrived at Charleſton, South Carolina, where he was received with the loudeſt acclamations and congratulations. In ten days after his arrival at Charleſton, on the eighteenth of April, a ſeries of thirteen queſtions were propounded by the preſident to the heads of departments, requeſting them to come prepared with advice on a ſubſequent day on each of theſe queſtions. It will be obſerved that the Engliſh government had commenced depredations on France in the latter end of the year 1792, and had by a meaſure unauthoriſed by law detained ſeveral neutral veſſels bound to France with grain; early in 1793 ſhe had diſmiſſed the French miniſter Chauvelin, which according to a treaty between France and England of 1786, was agreed to be tantamount to a declaration of war. In February, 1793, France, in return, formally declared war againſt England, on account of this and various other aggreſſions. The queſtions above mentioned were framed in conſequence of this event. The firſt—"Shall a proclamation be iſſued for the purpoſe of preventing the interference of the citizens of the United States, in the war between France and Great Britain, &c? Shall it contain a declaration of neutrality or not? What ſhall it contain?—Second, Shall a miniſter from the republic of France be received?—Third, If received, ſhall it be

abſolute, or with qualifications; and if with qualifications, of what kind?—Fourth, Are the United States obliged by good faith to conſider the treaties heretofore made with France, as applying to the preſent ſituation of the parties? May they renounce them, or hold them ſuſpended 'till the government of France ſhall be eſtabliſhed?—Fifth, If they have the right, is it expedient to do either and which?--If they have an option, would it be a breach of neutrality to conſider the treaty ſtill in operation?--Seventh, If the treaties are to be conſidered as now in operation, is the guarantee in the treaty of alliance applicable to a defenſive war only, or to a war either offenſive or defenſive?--Eighth, Does the war in which France is engaged appear to be offenſive or defenſive on her part? Or of a mixed and equivocal character?—Ninth, If of a mixed and equivocal character; does the guarantee in any event apply to ſuch a war?—Tenth, What is the effect of a guarantee, ſuch as that to be found in the treaty of alliance between the United States and France?—Eleventh, Does any article in either of the treaties prevent ſhips of war, other than privateers, of the powers oppoſed to France, from coming into the ports of the United States, to act as convoys to their own merchantmen? Or does it lay other reſtraint upon them more than would apply to the ſhips of war of France?—Twelfth, Should the future regent of France ſend a miniſter to the United States, ought he to be received?—Thirteenth, Is it neceſſary or adviſable to call together the two houſes of Congreſs, with a view to the preſent poſture of European affairs? If it is, what ſhould be the particular objects of ſuch a call?"

The 2d, 3d, 4th and 12th of theſe queſtions are the moſt remarkable, but each and every one of them diſplay a diſpoſition which it is difficult to deſcribe. The very firſt of them went to deſtroy the good faith of the American nation. For upon no other ground than that of utter ignorance, or decided partiality, could a doubt be entertained on the ſubject by any perſon acquainted with the laws of nations and the force of treaties. The 4th article is precifely in the ſame predicament, only that the ignorance or the diſregard of the law of nations and treaties is leſs equivocal. The 11th article exhibits the drift and intention of the whole, and clearly ſhews the diſpoſition to evade the ſtipulations of the French treaties, to afford advantages in oppoſition to it to the Engliſh merchants ſettled in the United States. In ſuch a diſpoſition, unconnected with the pre-exiſting circumſtances there could not be any thing improper, it would rather be the duty and intereſt of the government to provide for the protection of its commerce. But ſo long as the national honor is of value, ſo long as treaties are the pledges of that honor, the attempt to evade them is a degradation of the national character and a violation of national faith. It is pertinent to obſerve, that at the very period when theſe queſtions were propounded, Talon, an agent of the emigrant princes was at Philadelphia, and conſtantly at the preſident's levee.

From the ſubſequent conduct of the executive it is ſufficientlyclear what was the determination taken on theſe queſtions reſpectively. Let us enquire what was the conduct of France. Preciſely two days after the iſſue of thoſe queſtions by the American executive, the French convention on the 20th of February, paſſed a decree in the following terms—1ſt, "That the ports of the French colonies are open to the United States of America. 4d, That all merchandibe exported or imported by American veſſels, ſhall pay at their coming in or going out of the above ports no higher duties than are paid by French veſſels. 3d, The executive council is authoriſed to take ſuch meaſures as may

prevent ſuch nations as are at war with the republic from availing themſelves of ſuch advantages as are only granted to friendly powers. 4th, The executive council ſhall negociate with the United States to obtain a ſimilar reduction of duties which is granted by the preſent law to American traders, and to draw cloſer the ties of benevolence between the two nations."

Meanwhile, in two days after the date of this French decree, in four days after the date of the queſtions, and in fourteen days only after the arrival of the new miniſter of the republic at Charleſton, on the 22d of April, the American preſident iſſued a proclamation of neutrality. Upon the ſubſtance of this document there can be little urged, it is in itſelf too ſevere a ſatire on the government. The queſtion of its conſtitutionality belongs not to this hiſtory. But the diſpoſition that dictated it, and the latent principle upon which it was predicated, were in direct oppoſition to the obligations of treaties, and contrary to thoſe common principles of liberality which entitle men to a return for good offices conferred in critical circumſtances. Theſe truths are incontrovertible. It will always be allowed, that wiſdom and prudence dictated the maintenance of a faithful neutrality on the part of the United States, a neutrality neceſſary to her infant eſtabliſhment and her growing proſperity. And we ſhall find that her ally was as ſenſible of the neceſſity of this prudential courſe of proceeding, as the government of America could be. The French miniſter, Genet, after ſtaying a ſhort time in the Southern ſtates, arrived in Philadelphia on the ſixteenth of May, thirty-eight days after his landing; he was received through all the country on his journey with congratulations, and in the capital particularly with unuſual attachment and reſpect. In an extempore ſpeech delivered in the Engliſh language, he expreſſed among others the following ſentiments—"France is ſurrounded with difficulties, but her cauſe is the cauſe of mankind, and muſt prevail. With reſpect to you, American citizens, I will declare openly and freely, for the miniſters of a republic ſhould have no ſecrets, no intrigues, that from the remote ſituation of America and other circumſtances, *ſhe does not expect that America ſhould become a party* in the war; but remembering that ſhe has already combated for your liberties, and if it was neceſſary, would chearfully again enliſt in your cauſe, we hope, and every thing I hear and ſee aſſures me our hope will be realized, that her citizens will be treated as brothers in danger and diſtreſs."

The Engliſh writer, quoted above, has urged ſome alleged miſconduct of the French miniſter towards the American executive; it will be uſeful to examine into the ſource of this cauſe of complaint. Upon the arrival of the French miniſter at Charleſton, a number of perſons attached from principle to the republic, had applied for commiſſions to fit out privateers, and he had granted them. Unqueſtionably this conduct of the citizens of the United States was contrary to the obligations of actual neutrality, inſomuch as the fitting out of ſhips in the United States, and cruiſing thence, might be ſet up as a cauſe of war by the power affected thereby. How far it was a breach of neutrality on the part of the French miniſter is not ſo clear. But admitting it to have been even an abſolute voluntary act of the miniſter, he had before him the precedent eſtabliſhed by the American miniſters in France and Holland during the revolution, and prior to any alliance between France and the United States. The parity of the caſes at leaſt exempted the French miniſter from any opprobrium, which, if it could at all be applied, became common to America. This meaſure, however, was ſet up by the American executive as a

cauſe of offence, and a breach of that neutrality which had been declared by the proclamation of the twenty-ſecond of April.

It will be neceſſary in this place to advert to the ſtate of party in America at this period. The moderation of Dr. Franklin had diſarmed faction of its turbulence after his return to America from Europe; he relied upon the ſlow but ſteady operation of knowlege on mankind, to overcome the viſible efforts of private ambition; pleaſed with the eſtabliſhment of a conſtitution in America, which, though it was not wholly entitled to his admiration, was yet preferable to any hereditary eſtabliſhment; the ſame quieſcent ſecurity pervaded all the republicans. Their rivals, who were declared advocates of the monarchial inſtitution in one ſhape or another, could not place the ſame reliance on the progreſſion of literature for the realization of their deſires. America now exhibited the reverſe of that picture which it preſented a few years before. The republicans from vigilance and activity became paſſive, and the monarchiſts redoubled their exertions. It has been alleged a reſpectable man, who was a member of the celebrated congreſs at Albany, that before preſenting the ſketch of a republican conſtitution there, Mr. John Jay obſerved to ſome of his colleagues that that conſtitution might anſwer very well for a while, but that we muſt at length have a monarchy. Mr. Jay was one of the miniſters who negociated with Dr. Franklin the treaty of 1783. The other was Mr. John Adams, it is unneceſſary to cite any other authority for the attachment of this gentleman to the monarchical form of government, than his work called a defence of the conſtitutions of the United States. Theſe two gentlemen were the great leaders of the now active party, and both were ſucceſſively appointed to places of the firſt conſequence under the conſtitution. There were other characters, however, not leſs active though more or leſs conſpicious than theſe. The character of general Waſhington as a politician has not been generally underſtood in any enlarged degree. Reſerved in his demeanor and cold in his regards, with an impoſing perſon and placed by a happy fortune at the head of a nation, his auſterity was conſidered as the common effect of exalted ſituation. His political opinions have never been ſo explicitely declared as to commit his judgment, and it is poſſible that his military and conſtitutional habits have dictated this ſilence, while a free or a mixed government would probably be alike acceptable to him. Upon his political conduct in the tranſactions with France, however, his uſual prudence was overcome by the very nature of the circumſtances, and by the active preſſure of the party who had cluſtered round him as the centre of their ſecret hopes. The preſident had attachments, though they were few. Unfortunately for his reputation, his choice of perſons for places of truſt, and his particular confidence, was not always conſiſtent either with the freedom of his country nor the reputed ſtrictneſs of his own private character. His principal adviſer at this critical period, was a man diſtinguiſhed for his private debauchery and his avowed attachment to monarchical government; the departments of the government were filled with men of talents, and the department of ſtate particularly had at its head a man of acknowleged integrity and of a capacity unrivalled in literary acquirements and diplomatic knowlege But the head of the financial department, Mr. Alexander Hamilton, was the ſecret adviſer of the American preſident. He was the author of thoſe queſtions which gave the firſt fatal indication of a ſlackneſs of regard for the national character. Some very obſcure men, remarkable for no one faculty of genius or talent, unexperienced in the knowledge of the world, were the ſubaltern agents of this party, and the

whole were united in a common league, though each had ſeparate and even oppoſite views, in leading the government and people of America into a new channel of politics ſuitable to their private principles and deſigns.

Having produced by their advice the queries and the proclamation, Genet on the 23d of May 1793, ſtill confiding in the demonſtrations of public attachment he had received, addreſſed the American government, notifying that he was empowered to renew exiſting treaties. He was informed, that the Senate not being in ſeſſion the preſident could not according to the conſtitution enter on the ſubject deſired. Meanwhile ſeveral of thoſe veſſels which had taken commiſſions from Genet had ſailed, and others were by authority of government detained. The detention of veſſels belonging to American citizens fitted out in America for the ſervice of France was no doubt perfectly prudent and wiſe; but it was alledged, and it was alſo proved, that ſeveral veſſels had ſailed from American ports belonging to England, armed and equipped in ports of the United States. On the 4th of Auguſt 1793, a letter was addreſſed by the American ſecretary of the treaſury to the collectors of the cuſtoms accompanied by regulations prohibiting all military equipments in favor of either of the belligerent powers. They were immediately carried into effect as laws, and even extended to armed veſſels and prizes which had been brought in before that period. But even before this, according to a letter of the ſecretary of ſtate of the 22d of June, the tribunals of juſtice had, by order of government, actually aſſumed the cognizance of prize cauſes. This mode of proceeding was directly hoſtile to the 17th article of the treaty of amity and commerce with France, above quoted; and in open violation of the ſecond ſection of the ſixth article of the conſtitution of the Uunited States. So conſcious was the executive of this, that he afterwards made a formal application to Congreſs on the 3d of December 1793, for a law to ſanction this very breach of the treaty. Congreſs paſſed ſuch a law on the 5th of June 1794! On the meſſage itſelf comment would be ſuperfluous, ſince it contained only expreſſions calculated to juſtify what had been already done, but one expreſſion deſerves particular notice—"Where individuals "within the United States &c. *ſhall uſurp and exerciſe judicial authority* &c. there offences "cannot receive too early and cloſe an attention, and require prompt and deciſive "remedies. Whatever theſe remedies may be they will be well adminiſtered by the *judi-* "*ciary*, who poſſeſs *a long eſtabliſhed courſe* of inveſtigation, effectual proceſs, and officers in "the habit of executing it." It requires only a peruſal of the 17th article of the treaty to perceive the wilful violation of the treaty in the very phraeſology of this recommendation, and at the ſame time the inexpiable indecency of the manner in which it was done. Treaties were expreſsly acknowled to be the ſupreme law where they have been formally and legally contracted, and it was as well underſtood that they are binding until formally relinquiſhed by either of the parties, or regulated or qualified by other treaties. No ſuch relinquiſhment or qualification took place, nay five ſeveral overtures made by the French government for a negociation were actually rejected, under forms of evaſion, if not impolitic at leaſt conferring no honor on the American government. The 17th article of a ſolemn treaty veſted in the hands of the French conſuls ſolely and excluſively the juriſdiction over prizes, and the American government was abſolutely and bona fide bound not to interfere with or to arreſt even any of the officers or prizes, nor to ſearch nor to reſtrain them, but to permit them to paſs inward and to depart from the ports of America at diſcretion. Yet notwithſtanding this previous practice and the law, the preſident on the

21ſt of June and 3d of July 1794, decided two caſes of capture without a reference to the law. There were a multitude of corelative circumſtances that rendered this breach of public faith ſtill more ſtriking; the public partiality of America exonerated the preſident from the odium, by transferring it to ſecretary Hamilton, but the act of congreſs and ſubſequent meaſures have placed the ſtigma indelibly upon the government.

In the progreſs of ſuch tranſactions it can be no longer a matter of ſurpriſe if the agent of the injured nation ſhould feel for the honor and rights appertaining to his country by the moſt ſolemn contracts.

Several veſſels of war belonging to the king of England and to private Engliſh adventurers, actually entered the roads and ports of America, with their prizes, contrary to the ſame treaty, and at the ſame periods.

Meanwhile thoſe perſons, who, from their averſion to the French revolution and their political attachments, may be called the monarchical, in contradiſtinction from thoſe who were of different ſentiments, having effected their object in placing a local and internal law of one nation above the contract ſolemnly entered into by two, and in which the rights of the injured nation were done away; their next object now was the villification of the miniſter and afterwards the nation itſelf. The tranſactions in France between January and June, 1793, might have eaſily deceived men of no great depth of judgement, or who were willing to liſten to the flattering viſions of their prejudices; it was not ſurpriſing that ſuch men ſhould, according to their limited calculations, conclude that the diſtractions in that country and the external combination of all Europe preſented difficulties too great for the nation to oppoſe or ſurmount. To theſe perſons the eſtabliſhment of a republic in France was the moſt formidable of all political occurrences, it went to batter down the theories which they had ſupported during their whole lives; the proſpect of its ſubjugation was the proſpect of a revived hope and a future triumph; it was anticipated with an elation bordering on tranſport, and the avidity with which every meaſure that would accelerate the cataſtrophe was countenanced, diſplayed the diſpoſitions of the men in colours too diſcriminate to be miſtaken.

The miniſter ſtationed by America in France at this period, was exactly a man ſuitable to the diſpoſition of the active party. Mr. Gouverneur Morris, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in public life as the open and decided enemy of the American revolution, he had as a ſenator, and in private life, uniformly ſupported monarchical principles, and in point of morals the ſecretary of the treaſury would have bluſhed at the compariſon. Such was the man appointed by republican America as its repreſentative among the moſt intelligent people in Europe. The conduct of this miniſter in France was conſiſtent with his character at home, and he became ſo openly the illicit agent of England, that he eſcaped the puniſhment inflicted on ſpies, only from a reverence for his character as an ambaſſador; he was obliged to leave France for his intrigues, and he became ſoon after the open agent of the Engliſh miniſter on the continent of Europe. The letter of General Waſhington to this miniſter has been already noticed, and its effects on the French government, until a new miniſter was appointed.

Meanwhile having committed an injuſtice againſt France, it became neceſſary to diſcredit her miniſter. Mr. John Jay and Mr. Rufus King, the one chief Juſtice of the United States and the other a ſenator, publicly and explicitly accuſed the miniſter Genet of having "intimated to General Waſhington an intention of appealing to the people of America"

on the ſubject of his conduct towards France. Whether ſuch an appeal would not be in itſelf ſtrictly correct remained to be ſhewn, as the only ordinary and apparent courſe of complaint is from the offended individual to the ſovereign againſt the acts really or ſuppoſedly wrong of that ſovereign's ſervants. This charge, however, was calculated to produce too ends, it was a trial of the diſpoſition of the people of America to change the order of the American ſyſtem of government, and place the ſovereignty of the nation in the executive, inſtead of the people with whom it is declared to reſt by the conſtitution. The other object was through the popularity of General Waſhington to excite a jealouſy or hatred of republican France. Genet ſaw through theſe ſtratagems, and by a letter of the 10th of Auguſt 1793, addreſſed to General Waſhington, called upon him from mere motives of candour and probity to make an explicit declaration concerning the allegation of Meſſieurs Jay and King; urging that the anſwer from him would bepubliſhed as the only reply to the calumny "of thoſe party men who never fail to confound the individual with affairs of ſtate." In this letter Genet ſtates "To you alone I have declared that the Fe-
"deral government, far from manifeſting any regard for our generous conduct towards
"this country—for the new advantages which we were offering to her commerce—or for
"the reiterated demonſtrations of our real and diſintereſted friendſhip, were ſacrificing
"our intereſts to thoſe of our enemies, by their interpretation of the treaties which exiſt
"between us." Theſe ſentiments were undoubtedly ſtrong, and if there is a ſanctity attached to magiſtrates which forbids the aſſertion of truth in any given caſe, no offence could be more flagrant becauſe no facts were leſs queſtionable.

The anſwer returned to this letter was dated on the 16th of Auguſt, through the medium of the ſecretary of ſtate, and contained theſe remarkable expreſſions—"The
"preſident does not conceive it to be within the line of propriety or duty for him to bear
"evidence againſt a declaration, which, whether made to him or others, is perhaps im-
"material; he therefore declines interfering in the caſe." Genet, however, publicly declared the aſſertions of Meſſieurs Jay and King to be totally and explicitly falſe, and he endeavoured to proſecute them for a libel; but the American executive had applied to the French government, and Genet was recalled. Prior to his recall, however, Duplaine the French conſul at Boſton, acting under the treaty that ſubſiſted between the two nations, prevented the interference of a municipal officer with the concerns of a prize brought into that harbor and placed under his protection. A proſecution was inſtituted againſt Duplaine in the ordinary courts of that town, three ſeveral times, and the bill was each time thrown out, the jury conſidering the conſul as acting under the ſupreme law of the land, the law of treaties binding the nation as the laws of the Federal government bind and ſupercede laws of the particular ſtates. Preſident Waſhington, however, by a public declaration and an official notification ſuſpended the powers of the French conſul, notwithſtanding his acquittal. Againſt this alſo Genet loudly complained, and the voice of hiſtory will declare, when the paſſions of the preſent times and the paſſing generation are no more, that the French miniſter on this occaſion did no more than diſcharge his duty as a faithful agent and an honeſt man.

The French government, however, were early in 1793 appriſed of the diſpoſitions that were already manifeſting themſelves in America, and of meaſures that were purſuing by England to draw the United States into the common league againſt their ally. The treaty formed with Ruſſia and executed on the twenty-fifth of March, 1793, has been particu-

larly noticed in the early part of this hiſtory; and the extenſion of the principle of that treaty, "to reſtrain by all poſſible means neutral nations from taking advantage of their neutrality to ſupply France," was extended to treaties formed with Spain, Pruſſia, and others. The three neutral powers principally implicated in this tyrannical reſtraint were Denmark, Sweden, and the United States. According to the knowlege obtained of theſe deſigns, the convention publiſhed a decree on the ninth of May, 1793, declaring that French ſhips ſhould treat neutral veſſels in the ſame manner as the neutral powers ſhould allow the enemies of France to treat them, paying for their cargoes the ſame price as at the place of deſtination.

On the twenty-ſeventh of July, the convention having, from the conduct of Mr. Morris in France, the conduct of America in ſubmitting to the ſpoliations of England, and the treatment of the miniſter Genet in America, conceived that a real partiality to England was diſplayed, iſſued a further decree authoriſing their ſhips to regard neutrals only as they ſuffered other nations to treat them.—On the ſecond of September of the ſame year the convention paſſed a decree which has been compared with the Engliſh act of navigation; this decree, which was however held to be ſuſpended until the 1ſt of January 1794, was calculated to call neutrals, and eſpecially America, to a juſt ſenſe of the privileges enjoyed in French ports.

On the 6th of June orders were iſſued by England for the ſeizure of neutral ſhips according to the intentions of the Ruſſian treaty, and at the ſame time inſtructions were iſſued to their armed ſhips for the actual ſeizure of "all ſhips laden with the produce "of any colony belonging to France, or carrying proviſions or other ſupplies for the uſe "of ſuch colony." This order would apply to the ſhips of America alone, for the freights of other neutral powers do not deſerve to be conſidered of importance they are ſo few.

It will be ſeen here, that the deſign of England to ſtarve France, commenced by the ſeizure of her corn ſhips even in the moment of peace in the winter of 1792, was regularly growing up and extending its branches over every quarter of the world. Remonſtrances were forwarded to Mr. Thomas Pinckney, then miniſter from America at the Engliſh court, on the haraſſments of the American trade, and in a converſation of that miniſter with the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate Grenville, communicated to the American government in a letter dated the fifth of July, 1793, it appears that lord Grenville explicitly and unreſervedly avowed, that it was perfectly underſtood to be the intention of Ruſſia and England in contracting the treaty concluded in March, 1795, to capture neutral veſſels in the very form and under the very ſtipulations laid down in the ſeveral treaties. In the ſame year the Engliſh miniſter, Drake, declared to the republic of Genoa—"That "in the preſent war againſt the uſurpers of the ſupreme power in France, *no government* "*can declare itſelf neuter without becoming an accomplice.*"

With all this knowlege before their eyes, ſuch was the infatuation of the American government, that it continued to encreaſe in hoſtility againſt France; and at length the reſentments of the French government compelled them to ſend thither a new miniſter, Mr. Monroe, before mentioned. The ſucceſs of his miſſion has been before noticed; and the Engliſh government apprehenſive of throwing the United States into the arms of France, employed at the ſame time her uſual policy of menaces and conceſſions. Her emiſſaries were employed on the inland frontier of the United States to create the alarm of an Indian war; while her miniſter was authoriſed to open an accomodation by treaty.

On the eighth of January, 1794, ſhe iſſued a ſpecious qualification of her orders of the ſixth of November, 1793, and by reiterated attacks of policy and chicane the American government, or rather the preſident, was involved in a labyrinth of political perplexity which his age and his ſtrength of mind were not capable of extricating him from. Aſſailed by artful and perfidious men, who flattered his vanity, while they ſapped the foundation of his high reputation, he was ſeen daily to yield under the weight of the national cares, and from time to time his jealouſies were excited againſt the very men who alone were fond of his fame and eager to preſerve it inviolate along with the honor and proſperity of their country. The efforts of ſuch men became unavailing, and he was gradually engroſſed ſolely and entirely by perſons whoſe want of talents rendered them fit and pliant inſtruments of perſons unſeen who poſſeſſed more capacity with equal virtue.

In this condition of things the year of 1794 commenced. Fauchet had been appointed ſucceſſor to Genet as miniſter of France in America; the ſame intrigues and the ſame virulence againſt France which had been employed againſt his predeceſſor, were repeated againſt him, and with additional violence and acrimony. The effect was proportioned in a great meaſure to the cauſe. The inceſſant torrent of ſlander, was employed in a free country and among a proverbially religious and grave people, to ſupport the meaſures of adminiſtration! The hiſtory of England was diſarrayed of all the unparalleled and unequalled atrocities which has characteriſed it for twelve hundred years, and in every quarter of the globe, in order to preſent only thoſe traits worthy of praiſe in which it has been equalled by many other countries. This procedure was calculated to hold up France in the utmoſt extreme of deformity, and to attribute to the nation as its character what was not only its greateſt affliction, but an affliction produced by the barbarity and perfidy of thoſe nations with which it had to contend, and with which the American adminiſtration was now about to be leagued in bonds of amity, and who appeared ſolicitous to obliterate all remembrance of calamities the remains of which yet bluſh above the plains of America.

The ſucceſſive defection of Lafayette and Dumourier, while they encouraged the hopes of the advocates of monarchy in the United States, produced a contrary effect on thoſe weak men who trembled at the renewal of Engliſh horrors. It was a common ſentiment at that period and even down to the cloſe of 1796, that the hoſtility of France would not be ſo fatal to the domeſtic peace of America, as the *friendly* march of a body of Engliſh troops through the continent. The opinion was the ſentiment of experience; but unhappily for America, it did not produce the effect on public counſels which it might have been expected to produce. The more pungent fear prevailed, and the Americans in this one inſtance teſtified more to the benefits which they had derived from the aid of France in the revolution, and to the ſuperiority of the French character, than the evidence of volumes could afford. The Engliſh veſſels continued to prey upon the American commerce, complaints became general, as the evil was extenſive; and government was forced to liſten to the public voice. The preſident even began to feel the injuſtice of the aggreſſion, and the ſentiment of true dignity prevailed for a while over the intrigues of party. The power of America to repel was weak, and England knew it; ſhe knew alſo that by preſſing upon this weakneſs, America would be compelled to her only reſource of negociation, rather than riſque the afflictions of war, and that by the Engliſh ſuperiority in diplomacy, ſhe could obtain ſacrifices which in any other circumſtances than thoſe in which France was then placed, ſhe could never hope for.

On the 16th of April 1794, the preſident of the United States in a meſſage to the ſenate, nominated Mr. John Jay, as envoy extraordinary to England, wherein he ſtated that the appointment of ſuch a character, (he being then chief juſtice of the United States) "correſponded with the ſolemnity of the occaſion, that he would carry with him a full knowledge of the exiſting temper and ſenſibility of America, and be thus taught to vindicate her rights with firmneſs and to cultivate peace with ſincerity."

Soon after this appointment had taken place, early in the following May, Mr. Monroe was appointed miniſter to France; and he was inſtructed expreſsly "to inſpire the "French government with perfect confidence in the ſolicitude which the preſident felt "for the ſucceſs of the French revolution; of his preference of France to all other "nations, as the friend and ally of the United States; of the grateful ſenſe which he "ſtill retained for the important ſervices that were rendered to America by France in "the courſe of her revolution."

Upon the complexion of theſe two embaſſies it is uſeful to offer a few remarks. Jay had from the period of the negociations in 1783, when it appears he had actually entered into ſome ſecret and irregular communications with the Engliſh negociator, been ſtedfaſtly attached to Engliſh intereſts, his pride as well as that of Adams, appear to have been hurt by the ſuperior veneration and reſpect in which Franklin was held, and Jay particularly was offended concerning ſome ſlight which he had experienced in relation to his miſſion to Spain. His ſubſequent courſe of conduct as the American miniſter for foreign affairs, and even as chief juſtice, had manifeſted the ſame partiality. And Monroe who was a ſenator of the United States, had actually oppoſed his appointment, on the ground of his known partiality rendering him an unfit perſon to negociate for the redreſs of grievances with England, and a dangerous perſon conſidering that his partiality muſt be known and excite jealouſies elſewhere; Monroe had alſo oppoſed the appointment of Gouverneur Morris to France for ſimilar reaſons, his principles and politics having been always declaredly hoſtile to the republican government. The attachment of Monroe to the republican government was equally well known, and the above extract from his inſtructions was ſo perfectly in conformity with his ſentiments, that he, having firſt doubted the diſpoſition of his government, could no longer heſitate to accept the miſſion. In his inſtructions were theſe further remarkable points—"It is not improbable you well be obliged on the "head of Mr. Jay's miſſion to England to repel ſuſpicions of various kinds. But you "may declare the motives of that miſſion to be to obtain immediate compenſation for "our plundered property and reſtitution of the poſts." And in addition to Monroe's credentials he was alſo furniſhed with an addreſs to the French government from each of the chambers of congreſs, in which their attachment to France was expreſſed in the following terms:—"In executing this duty," ſays the addreſs, "the liberal ſuccours "which the United States received from the French nation, in their ſtruggle for inde-"pendence, preſent themſelves warm to the recollection. On this baſis was the friend-"ſhip between the two nations founded; on this baſis and the continued interchange of "regard ſince, it has grown; and ſupported by theſe motives it will remain firm and con-"ſtant." This was in behalf of the ſenate. The addreſs in behalf of the houſe of repreſentatives was equally emphatic and impoſing—it ſays, "In no manner could this "honourable and grateful function be more properly diſcharged than by ſeizing the "occaſion of declaring to the ally of the United States, that the cauſe of liberty, in

" defence of which ſo much American blood and treaſures have been laviſhed, is cheriſh-
" ed by our republic with encreaſing enthuſiaſm; that under the ſtandard of liberty where-
" ſoever it ſhall be diſplayed, the affections of the United States will always rally."

The American miniſter was received in England with the greateſt eclat, and the formal republican was danced through the dazzling mazes of a voluptuous and orientalized court and capital. The American miniſter at Paris was at firſt received with ſuſpicion and reſerve. In England a treaty was concluded on the ninth of November 1794. In France the miniſter, who notwithſtanding the conduct of the American government and the ſuſpicion excited by the ambiguous miſſion to England, had by his frankneſs and confident aſſurances, not only removed diſtruſt but had reſtored the Americans to the good opinion which they had loſt with the government and the people; nay he had obtained a complete renumeration for the loſſes ſuſtained by ſeveral veſſels of his nation in conſequence of a general embargo laid on all ſhips in French ports, and this laſt renumeration was actually decreed on the day before the treaty with England was ſigned. He was further ſo ſucceſsful, that by a formal arret of the committee of public ſafety of the fourth of January 1795, the jealouſy was ſo far removed, that American ſhips were to be placed entirely on the footing of the ſtipulations of the treaty of 1778, and rendered to them even the complete exemption from all thoſe decrees which had borne hard on them as a retaliation for ſuffering the depredations of England.

But while this propoſition was diſcuſſing before the convention, advice was received in France that the negociation with England was ſo far from being a treaty for " immedi-
" ate compenſation for plundered property and reſtitution of poſts;" that it was not only a treaty of amity, but of ſuch amity as amounted to an alliance; that it not only ſurrendered rights of the American nation, but of France, and that even it had not ſtopped there but had contained ſtipulations ſubverſive of the eſtabliſhed law of nations. The American miniſter at Paris was kept in total darkneſs on the contents of this treaty; he could only inſiſt that the principles of his credentials were maintained, that his inſtructions were not violated, and that the government of his country could not in the face of the world ſacrifice its intereſts, its obligation, or its reputation.

The ſituation of the miniſter was irkſome and the political relations of France and America became critical and novel; and the American adminiſtration after concluding the treaty with England was ſeen attempting to throw the blame of the miſunderſtanding on their miniſter at Paris!—who was ſoon after recalled. A defection had taken place in the American councils in the meantime. Through what cauſe it has not been publicly declared, but about the period of the completion of the Engliſh treaty; Jefferſon who had been ſecretary of ſtate, reſigned, and was ſucceeded by Randolph, who alſo reſigned, in conſequence of political intrigues that belong excluſively to the American hiſtory. and was ſucceeded by Timothy Pickering, who was in office when Monroe was recalled. Fauchet the French miniſter had been ſucceeded by Adet in the courſe of that year, and Monroe was ſucceeded in the appointmeut of miniſter to France in the courſe of 1795.

The orders of the Engliſh miniſtry of the ſixth of November for the ſeizure of neutrals had excited much heart burning in America, and the preſident of the United States honeſtly demurred to the treaty until the order was recalled. The Engliſh miniſtry recalled it. The treaty was reciprocally exchanged, and the Engliſh miniſtry recommenced their captures under a renewal of the orders. By the medium of ſome of the American veſſels thus carried into England, American papers were received and forwar-

ded to Paris, containing the whole of the proceedings on the Engliſh treaty and a copy of it. The Engliſh miniſtry and their friends in America had calculated upon immediate hoſtilities between the two republics; but the councils of France were otherwiſe diſpoſed; they determined not to receive the new American miniſter and to recall their own. They directed however ſuitable repreſentations to be made to theAmerican government. General Waſhington had reſolved to retire from the helm when the ſtorm became two ſevere for his age to manage it. The choice of the American people of a perſon for his ſucceſſor would determine the degree of attachment or reſentment which they ought to exhibit againſt America for the breach of faith in their public functionaries. Mr. Adams to the preſidential office and appointed Mr. Pinckney miniſter to France. In his individual character Mr. Pinckney was conſidered with reſpect, but the new preſident manifeſted very early that he carried into office all the paſſions of a partiſan and the irritability of an atrabilious habit. His principles of government were known, they had derived great celebrity from the circumſtances in which they were publiſhed and although deſtitute of all thoſe characteriſtics which deſignate the man of genius or philoſophy, they were otherwiſe too remarkable not to be remembered. His attachment to England became no leſs equivocal than his writings were adverſe to equal freedom, and he ſoon betrayed in his official communications, the meaſures which he would purſue were he alone to decide upon meaſures with France. But the French government was too ſenſible of the impotence of a government that after a vaſt naval preparation had truckled to a petty Barbary pirate and conſented to pay an annual tribute greater in amount than the whole profits of her trade to the Mediterranean.

The Engliſh authority, before quoted,* reſuming the ſubject of theſe differences, continues the hiſtorical narration by obſerving, that the miſunderſtanding between the two governments diſplayed itſelf more openly than before, in the refuſal to receive the ſucceſſor of Mr. Monroe. "Adet had notified ſo early as the 25th of November, 1796, to the American government, that the directory had ſuſpended him from all his functions. He had previouſly communicated to the ſecretary of ſtate a memorial recapitulating the complaints of the French republic againſt the government of the United States, and had communicated an arret of the directory of the 14th Meſſidor, (2d July) of the fourth year of the republic, enjoining the French ſhips of war to obſerve the ſame conduct towards the veſſels of neutral nations, as they had hitherto ſuffered with impunity to be obſerved by the Engliſh.

"The directory juſtified this decree by the ſecret approbation given by the Americans to this violation of the law of neutrality on the part of the Engliſh, who had ſeized on neutral veſſels, particularly thoſe belonging to Americans even in their very ports, and taken out of them whatever they found of French property, without any reſiſtance on the part of the American government. From this memorial it appeared that the French ambaſſador, in the beginning of the war, had made unheeded application and remonſtrances on this ſubject. The national convention had decreed, that conformably to the uſage then eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh, the property of that nation, found on board neutral veſſels, ſhould become lawful prize, but that American veſſels were excepted from this general meaſure. The conduct of the Engliſh in ſeizing on all American proviſion-ſhips had afterwards compelled them to reſcind this exception, and decree conditionally that the ſeizure of Engliſh property ſhould continue indiſcriminately until the Engliſh government

* *New Ann. Reg.* 1796, *p.* 271.

ſhould definitively revoke the orders which it had given for this meaſure, and which were only ſuſpended by the embargo, laid on by the congreſs on the 26th of March, 1794. The convention having received information, that Mr. Jay was inſtructed to make remonſtrances to the Engliſh government reſpecting theſe acts of hoſtility, revoked the decree reſpecting American ſhips, hoping that this conduct would lead the American government to uſe every effort to induce the Engliſh to adopt the ſame meaſure. But his remonſtrances, if made, had no effect: the ſame acts of hoſtility were continued, and neutral veſſels coming out of or entering into French ports, were made prizes by the Engliſh.

"Further reclamations were made on the part of the French ambaſſador, to the American government on the twenty-ninth of September, 1795, which were unheeded; a memorial preſented on the ſame ſubject the twenty-ninth of March 1796, was equally unnoticed. It appeared from theſe papers, that not only neutral veſſels were ſeized, but ſailors were taken out of American veſſels to ſerve on board Engliſh ſhips, without any mark of diſapprobation on the part of the American government. Under theſe circumſtances the government of France was compelled to have recourſe to the ſame meaſures reſpecting neutral veſſels as the Engliſh government had adopted, and was permitted by the neutral powers to continue, without remonſtrances or reclamations on their part. Citizen Adet further obſerved, that, if they would take meaſures to render their flags reſpected by the Engliſh government, the ſame reſpect ſhould be ſhewn by the French republic; but if through weakneſs or partiality they ſuffered the Engliſh to ſport with their neutrality, they ought not to complain if the French, in order to reſtore the balance, ſhould continue to imitate in this caſe that conduct which the Engliſh had found it convenient or uſeful for their own purpoſes to adopt.

"The anſwer given by the American government to this remonſtrance, ſtated, in juſtification of their conduct, that the treaty made with France in 1778, formally expreſſed that neutral veſſels ſhould neutralize the cargo; whereas the treaty lately negociated (with England) contained no ſimilar regulation. The American government therefore was held to act in perfect conformity to the letter of both treaties; and though it was lawful for the Engliſh to ſeize French property on board American veſſels, the French were reſtrained by their treaty with America, from making repriſals in ſimilar circumſtances on the Engliſh. So far as the letter of treaties ought to influence the deciſion of the queſtion, the reclamation of the American government was founded; but whether that government was juſtified on the ſcore of political morality in concluding a ſubſequent treaty (in time of war) with England, ſo pointedly hoſtile to the intereſts of their former ally in this article, does not ſo clearly appear. In addition to the above memoral, citizen Adet ſoon after preſented a note recapitulating other grievances, among which was the infraction, on the part of the American government, of that article in the treaty with France which reſpected the guarantee of the French colonies by the United States. The ſpeech of the preſident to the American congreſs, and the anſwer of the vice preſident, contained recriminations, which, far from leading to any amicable explanation, or to conciliate the differences which had ariſen, tended to widen the breach which already exiſted, and fan the flame which it was ſo much the intereſt of both parties to have extinguiſhed.

"Whatever ſpecific cauſes of complaint the French government might have had againſt that of the United States on account of the treaty lately concluded with England, the diſpoſitions which led to the formation of the treaty, would alone have been ſufficient to have explained the reaſons of the general indignation of the French againſt them.

Accuſtomed of late to witneſs levees of miniſters from the conquered monarchs of the old eſtabliſhed governments in Europe, deprecate the vengeance or ſupplicate the friendſhip of the French republic, it was not without feelings of indignation that they ſaw the people whom they boaſted to have ſnatched from ſervitude and oppreſſion, and to have erected into independence and power, in violation of the ties of gratitude and friendſhip, and of thoſe bonds more commonly reſpected between nations, ſolemn and formal treaties, not only become indifferent in the obſervance of either, but join againſt them by forming the ſtricteſt alliances with their common enemy. This indignation had been hitherto tempered by the conduct of the American ambaſſador (Monroe) and by the repreſentations which the friends of both countries had occaſionally made; and it is probable that the breach would have been widened no farther than the temporary ſuſpenſion of the French ambaſſador in the United States, had not the American government, by exchanging ambaſſadors at this period, evinced further diſpoſitions of hoſtility; ſince no reaſonable pretence appeared for this exchange, but the attachment which the preſent ambaſſador (Monroe) had ſhewn to the cauſe of the French revolution.

"The news of the intended reſignation of the preſident of the United States had preceded the arrival of the new ambaſſador, Mr. Pinckney. This event, which was expected by the French government, had in ſome meaſure allayed this warmth, and it was hoped that an amicable arrangement would ſpeedily have taken place, as it was ſuppoſed that the choice of the United States would fall on a perſon leſs hoſtile to their intereſts; but as the exchange of ambaſſadors (ſhewed that they were miſtaken and) under the preſent circumſtances afforded ſo favourable an opportunity of expreſſing their feelings, they not only refuſed to permit the new ambaſſador to remain officially at Paris, but intimated to him that his reſidence as a private citizen was inexpedient. The directory nevertheleſs, when Mr. Monroe took leave, obſerved, as they had already done with reſpect to Sweden on a ſimilar occaſion, that the people of America not being implicated in the acts of their government, were ſtill objects of their eſteem; and expreſſed alſo their perſonal regard for the intereſt which Mr. Monroe, during his reſidence at Paris, had ſhewn for the welfare of the republic."

To the American reader theſe hiſtorical details by an Engliſh writer preſent a very ſerious and inſtructive leſſon. The pride, the ſelf-love, the generous, ſometimes erring, fear of ſhame, will impel the lover of his country rather to conceal, if poſſible, and if not, alleviate, actions which reflect upon his government. But when in ſpite of theſe natural deſires and affections, the loud voice of hiſtory has already proclaimed the diſgrace in which his country is involved, and that hiſtory proceeding from a quarter which the very nature of the caſe would incline to partiality, the reflection can no longer be confined to to the ſolitary ſorrow of the individual, but muſt produce either an apathy, which can indure ignominy, or an avowed and public proteſtation from every man who is alive to honor or natural character. The hiſtory of theſe unfortunate differences is not yet cloſed. Neither has the American government diſplayed a ſenſe of its true intereſts in the preſent ſituation of the world.

Prior to the departure of Adet for Europe, he notified by a ſhort advertiſement in the public papers on the fifth of November 1796 his recall by the directory. On the ſame day, he addreſſed a long memorial to the government wherein he expreſſed his own attachment and that of his nation to the American people, and his grief at the taſk which his duty impoſed on him, in being compelled to ſubſtitute the tone of reproach for the language of friendſhip, in addreſſing the American government, and tracing out the

catalogue of grievances of which France had to complain. "When Europe roſe up in arms" ſaid he, "againſt the French republic at its birth; menaced it with all the horrors of war and famine; when on every ſide the French could not calculate upon any but enemies, their thoughts turned towards America; a ſweet ſentiment then mingled itſelf with thoſe proud emotions which the preſence of danger and the deſire of repelling it produced in their hearts. In America they ſaw friends. Thoſe who went to brave tempeſts and death upon the ocean, forgot all dangers in order to indulge the hope of viſiting that continent where for the firſt time the French colours had been diſplayed in favour of liberty. Under the guarantee of the law of nations, under the protecting ſhade of a ſolemn treaty, they expected to find in the ports of the United ſtates an aſylum as ſure as at home; they thought, if I may uſe the expreſſion, there to find a ſecond country." He then enters into a recapitulation of the principles that connected the two countries, the detail of treaties, and the breach of the articles. Having detailed theſe with great ability, he concludes with this intereſting and faithful apoſtrophe!

"Alas! Time has not demoliſhed the fortifications with which the Engliſh roughened this country—nor thoſe the Americans raiſed for their defence; their half rounded ſummits ſtill appear in every quarter, amidſt plains, on the tops of mountains. The traveller need not ſearch for the ditch which ſerved to encompaſs them; it is ſtill open under his feet. Scattered ruins of houſes laid waſte, which fire had partly reſpected, in order to leave monuments of Engliſh fury, are ſtill to be found. Men ſtill exiſt, who can ſay—there my wife tore her bleeding daughter from the hands of a brutal Engliſhman! Alas! The ſoldiers who fell under the ſword of the Britons are not yet reduced to duſt: the ploughman in turning up his field, ſtill draws from the boſom of the earth their whitened bones, while the huſbandman with tears of tenderneſs and gratitude, ſtill recollects that his fields have been moiſtened with French blood." This laſt addreſs of the French miniſter, and the preceding one were publiſhed. Strange to relate, the government of a free repreſentative republic, was offended at that act, while the ſame government loudly declaimed againſt the idea of ſeparating the government from the people, or againſt any attempt to have it preſumed that the "government and people"—were not "one and the ſame!"

Under the ſhape of a diſpatch to Mr. Pinckney at Paris, the American government publiſhed a reply to Adet's memorial, wherein every obligation of America to France was either denied, or the motives of France in lending her aid obliged to be ſufficient grounds to render them no longer binding after they were urged upbraidingly. The government ſoon after found itſelf placed by its temerity in circumſtances more critical, and an extraordinary ſeſſion of congreſs was called, which after waſting much time, refuſed to enter into hoſtile meaſures propoſed by the new preſident, whoſe ſpeech on the ſixteenth of May on the opening of the ſeſſion, was loaded with hoſtility, and accompanied by the correſpondence of two of the miniſters in Europe, calculated to inflame the paſſions of both nations. In the end three miniſters were diſpatched to France; they were received with that coldneſs which might have been expected, and time only can diſcover the iſſue of a quarrel which originated in a faction combined with the profligate government of England to effect deſigns, over which, if not fruſtrated, not only the preſent but future generations will have to deplore.

The materials for the hiſtory of the revolution, after the cloſe of 1796, are yet too imperfect in many reſpects to afford a connected chain of narration. Theſe events are alſo ſo momentous that it would be treating the ſubject unworthily, to reduce it to narrow bounds, ſince the nearer the war has approached to an apparent termination, the more intereſting has the ſubject become.

The leading events of 1797 are already, and thoſe of 1798 promiſe to be, next to the American and French revolutions, the moſt intereſting events that have ariſen in the annals of mankind. The eſtabliſhment of the powerful Ciſalpine republic in Italy, the reſtoration and reformation of liberty among the deſcendants of the ancient Ligurians, lately the Genoeſe republic. The march of the French armies into Germany, and their conqueſt of the Auſtrian dominions from the Rhine to Bavaria, and the dictation of a peace at only thirty leagues from Vienna, are great events for hiſtory.

A vaſt conſpiracy alſo, which was developed and fruſtrated in 1797, will form an intereſting part of the hiſtory of that year. In this plot were concerned ſome of thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the revolution, as Pichegru. The plot was detected in three ſeveral places at the ſame time, at Paris by the arreſt of Duverne du Preſle, the principal agent of the combined powers, who was ſeized and made a full confeſſion. The ſeizure of the emigrant count d'Antraigues by Buonaparte in Italy, and his papers. The detection and ſeizure of ſeveral packets addreſſed to Klinglin, an emigrant French general, by Moreau. The whole of theſe papers have not yet reached America, but the work of Calonne, publiſhed in 1796, and frequently quoted in this rapid ſketch of the revolution, clearly indicates the ſource and foundation of that plot.

In that work Calonne ſays,* "It now becomes indiſpenſable, that every party, that every power, that is an enemy to the preſent government of demagogues, which oppreſſes France under the ſpecious name of a republic, ſhould unite in one deſign, be animated by one ſpirit, and concur in one plan; and that they ſhould unanimouſly agree in preſenting to the eyes of a nation one ſingle object." Again,† "It is, however, in the very focus of the revolution that great effects may be operated, and it is from that point that every movement ſuſceptible of becoming general muſt originate; every other collateral movement muſt be only ſecondary to this primary object; as to the provinces, the only advantage to be derived from that quarter is to *foment* ſuch a diſpoſition," &c. After hinting at the outlines as he proceeds, he opens his plan,‡ by indicating the ſtate of parties in the French councils of ancients and five hundred, and recommends at large, that to the party which oppoſes the government, ſecret aid and money ſhould be ſent. An Engliſh banker found means to paſs to Paris early in 1797, the known friend of Pitt, the plot was *ſoon after diſcovered.*

At the cloſe of the year France was engaged in vaſt preparations for an invaſion of England, which was expected to take place in April or May, 1798.

* *Political State of Europe for* 1796, *preface, p.* v. † *p.* 17 *in the note.* ‡ *p.* 121 *to* 133.

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ERRATA.

Page 2.	*line* 4.	from the bottom,	for *eminent*,	read	imminent.
29.	— 9.	———	— *ſurrounded*	—	ſurrendered.
50.	— 19.	from the top,	— *adolescent*	—	ſomnolent.
86.	— 5.	from the bottom	— *conſtitution*	—	people.
89.	— 18.	———	— *Choiſeuil*	—	Bretueil.
112,	— 6.	from the top,	— *conſtitution*	—	people.
473.	— 8.	from bottom.	— *nine*,	—	ten.
552.	— 5.	———	— *his*	—	their.
——	— 3.	———	— *ſuſpension*	—	ſuffuſion.
553.	— 8.	from the top	— *That*	—	Thus.
——	— 13.	———	— *their*	—	theſe.
——	— 16.	———	— *ſtretched*	—	ſketched.
554.	— 8.	———	— *noval*	—	novel.
——	— 23.	———	— *became*	—	becomes.

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